

At First Glance

By Jay Lovestone

It is still too early to evaluate fully the outcome of the last elections. Two factors are, however, very clear even at this writing. The consequences of Munich and the effects of disunity in the ranks of labor have borne their fruit. The fact of the matter is that the Republican gains have actually exceeded the hopes their campaign managers really entertained when the election campaign started.

Take the case of the gubernatorial elections in New York. Hitler's triumph at Munich has let loose terrific stimuli to all reactionary forces. It has especially stimulated anti-Semitism as a most virulent expression of darkest reaction. Here is the primary cause for Governor Lehman running behind his ticket instead of ahead as in the past. While this influence, tremendously enhanced by the Hitler-Chamberlain alliance at Munich, was most clearly manifested in New York State, it undoubtedly revealed itself less obviously yet substantially in other states.

Disunity in the ranks of labor is often an invisible force paralyzing the mood and activities of individual workers as well as organizations of labor. We are confident that a careful analysis of the final figures will confirm our conclusion that labor has paid a very heavy price on the political field as a result of the today entirely unnecessary and utterly impermissible war between the A. F. of L. and the C.I.O.

ANGLO-AMERICAN RELATIONS

ANGLO-American relations will, in the coming months, assume most vital importance. This will be due not to the visit of the King. In fact, the very visit of British royalty is but a move in a whole series of maneuvers occasioned by fundamental economic forces. And we would be much surprised if Chamberlain, the "hero of Munich," does not visit Washington in the coming months.

What is it all about? Why this epidemic of junkets? We have entered a new epoch. Germany, today very much less of a "have-not" imperialist power, is precisely for that reason still more hungry for loot. Hitler's empire will soon run from the Baltic to the Black Sea in Europe. In Asia, German imperialism has much more of a commercial entente with the Mikado's Mitsuis than most realize. Wall Street has cause for the jitters because of Nazi competition in Latin America. Hankow and Munich are ominous mileposts of Washington imperialism.

British imperialist strategy, in this acute conflict for the redivision of the world and its markets, is to preserve what it has pilfered yesterday by giving away something from some one else's domains today and, if need be, tomorrow. In this sense, Britain would not mind, for some time at any rate, to see Germany advance at the expense of dollar imperialism. It would appear that Lombard Street is now playing to depreciate the pound below \$4.50 and to bring Germany into the Anglo-American trade pact. The game here is to cheat American business out of some of the advantages that were supposed to accrue to the United States magnates as a result of this pact. Hagglings over these matters has delayed the signing of this treaty. Obviously, the dollar and the pound are no loving cousins in matters that really count for them—bigger checks and better balances.

We have a hunch that Chamberlain

(Continued on Page 2)

Workers Age

A PAPER DEFENDING THE INTERESTS OF WORKERS AND FARMERS

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5c a Copy

Pogroms Hit Reich Jews

Anti-Semitic Terrorism Incited By Nazi Officialdom

An anti-Jewish terror campaign of unparalleled ferocity was let loose last week by the Nazi authorities in Germany and Austria on the pretext of reprisal for the assassination of a minor German diplomat in Paris by a Jewish youth. Hundreds of shops were looted and homes broken into, thousands of men, women and children brutally attacked and beaten, many millions of dollars of property destroyed, by bands of hooligans incited and organized by Nazi headquarters. The pogroms that swept the Third Reich were by far the worst and most savage since the old anti-Jewish outbreaks in Czarist Russia and probably surpassed even these in savagery.

In public declarations to representatives of the foreign press, Propaganda Minister Goebbels pretended that the riots were "spontaneous" but brazenly condoned and justified them. The German government took the occasion to issue a series of sweeping decrees:

The "German Jews in their entirety" are subjected to a penalty in the form of a money fine of a billion marks" (\$400,000,000). Jews must pay for all damage

done to any Jewish property in the anti-Semitic riots, while insurance claims by German Jews for damage done by Nazi rioters are to be confiscated by the state.

Jews are to be barred, after January 1, from conducting any retail-business, mail-order and commission houses and independent handicraft enterprises.

Jews are to be excluded from theatres, movie houses, concerts and public presentations.

Jews are to be segregated into ghettos in the principal cities of Germany.

The terroristic outbreaks in Germany aroused widespread protest and indignation throughout the civilized world, particularly in the United States and Great Britain.

TOTALITARIAN YEARNINGS

FROM the United States News, October 31 issue: "More than one high government official is expressing admiration for the way totalitarian governments get results when confronted with a political or an economic problem that requires action. An increased official impatience is being expressed over the slowness with which this government operates."

GOP Scores Big In the Elections

But Labor Makes Good Showing In California, New York And Connecticut; A.L.P. Vote 420,000

The Republicans scored heavy gains throughout the country in the elections last week, marking a definite swing to the right in national politics. At the same time, in such

states as New York, California and Connecticut, labor forces made a good showing that changed the general picture somewhat.

Republican Gains

The Republican gains can best be summarized as follows. In the Senate, where they had 15 seats, they will now have 23; in the House, they will increase their present membership of 90 to about 170, a gain of 80 or more; in the country as a whole, where they had 7 governors, they will have 19. The new Congress will therefore have the following political complexion: Senate—Democrats, 68; Republicans, 23; Farmer-Labor, 2; Progressives, 1; Independent Republican, 1; still doubtful, 1; House—Democrats, 259; Republicans, 168; Progressives, 2; still doubtful, 4. Thus, a coalition of Republicans and conservative Democrats would have a majority in either house.

The states that swung over to the Republican side on November 8 are: Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Ohio, Michigan, Wisconsin, Minnesota, Iowa, Kansas, Colorado, Wyoming, Idaho and Oregon.

The most important results of elections in the various states are:

Results In New York

In NEW YORK, the entire statewide Democratic ticket carried, although Governor Lehman was reelected by a plurality of only 67,506. The American Labor Party, whose ticket was headed by Governor Lehman, polled 341,000 votes for him, several times over the Governor's slim majority. The A.L.P. was also responsible for the election of Lieutenant-Governor Poletti, giving him over 341,000 votes, whereas his majority was only something over 254,000. But the real strength of the A.L.P. was shown in the vote for its independent state-wide candidates—O'Leary, running for attorney-general, and Langdon Post, for controller. Although they had both Democratic and Republican rivals to contend with and only independent labor support to rely upon, they both ran way ahead of their ticket, the former getting over 420,000 votes and the latter over 396,000. The A.L.P. did exceptionally well upstate, where O'Leary received over 77,000 votes. Most of the local candidates of the A.L.P. ran very strong, despite unusual difficulties.

Nevertheless, the A.L.P. lost all five assemblymen it had elected in 1937. This was due primarily to the very effective work of the Tammany machine in bringing to the polls thousands of voters who last year did not vote at all. The special interest attaching to the Lehman candidacy in view of the racial and religious issues raised operated in the same direction.

One A.L.P. congressman, Vito Marcantonio, and one A.L.P. assemblyman, Oscar Garcia-Rivera, were elected.

