At **First** Glance

By Jay Lovestone :=

THERE is lots of loose talk about liberalism and about pure democracy these days. There is also lots of nonsense in all this talk. But, if it were only that, it would not be so dangerous. Long before this, people have been known to worship even less than shadows. What is most disturbing here is that, befuddled and lulled by these sweet words, the working people are likely to overlook many unfailing signs of acutest danger.

There are two menacing trends not given sufficient notice by labor. Convinced that we still have time to rout these monstrous forces, we urge labor and all its true friends to mobilize maximum resources and energy against them. These trends are: (1) towards the restriction of the right to strike, picket and organize; (2) towards setting up machinery to crush labor militancy in the name of patriotism and war preparations.

In California, Oregon, and Washington, there is a widespread movement to restrict the right to strike and picket. Using the methods of "purest democracy," these "progressive" western states have resorted to initiative proposals on their ballots next November to throttle labor's vital activities Here California leads the reactionary bands by seeking to limit rigidly legal picketing, the boycott and the carrying of picket signs as well as to outlaw the sitdown strike and destroy freedom of labor action on the highways, wharves, docks and other public places during strikes. In Oregon and Washington, the forces of boss "law and order" are concentrating on "limiting" the number of strikes. Fortunately, evidence is mounting that this onslaught is evoking united defensive action by the A. F. of L., the C.I.O., and Labor's Non-Partisan League.

Then, there is a bloody joker, a choking rider, attached to all the proposals to centralize counterespionage activities. Under the guise of ferreting out spies of foreign governments, there is proposed legislation providing for the stationing of army and navy snoopers at every plant "to check not only on the quality of the work but also on the patriotism of the workers." A more sinister device for crippling labor, for binding it hand and foot to the Wall Street war chariot, none could devise.

Let no one think that there is loads of time in which to defeat these dark forces. Besides, in such life-and-death situations it's far better to be on guard weeks and months too soon than to be even half a minute too late or off-guard.

DANGER ON THE WORLD FRONT

A ND, while striking the alarm on the home front, we hasten to emphasize with all the vigor at our command a warning against a superficially comforting, but nevertheless suicidal, error in estimating the present world situation.

Class-conscious workers, effective militant labor organizations, must today fight the danger of imperialist ravages on two fronts. These fronts are: (1) the putrid compromises of the "democratic" imperialist brigands with the fascist imperialist hijackers, the capitulations of the "democratic powers" (at the expense of labor and weaker nations and colonial peoples, of course) before the fascist plunderers; and (2) the danger of the "democratic" imperialist governments going to war (im-(Continued on Page 2)

Workers A

A PAPER DEFENDING THE INTERESTS OF WORKERS AND FARMERS

Vol. 7, No. 44

NEW YORK, N. Y., SATURDAY, OCTOBER 29, 1938

5с а Сору

POUM Frame-Up Bared Union Pushes "Amity" With

Caballero Refutes Stalinist Slanders

The whole vicious frame-up concocted by the Stalinists against the Spanish Workers Party of Marxist Unity (P.O.U.M.) and spread thruout the world by the Stalinist and near-Stalinist press, collapsed last week under the weight of the testimony given at the trial of seven members of the P.O.U.M. Executive at Barcelona.

The P.O.U.M.ists were charged with "instigation" of the so-called "May uprising" in Catalonia, with 'connivance" with the fascist enemy and with a number of other fantastic crimes. But no evidence whatever, aside from the wild calumnies of the Stalinites, could be brought forward to substantiate these charges. The defense, however, was able to make a profound impression. Francisco Largo Caballero, who was Premier of Spain during the May events, appeared as a friendly witness for the defendants. He was followed by Luis Araquistain, who was ambassador in Paris at the time, and by Angel Galarza, Home Secretary in charge of public order in the Largo Caballero cabinet.

Largo Caballero and Galarza



gave evidence, based on authoritative and official knowledge, that the P.O.U.M. did not "instigate" the "May uprising" and that the party Executive was "entirely and sincerely anti-fascist."

As far as their bitter political attacks on the government were concerned, Largo Caballero said

(Continued on Page 2)

A.L.P. Drive

Dressmakers Make Plans Kennedy Makes Appeal **To Gain Wide Support** For Labor Ticket

The Dressmakers Joint Board Locals 22 and 89 of the I.L.G.W.U. are making a special drive to elect five of their members running for State Assembly on the American Labor Party ticket.

The locals are appointing committees to marshall all I.L.G.W.U members in the five districts for active participation in the closing weeks of the campaign.

Hundreds of workers have already volunteered and are currently engaged in canvassing, literature distribution and other campaign tasks.

The five candidates are:

Nathaniel M. Minkoff, executive secretary of Local 22, candidate for reelection in the 5th A.D., Bronx.

Salvatore De Matteo, Local 89 member, candidate for reelection in the 16th A.D., Kings.

Salvatore Bonanno, Joint Board staff member, candidate in the 2nd

A. D., Manhattan. Peter Bonanno, Williamsburg district staff, candidate in the 19th A.D. Kings.

Anthony Calace, head of the I.L.G.W.U. Accessory Council, candidate in the 8th A.D., Kings.

The Minkoff and De Matteo campaigns are considered of primary importance by the American Labor Party because both men are standing for reelection and their victories will be an indication of the staying power of the party.

In addition, both men have had a vear's experience in the State Legislature and consequently are expected to be even more effective in the next legislative session than they were last year when, as newcomers, they startled old party wheelhorses by their grasp of legislative problems and intelligently aggressive support of progressive

(Continued on Page 6)

Tense Situation in Plants Leads to New Auto Strikes

Problem Of The 32-Hour Week Faces The U.A.W.

By JOHN STOUT

Detroit, Mich. CCORDING to the employingclass press that bad child of the C.I.O., the United Automobile Workers has been on the rampage again with a series of unnecessary strikes. The real and deep causes of some of the most recent of these

A Good Lesson

Detroit, Mich.

COME time ago, we reported Now the Detroit District Council, under Stalinist influence, adopted a resolution to make the Midwest Daily Record, a Communist Party publication, their official political factionalism must have made itself felt, for last week Nat Ganley, Stalinist spokesman, made a motion in the executive committee of the Council, to rescind the Council's action, with a statement, however, that the Daily Record's policies are "correct" and "progressive" but that the motion to rescind was being made merely to "avoid misunderstandings." The progressives immediately took up the fight, moving that the section dealing with the Record be considered under new business. This was carried by a vote of 74-73. Under new business, the motion to rescind carried unanimously-and the progressive motion to delete Ganley's statement praising the Record passed by a vote of 63 to 34.

The progressives are certainly doing fine work in protecting their union against Stalinist political in-

outbreaks are, of course, ignored The very complicated problem of the so-called 32-hour week, which is tremendously aggravated by the very real fear of the unemployed workers of losing their seniority, the large-scale engineering changes resulting in huge reductions in man-power; the simplification of many complicated production operations; plain ordinary speed-up -all have caused an extremely tense situation in the shops.

As a result of a ruling of the U.A.W. International Board, made on October 7, the Plymouth workers kept the plant closed the next day by placing pickets around the gates, thus enforcing the 32-hour week. This act immediately proved that the matter was not so simple, since the Briggs plant, which is a feeder, was forced to close, with paper. Evidently the reaction large numbers of the workers getting only 20 and 24 hours of work. The resulting mood in the local was bad. Because of the pick-up in production, it is very likely that the settlement made of this trouble will work out in a satisfactory manner, since a full crew will be employed, possibly at 40 hours a week. The Chrysler contract provides for seniority to be lapsed if the worker is out of the plant more than a year. This was the vital issue in the case of Plymouth, many of the men having been laid off last November.

The Chrysler plant in Windsor, Ontario, pulled an old stunt well known to auto workers, especially at the beginning of the season. Since the union prohibits production changes in mid-season, the management makes every effort to set production standards very high at the beginning of the season. When protests began, Chrysler (Continued on Page 2)

Prague Bans Czech Communist Party

Following hard upon the move of the autonomous Slovakian government, the government of Czechoslovakia last week outlawed the Communist Party, prohibited its days later, the Czech pact with the Soviet Union was officially denounced. These actions were taken under pressure from Berlin, for Czechoslovakia today is virtually a German vassal-state, both in its domestic and foreign policy.

The regime that outlawed the Communist Party was the very regime that this party had slavishly supported for years and that it still continued to support until the last moment. For the sake of adapting itself to Czechoslovakian "democracy" in line with the Popular Front policy, the C.P. abandoned the class struggle, turned its back upon socialism, did its best to sabotage the economic and policical struggles of labor, indulged in the most indecent exhibitions of jingoism, and hushed every voice of criticism of the powersthat-be. Now it is reaping its re-

Nazis Urged

For "Democratic" Block With Fascism

A plea for "cooperation" between the "great democracies" and the fascist dictatorships for the sake of their "common good," was made last week by James P. Kennedy, American ambassador to Great Britain, in an address before the Navy League at London. This appeal, elaborated at some length by Mr. Kennedy, was immediately interpreted as signifying sympathy with Prime Minister Chamberlain's policy of "appeasement" of the fascist dictators by granting them whatever "concessions" they may demand. In particular, it was taken as implied approval of the British course in the recent Czechoslovakian crisis that led to the so-called 'Munich agreement."

