

At First Glance

By Jay Lovestone

PROFOUND political consequences are bound to flow from the recent election results. We are not amongst those who have begun to guarantee the country that 1940 will be a Republican year. We do not believe that the outcome of the last election campaign necessarily indicates, let alone foreshadows, the defeat of the Democratic party in 1940. Of course, we are speaking here of the American situation without regard for presently unforeseen international events intervening and decisively influencing, in one direction or another, American political alignments.

Yet, we must state the following as very definite, even at this date.

1. About two years ago, the majority in both legislative chambers in Washington was in the hands of the party which belonged to President Roosevelt. At the present time, in the Congress, the majority in the Senate and House continues in the hands of the Democratic party—to which the President also belongs.

2. The overriding question is: Will there be any big changes in economic policy? Our answer is "no"—except for the effects of the super-armament program on the life of the land. In fact, we go even further and state that, regardless of differences between the Roosevelt wing of the Democratic party and the forces dominating the Republican party, even a Landon administration tomorrow would not be able to, and would not even strive to, make a serious break with most of the economic program of the Administration.

3. In saying this, we do not in the least belittle the swing to the right in the last election results, in such significant areas as New England, the tier of heavy industrial states like Pennsylvania, Ohio and Michigan, and the midwestern rural sections. We do, however, underscore the fact that this swing to the right is reflected rather in the mood of the mass of voters, particularly the middle-class groups, than in shifts of economic policy by the Administration or its possible successors.

4. There are multiplying indications that Roosevelt will, in his inner-party relations, have to give greater consideration to the more conservative wing. Furthermore, the argument against spending, so often used by the "Tories" and other less liberal opponents of the Roosevelt Administration, will in the coming months practically vanish. This is almost assured by the decision of the President to shift expenditures from W.P.A. (public) to armament production (private profit).

5. For labor, it is more imperative than ever, therefore, to develop its own independent strength so as to escape its becoming merely a political football in the political arena.

WHERE NEXT?

WHERE will Germany strike next? Without question, the unbridled pogroms let loose against the Jews in Germany are tied up much more with another bold move in German foreign affairs than with the shooting incident in Paris. The entire situation reflects the jittery and extremely unstable condition of the world today, in which everything and most anything tends to become an "incident" with the gravest consequences.

It is from this point of view that

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Workers Age

A PAPER DEFENDING THE INTERESTS OF WORKERS AND FARMERS

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Wide Protest Against Nazis

Roosevelt Hits Pogroms, Recalls Envoy, But No Free Refugee Entry

A broad movement of protest and indignation at the savage persecution of the Jews in Germany, swept the country last week as countless civic, religious, labor and other organizations adopted resolutions, sent delegations to Washington and otherwise placed themselves on record in the situation. A widespread demand was also voiced for the relaxation of this country's immigration restrictions so as to permit freer entry of refugees.

The American government itself took two important steps in connection with the events in Germany. Hugh R. Wilson, American ambassador at Berlin, was "called home for report and consultation," which, in the diplomatic code, is almost equivalent to a recall until further notice. A few days later, President Roosevelt issued a public statement to the press sharply denouncing the Nazi pogroms as "shocking" and as something that he "could scarcely believe could occur in a twentieth-century civilization." At the same time, however, the President made it clear that he did not contemplate any change of the present immigration laws, which restrict refugees to very low quotas.

Two days later, Germany retaliated by calling its ambassador home from Washington to report on the "queer attitude" of American opinion on the Nazi atrocities.

In England, there is talk of "resettlement" plans being worked out by Prime Minister Chamberlain and American Ambassador Kennedy to facilitate the transfer of large sections of the Jewish population of Germany to South Africa and other thinly populated regions.

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CIO Sets Up Permanent Body; No Move On Unity

WPA Cut to Speed Arms

The plans of the Administration to speed war preparations no matter at what cost in terms of social welfare, were revealed last week as even more extensive than had originally been thought. Semi-officially, it was reported on November 15 that, to quote the United Press dispatch, "President Roosevelt has decided to transfer a large part of the funds available for federal relief to the national-defense program. If tentative plans are realized, appropriations for the army and navy in the next fiscal year may total two billion dollars—twice as much as this year's record-breaking peace-time expenditures." In line with these plans, Harry Hopkins, W.P.A. head, forecast "a permanent curtailment of W.P.A. and other relief programs."

Retrenchment of relief and other social-welfare activities for the sake of increased armaments, a tendency against which the anti-war movement has repeatedly warned in recent months, has now become the openly avowed policy of the Administration. It is a policy that will rapidly show its effects in the marked worsening of the conditions of the masses.

While these plans for piping off relief funds for armaments were being completed, President Roosevelt made a declaration elaborating the "continental" theory of American "national defense." According to the President, "national defense" now takes in the whole hemisphere, North and South America and possessions as well as

Pittsburgh Gathering Reflects Great Progress Of Labor Movement Under C.I.O. But Fails To Solve Most Pressing Problems

By W. W. ROBERTS

Pittsburgh, Pa.

THE Committee for Industrial Organization has become the "Congress of Industrial Organizations"—still the "C.I.O." but now officially a new federation of labor organized on a permanent basis. This momentous step was taken by the five-day constitutional convention of the C.I.O. that met here last week under the leadership of John L. Lewis, Philip Murray and Sidney Hillman.