The Socialist Party, running Norman Thomas for governor, gathered only 35,000 votes, a marked decline from previous years, losing

(Continued on Page 2)

A.L.P. Leaders on The Elections

ON the day following the elections, Alex Rose, state secretary of the American Labor Party issued the following official statement:

ALEX ROSE'S STATEMENT

"In the face of the conservative trend throughout the country, we regard the part played by the American Labor Party in the New York State elections as of great historical importance. The total vote of the party in New York State, which will be almost 410,000, was sufficient to assure the reelection of Governor Lehman and Robert F.

(Continued on Page 2)

The ALP in the Election

an editorial

THE American Labor Party, undoubtedly suffered a severe setback in the elections on November 8. There was a marked decline in its total vote as against last year. The five A.L.P. Assemblymen were defeated and a number of other candidates whose chances were thought to be especially bright, failed of election. These and other facts are apparent and must be the starting-point of our analysis.

Real A.L.P. Strength

But the picture is neither as one-sided nor as unmitigated as may appear at first sight. If the total A.L.P. vote this year fell as compared with last year, it was still considerably higher than in 1936, a presidential year. Two years ago, the A.L.P. polled a top vote of 275,000; last year, the LaGuardia vote on the A.L.P. ticket was 482,000. This year, O'Leary, independent A.L.P. candidate for attorney-general, running against both a Democrat and a Republican, polled over 420,000 votes throughout the state. Especially gratifying is the upstate showing, where O'Leary's 75,000 votes represent a substantial basis for future growth. Even on the strength of the election returns this year, therefore, the A.L.P. still remains a powerful force in New York politics.

The thing to do now is not to give way to momentary impressions, engage in useless recrimination or seek to justify some pet prejudice. The thing to do is to keep a level head and analyze the results with a view to uncovering the factors that operated this year. The situation as a whole is still far from clear, but undoubtedly

ly the A.L.P. was caught in the sweep to the right that seems to have been the outstanding feature of the elections throughout the country. At the same time, the A.L.P.-Republican arrangement did not find much justification at the polls: the Republican leaders either could not or would not deliver the goods, at least to a degree to ensure election.

An even more important factor in comparing the results this year with those of last is the different position of the A.L.P. in respect to its leading candidate. Last year, it headed its ticket with LaGuardia, a very popular figure, while the Democrats put forward Mahoney, who was certainly no drawing card. Many thousands of liberal Democrats and Republicans must have voted for LaGuardia under the A.L.P. emblem. This year, Lehman headed both the Democratic and A.L.P. tickets and good sections of these liberal voters either voted for Lehman on the Democratic ticket or else swung to Dewey. That this factor operated strongly in the elections becomes clear from a study of the returns. Equally clear is it that the rush to vote for Lehman among large sections of the voting population in New York City was so great that little discrimination was made as between the tickets on which he was running, obviously to the benefit of the Democrats.

The Decisive Factor

But, in our opinion, the most decisive factor and the one to which the A.L.P. has devoted altogether too little attention, is the question of political organization. Last year, the Democrats not only had an unpopular leading candidate, but, es-

pecially in the elections for the Assembly, they were caught napping. They did not expect the A.L.P. to show such strength, nor for that matter did anyone else, and they were not fully prepared for what happened. This year, the machine was mobilized full force and put to work at top efficiency, and the results show it. Take the case of the 5th Assembly District, Bronx. The incumbent, Nathaniel M. Minkoff, A.L.P. leader in the Assembly during the 1938 session, lost by 728 votes out of a total of over 31,500. Yet Minkoff actually increased his vote over last year by a thousand. But Gans, the Tammany candidate, increased his by over 4,500. More than that; the Democratic machine called to its assistance the Republican outfit in the Bronx, which is no more than a Tammany under-cover agency and lives solely by its grace and patronage. Just about a thousand of last year's 3,000 Republican votes were thrown to Gans this election. In addition, the Democratic machine was able to bring out the vote, to bring out the voters who ordinarily stay away from the polls, and that is why it scored.

Practical political organization is a very weak point with the A.L.P. Such organization does not begin a week or a month before election day and is not limited to election agitation, speeches and literature. It is an all-year-round affair and involves a tremendous amount of hard, patient work of a rather undramatic character. But it is work that has to be done. The old parties depend on patronage for the driving power behind their political machines. In its place, the A.L.P. must draw upon the idealism and devotion of its membership, but

(Continued on Page 3)

At First Glance

(Continued from Page 1)

lain is trying to manoeuvre Germany into the Anglo-American trade agreement. He would have Hitler take our wheat and cotton and supply England with certain chemicals and electrical machinery. He hopes to avoid certain disagreements with the colonies by settling with the United States on the basis of her exports to Germany. Hitler's finance expert, Funk, will probably visit Washington to prepare the ground for, or put the finishing touches on Chamberlain's efforts.

We may expect Roosevelt to give a royal welcome to King George and Chamberlain—and right after that take vigorous steps to counteract the trade advantages that Britain hopes to get from an agreement with the United States. Further devaluation of the dollar—it will, of course, be called revaluation—is therefore more probable in the near future. The battle for world trade looms large. Hence, the prospects for a "bigger and better" world war loom ever larger.

STALIN NEVER FAILS

STALIN has never had a trial in the Soviet Union for some time. That does not mean that he has not been liquidating many potential questioners and critics in the Russian Communist Party thru his now world-infamous technique.

No doubt the U.S.S.R. is confronted with a grave situation. The Stalin foreign policy, rooted in the world's most ghastly fraud—"collective security" as a guarantee of peace—has collapsed miserably. Because of the People's Front policy, the French Communist Party, that blooming weed of the Comintern, is now in desperate straits. Some changes have to be made. In the Stalin manual, this calls for some scapegoats. Of course, "Stalin never fails" since he never can make a mistake. Those who might think otherwise are the ones who make the mistake of their life—by paying with their life.

All of which leads us to raise the question of the likelihood of more typical Stalin trials soon breaking out in the Soviet Union. If, as it is likely, a break is to be made with the pro-French orientation and if

Committee Asks Release Of Blackwell from Spain

Anti-Fascist Militant Framed-Up By Stalinists

By JERRY KANE

NEW YORK CITY. Mrs. Edna Blackwell, accompanied by Liston Oak of Russell Negrete Blackwell Defense Committee, visited the State Department in Washington last week to make further inquiry as to the fate of her husband, Russell Negrete Blackwell, a veteran American anti-fascist, now being held in a Barcelona jail by the Loyalist government of Spain on framed-up charges of "treason" and "espionage." Prior to his arrest, Black-

well had fought for some months in the Loyalist army.

The latest charge against Blackwell is that he is a "Trotskyite element sent to Spain to promote the counter-revolution in combination with North American authorities." This "information" was given by a C.N.T. committee investigating the case in Blackwell's behalf.

This charge, coupled with others such as that he is a "Gestapo agent (Nazi) and an Ovra agent (Italian fascist)" and that he consorted with such "fascists" as "Fennei Brockway, secretary of the British I.L.P., James Maxton, M.P., and Walter Schwartz of the I.C.O.," shows the farcical character of the whole affair.

In Washington, Eric Wendelin, foreign-service officer at the State Department, told Mrs. Blackwell that the American charge d'affaires at Barcelona had just sent word that the Spanish authorities had promised to "look into the case."