Mr. Kennedy's address was of special significance not only because the high diplomatic position of the ambassador to Great Britain makes him virtually an official spokesman of the American government, but also because Mr. Kennedy is understood to be one of the outstanding possibilities as New Deal-supported Democratic presidential candidate in 1940.

Along a wide front, preparations were under way last week looking to the involvement of the United States in a foreign war. particularly as the ally and associate of British imperialism.

An almost unlimited armaments program, by far the greatest in the nation's history, was announced by President Roosevelt at a special press conference. So costly is it likely to prove that the President has been forced to hold his budget estimates for the next fiscal year in abeyance for the time being. The armaments program is understood to embrace extensive industrial measures along the lines of the semi-fascist Industrial Mobilization Plan, prepared by the War and Navy Departments two years

At the same time, another attempt to whip up public sentiment into a frenzy of fear and jingoism is being made in the spy trials staged by the federal government. A similar attempt some months ago, particularly in connection with meetings, banned its press and the Panay incident, fell flat, but prepared to cancel the mandates of now the war-mongers are trying gain along a new line with nopes of greater success.

Part of the "moral" preparations for war is the campaign to popularize British imperialism in the eyes of the American people, whose traditional distrust of and hostility to 'perfidious Albion" has been greatly strengthened by Britain's treacherous role in the recent Czechoslovakian crisis. This is obviously the chief purpose of the visit of the King and Queen of England to this country, said to be planned for the near future. This visit, the first of its kind in history, is generally recognized as being of even greater political significance than the recent trip of the royal couple to France. A more undisguised appeal for Anglo-American cooperation for war was made by Winston Churchill in a radio address to America on October 16. Mr. Churchill, who in England plays at be-

(Continued on Page 2)

To forget one or the other, to see only one or the other danger, into a pro-war trap than by fight stituting the Moulding Council. ously against the danger of war that they are paying wages 14% at once and members of both locals between them. In stressing the latter, we do not for a moment tract had expired in July but, by deny that just now the trend toby Germany against the U.S.S.R. The sit-down in Motor Products removed to Kenosha. A seniority is far stronger than the trend to- had the desired effect and, by 6 committee composed of one memwards an open conflict between o'clock, the bosses had given in, capitalist ententes and alliances. the wage-cut stopped, discriminat-But trends can be reversed by a ed stewards returned to work, and rehiring. All decisions are to be

Not even the wildest imagination could have exaggerated the danger of a "nice, big, civilized like France and England and Germany do not resort to the kind of costly mobilizations they then did and play with the disturbing ef- and in the very heart of capitalism. fects such rehearsals have on their economy without there being the gravest danger of a world conflagration to drive them to it.

The world has never seen a "peace" more shoddy or pusillani- bigger creditor and holds today mous than the "Peace of Munich." And, potent as the fear of workingclass revolt is among the giant im- gages. Actually, there is someperialist powers, it is not the only thing else involved here. This reforce animating capitalist foreign port discloses decay in the role of and domestic policy—fascist or private capital in the vitally im-"democratic." We are in a trigger portant home-mortgage field. Foresituation, in which sometimes even the very effort to avert firing un- 1932 and brought the severe homeintentionally, brings on a hail of mortgage crisis of 1933. Even in shots. The antagonisms among the the cities and after government imperialist powers as well as the help, the year 1934 found from contradictions between classes are 21% to 62% of the interest or "stubborn, inexorable facts which principal due on mortgages in decannot be effaced either by re- fault in 22 large cities. sonant speeches or by bloody mas- Of course, the decay of capitalsacres" of weaker peoples and sor- ism has quite something to do with did deals at the expense of smaller the conditions for the struggle for

GOVERNMENT OWNER-SHIP NOT SOCIALISM

ous with socialism. These people think that every time there's an ing-class movement, the ruling ship, there is a gradual extension let alone be forced to retreat or of socialism right under the very flee in rout. eyes of the capitalists themselves October 13, 1938.

Tense Situation in Plants Leads to New Auto Strikes

(Continued from Page 1) to close its Racine plant and move fired five stewards. This, plus all operations to Kenosha. The two

mutual agreement, both parties plant will at once reopen such decontinued to observe its provisions. rartments as are necessary unti arrangements made for a new contract to be negotiated.

The trouble with the Nash-Kelvinator Corporation in Racine war" last September. Big powers and Kenosha was entirely different things done when the Stalinist from the usual situation. Difficulties arose when the firm proposed ization. Under his leadership,

> Such thinkers will draw much cheer from the latest study of the Twentieth Century Fund. This re- ity system which was so limited port reveals that the United States in scope that serious injustices government is becoming an ever-were done. The management furone-third of the agricultural and one-sixth of the urban home mortclosures rose 382% from 1926 to

The upturn in production and the return to work of many thousands of workers have resulted in an imsocialism, for building up a powerful socialist movement. But the ling of dues payments are reported decay of capitalism is, in itself, not from locals on the West Side, at all synonymous with socialism. Packard, Chevrolet, Chrysler, Ford, Likewise, it is suicidal to believe that the decay of capitalism in it-BELIEVE it or not, even at this late date there are people who self must lead to a socialist society. the case of Ford is attributed think that government ownership When increasingly favorable obin a capitalist society is synonym- jective conditions are not used for building up a revolutionary work-"Amity" With Fascists extension of government owner- class may even be able to go ahead,

Lovestone Class on Nov. 3

TN order not to conflict with the current books. The first lecture, on Agitation of this sort is bound to election rally of Local 22, I.L.G. October 26, will deal with Angelica intensify in the near future. tion activities, the opening of Jay As a Rebel." Lovestone's course at the Independent Labor Institute has been postponed to 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 mocracy, Fascism, Sovietism." He made soon after the November Labor Movement," and will deal will continue his discussion of the elections. "In other words," the with present problems as well as future trends. The course consists of six lectures, given on Thursday IT IS STILL TIME TO of six lectures, given on Thursday evenings, 6:15 P. M., at the school headquarters, 131 West 33rd Street. The fee for the entire course is \$1.00; single admissions, 25 cents. IT IS STILL TIME TO

REGISTER!

A new and very interesting series of lectures by Bertram D. Wolfe will begin on Wednesday October 26. It will be called "The World of Books" and will discuss contemporary problems of great | West 33rd Street, 7th Floor, New | cocial significance as revealed in York City.

l Balabanoff's latest work, "My Life

IT IS STILL TIME TO REGISTER!

On Monday, October 31, 7:00 P. Ministry of Finance, predicted last historical roots, nature and social paper declared, "one can hope that

REGISTER!

On Tuesday, November 1, at 8:45 It is obvious, of course, that the P. M., Lewis Corey, well-known purpose of such a war-debt settleauthor and economist, will give his ment would be to facilitate the fithird lecture of a series of eight nancing of Anglo-French rearmaon "Is America Different?—Special | ment and the strengthening of the Features of American Historical bonds between American imperial-Development."

IT IS STILL TIME TO REGISTER!

School headquarters are at 131

seniority grievances, so enraged locals, comprising some 7,000 memperialist war, of course) against the men that a hundred walked out bers, were aroused immediately, the peace and freedom? . . . What of with the discharged stewards. The Racine workers bitterly opposing strike is authorized and has been the company plan. The workers agreed to negotiations with the The Motor Products strike was firm by a committee consisting of against a wage-cut, which would International Board members. The way of falling, gradually tho it be, affect nine plants in Detroit contering. . . . Today, people underworkers accepted enthusiastically. ing only the crimes of rotten deals This council is the one section of The firm agreed to compensate the day is disappearing today, that the among the imperialist powers or be- the parts industry, in Detroit at workers (a sum of \$300,000) for tween groups of imperialist powers least, having a blanket agreement the time the plants were closed. and neglecting to fight simultane- with the employers, who now claim The Kenosha plant will be reopened

the firm will be set up to handle al

questions are to be arbitrated.

The strike threat at Buick in

stooge, Ed Geiger, ran the organ-

seniority was judged by whether

the workers supported the "Unity"

caucus or the progressives. The

company finally took advantage of

this situation to put over a senior

ther created so many obstacles in

the process of handling grievances

that collective bargaining became a

As a result of the present con-

settled; and an effective bargain-

ing procedure has been established.