According to the report, nearly 550 delegates were present from 35 affiliated international and national unions, 8 organizing committees and 675 local industrial unions. The total membership was placed at 3,787,000, but here, as well as in the financial report, there were not sufficient details forthcoming to give the figures the full authority they should have.

Two days before the convention opened, the General Executive Board of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union, a power-

ful organization of 275,000 members and one of the founders of the C.I.O., met and resolved by a unanimous decision to remain, for the time being, independent of both C.I.O. and A.F. of L. and therefore not to send delegates to Pittsburgh. This resolution was prefaced by a strong plea for unity and the resumption of peace negotiations. When the convention sessions opened, it was clear that the first business of the C.I.O. gathering would have to be to give its answer to the appeal of the I.L.G.W.U. on the question of unity.

Shutting The Door On Unity

Unfortunately, the answer was not such as was eagerly expected and awaited by hundreds of thousands of organized workers. In the preliminary sessions of the nine-man "peace" committee, a strong attempt was made, according to rumors, to take some action that would facilitate reunification. Discussion in the committee went on for hours but, in the end, this last-minute unity effort came to naught.

Among the delegates, unity sentiment was very high and President Roosevelt's message, urging peace in the ranks of labor, in terms almost identical to the one addressed to the Houston convention of the A. F. of L. some weeks before, was enthusiastically received. But here, too, little came of it and the report of the committee was finally accepted.

This report of the "peace" committee that had conducted the abortive negotiations with the A. F. of L. last December, was merely a repetition of the old formulas, with little recognition of the extreme urgency of some immediate step towards unity under the present conditions. In net effect, the action of the C.I.O. gathering was very much the same as that of the A. F. of L. convention the month before—to shut the door in the face of unity.

(Read the editorial on "The C.I.O. and Unity" on page 4 of this issue. —Editor.)

What Kind Of Organization

Next to unity, the most important question facing the Pittsburgh convention was the problem of what kind of setup would be established in the C.I.O.—a democratic setup, emphasizing membership control and autonomy for affiliated national or international unions, or an authoritarian setup, making for centralized, overhead control by a small group of leaders. Even before the convention, there were signs that certain leaders of the C.I.O. were heading towards the latter conception. The Pittsburgh convention justified these fears only too well. The conduct of the top leadership in running the convention was at times, arbitrary and undemocratic. The constitution

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The Big Task Before Us!

\$3,500 Fund for Bigger Age, New Theoretical Journal

THE publication of a bigger Workers Age in newspaper size and the issuance of a bimonthly theoretical journal, were among the most important decisions made by the recent session of the National Council of the Independent Labor League of America.

This decision will come as an inspiring call to action to every one engaged in the struggle against capitalism, for socialism.

It is our answer to the growing menace of reaction, fascism and war arising out of decaying capitalism. And it is the answer to our growing organizational influence and tasks created by the new departure made at our convention last July.

We need a bigger Workers Age in newspaper size to include more material on industries and unions, on the basic problems of labor, farmers, white collar workers and intellectuals, on war and fascism. We need a bigger Workers Age so as to enable it to become more popular and to reach ever larger numbers of progressive workers, farmers and intellectuals.

We need a theoretical journal to discuss the scores of problems arising out of the crisis in the socialist and labor movements, out of tendencies and events in the Soviet Union, out of the perversion of living Marxism into a dead and stultifying dogma.

The great task of our generation is to recreate

Marxism to rebuild socialism. It is impossible to overestimate this task, for upon the fulfillment of this task depends the future of humanity. And it is impossible to overestimate the contribution to this fulfillment that can be made by a bigger Workers Age and a new theoretical journal, issued by an independent organization which is neither hampered by vested interests of the past nor afraid of new departures and new ideas.

It is necessary to act and act quickly, for events are moving at a feverish pace. It is our intention to issue the bigger Workers Age on January 1 and the theoretical journal on January 15.

Editorial arrangements are now being made. Editors are being selected and new writers secured.

A Special Press Fund of \$3,500 is needed to insure publication of the bigger Age and the theoretical journal for a period of one year. A drive is beginning to raise that \$3,500. Do your share to make this great project a big success!

Make your own contribution to the Special Press Fund.

Ask your fellow-workers and friends to make a contribution. Get your organization, where possible, to do the same.

But, above all, make YOUR OWN contribution now to the Special Press Fund. Send it to: Workers Age, 131 West 33rd Street.

At First Glance

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We tend to think that Germany will either strike at Memel or, perhaps in collusion with Italy, bring to bear severely heavy pressure on Switzerland to come within the economic orbit of the Hitler-Mussolini axis. The latter strategy would mean much for Mussolini in that it would give him a chance for terrific demagoguery at home by extending, for the first time in several decades, Italian territory on the European continent. Insofar as Germany goes, it would give her a chance to play with the idea of "rectifying" the Swiss frontier via an economic and, a little later, political hold on the German cantons. This would go a long way towards making France, from a military point of view, totally helpless before the Nazi war machine.

One must not overlook the fact that the economic basis for such a venture is already at hand in view of the now recognized German hegemony in central and south-eastern Europe. Out of every hundred francs of commodities exported by Switzerland, seventy-five are taken by European countries and, out of every hundred francs worth of commodities imported into Switzerland, Europe provided forty-six. Besides, the raw materials needed by Swiss industry can be secured in large quantities from precisely those countries of central and south-eastern Europe increasingly under German sway since the conquest of Austria and Czechoslovakia.