The Blackwell Defense Committee is composed of a number of prominent liberals as well as representatives of such labor organizations as the Social-Democratic Federation, the Socialist Party and the I.L.L.A. Maximilian Olay, C.N.T. representative in the United States, is active on behalf of Blackwell. He has cabled to Spain assuring that Blackwell is not a spy but is a "person of integrity, well-known in revolutionary circles."

For this reason, let no one be shocked if, in the months ahead of us, that beloved "Big Father" of the Russian people, the "Infallible Joseph," stages a trial of Bolsheviks like Dubnov and Meschlauk to dramatize with blood and lead his change of foreign policy.

And lest we forget, not so long ago the French Communist Party cried on the streets of Paris: "Dadler in power." Its cry was heard by the overlords of French finance and industry. This cry was answered favorably. The Communist Party consequently scored a great victory thru the People's Front. Dadler did come into power. Dadler is in power—and French labor is ever more powerless as a result. Dadler's fascist gangsters have already attacked the Communist Party headquarters with impunity. That's the way it starts. Other labor organizations will be the next targets. New vicious controls over industry, that is over labor, entirely totalitarian in character, are soon to be rushed thru while maintaining the outward form of parliamentary democracy. Who can, after all this, find any need for questioning Stalin's infallibility? "Stalin never fails!"

there is to be even the slightest move in the direction of a rapprochement with Germany, then surely some French spies and agents will have to be fabricated in order to be liquidated. We must remember that, in the halcyon period of the Franco-Soviet pact, there "logically" was no one accused of being a spy for French imperialism.

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G. O. P. SCORES BIG IN THE ELECTIONS

(Continued from Page 1)

its official standing on the ballot. Isaiel Amter, running for congressman-at-large on the Communist Party ticket, received about 100,000 votes thruout the state, a considerable increase for his party.

Defeat In Michigan

In MICHIGAN, the forces of labor received a disastrous blow in the defeat of Governor Frank Murphy by the Republican candidate, Frank Fitzgerald. The chief issue in the campaign was Governor Murphy's friendliness to labor and his refusal to suppress sit-down strikes by force and bloodshed.

McLevy In Connecticut

In CONNECTICUT, Jasper McLevy, socialist, running for governor on an independent labor ticket made a remarkable showing, receiving 163,933, as against the 225,316 for the Democratic and 227,572 for the Republican candidates.

In The Far West

In CALIFORNIA, Culbert L. Olson, Democratic candidate for governor, and Sheridan Downey, Democratic candidate for senator, were elected by big majorities. Olson had promised to free Tom Mooney as soon as he would occupy the governor's chair. Another welcome result was also the defeat by a heavy "no" vote of the initiative proposal to regulate unions and restrict labor activities. The "\$30-every-Thursdays" pension plan was also defeated.

In WASHINGTON, a union-smashing initiative proposal similar to that in California was also defeated. But in OREGON the same kind of measure seems to have carried at the polls.

In MINNESOTA, Governor Benson, Farmer-Laborite, was defeated by Harold Stassen, Republican. In WISCONSIN, Governor LaFollette, Progressive, was defeated by his Republican opponent, Julius Heil.

Read the editorial on the 1938 elections on page 4.—Editor.)

Vindication!

WE have just received the following information from Barcelona:

"The judgment of the court in the Barcelona trial of the P.O.U.M. leaders declares that the P.O.U.M.ists are 'sincere anti-fascists' and not 'traitors' as charged in the indictment, dismisses the charges of 'espionage' against them and finds them guilty only of 'revolt against governmental authority' in connection with the so-called Barcelona 'uprising' in May 1937."

ALP Leaders on Elections

Alex Rose And Antonini Issue Statements

(Continued from Page 1)

Wagner and the election of Charles Poletti and James M. Mead.

"While we are disappointed in the total vote of the American Labor Party in the City of New York, we must take into account the following fact: that the Labor Party's campaign in the last few weeks was concentrated on the reelection of Governor Lehman and that a great many people voted emotionally and failed to discriminate between our party line and that of the Democratic party, which has the mechanical advantage of being first on the voting machine.

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Read the editorial on the 1938 elections on page 4.—Editor.)

"Alluding to the American Labor Party's support of liberal Republicans in last year's municipal elections, Mr. Antonini pointed out that there was a vast difference between local elections where only the issue of clean government was involved and state and national elections where the New Deal itself was at stake.

"No party professing adherence to the New Deal could support candidates associated with the party and philosophy of Mr. Hoover and possibly retain the support it had built up by opposition to that party and philosophy," Mr. Antonini said.

"Mr. Antonini predicted that the lessons of the past election would cement the Labor Party's ties with the New Deal. He expressed doubt that there would ever be a repetition of the party's dealings with the Republican organization."

(Read the editorial on the A.L.P. in the elections on page 1.—Editor.)

The Stalin Purges

will be discussed by
Bertram D. Wolfe
in a lecture-critique
of

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Stalinites in the A.L.P.

C.P. Strives to Destroy Labor Party for Popular Front

By ROBERT WALTERS.

FOR some months now, active members of the American Labor Party have been noticing and commenting upon the peculiar role of the Stalinites in the A.L.P. On the one hand, the Communist Party just falls head over heels in its protestations of love for the A.L.P.; sometimes, its protestations are even too loud and enthusiastic for the comfort of the A.L.P.ers. But on the other hand, there are multiply-ing signs of a curious aloofness in the attitude of the C.P. as well as certain actions on its part that do not gibe with its official protestations. The whole matter became particularly clear during the recent election campaign.

In all of the official Stalinist election propaganda, there was a curious hesitation to come out for the A.L.P. ticket in just so many words. Take the card handed out by the New York State Committee of the Communist Party. What does it tell the voter to do? First, to pull the Amter lever so as to register a vote for the official C.P. candidate for congressman-at-large. Then to "vote for other candidates that stand for labor and progress." Just this and nothing more. Not for the A.L.P. and Row C, mind you, but just generally, for those that "stand for labor and progress," exactly what this means we will see a little later.

Take the Daily Worker of November 7. On page 5, there is a box, headed: "How to Vote." Again the same story: "Pull the Amter lever . . . for congressman-at-large. . . Then, go ahead and vote for labor and progressive candidates by pulling the levers by their names."

The International Workers Order, a Stalinist-controlled fraternal society, sends out a notice to its members advising them how to vote. Again, first Amter and then "labor and progressive candidates." But no A.L.P.!

Why This "Non-Partisanship"? Why this curiously "non-partisan" attitude? Surely not out of any desire to avoid "compromising" the A.L.P., for, when it suits their purpose, the Stalinites have exhibited no such scruples. The real cause can be seen by taking concrete examples.

The elections in the 17th Congressional District, Manhattan, were of national importance because in that district, Bruce Barton, one of the possibilities as Republican candidate for President in 1940, was making a bid for reelection. The fight was a three-cornered one: facing Barton were Walter Liebman, Democrat, and George Backer, A.L.P. What the Stalinites did in this most important situation is now an open scandal; they deliberately and almost openly knifed Backer, the A.L.P. candidate! On the one hand, a vicious whispering campaign of the most despicable sort was let loose against Backer and his campaign

"The loud little handful, as usual, will shout for the war. The pulpit will, warily and cautiously, object—at first; the great, big, dull bulk of the nation will rub its sleepy eyes and try to make out why there should be a war, and will say, earnestly and indignantly: 'It is unjust and dishonorable and there is no necessity for it' "

"Then the handful will shout louder. A few fair men on the other side will argue and reason against the war with speech and pen, and at first will have a hearing and be applauded, but it will not last long; those others will outshout them, and presently the anti-war audiences will thin out and lose popularity.