The settlement has been ratified by

(Continued from Page 1)

ing in opposition to Prime Minister

Chamberlain, urged the United

States to take the lead in a war

front against the "aggressors."

under way. The Paris financial pa-

per, Agence Economique et Finan-

ciere, which is very close to the

French and English financial mar-

kets will finally see the disappear-

ance of the (American) prohibition

against foreign security issues. . .'

ism and the Anglo-French combine.

SUBSCRIBE NOW

TO WORKERS AGE

HAT of it—if fascism has ing article in the October 16 issue made a new advance in of the Freiheit, official Jewish pa-Europe? What of it-if the swasti- per of the Communist Party in this ka has won a new victory over country.

it? Time rushes on! Times are not in even more grotesque form of the the same as they were thirty years "third-period" fantasies of 1933, ago. . . . Today, even the short- according to which Hitler's accessighted can see that the founda- sion to power meant nothing anytions of capitalist society are tot- way since his regime was bound to collapse in a very short time and stand that that which was yester- give way to proletarian rule? Is Stalinism in for a new period of giant of today will be lying low in bombastic, high-flown phrases covhe dust tomorrow. . . . " ering up a policy of impotence, Thus writes M. Olgin in a lead-surrender and outright treachery?

POUM Soldiers Appeal

"What of It-If Fascism Wins?"

Make Plea for Aid to Prisoners and Children

WE are front fighters of the the working-class parties of all P.O.U.M. and determined to lands, to your feeling of solidarity, continue our struggle for the cause and ask you to come to the aid of of the socialist revolution and the our children. Hundreds of them victory of the working class. In were killed by the bombs of the Flint is a reflection of some of the spite of the forces of oppression aviators who serve Franco and his that have risen against us, we will foreign fascist allies. Think of the not surrender or lay down the arms | plight of the little ones who fled which we seized in the glorious from the devastated villages and days of July 1936.

We appeal to you, comrades in

Frame-Up Against **POUM Is Smashed** nurseries, schools, cooperatives and

(Continued from Page 1) other parties well-known as antifascist had done the same and that ground movement have nobody but proved nothing whatever.

troversy, the company has yielded Luis Araguistain spoke chiefly on every major point and the union is once more well established. A as a character witness, saying he new seniority system is being had known Andres Nin and, in con- duty and to give shelter to the junction with him and the present children of those who battle against negotiated; discrimination cases of long standing have already been formed a publishing concern. Andres Nin, P.O.U.M. leader, was trenches against fascism and for seized with the other P.O.U.M.ists the socialist revolution, implore you and thrown into prison. Subsequent- to act without delay. ly, he was kidnapped by Stalinist July 1938. gangsters and brutally murdered Nevertheless, he was listed with mediate upswing of dues payments the other defendants at the Barce in the U.A.W. Doubling and treb- lona trial.

The brazen attempt of the Stalinists to wipe out the revolutionary anti-fascists of Spain by a ship, Louis Nelson, manager of the Dodge and Briggs. The pick-up in ruthless campaign of frame-up and union sent two cables, one to Ammurder, has aroused indignant pro- bassador de los Rios at Washingespecially to the conversations be- test in the labor movement in Eu- ton and the other direct to Gontween President Martin and Henry rope and America and among all sincere friends of the Loyalist the Spanish cabinet at Barcelona. cause generally. In Spain itself, practically every anti-fascist force, with the exception of the Stalinists Is Asked by Kennedy and right-wing socialists, has rallied to the defense of the P.O.U.M. in the present trial.

Knitgoods Union Urges

Upon decision of the member- is imperative."

wander about helpless. They and countless others need food, clothing and shelter.

Our children suffer hunger and want because our political enemies control the government. The collectives which the P.O.U.M. Red Aid once established no longer exist. Our comrades in the hinterland who are active in the underus and you comrades, to turn to for aid.

We appeal to you to fulfill your Premier, Juan Negrin, had once fascism and counter-revolution. We, who are fighting in the

THE FRONT FIGHTERS OF THE P.O.U.M.

(Levant Front, Eastern Front, Es-

zales Pena, Minister of Justice of

The cable to de los Rios follows: "Local 155, I.L.G.W.U., a member of the executive of the Trade Union Relief for Spain, is watching closely the outcome of the trial against the P.O.U.M. members. We call upon you to relay to your government the sentiment of our or-Release of P.O.U.M.ists ganization for the immediate release of the P.O.U.M. prisoners Knitgoods Workers Union Local who are anti-fascists and loyal members of the working class. For nance, similar preparations were last week calling for the immediate the sake of the unity of all antirelease of the members of the fascists in the heroic struggle in P.O.U.M. Executive now on trial on | Spain and of all anti-fascist eleramed-up charges in Barcelona. | ments internationally, their release

We're all going to—

The Big Barn Dance

Saturday Evening, Nov. 5, 1938

RIVERA HALL

131 West 33rd Street Pay as you enter 49 Cents

Auspices:

INDEPENDENT LABOR INSTITUTE

Politics and the Poll Tax

Scores of Thousands Disfranchised in South

By ROBERT WALTERS | siderable advantage to organiza-TF you want to see how little de- tions like the Crump machine in mocracy there really is in some Tennessee. sections of this "great democracy," just consider the matter of the poll tax in the South, just figure out how many tens of thousands of there are forces that are making citizens entitled to vote are dis- for the abolition of this iniquitous franchised by this neat little ar- system. Characteristically enough,

the slave states in the South were going on within the Democratic ruled by a narrow oligarchy of party. slave-holders. Of course, the Negro slaves were deprived of their misistration strategists to build up human rights, not to speak of civil a New Deal party in the South to and political liberties. But even the wrest power from the hands of the masses of the poor white "freemen"—the bulk of the "superior so long; the ill-fated "purge" was race"-were robbed of their political rights as American citizens: in some cases, they could not vote that the New Deal cannot hope to because of property or similar qualifications; in others, they could of the poor people of the South are not hold office; and so on. Political able to vote, for it is to them power remained the monopoly of primarily that the New Deal is the slave-holding oligarchy.

Reconstruction And Reaction

The Civil War caused a tremendous political revolution. Radical Reconstruction brought political emancipation not only to the newly enfranchised Negroes but also to the great mass of the poor whites. But, with the triumph of Bourbon reaction under the slogan of "white supremacy," the tide turned. All sorts of political contrivances were invented to drive the colored citizens completely out of political life, despite the guarantees of the federal constitution. Many of them were so raw that they could not stand the scrutiny of the United States Supreme Court. About the turn of the century, when the Supreme Court, had invalidated the "grandfather clause" and similar devices which the post-Reconstruction South had adopted to keep the Negroes from voting, Southern politicians hit upon the poll tax as a court-proof scheme for disfranchising the colored people. It did more than that; it also disfranchised large masses of poor whites, who, like the poor Negroes, were unable because of their utter destitution to produce the poll-tax receipt necessary for voting. It was, indeed, a convenient system from the point of view of the new re-

actionary oligarchy holding the South in its grip. The poll-tax scheme was rapidly adopted and, by 1920, eleven southern states made possession of a poll-tax receipt a requirement for May 6) to the extremist leaflet isvoting. In that year, North Carolina abolished the poll-tax-require- There is great uncertainty about ment; Lousiana followed a few years later; and, in 1937, Florida seems able to produce a copy. In also adopted this reform. However, some of the foreign papers it was Arkansas, Texas, Virginia, Mississippi, Georgia, South Carolina and poster" which was "plastered" all Tennessee still continue the poll- over the town. There was certainly tax restriction.

Mass Disfranchisement

As a result, the great mass of the people of these states, virtually all of the colored and a high proportion of the white, are barred from the ballot box. In the last general election, Texas cast less than 850,000 votes, while California, with almost the same population, cast more thas 2,600,000. South Carolina cast 115,000 votes, while Colorado, again with almost

Is Poll-Tax System Going? they are forces emerging from the In the days before the Civil War, sharp internal struggle that is

> It is obviously the aim of the Ad-Bourbon reaction that has held it undertaken as a big step in this direction. But it is equally clear make any headway unless the mass making its political appeal. Hence, the Administration favors the abolition of the poll-tax restrictions and Roosevelt has already called public attention to the prob-

On the other hand, the old-line politicians of the South are not al-Democratic national convention. grip upon the party. The next De- lem.