PERMANENT PAUPERISM

There is much to learn from a report prepared for Mayor LaGuardia by the former Emergency Relief Bureau of New York City. The first few sections just issued indicate that the economic system in this country has reached the stage in which it can "enormously expand" the volume of production without a corresponding increase in the employment of workers. These investigators have found that "future improvement in business conditions will still leave us with a very substantial relief load," and that "unemployment is no longer an emergency situation but a permanent one."

What are the social implications

The CIO Convention

Permanent Body Formed; Clash With The Stalinists

(Continued from Page 1) adopted departs from the well-established traditions of the American labor movement in the direction of super-centralized structure and overhead control. The executive board of the new organization is to be composed of one representative of each of the affiliated national or international unions and organizing committees plus the four officers elected by the convention. But the voting is to be in proportion to the membership of unions, and the result is obvious. The board now consists of 45 members, but the "big three", Lewis, Murray and Hillman are empowered to cast 1,840,645 votes out of a total of 3,787,977, or 48.5%. Plainly, that is where complete control rests. Other combinations are naturally possible, but the result would be the same. Of course, it was necessary to prevent control from falling into the hands of the Stalinist "miscellaneous" unions, but surely some other way could have been found than the arrangement adopted.

The constitution also gives the executive board power to "investigate any situation involving an affiliate on the ground that such an affiliate is conducting its affairs and activities contrary to the provisions of the constitution [of the C.I.O.]." Under this clause, the top leadership of the C.I.O. will be able to intervene in the internal affairs of allegedly autonomous unions in the way it is doing in the U.A.W. today, and to convert these organizations into departments of C.I.O. headquarters. What the consequences of this would be need not here be repeated.

It was over certain provisions of the constitution that a clash broke out between the top leadership of the C.I.O. and the Stalinists. Article II, dealing with "Objects", declares it to be the purpose of the C.I.O. to organize the workers "regardless of race, creed, color or nationality." A group of Stalinists, headed by Harry Bridges, Joseph Curran and Merwyn Rathborne, demanded the inclusion of the words "or political belief" in the clause, evidently for the purpose of protecting the supporters of the Communist Party "line" in the C.I.O. This was rejected in the committee. The question was then raised again on the floor, where John L. Lewis and Sidney Hillman, who was chairman, quickly squelched the revolt. On the convention platform, in the presence of important C.I.O. officials, John L. Lewis warned Bridges that he and his friends could expect no "deals" or "concessions" from him on any matter. If they wanted a fight, he said, he would "fight and lick" them. There were other flurries on the manner of calling conventions and on per-capita dues payments to the C.I.O.—5 cents monthly per member of each national or international union and 50 cents monthly per member of each directly affiliated local industrial union; but they did not amount to much and the constitution was adopted without dissenting vote.

Exactly what the real significance of this clash between Lewis and the Stalinist leaders is, is not yet entirely clear. There were rumors at the convention that a "purge" of Stalinists was in the offing, but generally the incident remained a great deal of a mystery. It is significant that, altho the matter received wide publicity in the general press, it was studiously ignored in the Daily Worker, except for a vague reproof to "individuals still partially influenced by a vague 'rank-and-fileism.'" Towards the end of the convention, moreover, Lewis took occasion to express his "confidence" in Harry Bridges.

There are signs, also, that the Administration is attempting to use the universal horror and indignation at the Nazi atrocities to win public favor for its rearmament and war-preparations program. The effort of the President to link up the two in his recent statement to the press, is an indication of this.

Two Sides Of The Convention The Pittsburgh convention reflected the great advances that the trade-union movement has made under the banner of the C.I.O. during the past two and a half years. Powerful industrial organizations in the mass-production industries

The I.L.L.A. at Work

by D. Benjamin

MILES tour. — Beginning November 19, George F. Miles, associate editor of the Workers Age, will make a national organization tour reaching from Boston to St. Louis. The tour will end on December 21. The following cities and regions will be among those covered: Wilkes-Barre, Pittsburgh, Fort Wayne, St. Louis, Chicago, Michigan, Cleveland, Boston, Fall River, Clinton, and Hartford. Arrangements are being made with branches of the I.L.L.A. in other cities as well. Miles will speak at public meetings in these various localities on "New Problems Facing the American Labor Movement," and "The Political Situation and the Problem of Independent Labor Political Action."

Meeting of the National Council. — The full National Council of the I.L.L.A. met last week to consider the new situation confronting American and international labor. Jay Lovestone reported on the political situation and the tasks of the I.L.L.A. Will Herberg reported on the trade-union and labor-party situations. A full discussion took place in which practically every member participated. Resolutions were adopted outlining the character of the problems and a plan of action to meet them. A decision was made to initiate a public campaign on the question of the refugees from Germany, Czechoslovakia, etc. It was decided to concentrate activity on the five main objectives: (1) labor unity and progressive unionism; (2) de-

velopment of independent working-class political action; (3) anti-war campaign; (4) international relief and solidarity; and (5) recruiting and press building.

Campaign to aid refugees.—A resolution was adopted by the National Council calling upon the United States government to open the doors of this country to the refugees from Germany and Czechoslovakia. The I.L.L.A. is co-operating with the Socialist Party and the Socialist Workers Party in the organization of a demonstration before the German Consulate in New York. Arrangements are being made by the same three organizations to organize a public protest meeting on behalf of the refugees and against the repression of labor and the Jews. The Independent Labor Institute is planning a bazaar for December 15, 16, 17, and 18 to raise funds for German refugees and underground Germany. All branches of the I.L.L.A. are asked to take whatever steps are possible to help in this campaign.