"Before long you will see a

such People's Front. As far back as last March, the Daily Worker made an editorial plea that the ranks of the A.L.P. should be thrown open to elements who are still members of the old parties and who remain such. "If honest persons are to be barred from the A.L.P. merely because they are still Democrats or Republicans," the Stalinist sheet declared on March 2, "it would mean narrowing down the organization . . . "

That gives the whole game away! The Communist Party is out for a People's Front in America, of the kind that has brought such disaster in France and Spain. And, if the A.L.P. is going to stand in the way of such a People's Front by insisting on its independent working-class character, then the Stalinites will knife it and stab it in the back. That's the secret of the crooked Stalinist election policy.

The Workers Alliance, thoro-ly Stalinist-controlled, holds a demonstration on Columbus Circle on November 5, a few days before election. Who is a prominent speaker at this demonstration? Who else but Walter Liebman? The Democratic politician, against whom the A.L.P. is fighting, is recommended to the unemployed for support! What is this but deliberate knifing of the A.L.P.?

It may not be without significance to note that Walter Liebman is the law partner of Lee Pressman, one of the Stalinist errand-boys in C.I.O. headquarters. An appeal urging support for Liebman was sent to every voter in the district on the letterhead of Lee Pressman's law firm.

The 17th Congressional District is only one example. There are many others to which we will refer in future issues of this paper. But the point is already clear.

The C.P. Against The Labor Party

Fundamentally, the Communist Party is in principle against a labor party, against the independent political organization of labor on a class basis. Its attitude is the direct opposite. It stands for a Popular Front, that is, for a sort of all-class or non-class hodge-podge, with the workers trailing behind the "liberal" politicians. The Stalinites have always advocated dissolving the A.L.P. into some

Mark Twain on War Hysteria

FROM Mark Twain's "The Mysterious Stranger," we take the following graphic description of the birth of jingoist hysteria in war time:

"The loud little handful, as usual, will shout for the war. The pulpit will, warily and cautiously, object—at first; the great, big, dull bulk of the nation will rub its sleepy eyes and try to make out why there should be a war, and will say, earnestly and indignantly: 'It is unjust and dishonorable and there is no necessity for it' "

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Why Such Hypocrisy?

IN the September-October issue of the Socialist Review, Frank N. Trager writes:

"But today every section of the political leadership of the union (United Automobile Workers.—Editor.), with the honorable exception of the socialists, is plumping for the Democrat Murphy. Murphy has the support of Homer Martin and the Stalinists. The Lovestonites go along. But our party has nominated a full socialist slate despite the pull to go along with Murphy."

Frank N. Trager has been sadly misinformed about the success with which the Socialist Party and its spokesmen have withstood the pull to go along with Murphy. Trager will be surprised to find his party comrade, Walter Reuther, on the labor committee sponsoring the reelection of Frank Murphy. A further shock is in store for Trager if he examines the Novem-

ber 5 issue of the United Automobile Worker—Conveyor Edition. While the regular U.A.W. paper, consistent with union policy, calls for support of Governor Murphy only, and no other Democratic candidate, the Conveyor Edition, issued by the West Side Local, of which Walter Reuther is president, calls for the election of Murphy and of all others "in the Democratic column."

Will the holier-than-thou socialists please explain this amazing phenomenon? While they are at this business of explaining, they might also state briefly why it is that their campaign in Michigan for their own S.P. ticket smacked so much of the type of electioneering the Stalinists conducted during the 1936 presidential campaign when they put up Browder, but actually campaigned for Roosevelt. Doesn't the whole thing smack somewhat of hypocrisy and double-dealing?

Crisis in Palestine

Jewish-Arab Labor Solidarity Is The Only Way Out

By FENNER BROCKWAY

LONDON, England. AS I begin in this article, the wireless booms out an ultimatum from the Arab Committee of Defence to the Jews in Palestine: "Your attitude will create for you and all Jews in the East the worst of calamities so far written in history."

The position in Palestine is for the socialist one of the most tragic of the many tragedies in the world today. It is so because our sympathies are pulled to both Arabs and Jews.

I had in my office the other day an Arab worker who was impatient because he had been advised from Palestine to remain in this country. He wanted to take part in the struggle for national independence against British imperialism.

The same day I had had a letter from Jewish socialists in Palestine. They gave me the names of fifteen socialists who had been assassinated. These included comrades who had a fine record in the anti-fascist struggle in Europe and who were as anti-imperialist as any Arab.

During these last few weeks, I have been having talks with Jews and Arabs with the object of trying to find a basis of workers unity. We shall continue the discussion at a meeting of the International

British Trickery

The real issue is not between Arabs and Jews. It is between the workers and peasants of both peoples against British imperialism. British imperialism has used first the Jews against the Arabs and then the Arabs against the Jews, on the principle of "divide and rule."

The promise to the Jews of a national home in Palestine was given partly to win their support in the war of 1914-18 and partly to provide an excuse for a British sphere of influence.

A considerable portion of the Jewish population in Palestine has not been ready to act as robots of imperialism. Whilst the Zionist capitalist leaders and the reformist leaders of the Labor Party have served that purpose, socialist and anti-imperialist ideas introduced by working-class refugees from European persecution have had the opposite result. Jewish trade unions, cooperatives and higher wage standards have had their effect on the Arab workers and peasants. They have been feared not only by British imperialism and Jewish capitalism, but by Arab feudal lords and capitalists and by the Arab religious leaders.

Unfortunately, tho in this stage of development naturally, the Arab nationalist movement is led by the feudal lords, religious patriarchs and "intellectuals." The Arab peasants and workers are not organized on any scale on a class basis and their poverty and illiteracy have so far prevented them from throwing up leaders of influence. The most that can be said, and it is a hopeful most, is that, in many of the villages, the nationalist renaissance is finding expression in a desire for education and higher standards of life.

An Inter-Racial Policy

It is inevitable that the Arab people, under the surge of their growing passion for national independence, should resent the imposition of a Jewish state in their midst by British imperialism. Jewish socialists must recognize this more than they do. They may seek to build up Jewish-Arab unity, but they must face the fact taught by all history that they will

Enlarged Buro in Paris at the end of October, when representatives of Jewish Left socialists in Palestine and of colonial workers organizations will be present. The task of finding a basis of unity is difficult, but few tasks are more important at this moment.

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A Bloody Joke!

FROM the New York Daily News of October 26: "DETROIT BENCHES COLORED PLAYER "Raleigh, N. C., Oct. 25— Coach Doc Newton of N. C. State College said today that James McMillan, colored end of the Detroit U. team, would not play against State here. November 12, Newton said he had received the following letter from Coach Gus Dorais of Detroit.

"I have your letter regarding our colored boy and I think I appreciate your attitude in the matter. I will make arrangements to get somebody else ready to play his position."

In other words, McMillan, colored member of the Detroit University team, is to be barred from the game because the "Southern chivalry" of North Carolina State College are too race-proud to associate with a Negro, even on the football field.