FROM Hugh Bradley's sports column in the New York World-Telegram of October 13: "Reading from left to right

in the prints-and this does not necessarily mean from Daily Worker to Times. . . . " Well, when sports writers are coming to understand that the Daily Worker is not

necessarily to the left of the New York Times, there is hardly much use in the Stalinites pretending to be communists any longer. mocratic convention will vote on the question of whether representa-

tion is future conventions should be based on the Democratic vote in each state rather than on total population as today. The northern Democrats have enough votes already to put thru this reform, and the Roosevelt forces are naturally for it. The only way the southern Democrats can hope to retain their nfluence in party councils is by enlarging their electorates. Thus out of the instinct of political selfreservation, they may move towards the abolition of poll-tax disfranchisement. Stranger things have happened in politics! But all this, of course, applies

together happy with things as they only to white voters. The shame of are. There is the problem of the Negro disfranchisement in the South-crude, crass, illegal racial The South lost control of Demo- discrimination-is a "different cratic conventions when the two- type of problem," as far as Presithirds rule was abolished in 1936, dent Roosevelt is concerned. And for the abolition of this rule broke as for the Bourbon reactionaries, the power of the southern block to they live by the fraudulent issue obstruct the nomination of presi- of "white supremacy." Something dential and vice-presidential can- more radical than an internal didates. The northern Democrats struggle in the Democratic party are itching to consolidate their will be necessary to meet this prob- working-class approach to the

IT'S NO USE Stalin 'Purge' in Ukraine

Best Bolsheviks Destroyed by G.P.U. Machine

By A. LOMB

(A. Lomb, the author of this sensational account of the Stalinist 'purge" in the Ukraine, was himself prominent figure in the events he describes.—Editor.)

TT is not only in recent times rendered valuable services to the charges were brought against Communist Party members in the Ukraine. In those days, Yagoda, who subsequently died from the bullets of the executioner after the last Moscow trial, was head of the G.P.U. and chief assassin.

Unlike the Moscow trials or the Tiflis trials of the Georgia real danger." "nationalists" in 1937, the trials of the Ukrainian communists were not public. Decisions were reached and punishments meted out by governmental order.

It also deserves attention that the Moscow defendants possessed been Polish nationals. They were clusively of Russians. The number Ukraine, which belongs to Poland. the Ukrainian Communist Party finding a refuge there. They were slandered and put to death. It was Lenin who found a real

POUM in the May "Rising" by George Orwell =

print of the chapter on the so-called the workers are on the streets it Barcelona "uprising" in George Or- is the duty of the revolutionary leaflet of the Friends of Durruti, Lyubtshenko was admitted into the well's brilliant work, "Homage to parties to be with them. Hence, in Catalonia." The story is especially spite of uttering revolutionary tion and normally hostile to the of the C.P.U. He did not, howsignificant in view of the present slogans about the "reawakening of P.O.U.M. trial.—Editor.).

THE P.O.U.M. leaders did not disown the affair; in fact they encouraged their followers to remain at the barricades and even gave their approval (in La Batalla, sued by the Friends of Durruti. this leaflet, of which no one now described as an "inflammatory no such poster. From comparison formation of a revolutionary council (junta). (2) The shooting of

disarming of the Civil Guards. There is also some uncertainty as to how far La Batalla expressed agreement with the leaflet. I myself did not see the leaflet or La Batalla of that date. The only handbill I saw during the fighting the same population, cast more was one issued by the tiny group than 475,000 votes. New York of Trotskyists ("Bolshevik-Lenin-State's 12,000,000 people cast a ists") on May 4. This merely said: million votes more than all the poll- | "Everyone to the barricades-gen-This scheme has also greatly pening already. But in reality the period before its suppression. facilitated corruption. Operating attitude of the P.O.U.M. leaders with such a restricted electorate, was hesitating. They had never 1 A recent number of Imprecor states fensive, and I doubt whether it notorious for their unhealthy all that a political machine need been in favor of insurrection until the exact opposite—that La Batalla should be described, as it was in climate and hounded there from do is to go out and buy up poll-tax the war against Franco was won; ordered the P.O.U.M. troops to leave nearly all the foreign newspapers, place to place. The "Shumskyites"

(We continue below the serial re- | pedantic Marxist line that when | Tactically it was probably a misthe spirit of July 19" and so forth they did their best to limit the workers' action to the defensive. They never, for instance, ordered an attack on any building; they merely ordered their followers to remain on guard and, as I mentioned in the last chapter, not to fire when it could be avoided.

Lies On Recall of Troops

La Batalla also issued instructhe front. As far as one can that the communist press would people to blind themselves to the estimate it, I should say that the have said this in any case. It was fact that the advocacy of panresponsibility of the P.O.U.M. nothing compared with the accusa- Russianism endangered the cause amounts to having urged everyone tions that were made both before of the revolution in the Ukraine. f various reports I should say that to remain at the barricades, and and afterwards on less evidence. the leaflet called for: (1) The probably to having persuaded a The C.N.T. leaders did not gain certain number to remain there much by their more cautious atlonger than they would otherwise titude; they were praised for their those responsible for the attack on have done. Those who were in perthe Telephone Exchange. (3) The sonal touch with the P.O.U.M. leaders at the time (I myself was not) eralite as soon as the opportunity have told me that they were in arose. reality dismayed by the whole business, but felt that they had got to associate themselves with it Afterwards, of course, political capital was made out of it in the usual manner. Gorkin, one of the ple behind the barricades were knowledge of the Ukrainian of "the glorious days of May." with a sprinkling of U.G.T. work- Maxymowitch, a West Ukrainian, From the propaganda point of view ers among them, and what they identified himself with Shumsky's tax states of the South, with more eral strike of all industries except this may have been the right line; were attempting was not to over- position. The C.P.S.U. and the C. than double New York's popula- war industries." In other words, it certainly the P.O.U.M. rose somemerely demanded what was hap- what in numbers during the brief what they regarded, rightly or "nationalistic deviations" and both

receipts and distribute them to droves of henchmen. The cost is relatively small and it gives con-

take to give countenance to the be remedied. Thru their pressure, P.O.U.M. Considering the general ever, have any important functions excitement and the things that to fulfill. were being said on both sides, the leaflet did not in effect mean members of the C.P.U. opposed much more than "Stay at the bar- the idea of Ukrainization and ricades," but by seeming to approve of it while Solidaridad Obrera, the anarchist paper, repudiated it, the P.O.U.M. leaders made it easy for the communist press to say afterwards that the fighting was a kind of insurrection engineered solely by the P.O. tions that no troops were to leave U.M. However, we may be certain loyalty but were levered out of both the Government and the Gen-

"Rising" Defensive In Nature So far as one could judge from to avoid friction between the what people were saying at the populace and the party and state time, there was no real revolution- authorities would be to elect only P.O.U.M. leaders, even spoke later ordinary C.N.T. workers, probably language, habits and customs. throw the Government but to resist P.U. immediately accused him of wrongly, as an attack by the police. men were removed from office, Their action was essentially de- outlawed, exiled to districts

| fought against any attempt to "Russify" the various national and racial groups in the Soviet Union and demanded that the Russian socialists should learn to understand the national sentiments of the formerly oppressed peoples. As in many other things. Stalin here too pretends to follow Lenin's lead. that old Bolsheviks who had Fairness forces us to admit that, in the first years after the civil cause were tried for "counter- war, Stalin did try to overcome revolutionary activities," for the evil effects of an enforced "plotting with the enemies of the "Russification" in the Ukraine and Soviet Union," for espionage and advocated what was called the like. As early as 1930, similar "Ukrainization." In spite of the success of this policy, he began to abandon it in 1928, and when, by 1930, the general policy of the U. S.S.R. swung towards nationalism, Stalin had so completely changed his position as to declare that regional nationalism and not pan-Russian chauvinism represented a The Communist Party of the Ukraine (C.P.U.) was founded in

918 after the Bolsheviks had come into power. Lenin won out against his Russian comrades in the Soviet Ukraine who were opposed to granting the right of self-determicitizens rights in the Soviet Union nation to the Ukrainians. At first, whereas those in the Ukraine had the C.P.U. consisted almost exengaged in illegal activities for the of Ukrainian members only in-Communist International and the creased when the national re-Soviet government in the West volutionists, the Borotbists, and Hounded by the Polish police, they (U.C.P.) joined. The Ukrainian had crossed the border into the element, however, was not strongly Soviet Ukraine in the hope of represented in the top leadership of the Ukrainian party and the Ukrainian Soviets. After the consolidation of the Soviet Union, the Ukrainian Soviet government functioned merely as an administrative organ or a local branch of the party. Up to 1927, the entire leadership of the C.P.U. the highest executive body in the Ukrainian Soviet Republic, was in he hands of Russians. In that year, a strong protest against this state of affairs and demanded that it

The majority of the Russian sabotaged any attempts to realize it. Their attitude was severely criticized by the Ukrainian communists who knew that the Ukrainian peasants had a deep prejudice against Russian officials regardless of their political affiliation. They were too well acquainted with the psychology of their

Shumsky And "Shumskyism In 1924, Shumsky, at that time

People's Commissar for Education, took a strong stand against the pan-Russian movement and demanded that the government's Ukrainian program be realized. He also advocated that the best way

WORKERS AGE

Organ of the National Council, Independent Labor League of America, 131 West 33rd St., New York City. Published every Saturday by the Workers Age Publishers. Subscription Rates: \$1.00 per year; \$.60 for six months; 5c a copy. Foreign Rates: \$2.00; Canada \$1.50 per year. Entered as second class matter Nov. 5, 1934, at the Post Office New York, N. Y. under the act of March 3, 1879.
Phone: LAckawanna 4-5282

Vol. 7.