Hartford, Conn.—A report from Hartford, Conn., indicates that our organization and members there have played an important part in helping to organize the Keep America Out Of War Committee in the city and state. In addition, our members are helping in the educational work of many unions in Hartford, especially among the upholstery and auto workers.

Independent Labor Institute.—The Independent Labor Institute reports one of its most successful terms in recent years. Over 110 workers have already registered for the course being given by Jay Lovestone on "Towards a New American Labor Movement." Very successful classes are also being given by Herberg, Wolfe and Corey.

Ferrero defense.—The I.L.L.A. in New York is cooperating in the campaign to save Vincent Ferrero from deportation to fascist Italy. B. Herman is speaking for the I.L.L.A. at a public meeting that is to take place on Friday evening November 25, at Stuyvesant Casino on behalf of this cause.

Wide Protests Hit Pogroms (Continued from Page 1) It is understood that Chamberlain is very eager to do something in a hurry to turn the tide of public sentiment because the universal indignation at Nazi barbarism is developing into a threat to his policy of "appeasement," that is, of concession to and collaboration with the fascist dictatorships. Diplomatic representations and pressure on the part of the United States are all very well but they do not mean as much as they might as long as the American government takes no action to relax the immigration laws so as to admit the refugees of anti-Semitism and other forms of fascist persecution. There are signs, also, that the Administration is attempting to use the universal horror and indignation at the Nazi atrocities to win public favor for its rearmament and war-preparations program. The effort of the President to link up the two in his recent statement to the press, is an indication of this.

(Read the article "The Curse of Anti-Semitism," by B. D. Wolfe on page 4 as well as the appeal for free entry to refugees on page 6.—Editor.) were represented there, for the first time in American labor history. But the Pittsburgh convention also showed that many of the leaders of the C.I.O. have not been able to rise to the full responsibility that is now placed upon the movement. They made no real effort to bring any nearer the reunification of the ranks of labor and they used their great influence to force upon the industrial-union movement an organization and structure very much out of line with the experience, traditions and desires of the American working class.

How the Labor Party Develops

By ROBERT WALTERS

EVENTS themselves are teaching us that the emergence of a labor party in this country is a much more involved and complicated affair than any one could have foretold ten years ago. We are beginning to realize that independent labor political action, just because it is the first step on the long road to the winning of political power by the working class, is not, therefore, necessarily a single step. As a matter of fact, it is really a process, made up of a whole series of steps and stages, themselves tentative, uncertain and often contradictory. But the underlying political logic is there, giving sense and meaning to each individual phase.

A Far-Reaching Change In an article in the New York Times Magazine recently (November 6, 1938), Dr. George Gallup, director of the well-known American Institute of Public Opinion, considers the question of a labor party and a farmer-labor party from the standpoint of his statistical surveys. The conclusions he reaches are very interesting and well worth careful study despite their rather superficial and one-sided character.

Dr. Gallup first calls attention to a "significant and far-reaching change in the political line-up of the country since the New Deal came to power." This change is the "cleavage of political opinion" that has taken place in the last few years "along economic lines, a split between the high-income and the low-income brackets. . . ." Here Dr. Gallup is entirely correct, altho the phenomenon itself is not as unprecedented in American politics as he seems to think; a similar cleavage could probably have been detected in the Bryan campaign in 1896. But it is of vital importance that today the income status of the voting population is beginning to translate itself into practical politics as the chief factor determining political attitudes. In the 1936 elections, for example, the upper-income group (over \$40 weekly), comprising about 16% of the voting population, cast their ballots for Landon by a considerable majority; the middle-income group (\$20 to \$40 weekly), comprising about 48%, was strongly pro-Roosevelt; and the lower-income group (relief and about \$20 weekly), comprising about 36%, was overwhelmingly so. In the latest survey, the social composition of the popular support of the New Deal is shown by the following figures: upper income group, 28% for the New Deal; middle-income group, 49%; and lower-income group, 73%. The same picture can be seen from another angle: persons owning stocks and bonds are against Roosevelt by 65% to 35%; persons owning no stocks and bonds are for Roosevelt by 60% to 40%. From these figures, obviously very important in themselves, Dr. Gallup draws a conclusion that, if sound, would be more important still. "There is much evidence," he concludes, "that by and large, the voters are satisfied with the two-party system as we know it today. . . . As long as this vital cleavage (in the social composition of the supporters of the two old parties.—R. W.) is maintained, the prospects for a third [labor] party are not bright." In other words, there is but a dim outlook for a nation-wide labor party because the lower-income groups, who would naturally constitute the following

of such a party, still continue to look upon the New Deal as the political representative of their interests.

Mechanics Of Labor Party Development But this conclusion harbors a serious mistake in political analysis: it takes altogether too fixed, formal and superficial a view of the mechanics of labor-party development. It is true that a nationwide independent party of labor is not likely to emerge in organized form until wide sections of the lower-income groups (workers and lower-middle-class elements) lose much of their faith and confidence in New Deal Democracy. But it does not follow that the essential preliminary phases of such a development may not take place while such faith and confidence still exist and apparently even because of it. That is the contradictory logic of the labor-party movement, which we are just beginning to understand.