And it is in America that such a cry was raised to boycott the Olympics in Germany because of Hitler's policy of race discrimination against the Jews. What a bloody joke!

fail if they have a national aim which conflicts with the national aims of the population among whom they reside. The object of making Palestine a Jewish state is not compatible with the object of making Palestine a workers socialist republic in which Arabs and Jews will be equals.

If the policy of uniting Jewish and Arab workers and peasants is to be carried thru successfully, a political movement must be built up which is interracial and which is entirely independent of both Arab feudal leadership and the Jewish Zionist Organization. It must be constructed on a class basis with absolute equality between Jewish and Arab workers striving for the common rights of the workers and peasants of both races and fighting any racial discrimination regarding opportunity to work and wages.

Socialist Solidarity

I am aware, as I write, of the difficulties. I can see those Jewish workers settlements with searchlights on the neighboring hills guarding against a sudden Arab raid. Nevertheless, the Jewish socialists must demonstrate over the racial antagonism which now exists their solidarity with the Arab workers and peasants in their looking towards a better standard of life and in their bitter opposition

(Continued on Page 5)

WORKERS AGE

Organ of the National Council, Independent Labor League of America, 131 West 33rd St., New York City.

Vol. 7. November 19, 1938 No. 47

THE ELECTIONS

MARKED swing to the right, a swing away from the Democratic party among the electorate and a swing away from the New Deal wing within the Democratic party, is the most striking and significant feature of the recent elections throughout the country.

It is still too early to venture a full analysis of the situation. It is already clear, however, that behind the conservative swing at the polls there was a definite political shift in the middle-class group of the population.

The Administration is rapidly losing its standing with the middle-class groups throughout the country. Its agricultural policy is a hopeless failure.

If the Administration could not hold the allegiance of the middle-class masses, neither could labor win it and thus save them from reaction.

Finally, there is good reason to believe that a certain uneasiness among wide sections of the people with the Administration's foreign policy and war preparations, played its part as well.

It would be futile at the present time to attempt any adequate estimate of the profound and far-reaching consequences of the recent elections.

On the other hand, there can be little doubt that, regardless of what move Roosevelt himself may make, the trend in Washington will very likely be in a conservative direction.

For labor, the election results have certain bright spots—for example, the defeat of the union-smashing proposal in California and the election of Culbert

A Big Responsibility

THE C.I.O. convention faces a very grave responsibility. Whatever opinion one may have as to the wisdom of calling a constitutional convention of the C.I.O. at this time, now that the convention has been called, it can contribute to the welfare of the labor movement by taking vigorous action in two directions:

I.L.G.W.U. and C.I.O.

Garment Union Decides To Remain Independent

URGING the immediate reunification of the labor movement, the General Executive Board of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union, an organization of 275,000 workers, unanimously decided last week at its session in Washington, to "remain an independent union [unaffiliated with either the A.F. of L. or the C.I.O.]."

The garment-union board also declined to send delegates to the Pittsburgh C.I.O. convention on the ground that the establishment of the C.I.O. on a permanent basis as a new federation of labor would greatly multiply the obstacles to eventual labor unity.

The resolution of the board, adopted after the report of a special committee that had been appointed to plumb the possibilities of the resumption of unity negotiations, follows in full:

THE RESOLUTION

"The I.L.G.W.U. on October 14 received a call from the C.I.O. inviting it to send delegates to a convention in the city of Pittsburgh. In this call, the convention is designated as 'the First Constitutional Convention for the purpose of forming a permanent organization.' This call for a national convention obviously creates a new situation.

Olson as governor of that state with its promise of freedom for Tom Mooney; or the record vote for governor piled up by Jasper McLevy in Connecticut on a strictly independent working-class ticket. But the defeat of Governor Murphy in Michigan, on an issue that came as close to the class struggle between labor and capital as any in American politics, is a terrific blow. In general, there is every reason to fear that the forces of employing-class reaction will immediately attempt to cash in on their political victory at the polls by launching a new and intensified drive against the trade-union movement—a drive for the destruction of labor's rights of self-organization and collective bargaining through the revision of the Wagner Act; a drive to outlaw the sit-down strike and militant labor action; a drive to force governmental control and regulation of some sort on the labor movement. Under the present circumstances, it is hardly likely that the Administration will be in a position to stand in the way of such a program.

It cannot be said that labor

"The I.L.G.W.U. is one of the original founders of the C.I.O. Our union has always realized the vital need for an industrial union basis for the mass-production industries. It hailed the formation of the C.I.O. as a driving force in this great organizing movement and has contributed unstintingly and unsparingly of effort and money to its progress.

"The C.I.O., from the day of its formation, has been viewed by our union as an organizing committee which has undertaken a definite task to organize the workers in the mass production industries. Neither in its early, formative period, nor during its period of growth and expansion did our union countenance the thought or proposal of the C.I.O. as a dual organization.

"It is well to recall, at this point, that immediately after we launched the C.I.O. together with several other unions, our General Executive Board, in commenting on the original objectives of the committee, in December, 1935, declared as follows:

"Favoring as we do a change in the method of organization in the mass-production industries and realizing that greater and more effective results could be achieved only by joint action, we have joined the Committee for Industrial Organization and our union will give this committee every support as long as it adheres to the purposes originally outlined by it."

"To this basic policy our union has clung thruout its affiliation with the C.I.O. and this policy has been time and again upheld by the deliberative bodies of our union. The traditions and the decisions of the I.L.G.W.U. have always been

played any very outstanding or effective role in the elections, in marked contrast to the situation last year and the year before. This is probably due primarily to the split in the trade-union movement, which has dissipated and virtually paralyzed labor's strength on the political field and made possible the suicidal spite-strategy of the A. F. of L. officialdom. But responsible also is the policy of indiscriminate fusion with the Democrats along Popular Front lines that Labor's Non-Partisan League went in for in certain sections of the country, especially where Stalinist influence was pronounced.

The election results are a challenge and a warning to the labor movement. New Deal Democracy is already a broken reed, upon which the workers can no longer rely, if indeed they ever could. Today, the watchword must be: labor unity— independent labor political action—a serious, well-planned effort to convince the middle-class masses that their place is side by side with the workers in the fight against employing-class reaction!

Talking It Over:

Art in Soviet Union

By Bertram D. Wolfe

HAVING jailed Director Gerasimovic of the Pulkovo Observatory and shot Leningrad Numeroff of the Astronomical Institute at Leningrad and removed and jailed so many "wreckers" and "traitors" of star-science that no Soviet astronomers could be sent to the recent meeting of the International Astronomical Union at Stockholm, the G.P.U. has now turned its attention to the field of Soviet art. The campaign was opened with all solemnity by Izvestia at the beginning of September. Soviet art is to be purged of "the sticky sweetness of romanticism." Painters, if they know what's good for them, are advised to imitate Michaelangelo, Titian, Leonardo da Vinci and other painters of the Renaissance. "Neither French impressionism nor post-impressionism," they are told, "nor bourgeois romanticism in the art of the French Revolution, nor the spirit of eighteenth-century painting, can harmonize with Soviet art."