October 29, 1938

No. 44

THE NEW SPY SCARE

THE country is now again in the throes of a spy scare at least if you go by the papers. Those who remember or have read about the wild scare of 1916 that helped to put the people into the proper frame of mind to be led to the slaughter the next year, will not fail to recognize the multiplying signs of another such hysteria being generated thru the efforts of the present "peace-loving" Administration.

Of course, there are foreign spies active in this country, as there always have been, German and Japanese spies as well as English and French spies. Every big military power has its espionage service all over the world. And, very likely, the few nondescript individuals now on trial are part of the system, altho their spying seems to have been of a rather amateurish variety, according to what has been revealed in the press. Such things have happened repeatedly in the past and have been regarded as a mere routine affair. But now the front pages of the newspapers blaze forth with many-columned headlines full of the most horrendous revelations. The President calls public attention to the menace. Government agencies begin to run around in circles, creating a vast deal of excitement. The press works itself up into a veritable frenzy. The masses of the people, infected with the fever, begin to grow worried, nervous, panicky, begin to see "enemy agents" everywhere. Already there is a war atmosphere!

The current spy scare is not just an exploit of the yellow press, as some people think. The current spy scare is part and parcel of a war psychology that the Administration is deliberately fomenting in order to break down popular resistance to its war policy. It is part and parcel of the campaign launched by the Administration in the early part of this year with the purpose of "making the American people ready to fight at the drop of a hat," as President Roosevelt himself is said to have put it. The unmistakable desire for peace on the part of the people worries the Administration and hampers its foreign policy. The people obviously want peace and are opposed to foreign adventures. Something has to be done. The first moves, such as the attempt to create a panic over the Panay incident, have turned out to be a fiasco. Now another drive is under way-the people must be gotten into a mood where they will accept war, perhaps even begin to shout for it!

Thus, deliberately and with malice aforethought, is the country being driven into a war madness from which there is no way out except another world slaughter. And whom do we find in the front ranks of these howling dervishes of jingoism? Whom but the Daily Worker, which features the spy scare even more prominently than it did Stalin's blood-purge at its goriest. When there is some particularly vile, revolting piece of jingoism to put over, there the Stalinties are to be found, right on the job!

Last year, at Buenos Aires, Secretary of State Hull declared in his usual sanctimonious manner: "We must create on this hemisphere an area of peace and sanity in a war-mad world." What a hollow mockery this is today in the face of the Administration's calculated efforts to arouse a blind war frenzy among the people!

We Must Not Fail!

TT is reliably reported that the "democratic" French government has already drafted a decree, held ready for issuance at any moment, presenting the anti-fascist refugees in that country with the alternative of either shouldering a gun in one of the foreign legions to be set up for such people or else finding their way straight into a concentration camp, if indeed they are lucky enough to escape deporta-

Either fight for French imperialism or go down to destruction: such is the prospect that every German. Italian and Austrian anti-fascist refugee faces in the France of Daladier, in the France of the People's Front. Yet, despite everything, many will be found who will not hesitate to take the hard road, who will refuse to betray their ideals and principles in order to save themselves. They will be fighting our battle on the front lines. We owe it to ourselves, to them and to our common cause to see to it that whatever assistance we can render them in their hour of need will not be lacking.

Incitement To Murder

FROM a Barcelona dispatch in the October 19 issue of the Daily Worker, official paper of the American Communist

"Altho the end of the trial cannot yet be predicted, it is clear that, whatever the outcome, whether the sentences imposed are lenient or severe, the people of Spain already know what should be done. They know that it is necessary to root out all Trotskyist-P.O.U.M.ist elements. . . . " (Emphasis ours.—Editor).

What is this but direct, shameless, brazen incitation to murder? "Whatever the outcome, . . . the people of Spain know what should be done!" Isn't this the familiar language of those who stir up lynch-mobs to bloody deeds? Whatever the court may decide, the Stalinist gangsters already proclaim their intention of murdering the P.O.U.M. leaders, just as they murdered Andres Nin a year ago!

We wonder what the high-minded "liberals," who fill the air with screams of "Red-baiting" whenever any one so much as criticizes the Stalinist party, we wonder what these ladies and gentlemen will say to this open call for the assassination of the best revolutionary anti-fascists of Spain?

POUM in May "Rising

(Continued from Page 3) willing to use them.

planned effort to smash the power they regard as a provocation. of the C.N.T. at one blow?

I do not believe it was, though certain in things might lead one to something very similar (seizure of police acting under orders from two days later. And in Barcelona the raid on the Telephone Exchange was not an isolated act. In of Civil Guards and P.S.U.C. adnerents seized buildings in strategic spots, if not actually before the fighting started, at any rate with surprising promptitude. But what one has got to remember is that these things were happening Spain and not in England, Barcelona is a town with a long history of street-fighting. In such factions are ready-made, everyone knows the local geography, and when the guns begin to shoot people take their places almost as in fire-drill. Presumably those responsible for the seizure of the rouble—though not on the scale that actually happened—and had made ready to meet it. But it does not follow that they were planning a general attack on the C.N.T

Fighting Spontaneous There are two reasons why I do nade preparations for large-scale

croops to Barcelona beforehand. anarchists as soon as the wa The fighting was only between those who were in Barcelona already, mainly civilians and police. (2) The food ran short almost mmediately. Anyone who has served in Spain knows that the one peration of war that Spaniards eally perform really well is that of feeding their troops. It is most unlikely that if either side had contemplated a week or two of street-fighting and a general strike they would not have stored food beforehand.

Finally, as to the rights and

wrongs of the affair. A tremendous dust was kicked up in the foreign anti-fascist press. but, as usual only one side of the case has had anything like a hearing. As a result the Barcelona fighting has been represented as an insurrection by disloyal anarchists and Trotskyists who were "stabbing the Spanish Government in the back," and so forth. The

I issue was not quite so simple as More exactly it was a riot—a very that. Undoubtedly when you are fire-arms in their hands and were better not to begin fighting among vourselves: but it is worth remem But what about the intentions on bering that it takes two to make the other side? If it was not an a quarrel and that people do not anarchist coup d'etat, was it per- begin building barricades unless haps a communist coup-d'etat-a they have received something that

The trouble sprang naturally out of the Government's order to the anarchists to surrender their arms suspect it. It is significant that In the English press this was translated into English terms and the Telephone Exchange by armed took this form: that arms were desperately needed on the Aragon Barcelona) happened in Tarragona front and could not be sent there because the unpatriotic Anarchists were holding them back. To put it like this is to ignore the conditions various parts of the town bands actually existing in Spain. Everyone knew that both the Anarchists and the P.S.U.C. were hoarding arms, and when the fighting broke out in Barcelona this was made clearer still; both sides produced arms in abundance. The anarchists were well aware that even if they surrendered their arms, the P.S. U.C., politically the main power in Catalonia, would still retain theirs: places things happen quickly, the and this in fact was what happened after the fighting was over.

Meanwhile, actually visible the streets, there were quantities of arms which would have been very welcome at the front, but which were being retained for the 'nonelephone Exchange expected political' police forces in the rear. And underneath this there was the irreconcilable difference between communists and anarchists, which was bound to lead to some kind of struggle sooner or later. Since the beginning of the war the Spanish Communist Party had grown enormously in numbers and captured most of the political power, and not believe that either side had there had come into Spain thousands of foreign communists, many of whom were openly expressing (1) Neither side had brought their intention of "liquidating" against Franco was won. In the circumstances one could hardly expect the anarchists to hand over the weapons which they had got pos-

YOUTH **FRONTIER**

session of in the summer of 1936.

a lively new magazine issued by the Youth Section of the I.L.L.A.

> November issue out on sale

c a copy 50c a year

New York City

YOUTH FRONTIER 131 West 33rd Street

I.L.P. On War

(The following statement was adopted unanimously by the National Council of the Independent Labor Party of Great Britain, at its session in London, on September 25, under the chairmanship of James Maxton-Editor.)

THE Independent Labor Party declares uncondi-L tional opposition to any form of support to the government for war.

Twenty-four years ago, the workers of this counry were led to the greatest slaughter of history in the cause (so it was said) of "little Belgium," "making the world safe for democracy," and the 'war to end war."

All the world knows that it was a war between rival capitalist imperialisms and solved no problems t was supposed to solve.

On the contrary, the war of 1914-18 multiplied the problems and helped to produce the fascist and Nazi dictatorships. For this ten million lives were

Today, we are being told that it is necessary to go to war to "defend Czechoslovakia." to "fight for peace and democracy," and to "smash German Nazism.'