Labor's Non-Partisan League was born in an effort at the independent mobilization of labor support for the New Deal. But the very formation of Labor's Non-Partisan League constituted a decisive break with the outworn Gompers tradition and a big step forward towards independent labor political action. This much, at least, is very generally recognized. In Michigan, the trade-union movement, of which the U.A.W. is the backbone, formed independent labor committees for the reelection of Governor Murphy but refused to line up behind the Democratic ticket as such. Here, too, loyalty to the New Deal operated but the virtual break with the Democratic party as a party was plain enough. In New York State, the process has gone even further: an independent labor party has been formed which, the still connected in various ways with sections of

What Hope? THE Brussels Bureau of the Socialist (Second) International recently adopted a long resolution containing the following sentence: "We appeal to the great democratic powers to erect a well-organized, firm and solid front against everything that could destroy the loftiest moral hopes in peace, liberty and justice." Was there ever a more pitiful example of hopeless

political weak-mindedness! Appealing to the "great democratic powers" on behalf of "peace, liberty and justice"! Appealing to Chamberlain, Hitler's attorney and agent; appealing to Daladier, the messenger-boy of the British Foreign Office and of French big business! What hope can the international labor movement have as long as it remains under such leadership?

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Fascism Comes In Thru 'Front Door'

Reactionary Forces At Home The Chief Danger

By D. BENJAMIN

HITLER's triumph in and over Czechoslovakia following his seizure of Austria, effected a strengthening of his regime inside Greater Germany; an increase of Nazi prestige in various countries of the world, especially in the Balkans; and the establishment of German hegemony in central and eastern Europe. In addition, there can be no question but that it gave a tremendous impetus to the development of fascism everywhere, while laying the basis for the spread of control of German imperialism in the direction of eastern and south-eastern Europe. The danger of the spread of fascism thru the back door, thru conquest by the Nazis, is no longer a threat or an abstraction; it has become a reality. The year 1938 marks an even greater defeat for the working class than 1933.

The Chief Danger However, it would be a mistake to see the spread of fascism only or mainly in terms of "an export from Germany"—to keep one's eyes glued only on the back door as the only spot where fascism can enter. The chief danger for the working class of the democratic countries

inist parties in England and France were extremely active in these critical days, but the Soviet press virtually ignored their activities and did nothing to inform the Soviet people about them. On September 7, the Paris Humanite published a joint declaration of the French and German Communist Parties on the situation. The Soviet press was full of reports from Paris, but no word of this resolution. On September 22, Humanite published on its front page a pronouncement of the French C.P., but no word in the Russian press. On September 30, Humanite published also on its front page a declaration signed by the French, English and Czech Communist Parties, but again the Soviet press ignored it entirely.

Roots Of The Development The roots of this development can be found in the various important capitalist countries in the sharpened class relations within each country, in the difficulties capitalism experiences with its economy in this period of imperialism, in the imminence of war for national capitalist survival, imperialist hegemony and the maintenance of capitalist-class control and the heightened international competition for markets, raw materials, capital investments, colonies and strategic advantages.

Close examination will reveal that the facts and problems are such. Consider Czechoslovakia, once the pride of the knights of "democracy." Even before the critical days last May, not to mention September, democracy in that country was well on the way towards changing into fascism. The country was governed by a coalition of six parties, among which were the National-Union party, a semi-fascist outfit, and the Agrarian party, which had a pro-Hitler and anti-working class orientation, as was evidenced so plainly in the critical days of September. The leaders of the Agrarians stated they preferred Hitler domination to the presence of Russian Red soldiers on Czechoslovak soil. In this government, there was even present a representative of an open fascist party, against which the Communist Party of that country protested mildly, without, however, organizing any real mass campaign on the issue. The Socialist Party collaborated in that gov-

Another strange thing. The Stalinist press (Humanite and Daily Worker) played up this declaration very big. But, in the Soviet Union, not a word for days and weeks. Only on September 17 did Pravda publish an article headed "The International Situation," filled with all sorts of analysis but saying mighty little about the policy of the Soviet Union. Three days later, another article of information, but again no editorial comment. Finally, on September 21, an editorial at last appeared, "Playing With Fire." And the point of this editorial? Here is the essence: "The Soviet Union is not interested in the kind of imperial-

A Curious Silence

Stalin Press In Russia Quiet During Czech Crisis

By CHARLES Paris, France A SURVEY recently made here of the Soviet press during the critical days in the early part of September, presents a startling picture of utter political bankruptcy.

Pravda Silent During the entire first two weeks of September, when the press of the world was filling its columns with news and editorial views on the Czechoslovakian crisis, Pravda, the central paper of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, was silent! Reports were published from the various capitals of Europe but not one single word to show what was the official attitude of the C.P.S.U. or the U.S.S.R.

In the early days of the crisis, Litvinov, Soviet Foreign Minister, made a vague statement that the Soviet Union would come to the assistance of Czechoslovakia but only on condition that France would act first. It was not much of a statement, but it was something. "There is much evidence," he concludes, "that by and large, the voters are satisfied with the two-party system as we know it today. . . . As long as this vital cleavage (in the social composition of the supporters of the two old parties.—R. W.) is maintained, the prospects for a third [labor] party are not bright." In other words, there is but a dim outlook for a nation-wide labor party because the lower-income groups, who would naturally constitute the following

of such a party, still continue to look upon the New Deal as the political representative of their interests.