Going back to the Renaissance for their models (but, of course, not for their subject-matter nor for examples of artistic courage), they must nevertheless base themselves on "new ideas, new spectacles and new beauty as the principal accessories of socialist art," with "Soviet humanism" (as exemplified in the blood-purge?) as "its basic morality."

ALL sensitive observers have wondered why the greatest social upheaval in human history has not yet produced a great art. Ironically enough, the best artistic expression of that earth-shaking event is to be found in distant Mexico in the murals of Diego Rivera, who has been accused of every crime and condemned with every curse in the Stalinist calendar.

The history of Soviet art and letters is full of examples for the working class of how not to treat its artists and writers and the artists and writers of other classes that it may inherit along with the society it takes over. In the early twenties, the futurists and abstract artists got brief factional control; then the academicians were permitted to pound the abstract artists out of Russia or out of painting; with the ultra-left political line after 1928 came the dictatorship of the R.A.A.P.; this was dissolved in 1932 and its leaders, once faithful tools of Stalinism, were purged, some of them physically, a few years later. Since 1928, exhibitions have been increasingly filled with scenes showing Stalin winning great military battles (it was necessary to paint out the memory of Trotsky's role in the creation and leadership of the Red Army); with scenes showing Lenin eagerly seeking advice from Stalin and leaning upon him (it was necessary to paint out the memory of Lenin's dying warning to the party that his "best disciple" must be removed or the party would be wrecked); with ugly, insincere, badly-executed portraits of Stalin by the thousands. The very style of depiction changed with each twist and turn of the party line: till 1934 Stalin was always stern, unsmiling, standing alone in heroic pose, the man of steel; then he began to appear as a benevolent patriarch, patting heads, kissing children, seated in the bosom of his family, smiling fixedly at all and sundry, the great humanitarian. It was at that moment that he began the purge!

SOVIET art shows the consequences of this attempt to force totalitarian dictatorship in this least amenable of fields. Art exhibitions are incredibly dreary and mediocre; architecture, which began beautifully, gets progressively worse and culminates in the costly and garish ugliness of the new subway and the plans for the Palace of the Soviets, which will be not only the tallest but beyond doubt the ugliest great skyscraper in the world.

The first blunder in dealing with the artist was perhaps pardonable, at least understandable. It was the demagogic error of flattering mass taste, forgetting that under capitalism the masses are culturally as well as economically oppressed and that their taste has to be developed by works of good art before they, in turn, can become mentors and stimuli to the artists. But, as Soviet democracy yielded to bureaucratic totalitarianism, the taste of the bureaucrat became the determinant—his taste and his

(Continued on Page 6)

Jingoism in Australia

Stalinists Call For Defense Of The British Empire

By JACK RYAN

Sydney, Australia, October 6, 1938.

RECENT events in Europe, culminating in the Munich conference and the endorsement by the so-called "democratic" powers of Hitler's annexation of Sudetenland, have had their repercussions in Australia.

The Communist Party, in line with its policy of recent years, shrieked for war and pledged its support to British imperialism. Editorially (September 30), the C.P. paper stated: "The working class in fighting Hitlerism is not fighting an imperialist war, a war of the type of 1914-18, but is defending its hard-won liberty against the most brutal dictatorship known to man..."

It continues: "If it is necessary to employ military sanctions against Hitler, then Australia can do this without conscription." Owing to a traditional hostility to conscription by the Australian working class, the C.P. cannot advocate it—as yet.

A few days later the C.P. organ has this to say: "The fascist imperialists aim, as their predecessors did in the time of Kaiser Wilhelm, at the redivision of the world, at the conquest of colonies that brings them, no matter how Chamberlain may wriggle, to conflict with Britain and France. The present policy of capitulation, retreat and betrayal before the aggressor merely strengthens fascism for the new 'Der Tag' at the same time sacrificing democracy everywhere."

No imperialist war, of course—just a battle for the redivision of

the world, colonies, etc.! Here is a gem from the C.P. organ in reply to an Indian visitor who hinted, only hinted, that India may not support Britain in the next war: "In refusing to give Britain wholehearted support in the event of resistance to aggression, however, Dr. Kunzru is on the wrong track. The greater the resistance to the fascist aggressors, the stronger becomes world democracy, and this would be reflected in a growth and strengthening of the Indian movement for freedom and independence."

In other words, build up the movement for Indian freedom and independence by supporting British imperialism!

The Crisis in Palestine

(Continued from Page 3)

to British imperialism.

Jewish socialists must be first in demanding, in the mixed communities, equal rights, opportunities and wages for the Arab workers, and must resist boldly all Jewish nationalist tendencies to boycott Arab workers and "to buy Jewish-made goods only." The Jewish socialists must be foremost in demanding a redistribution of land to the Arab peasants, the wiping out of the peasant indebtedness, and the expropriation of the concessions of natural resources which have been made to Jewish capitalists.

Terrifically difficult to do—but the alternative is that the whole Jewish population will be overwhelmed finally in the victory of Arab independence in the Near East over British and French imperialism. In the course of time a great Arab awakening in the Near East is inevitable. The Arab peoples will throw over the domination of European imperialism. At that moment, the constructive work of the Jewish population in

By DOROTHY D. BROMLEY

A Versatile Hooligan

I'M not one of those who believe that all the news can be told in pictures, but I wish for today I could present in the space of this column just two newspaper pictures and let readers add them up for themselves.

Picture number one appeared in the Newark Ledger June 5. It shows Norman Thomas being pelted with eggs in Military Park, Newark. It shows the crowd attacking him and one of the men identified in the caption as Nat Arno. This Arno, it was testified by Socialist Party Secretary Clara Handelman, who was standing next to Norman Thomas, menaced her with a bundle of American flags ("Oh say can you see?"), while other men re-

viled her. Arno was fined \$25 for his part in the disturbance.

So what? you say. It's no news that New Jersey harbors gangsters who do Hague's dirty work. Look at the second picture for the so-

This clipping is from the Newark Ledger of October 27 and it features the Schwaben Hall Bund fracas. The picketing may have been peaceful, but what followed wasn't. Said the Ledger in its lead: "Wild guerilla warfare . . . in which more than fifteen persons were injured, last night marked the worst anti-Nazi riot in Essex County since 1934."

The picture on page 2 of the Ledger shows five persons in the front line of the pickets. One of the marchers is Nancy Cox Parker, New Jersey secretary of the American League for Peace and Democracy, and the man next to the man next to her is none other than Nat Arno. They are walking under a placard which reads paradoxically: "No room for Nazism here."

Arno, it appears, is a quick-change artist. He doesn't even wear a false face in this picture, where he's shown sucking a large cigar in the corner of his mouth in the best roughneck fashion. I have not the slightest idea who paid him to march with the League's Nancy, any more than I know who paid him for his part in the Nazi riot.

But I must say the American League for Peace and Democracy is badly off for anti-Nazi demonstrators if it has to fill up its ranks with men who one day behave like Nazis attacking a socialist speaker and another day march under an anti-Nazi banner. In this connection, the League's New York office admitted when I queried it that the Union City Bund riot that it makes common cause, so far as "peaceful picketing" goes, with veterans or any other group that will come out against the Bund.