The truth is that the war, just as in the case of bloody riot, because both sides had at war with a deadly enemy it is 1914, would be a war for economic power in the Balkans, the Near East and the colonial territories. Whoever won, the workers in every capitalist ountry would lose.

We abhor fascism and the rule of Hitler and have repeatedly demanded international working-class action to overthrow them. We have assisted, and will continue to assist, the German workers who are resisting Hitler

But to support the British capitalist class in war would immediately bring the destruction of those democratic liberties which now exist in Britain.

Already the government has taken powers to do his. In the economic chaos which would follow the war, it is impossible to prophesy what would happen. But the British ruling class would certainly attempt to use repressive powers necessary to maintain its privileges and domination.

Nor can we forget that, in the British Empire, millions of peasants and workers exist under conditions of starvation and slavery and that their liberties are crushed as ruthlessly as under fascism.

The I.L.P. does not believe that the war now threatened would be approved, as the last one was, by all but a relatively small minority of the working class. On the contrary, it knows that there is widespread opposition both to war and to commitments leading to war.

The I.L.P. will stand, as it did twenty-four years ago, for peace and will do everything possible to unite the workers of all countries and of all races for the destruction of capitalist imperialism, the cause of war, here and everywhere.

(Despite the unanimous approval of above resolution, spokesmen of the I.L.P. parliamentary group taking part in the discussion in the House of Commons on October , adopted an attitude that could only be interpreted as endorsement of the Chamberlain policy. The following statement, issued by Fenner Brockway, general secretary of the I.L.P., on October 12, describes later develop-

The Consultative Committee of the Independent Labor Party, composed of J. Maxton, M.P., Fenner ockway, John Aplin, Campbell Stephen, M.P., and J. McGovern, M.P., met recently. Fenner Brockway and John Aplin stated that they felt compelled publicly to dissent from "the unreserved praise given to Mr. Chamberlain's actions last week" by the spokesmen of the I.L.P. parliamentary group and the committee agreed that no obstacle should be put in their way.

Mr. Brockway then issued the following personal statement:

"An immediate war was averted last week, but only by an imperialist truce which, so far from removing the danger of war, has been the signal in all the countries concerned for intensified rearmament. The truce has imposed terrible suffering on the people of Czechoslovakia, particularly on our socialist and trade-union comrades there, and leaves two alternatives for the future—either a four-power pact, which would isolate Soviet Russia, betray Spain and be a bulwark of capitalism and imperialism, or a renewed conflict between German-Italian imperialism and British-French imperialism.

"We are relieved that war has not taken place now. We recognize that the British government did (Continued on Page 5)

The I.L.L.A. at Work

Philadelphia, Penna.

Nearly seven hundred people

crowded the auditorium of Musical

held under the auspices of the Pro-

By FRED

COOPERATION from all Wyo

ming Valley C.I.O. and A. F

of L. unions helped the Wilkes-

lication recently. The strike was

called on October 1 after the pub-

Guild's negotiating committee

week and other improved working

The breach resulted after the

publishers stalled in negotiations

despite warnings by the Guild that

the local's membership would not

Guild won the temporary agree-

vember, at the Wilkes-Barre Re-

An attempt by the printers

drivers refused to allow the trans-

Michael J. Kosik, president of

port of the bundles of paper.

"THREE CITIES"

by SHOLEM ASCH

Produced by the Yiddish Art Theatre

Special performance for the benefit of

THE WORKERS AGE

Friday Evening, October 28, 1938

Tickets now available at Room 707, 131 West 33rd Street

Telephone: LAckawanna 4-5282

cord a morning paper.

conditions at all publications.

lishers had walked out on the

Wilkes-Barre, Pa.

roletariat.

T OS ANGELES on the job.-Three classes have been started to take place on Tuesday evenings, Saturday evenings and Fund Hall in Philadelphia to hear alternate Sundays. The organiza- Angelica Balabanoff speak on the tion is continuing its excellent work in issuing leaflets on questions of the day, the latest being: gressive Labor Institute on October speech. "Labor, Unite Against the war 9, 1938. This was the first in a ance' for Labor?" It is active in the Progressive Labor Institute the political campaign against the thru the coming year. various anti-labor measures that the reactionary forces are trying to ternational labor movement, pointput across in the state of Califor- ing out the various influences nia. In addition, it has cooperated which have worked toward the deswith other labor and peace organizations in the establishment of a southern California section of the Keep America Out of War Commit-

Chicago expands. - We welcome the establishment of a new branch by our Chicago organization in the South Side of the city.

* * * Anti-war activity in Baltimore.for an anti-war meeting. At the independent working class forum same time, the branch will co- but will also support it. operate in the activities and the mass-meeting being organized by the Keep America Out of War Unions Aid Committee in that city. Emphasis is being laid upon a huge distribu-tion of the new I.L.L.A. anti-war leaflet.

Harlem plans its work. - The Harlem branch of New York City had an excellent meeting on October 12. D. Benjamin reported in detail on the work of the African Buro in Africa and the West Indies. The members were very enthusiastic and determined to carry on as effectively in the United States. Initial steps were taken for the publication of the Negro Voice. There was a lively discussion on the necessity for a concrete program to meet the needs of the Negroes in the United States.

"Where We Stand."-Steps have been taken to make possible a wide distribution of the pamphlet, work without a full Guild contract "Where We Stand." During the on October 1, after the temporary period of the fall drive, the price is agreement, in effect nine months, to be reduced from 5 cents to 1 cent. Branches are requested to send in their orders without delay.

Progressive Labor Institute

TRADE UNION PROBLEMS Wed. 7:30 — I. Zimmerman LABOR & MODERN SOCIETY Wed. 8:45 — M. Goodman NEW PROBLEMS OF

MARXISM Friday 8:15 — Instructors— Lewis Corey, Oct. 21, 28 Jay Lovestone, Nov. 4 Will Herberg, Nov. 11, 18

All Classes at Room 304 810 Locust Street Philadelphia, Pa.

Bert Wolfe, Dec. 2, 9

Jav Lovestone, Dec. 16

Deny Thomas N. J. Appeal

In a sweeping whitewash of Mayor Hague's dictatorial rule in Jersey City, the State Supreme Court of New Jersey last week "Tragedy of Europe" at a meeting ruled against the appeal of Norman Mr. Thomas attempted to speak

Peril!" and "What Kind of 'Alli- series of forums to be sponsored by in Jersey City some time ago and was run out of town by Hague's nobsters. In a second effort to test the right of free speech, he applied Dr. Balabanoff spoke on the infor a permit but was turned down by the city authorities. In the court decision, Justice truction of working class organ-Bodine ruled that Mr. Thomas had

izations. Her emphasis was con- "no more right to speak in public stantly on the historic role which places in that city . . . without a must be played by the international permit, than he has to invade a citizen's home without foundation." It is significant that there were The court further ruled that the city authorities are not at all present not only the friends and sympathizers of the I.L.L.A., but obliged to issue such a permit upon also a large representation from the progressive section of the Philameeting might result in "disorder" delphia trade union movement. The or "injuries" or might disturb the ing many Ukrainian writers and gaining with representatives of response and enthusiasm shown by "tranquility" of the people. Under poets. The gifted poet, Chvilovy, these men, on the pretext that they Our Baltimore organization reports the audience were a sign that this these circumstances, said the judge, that preparations are under way city not only can appreciate a fine, "the discretion to issue permits is war, committed suicide to escape aries." vested in the chosen representatives of the city."

authorities of any New Jersey town | nationalistic disease of Shumsky-Guild Strike may now bar any speaker at any time, who does not happen to meet with their approval. This oppressive rule is already

being used to restrict efforts to organize labor. Unless labor succeeds in breaking thru this court approved muzzle on free speech Hagueism will push forward to extend its dictatorial rule.

Barre Chapter 120, American Newspaper Guild, force the four Assailing the court decision, Mr local newspapers to suspend pub-Thomas declared:

mob or create a mob, and then C.P.U.". This is how he referred refuse to those whom it dislikes to the communists who had, at the any protection, and we have no redress in the courts. . . It means which was seeking the five-day that civil liberty is dead in Jersey.'

ILP On War Crisis

(Continued from Page 4) not want war because British im perialism, already controlling onetain the status-quo. We recognize ment, which included a Guild shop, that Mr. Chamberlain in his actions after a five-day strike last No- reflected that principle.