YOU CAN'T AFFORD TO MISS

WILL HERBERG, Monday, Nov. 28, 7 p. m.—on the historical roots, social character and structure of fascist totalitarianism. * LEWIS COREY, Tuesday, Nov. 29, 8:45 p. m.—on "Is America Different?", the fifth lecture in a series of eight. * BERTRAM D. WOLFE, Wednesday, Nov. 30, 7:00 p. m.—on "Where Is American Labor Going?," a discussion of Benjamin Stolberg's "The Story of the C.I.O." and Edward Levinson's "American Labor on the March." * JAY LOVESTONE, Thursday, Dec. 1, 6:15 p. m.—on "Our Changing Economy—the Challenge to Labor." * Single admission 25 cents * NO LECTURES ON THANKSGIVING DAY, THURSDAY, NOV. 24. * All lectures at the INDEPENDENT LABOR INSTITUTE, 131 West 33rd Street, New York City

Bazaar and Dance

December 15 thru December 18, 1938 RIVERA HALL, 131 West 33rd St., N. Y. C. Proceeds to aid German Refugees The BAZAAR will be open Thursday and Friday evening and all day Saturday and Sunday, December 15, 16, 17 and 18. 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

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THE C.I.O. AND UNITY

MILLIONS of workers, in both the C.I.O. and the A. F. of L., must have been bitterly disappointed at the news of the action taken by the C.I.O. convention at Pittsburgh on the question of unity. For this convention flatly refused to make any practical move in the direction of resuming negotiations to effect the reunification of the American labor movement. Of course, the old phrases, many of them very fine and sound phrases, too, were repeated by the officers and delegates, but fine phrases butter no parsnips nor do they make for unity. If the Houston convention of the A. F. of L. slammed the door on unity, then it must be added that the Pittsburgh convention of the C.I.O. bolted the door almost as securely, altho certainly with less bluster and abuse.

In his report for the C.I.O. "peace committee," Philip Murray undertook to explain why the December negotiations had failed. The A. F. of L. committee, he said, refused to make any kind of agreement "except on the basis of the complete abandonment of the fundamental purposes of the C.I.O. . . . The A. F. of L. committee . . . insisted the method of procedure be: The original C.I.O.-affiliate unions would be readmitted into the A. F. of L. on the basis of their original charters; further, the remaining unions affiliated to the C.I.O. would have to meet in conference with the representatives of all the craft organizations of the A. F. of L., which claimed jurisdiction over the employees in the industries involved." Such a procedure—Mr. Murray had little difficulty in pointing out—based as it is on the strategy of "divide and rule," would hardly have provided a practical basis for unity.

But was this the final proposal made by the A. F. of L. negotiators last December? Mr. Murray did not seem to think so in January, a few weeks after the conferences, when he addressed a meeting of the dressmakers union in New York. Then Mr. Murray explained the A. F. of L. plan as follows: "Mr. Green suggested: Well, you C.I.O. men and your thirty-two unions, stay out of the Federation for a while. Appoint your committees and we won't ask you to come in until everybody comes in."

This was what Mr. Murray publicly reported last January, at variance tho it may be with what he is saying today, and this report was confirmed by Mr. Dubinsky and other negotiators. In more detail, the plan was to start negotiations wherever there was some dispute as to jurisdiction—and the industrial jurisdictions of the "original" twelve unions, including the U.A.W., the S.W.O.C., the T.W.O.C. and other great mass-production unions, were granted without controversy; then, when all disputes were adjusted, either thru negotiation or arbitration, all C.I.O. unions, without discrimination or exception, would be admitted into the A. F. of L. Undoubtedly, there are better plans conceivable, but can it be denied that discussions looking towards reunification could have been continued on the basis of this plan? Can it be denied that the resumption of negotiations today at the point where they broke off last December, or on any equivalent basis, would tremendously hearten the ranks of labor, weakened and dispirited as they are by the destructive civil war raging in their midst?

The truth of the matter is that the official spokesmen of the C.I.O. at Pittsburgh did not show much of an understanding of what disunity in labor's ranks really means or much of an appreciation of how intensely the masses of the workers desire unity. "Labor unity is not the paramount question before this convention," Van Bittner declared at one of the sessions. "The paramount question is organizing the unorganized." Another prominent leader of the C.I.O. insisted that "two labor movements are better than none." Such remarks, however appropriate they may have been two years or so ago, when the C.I.O. was just getting into action and the steel, automobile, rubber and other mass-production industries were almost completely untouched, assume an entirely different aspect today. Today, unity is the paramount question; today, two labor movements

World Labor Unity Against War

International Conference Meets in Paris

ON October 29-30, the International Workers Front Against War held an important conference in Paris. In addition to the International Bureau, the International Communist Opposition and the International Youth Bureau, fifteen parties and sections from eight countries (including Germany and Czechoslovakia) were represented. Below is printed the appeal to the workers of the world issued by the conference.

A careful analysis was made of the recent war crisis, the Munich agreement and the present situation, and a concrete policy to resist both imperialist war and imperialist peace was adopted. A committee was appointed to continue the work and to arrange for a fuller conference in December.

The conference was preceded by a meeting of the International Bureau and the Enlarged Bureau. At the former, it was decided to terminate the affiliation of the German Socialist Workers Party to the Bureau in view of the divergence of policy. At the latter, attended by nine parties and sections, in addition to the affiliated parties, an important discussion took place on the situation in Palestine. Two Palestine parties—the Kibbutz Artzi (Socialist Communes Federation) and the Workers Party—were represented, as well as colonial workers groups. A detailed program was adopted.