Any day now I expect to see the League join hands with I-Am-the-Law Hague, should he take it into his head to prove his one-hundred-percentism by picketing the Bund. If the League only knew it, it's digging its own grave. Those who unite with hooligans will inevitably be corrupted by their tactics and will ultimately be destroyed by them.

I'm wondering how the American League for Peace and Democracy will explain away this one.

(Dorothy Dunbar Bromley is a columnist on the New York Post. The above article appeared in her column in the November 4 issue.—Editor.)

Miles Tour

The following dates have already been arranged for the organization tour of George F. Miles. Further information and a fuller schedule will be found in coming issues of this paper:

- Nov. 19-20: Wilkes-Barre, Pa.
Nov. 30: Muskegon, Mich.
Dec. 1-2: Detroit, Mich.
Dec. 3-4-5: Flint, Mich.
Dec. 6-7: Lansing, Mich.

DANCE

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A big selection of dresses, cloaks, furs, toys, books, etc. A Mexican table with a large assortment of attractive novelties. All articles will be sold at half the store prices.

DANCE on Saturday evening, December 17 at 8:30 P. M. Fine music - games - refreshments.

Auspices: INDEPENDENT LABOR INSTITUTE

Two Letters

Cincinnati, Ohio.

IN M. S. Mautner's article on "The Roosevelt Purge" (Workers Age, September 24), he points out quite correctly that "the New Deal candidates were scarcely distinguishable, as far as political coloration goes, from their party rivals," because Roosevelt made reorganization and the court issue the test issues in the "purge." And he gives Camp, McAdoo and others as examples. But I think that he has omitted the most glaring example of all—Senator Robert J. Bulkley of Ohio.

Senator Bulkley voted AGAINST the N.R.A., the Black 30-hour bill, T.V.A., A.A.A. (both times), the soil-conservation measure, the Guffey coal act, the wages-and-hour bill. But he stood with Roosevelt on reorganization and court reform. So he was baptized into a "liberal," and endorsed by the White House! That's the kind of "purge" it was!

H. W.

(The letter below was addressed to Jay Lovestone.—Editor.)

October 27, 1938

I have found your paper to be extremely informative and able in its task of presenting news from the Marxist point of view, without detriment to honest reporting and without lapse into that pedantic wrangle which prevents other papers with a similar tendency from reaching many intelligent people who are not experts.

Furthermore, I have found analyses of particular situations as I have heard them from you on various platforms to be very enlightening. I was especially impressed by the prediction which I heard you make in April with regards to Czechoslovakia.

It is for this reason that I am writing you on a matter which has been lately concerning me, a matter of a rather fundamental nature. Particularly, too, since you touch upon this matter in your column in the Workers Age of October 29th, under the heading "Government Ownership Not Socialism."

The matter which concerns me is to find out just what socialism is. It seems to me that Marxists in their zeal to point out the defects, or perhaps you would rather say the contradictions, of capitalism, have quite neglected to inform those whom they would win over of the nature of what they would have take the place of capitalism. True, there is enough of negative information, such as you give in your column referred to, telling us what socialism is not. On the positive side, we get something like this: "Socialism involves taking the means of production out of the hands of the small class which owns the today and putting them in the hands of the whole people." This, you say, does not mean government ownership. What, then, does it mean?

I do not ask for a "blue-print" of socialism, nor do I expect that every detail must be known in advance. But surely, you cannot expect one to advocate socialism without having some clear idea what it is. S. K.

(The question raised by S. K. will be discussed in an early issue of this paper.—Editor.)

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The I.L.L.A. at Work

by D. Benjamin

ELECTION campaign week.—During the past several weeks, the various city organizations of the I.L.L.A. have been busily engaged in election-campaign work. This has been especially true of the membership in New York, Michigan and California. Speaking, canvassing, distributing, watching and the many other details connected with election work were carried on in a vigorous manner. Many members played quite an important part in the election work carried on by their respective unions. In New York City, Philadelphia and Los Angeles, the I.L.L.A. issued special leaflets presenting the I.L.L.A. position on program, candidates and independent working-class political action.

"Where We Stand."—Orders continue coming in. Detroit has sent in a second order for an additional 200. Flint has asked for 300; Lansing, for 50. Flint also requested 100 copies of Bob Edwards' pamphlet "Upsurge of American Labor," with Lansing putting in an order for 25. The Downtown No. 2 Branch of New York ordered 100 copies of "Where We Stand." What about hearing from places not yet on record?

"Youth Frontier."—The circulation manager of our Youth Section magazine, Youth Frontier, reports all copies of the first issue sold out. The second issue in preparation, we have been told, will be even better.

Bazaar for German refugees.—The Independent Labor Institute is running a bazaar for the aid of underground Germany and German refugees—to take place at Rivera Hall, 131 West 33 St., New York City, on Thursday and Friday evenings, December 15 and 16, and all day Saturday and Sunday, December 17 and 18. All proceeds are for the above-mentioned purpose. Friends of the Institute and all interested in helping the anti-fascist victims of Germany, Austria and Czechoslovakia are asked to contribute books, pictures, novelties, notions, toys, knick-knacks, groceries, etc. The committee in charge plans to offer bargain

Art in the USSR

(Continued from Page 4)

needs as bureaucrat—with results in the case of such great artists as Meyerhold, Shostakovich and Eisenstein, that are too well-known to require retelling. The dicta and deeds of Stalin in this field make it look as if he were bent on wiping out the differences between Hitler's brand of totalitarianism and his own.

The artist cannot be forced to accept by ukase a subject that does not stir creative desire within him. Still less can he be told how to paint it, since style is the man himself and each good artist creates his own esthetics. The number of ways in which good pictures have been painted, can be painted, will be painted, is incalculable. Of those who paint for us, or for the society we hope to control and reorganize into a more human social order, all that we can safely demand is competence and genuineness—that they have something to say, that they say it the best they know how, that they have the courage to resist attempts to force them into insincerity in matter or manner. Sincerity is the conscience of the artist. If he have that, he can learn in the end from the masses as well as teach them. Only thru this interaction can the artists help to beget great audiences and the great audience in turn serve to beget great artists.

prices to all patrons of the bazaar. On Saturday evening, there will be a dance and entertainment.

Blackwell Defense Committee.—The I.L.L.A. is cooperating in the work of this committee, on which are representatives of the Social-Democratic Federation, the Socialist Party, the Socialist Workers Party, the anarchists, and various liberals and intellectuals. The aim of the committee is to secure the release of Russell Blackwell (Negrete) from the clutches of the Stalinist G.P.U. in Spain. A delegation was sent to the State Department in Washington, D. C. The New York District Committee of the I.L.L.A. sent a resolution to Secretary of State Hull on the matter. Several papers have given publicity to the campaign.

Independent Labor Institute.—The Institute held a very successful affair on Saturday evening, November 5. The next dance scheduled for Rivera Hall is Saturday evening, December 3.