"But the present truce can only by overthrowing all im- way into the ranks of the party. union to have the publishers re- perialisms, whether German, Ital- He is in our midst. No other enemy sume negotiations with the Guild was rejected by the publishers. task will not be assisted by any he. When I say this, I have in bers since 1921, was accused of Both evening papers, the Times-lendorsement of Mr. Chamberlain, mind people like Wolceh Valove Both evening papers, the Times- endorsement of Mr. Chamberlain, mind people like Woloch, Yalovy, having conspired with Konovaletz, Leader and the Evening News, the representative of British im- Ritshitzky, Audienko, Vassily

managed to get out papers on perialism. October 1 and October 3, when the "The biggest factor in averting printers crashed the picket line, as they also did October 2 at the peoples for peace, and perhaps Record, a morning paper. However, tions and also refused to haul newsernment of which Mr. Chamberlain print into the struck plants, while is the head." the street-car operators and bus

> District 1, United Mine Workers of America, and Frank Vrataric, business agent for the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, endorsed

the strike and promised aid. Local after local in Wyoming Valley have passed resolutions backing the Guild. Many members of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers as well as hundreds of miners turned out to walk on the picket lines with the Guild. Bartenders, textile workers, buildingtrades workers and other unionists also joined in mass protest.

SUBSCRIBE TO THE WORKERS AGE

Hitler vs. Reason

66 WE favor reason, but if the world desires otherwise, we shall follow the Fuehrer!"-Hermann Goering, No. 2 Nazi leader.

Thomas for the right of free Stalin Purge

(Continued from Page 3) Trotskyism but came close to the position of the Right Opposi-

Skrypnyk, Shumsky's successo in office, fought against "Shumsky ism," which also had spread to the Communist Party of the West all baggage carriers, variously Ukraine (C.P.W.U.). In 1930, Postysheff, a Russian, who has now fallen into disfavor, was sent to the Ukraine as Skrypnyk's assistant. request if, in their opinion, such a He opened the drive against the Ukrainian intelligentsia by attackpersecution. But "Shumskvism" This ruling literally destroys the Skrypnyk was finally accused of right of free speech and makes it entirely a matter of favor. The spread of counter-revolutionary cities later. ism" and driven to suicide (1933).

Postysheff and Kossior refused to inquire into the real causes of the growth of "Shumskyism" and extended their fight to the West-Ukrainian communist refugees from Poland. At the joint session of the Central Committees of the C.P.S.U. and the C.P.U. in November 1933, Kossior literally said: "Agent provocateurs and counter-revolutionists from abroad frequently "The Hague machine can imagine pose as refugee members of the risk of their lives, worked for the underground communist movement in Poland and fled before Pilsud-

ski's henchmen into the Soviet From Kossior's speech at the above-mentioned session. Ukrainian communists abroad finally learned something about the fate of a group of their comrades who fourth of the earth's surface, had not been seen or heard of since had expired on September 30. The desires nothing better than to main- 1932. Kossior said verbatim: "The most outstanding characteristic of counter-revolutionary propaganda at home is the fact that its agents are provided with C.P. memberbe made a permanent peace ship cards. The enemy found the ian, French or British, and that could be more harmful to us than Sirko, Tur and others. They were the hope and the mainstay of the war last week was the will of the foreign interventionists and the engaged in espionage for the agents of the big land-owners and most of all the will of the German | capitalists who wish to reestablish carrier boys, whose fathers are miners, refused to deliver the paper in many surrounding towns; the truckers local refused to haul the the carrier boys, whose fathers are people. It is our duty now to direct their rule in the Ukraine." All of the people he mentioned had joined the party as early as 1920 or 1921 mony. It closely resembles that of and our first teek in that direction and had beld in the people he mentioned had joined the party as early as 1920 or 1921 mony. It closely resembles that of non-union papers to their destinais to overthrow the National gov- in it. All of them were executed. (Concluded in the next issue)

Red Caps Get Basic Rights

Red caps, the forgotten men of he railroads, are assured new collective bargaining rights under a significant ruling last week by the Interstate Commerce Commission.

Division No. 3, made up of Com-In Ukraine missioners Frank McManamy, C. R. Porter and Carroll Miller, held that porters at passenger stations in all cities of over 100,000 population come within the definition of "employee" as used in the Railway Labor Act.

In this designation are included known as station attendants, station porters, parcel porters, ushers. chief ushers, captains and red caps.

Many railroad managements have refused to engage in collective barwho had participated in the civil were "licensees" or "concession

While limiting its conclusions to grew, in spite of everything. cities of over 100,000 population, the commission indicated it may extend the provisions to smaller

Porters working for tips alone, or for salaries, or for a combination of the two, were all embraced in the commission's findings.

Another passage from Kossior's speech at the same session reads as follow: "We also found out the members of the so-called Ukrainian National Center' and tore the mask off their faces. Closely connected with them was a group of people who posed as party members but in reality carried on propaganda for the nationalists. One of these doubledealers was Michael Levitski."

Michael Levitski had been a party member since 1919 and served on the Revolutionary Committee during the war between Poland and the Soviets. In 1921, he became ambassador of the Soviet Ukraine to Prague and later

to Vienna. He was executed. Kossior further quoted from the testimony of another defendant Bukshevany, "Susko told me (in Berlin) that Germany had embarked on a strictly anti-Soviet course and was planning to form an alliance with Great Britain. Italy and France against the Soviet Union, and carrying on negotiations to win Poland for the the head of the U.W.O., a military organization in the Ukraine, Reichswehr against Poland and the

The Labor Book Of The Year

THE STORY OF THE C. I. O.

Benjamin Stolberg

An independent and critical study of the new industrial-union movement by one of America's foremost journalists. Regular price — \$2.00

OUR PRICE - \$1.75 (add 10c for mailing).

WORKERS AGE BOOKSHOP Headquarters for Labor Literature 131 West 33 Street New York City

"THE STORY OF THE C.I.O." a book review

By WILL HERBERG

THE STORY OF THE C.LO., by Benjamin Stolberg. The Viking Press, New York, 1938. \$2.00.

THIS book, as the author himself points out in the preface, is "partly history and theory and . . partly journalism"; in all three, it is an outstanding, masterly performance.

Naturally, it is the "history and theory" that forms the most impressive section of the book. The opening chapter, "Why the C.I. ', studies the emergence of the new labor movement against the background of American industrial development and trade-union history. In a few vivid paragraphs, the author describes the essential nature of the Knights of Labor (a "crazy mixture of labor populism and lower-middle-class bigotry") and shows how the "pure-andtrade unionism of the simple" early A. F. of L., with its craft consciousness and voluntaristic dogma, came as a necessary and progressive departure in labor development. But times changed and the A. F. of L. did not, so that it soon "became ever more archaic in a society of expanding technology and contracting finance control." It refused to reconstruct itself in line with the reconstruction of modern industry; it grew more and more impotent and more and more determined to protect and perpetuate its! impotence, even during the upsurge of labor ushered in by the N.R.A.

If the American labor movement was to survive, the millions in the great mass-production industries had to be organized and organized they could be only along industrial lines. This was the mission of the C.I.O., fully as necessary and progressive a departure as the formation of the A. F. of L. had been in its day. How the C.I.O. emerged and how it won its first positions and suffered its first defeats, Mr.

is more than journalism. The birth of the C.I.O., "its struggles on the industrial front and behind the lines," its present status and organizational strength, are depicted with a critical insight that is bound to give the account a certain permanent value. Mr. Stolberg knows more than he reads in the newspapers and he takes nothing for granted; he searches to the bottom of things, triply checks his facts and figures to the degree that they are subject to verification, and presents his conclusions to the reader as a result of a genuinely mature and independent analysis.

I cannot pass by this part of the book without at least a word of reference to the penetrating study of the "new vigilantism," not merely as it more narrowly affects the trade-union movement but in its broader aspects, as an embryo American fascism. Nor can I leave without mentioning Mr. Stolberg's positively brilliant thumb-nail sketches of American labor leaders, their cutlook and methods; there is more to be learned from these sketches as to the realities of the labor movement than from many a weighty tome on "labor problems."

Trade Unionism And Radicalism

The section on "Factionalism" is certainly the most original, perhaps the most valuable part of the book. It is not a mere exposure of the sinister activities of the Stalinites in the C.I.O., welcome and necessary as that is. It is a thoughtful study of the relation between political radicalism and the tradeunion movement and of the role that the former can play, in its healthy, constructive form as well as in its pathological destructive form (Stalinism). Many of us will find some of our old dogmas and cherished beliefs challenged by the author in this part of his workwhich is all to the good!