Appeal To The Workers Of The World

(This declaration was adopted unanimously by the conference referred to in the above report, representing fifteen revolutionary socialist parties and groups in Great Britain, France, Germany, Italy, Czechoslovakia, Spain, Holland, Belgium, Greece and the colonial countries as well as the International Bureau for Revolutionary Socialist Unity, the International Bureau of Revolutionary Socialist Youth and the International Communist Opposition.—Ed.)

DURING recent weeks the rivalries of capitalist imperialism have brought the peoples of the world to the edge of war. The catastrophe was averted chiefly by the opposition of all peoples to war. This opposition made the governments of both the "democratic" imperialist and fascist imperialist states hesitate to embark on a war which they feared might be ended by the overthrow of capitalism in their countries and empires.

But the workers must understand that the imperialist peace which has been concluded at Munich by the governments of Britain, France, Germany and Italy has not removed the danger of war. It has increased the power of fascism, replaced old injustices by new injustices in Czechoslovakia and Central Europe, encouraged the reactionary forces in Britain and France, isolated Soviet Russia, and failed completely to provide the conditions of an enduring peace.

Imperialist "Peace" Means War

In this situation, it is necessary for the working class to mobilize its forces to resist not only imperialist war, but the basis of imperialist peace. If this basis is not destroyed, sooner or later it will produce imperialist war.

The danger in the present situation may very soon come to mean none at all!

But, despite the indifferent, almost frivolous, attitude of certain leaders of the C.I.O. and the bitter hostility of the die-hards on the Executive Council of the A. F. of L., the cause of unity is not lost. Within the C.I.O. unions, there is tremendous pressure for unity among both rank and file and leadership, as was manifested in more than one way at Pittsburgh. In most A. F. of L. affiliates, the desire for unity is at least as strong, perhaps even stronger. Other forces, primarily political, are operating in the same direction. Everything is not yet over, by any means.

But something must be done in a hurry, while there is still time. Let unity negotiations be resumed December, on the basis of the proposals then considered or on the basis of any other reasonable plan or proposal. But let them be resumed!

London, England.

Talking It Over:

Curse of Anti-Semitism

By Bertram D. Wolfe

NOT since the dying years of the late Middle Ages has anti-Semitism been so widespread or Jews subjected to such persecutions and tortures as prevail today. With Nazi Germany as its cultural fountainhead, the shame of anti-Semitism spreads slowly thru the "civilized" world.

How did the land which but yesterday seemed the very source of culture become the center of this monstrous relic of barbarism? What aims are pursued by the Fuehrer? What does it all mean and whither does it lead?

It is customary to call anti-Semitism "medieval," but this is a slander on the Middle Ages. There was an earlier time in the Middle Ages in which the Jew was relatively well treated, when he even occupied a privileged position. It was only when the medieval world was in decay that this blight became universal. It was during the long and brutal centuries when the feudal order was dying and the capitalist order was still powerless to be born, that the Jews were pillaged, tortured, murdered, accused of false crimes, held for collective ransom, and exiled and driven from land to land. One of the first steps in each bourgeois revolution was to abolish the distinctions of caste, remove the disabilities, break down the ghetto walls, emancipate the Jew. But now, to use the words of Lenin, "the decaying bourgeoisie supports everything that is backward, dying and medieval." Fascism is the overripe fruit of capitalism in decay, and the poison spreads, because monopoly capitalism has within itself the seeds of the infection.

The recrudescence of anti-Semitism, like the other forms of resurgent barbarism in the treatment of man by man, is the sign that we have come once more to the point where a social order is dying. The old order is a rotting corpse; the grave-diggers have not yet proved capable of burying it; and corruption spreads thru the world.

IN 1920-30, power was within the grasp of the German working class, but social-democratic treason and communist sectarian stupidity (the Comintern treason came later) gave the forces of reaction their chance. Finding the whole people anti-capitalist as the result of its experiences with war and inflation, Hitler attempted to deflect this anti-capitalism into anti-"Jewish capitalism." Killing two birds with one stone, he sought to make socialism and communism appear "Semitic" too. That was the original social meaning of the Nazi revival of anti-Semitism: the Jew was to be made the goat.

The crazed middle class, having turned in vain to the workers for a way out of the madhouse, now turned to a personal savior, and anti-Semitism served a second purpose: to dispossess Jewish merchants, professional men, government employees, and to reward some of the Nazi followers and enrich their leaders by the dispossession. That was the secondary function of anti-Semitism. Those wealthy Jews who helped finance Hitler believing that his anti-socialism was worth supporting and his anti-Semitism was a mere demagogic device to be abandoned as soon as he reached power, have learned to their sorrow that their calculations were mistaken. Let the lesson be learned by their brethren here: YOU CANNOT FIGHT THE WORKING CLASS AND SOCIALISM TODAY WITHOUT FOSTERING ANTI-SEMITISM!