Company Union Meet in St. Louis Is Big Fiasco

C.I.O. Members Expose Hershey Model Stooze Outfit

By ALBERT EASTON

St. Louis, Mo. IF the National Federated Independent Union, Hershey Chocolate model of company union, meets with as little success thruout the country as it did in St. Louis, then it is sure to die of pernicious anemia. A widely advertised mass-meeting, called by this company-union outfit for Thursday evening, October 27, at Rock Spring Turner Hall, brought out no more than a handful of stooges. When the meeting opened, there were at least three C.I.O. members for each of the company unionists; when it ended, there were four unionists for every company stooge. The big C.I.O. turnout was remarkable since the members were mobilized in a few hours that same day. It is a tribute to the alert initiative of the local C.I.O. that it responded so quickly to counteract the poisonous propaganda of anti-union outfits that pose as unions.

The speaker of the evening was none other than the president of the National Federated Independent Union with headquarters in Indianapolis, a certain Mr. Galloway. He delivered a long, rambling and boastful talk that out-Died Dies. The C.I.O. members merely laughed at his nonsense and asked some pointed questions which Mr. Galloway blandly avoided. The chairman promised that there would be a 15-minute period for questions and discussion, but when the time came, the speaker backed down for fear that his falsehoods would be exposed by the C.I.O. representatives. The speaker was especially insistent upon maligning the U.M.W. of which he claimed to have been a member at one time. He made some baseless charges which he challenged anyone to disprove, but he refused to let Martin Wagner, vice-president of District 50, U.M.W., to make a statement. Mr. Wagner, however, did have the last word by speaking, after the nervous chairman had adjourned the meeting, to the auto, steel, packing-house, gas-house and other organized workers who were at the meeting to show that the "Inde-

SUBSCRIBE TO THE WORKERS AGE

Stalin Clique in UOPWA Ousts Progressive Leader

Anne Gould Suspended For Oppositional Views

By O. W.

New York City. USING its mechanical majority the Stalinist administration of Local 16, United Office and Professional Workers Union, suspended Anne Gould, from the union for four months merely for publishing a paper, the Progressive Union Worker, distributed to delegates to the last national convention of the union.

Altho Miss Gould was charged also with "slandering" the union, this charge was withdrawn before witnesses had an opportunity to testify to the truth of the material contained in the paper.

At a membership meeting of the union held recently, the minority pointed out that the union's constitution obligated every member to defend freedom of thought whether expressed by tongue or pen and that, therefore, the rule forbidding the publishing of views differing from the majority was un-

constitutional; but this was unavailing. When an early test vote showed the minority had 130 to 160 votes, the administration sent out for reinforcements, and after 10 o'clock scores dragged from other meetings came to vote even tho they heard neither the majority nor minority reports nor Miss Gould's defense. The suspension and report of the trial board were carried by a vote of 270 to 135. A spirited defense of the minority position was made at the meeting by May Bromberg, daughter of B. Charney Vladeck. It was the first time she had ever spoken at a union meeting.

The majority report accused Miss Gould and her supporters of "anarchistic conduct" and asserted the union had the right to rid itself of such members. Miriam Silvis, a speaker for the minority report, handed to President Hawley the signatures of 325 members protesting against the trial and associating themselves with the accused member in the publishing of the Progressive Office Worker. So far no charges have been brought against them.

Having tasted blood, however, the administration is bringing another progressive member to trial—this time for taking a job in a union office without the sanction of Commissar Morris Yanoff, who has devised the fiction of a "rotating hiring system." Actually, progressive members are forgotten when the union is called on to fill jobs; instead, they are recommended to private employment agencies. The administration uses its power to place Communist Party members and stooges into positions in labor organizations where they may carry on spying activities for the party. This is one reason why the C. P. will go the limit in its support of Lewis Merril, for it regards the office-workers union as of important strategic value.

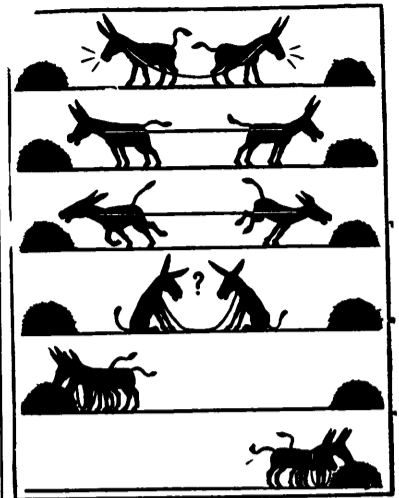
The progressives augmented their forces by their militant attitude in defense of genuine democracy at the union meeting at which Miss Gould was suspended. By its perversion of democracy to mean the complete crushing of the minority, the administration is arousing an ever growing opposition which will put an end to its rule over the organized office workers before long.

Constitutional national union to supersede the C.I.O. would, in our judgment, sharpen the conflict in the labor movement, and would create greater obstacles for ultimate reconciliation. Traditionally opposed to dual unionism, we therefore decide not to take part in the move to form a permanent competitive national organization.

"2. We readily acknowledge the historic service performed by the C.I.O. in organizing large numbers of workers in mass-production industry who had been in the past neglected by the A. F. of L., but we are no less keenly aware that the perpetuation of the division of labor thru the existence of two national competitive labor bodies would prove ruinous to the well-being of the workers as well as to the general community. The setback suffered by the progressive and liberal forces in the last election is unquestionably due, in part, to the division in the labor movement.

"We do not believe now, and we never believed, that two separate labor movements are required to achieve the common objective of labor. We believe now, as we have always believed, that the unified labor organization in this country could and should bring the benefits

A FABLE FOR LABOR



Moral: Why Not Get Together?

AFTER THE PACT TO "BAN" WAR

TWO and a half million persons have been killed in warfare thruout the world since the signing of the Kellogg-Briand Anti-War Pact in Paris ten years ago, according to military experts cited in an Associated Press dispatch recently. At least ten billion dollars have been spent or lost in warfare since then, and the world now is spending well over that amount annually on its armies, navies and air forces.

There have been four major, although undeclared, wars since 1928.

The three-year Chaco war between Bolivia and Paraguay, terminating in 1935, cost at least 100,000 lives. Fifty thousand Ethiopians and more than 5,000 Italians lost their lives in the Italian conquest of Ethiopia ending in 1936.

Between 1,000,000 and 1,500,000 persons have been killed in Spain in the last two years, and the lowest estimates are that more than 1,000,000 were killed in the first year of the Chinese-Japanese conflict.

of organization to all wage-earners in the land, whether in the mass-production or the skilled industries, and protect labor against its economic as well as political enemies.

"Being vitally interested in the reconciliation of the two parts of the labor movement, we therefore decide that, until peace is established in the labor movement, or it is otherwise decided by a regular or special convention of our union, we remain an independent union."

"3. Tho unaffiliated with either side, our policy in the future will be to support every genuine effort, whether C.I.O. or A. F. of L., in their organizational activity for the improvement of the condition of the workers and in every effort to achieve peace in the labor movement."

Zimmerman's Stand

Vice-President Charles S. Zimmerman, leader of Dressmakers Union Local 22 with 30,000 members in New York, voted for the board's resolution, but added this qualifying statement:

"I agree with the content and spirit of the proposed resolution. I am opposed to the formation of a dual movement. But I am in favor of sending delegates to the C.I.O. convention in order to present our program for unity."

IN Chile, we learn from the New York Times (October 26), the "Popular Front" has triumphed in the presidential elections. And a curious "Popular Front" it is! According to the same Times report, it is a "firmly constituted" alliance, "embracing socialists and communists and supported by Nazi and fascist elements."