This review is already sounding Stolberg tells in a swiftly moving like one long eulogy, so I had term. But to deny the fact that factional struggles; and fourth, narrative. Even the journalism here better hasten to some points of labor is actually a commodity in peace between C.I.O. and A. F. of



BENJAMIN STOLBERG

adverse criticism-and there are a number of them, some more, some less important. I find, for example, certain amount of confusion on the question of labor as a commodity. Mr. Stolberg believes that "this view of labor, not as a creative function, but as a com-modity" is somehow responsible for the narrow "business unionism" of the A. F. of L. But it is hard to see how he makes that out. Obviously, labor (or rather: laborpower) remains a commodity as mildly; there is every likelihood, | historically rising class, can be long as the wage system persists; this is a fact, not a theory or a doctrine. But labor is, at least potentially, more than that, even under capitalism-not a "creative function," which it can never really be in a large-scale privateproperty economy, but a social force, an historical movement, transcending the narrow bounds of the social order out of which it grows. It is ignoring this latter aspect that makes for "business unionism" in the bad sense of the

it is sentimentalizing of the type of which Samuel Gompers was so fond.

It seems to me, too, that there is not quite the proper appreciation of the full significance of two issues that are agitating the labor movement, particularly the C.I.O. at the present moment: the issue of unity and the issue of democracy and autonomy. The latter question, already coming to the fore and bound to become central at the C.I.O. convention in November, the author barely mentions. The former question, unity, is indeed discussed to some extent, and soundly too, but the treatment is hardly adequate. Of course, there may be a real difference of opinion involved here or merely a difference of judgment as to emphasis. In any case, these shortcomings but little affect the general character of the work.

Prospects Of The C.I.O.

Mr. Stolberg's concluding chapter 'What's Ahead?") is devoted to forecast. Naturally he asks first: "What if there is war?" And he answers: "If the C.I.O. goes in for war, it will suffer the fate of the A. F. of L. after the last war. It is an axiom that labor has nothing to gain and everything to lose in every international war." This is, if anything, putting it in view of the totalitarian character of modern war, that the consequences will be even more disastrous for the C.I.O. than they were for the A. F. of L., should the former follow in the footsteps of the latter when war comes.

Excluding war and any cataclysmic change in the economic situation in the near future, Mr. Stolberg examines the prospects of the C.I.O. from four angles: first, organizational growth; second, in-dependent political action; third,

present-day society is not realism; L. The conclusions he comes to after a brief but penetrating analysis, may be given in his own words; in a sense, they are the fundamental conclusions of the entire work:

"If we escape war, the C.I.O. will succeed to the degree in which it follows, thru the maze of its innumerable problems, certain basic policies.

"First, it must permit radical and revolutionary criticism. But it must stamp out artificial and Jesuitical factionalism. . . . It [must] tolerate every kind of radical dissent except political disruption. The C.I.O. must not exclude any worker for his political beliefs, no matter what they are. But it must rid itself of Stalinist officials, staff members and organizers. .

"Second, the C.I.O. must go into political action under the banner of a labor party...

'Third, it is a major tragedy for American labor that its two dominant movements should be at war. And, even the fusion seems for the present impossible, cooperation in various fields should be perfectly feasible. . . . Tho the A. F. of L. hierarchy is hopelessly reactionary, it still has a mass following. The theory of capturing masses of workers 'from below', thru abuse of their leaders, has never worked. The working class, like every other gained only thru education. . . The C.I.O. can get the masses of American labor by its services to labor . . . [The C.I.O. must] play a shrewd game of peace as against an indiscriminate game of war against the A. F. of L. .

"And, finally, the C.I.O. must continue to organize without letup; and it must concentrate its energies in the great mass-production, distribution and public-service fields.

"[If all these things are done] then It Can't Happen Here. Otherwise—anything may happen.'

NLRB Bids Rehire Strikers

In a decision of vast significance, last week ordered the Republic Steel Corporation to offer reinstatement to about 5,000 employes who went on strike in six Ohio. plants in May 1937.

The order directed the company to stop interfering with the formation of any labor organization, discouraging membership in the Amalgamated Association of Iron. Steel and Tin Workers or the Steel Workers Organizing Committee or in any way interfering with the rights of self-organization of employees.

In a 100,000-word decision, the

board held that unfair labor prac- wages to fourteen others. the National Labor Relations Board tises by the corporation caused its employees to join the "little steel" walk-out.

> The thousands who went out on strike will not, however, get backpay for the time elapsed since the strike, board spokesmen explained.

The decision specifically instructed the corporation to do these things:

1. Pay remedial wages to any striker who is not given a job, or placed upon a preferential rehiring list, within five days after he applies for reemployment.

2. Reinstate twelve employees with back-pay and award back

3. Pay employees for earnings lost as a result of lockouts at the Canton Tin Plate Mill and Massillon Works.

4. Disestablish as collective-bargaining agencies the company unions in the plants at Massillon, Canton, Youngstown, Warren and Cleveland.

TERTAIN Southern lumber mills are shutting down in order to escape of wage-hour law. . . . In Arkansas they say can't pay \$11 for a 44-hour week. . . . They pay some men \$9 a week for 60 hours of work .. or 15 cents an hour.... 1,401 Western Union boys in N. Y. C. average 81/2 cents an hour.

Domestic Workers Seek Reform

By ERNEST CALLOWAY

Chicago, Ill. REATLY dissatisfied with the present structure of social and Chicago, it is estimated that 52,000 labor legislation, the organized domestic workers of Chicago are ployment in the various homes ployment in the various homes existing legislation with the hope of abolishing the "domestic-employment" exclusion clauses found in New Deal labor legislation.

The recent formation of the Committee on Legislation for Household Employment by the Chicago Domestic Workers Association is considered the final step in the direction of bringing this situation to the attention of the legislative law and Washington has enacted a bodies of the state. The legislative committee is now making a study in the field and a report is being planned for a city-wide conference some time this fall.

The committee announced recently that a conference had been held with officials of the Women's and Children's Department of the Illinois Department of Labor and cooperation had been extended by this agency in the collection of data for a proposed bill before the Illinois State Legislature.

Approximately three million women are employed as domestic workers thruout the country. In thruout the city. For this work, the average wage is reported to be \$8.00 per week for approximately 72 hours of work. While various state legislatures have occasionally discussed this problem, only a few have passed protective legislation for domestic workers, notably, Wisconsin and Washington. Wisconsin maintains a minimum-wage maximum-hour bill.

The Chicago Committee on Legislation for Household Employment is composed of Miss Annetta Dieckman, Metropolitan Industrial Secretary of the Y.M.C.A.; Zedric T. Braden, attorney; Charles W. Burton, chairman of the Chicago Council of the National Negro Congress; Miss Ilse Traumann, secretary of the Domestic Workers Association; Miss Neva Ryan, president of the D.W.A.; Mrs. Viola Jackson and Mrs. Anna Shust.

Union to Discuss Policies of A.L.P.

A forum on the "Present Policies of the American Labor Party" will be held Thursday, October 27, at 6 P. M., by the Knitgoods Workers Union. The speakers are H. Rogoff, associate editor of the Jewish Daily Forward; D. Benjamin, of the editorial board of the Workers Age; and A. Levenstein, former editor of the Socialist Call. The symposium will be held at the headquarters of the union, 765 Broadway, Brooklyn.

In addition to forums, the other educational activities of the union are in full swing. Classes are being offered to union members in public speaking, principles of unionism, war and fascism, parliamentary procedure, I.L.G.W.U. structure and functioning, English for beginners, and current events.

The Educational Department of the union has also organized mandolin groups, basketball and gym activities and shop theatre parties

Stay In Washburn Case

Lansing, Mich.

Attorneys for Lester E. Washburn, executive board member and regional director of the United Automobile Workers of America, obtained a stay of proceedings from the State Supreme Court with intention of appealing Washburn's conviction for illegal picketing to the United States Supreme Court

Washburn was leader of Lansing's famed "labor holiday" in March 1937. He was convicted under an old statute for "interfering" with the right of workmen to go to their jobs. The State Supreme Court upheld the conviction.

Dress Union Pushes

(Continued from Page 1) measures. Minkoff last year was leader of the A.L.P. delegation.

In both 5th A.D., Bronx and 16th A.D., Kings, where Minkoff and De Matteo are candidates, the Tammany machine is working diligently to mobilize its scattered forces and achieve victory where last year they met with overwhelming defeat.

The Flynn organization in the Bronx and the Sutherland-Morrasco combine in Kings have started active campaigning weeks in advance of the customary time in their efforts to defeat the two A.L. P. assemblymen.

At a recent executive board meeting, Local 22 appointed a special committee of business agents and board members to lead the campaign activities of Local 22 members in the 5th A.D. Special

A.L.P. Election Drive district, leaflets will be printed and distributed and every dressmaker in the district will be canvassed. Loca 22 will run a huge election rally for its members during the last week of October in a downtown hall, probably the Hippodrome.

John Gelo, assistant-manager of Local 89, is campaign manager for De Matteo. Local 89 officers and members are also taking leading parts and bearing the brunt of work in the campaigns of Peter Bonanno, Salvatore Bonanno and Anthony Calace. All Joint Board candidates have been participants in the labor movement for many years and without exception they have served with distinction

SUBSCRIBE TO THE WORKERS AGE