The agents and beneficiaries of the old and dying social order are ready to hold on at all costs, tho the cost be to limit production, to fetter science, to suppress culture, to prevent thought, to stop discussion, to brutalize the backward, to foment national hatred and race prejudice, to jail, torture, murder the vanguard of progress, to crush the human spirit. (Anti-Semitism is but a small part of this complex of reaction.) Rather than give up its stranglehold upon human progress, the dying order is ready to drag the entire race along with it, into the grave. Let those who are simultaneously "against fascism and socialism," let those who support totalitarianism so long as it is not anti-Semitic, let those who support decaying capitalism with its monopolies, its imperialist iron heel, its augmenting depressions, its million-headed armies of unemployed, its mounting accumulation of instruments of destruction, its dying convulsions in ever bigger and more destructive

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A.L.P. Votes Top 440,000

Alex Rose, state executive secretary of the American Labor Party, charged last week that there had been a deliberate attempt to conceal the true strength of the American Labor Party vote in the original tabulation. Mr. Rose made this charge in the light of the tabulation published last Tuesday showing that 431,439 votes had been cast for Governor Lehman on the A.L.P. line.

"The latest official returns seem to indicate that there has been an apparently deliberate effort to withhold from record the votes cast for the American Labor Party candidates in order to minimize the decisive part played by the American Labor Party in the election of the state candidates," declared Mr. Rose.

"Otherwise we are at a loss to account for the fact that the American Labor Party vote in New York City originally placed at 341,000, now, one week after election day, has been announced at 431,439 for the state, with some election districts still missing. "It should occasion no surprise, once all election districts have been accounted for, if the American Labor Party vote is found to be over 440,000."

Fascism Comes In Thru 'Front Door'

(Continued from Page 3)

ernment, while the C.P. gave the government unconditional, enthusiastic and militant support. Rather than develop and rely upon a conscious, aroused, and powerful independent working-class movement, both the C.P. and S.P. preferred to go along with and depend upon capitalist parties which were already showing their true character. These working-class parties knew what they were doing and got what they should have expected. Today the C.P. has been outlawed in Czechoslovakia and the social-democracy has cut its international ties.

Furthermore, in "democratic" Czechoslovakia, the government had power to censor the press—and it used that power. It had power to stop any and every meeting—if the chairman of the meeting could not vouch for every individual in the audience, the police could act without any further ado. Every party had to submit its membership list to the authorities—a step toward the "coordination" of working-class parties and their ultimate destruction. The Czechoslovak government had the power to close factories and move workers from one part of the country to another. Rule by decree became the order of the day. In order to "fight" German Nazism, a totalitarian regime was instituted in Czechoslovakia itself. And this was in the days before Hitler threatened directly. The Czech ruling class wanted a Czech fascism in the saddle rather than German fas-

A.F.L. Should Clean House

St. Louis Hotel Union Situation Demands Action

By ALBERT EASTON

St. Louis, Mo. THERE is something definitely rotten in the state of affairs of the Hotel and Restaurant Employees International Union and Bartenders Alliance as shown by the turmoil that still continues in connection with Local 430 of the Miscellaneous Hotel Workers Union in St. Louis. A short time ago, it was reported by Edward S. Miller, international vice-president of the union, that peace was being arrived at in the local thru the resignation of Mrs. Kittie Amsler, self-styled "Mussolini and Hitler" of the local. But, a few days ago, Mr. Miller left town suddenly, reporting to William M. Brandt, secretary of the Central Trades and Labor Union, that he was being "forced"

ism. But could the working-class of Czechoslovakia depend upon such "defenders" and such a regime for the solution of its problems? In the Sudeten region, the Communist Party proposed a People's Front to two parties which soon after went over to the party of Henlein. In addition, the Czech government even handed over to the Henlein "union" outfit "its share" of the money appropriated by the government for social and unemployment insurance.

After Munich

If all this was true of pre-Nazi Czechoslovakia, what shall we say of the Czechoslovakia of post-September days! It has thrown itself completely at the feet and the orders of Hitler. And, naturally, many elements of the ruling class have not found this difficult. Anti-fascists have been handed over to the tender mercies of Hitler's hangmen. The Communist Party has been outlawed. Anti-Semitism has become the vogue. A pro-Hitler orientation is being followed by the Foreign Office. Censorship of the press and bans on meetings have become much stricter. Armed bodies in Slovakia have been illegalized except for those adhering to the fascist party of Hlinka and Tiska. Trade unions have been "unified" and "coordinated." Arrangements have been made for direct railroad communication for Germany across Czechoslovakia joining the northern part of Germany with what was once Austria. A customs union has been practically consummated with the former Sudeten region and therefore with Nazi Germany itself. To demonstrate its vassalage to Hitler, the Soviet pact has naturally been dropped; autonomy has been given to the islands of Germans still inside the new borders, while Slovak legions exist in Germany ready to carry out further orders of the Nazi rulers. The trained forces and efficient military cadres of Czechoslovakia will now serve their new master—Hitler, while Czechoslovakia will become a jumping-off board for Germany when it starts its next drive eastward.

(Concluded in the next issue)

out of town by unidentified persons.

Before leaving, Miller turned the reorganization of the Hotel Workers Union over to Brandt. Miller refused to tell Brandt who was responsible for his unexpected departure, saying only that "neither the police nor Kitty Amsler and her group had anything to do with it," according to Mr. Brandt.

Miller, a resident of Kansas City, who arrived in St. Louis shortly after the murder, on September 19, of Arthur Schading, business agent of the electricians union, was questioned by police on September 22 in the inquiry into the murder, after having been taken into custody in company with John R. (Bags) Moran, recording secretary of Bartenders Union, Local No. 51. Moran, a former Chicago associate of the late Gus Winkler, operator of an illicit liquor syndicate during prohibition, was indicted with Monroe (Blackie) Arnes for the machine-gun assassination of John C. Johnson, witness in the Dr. I. D. Kelley kidnaping case. The murder charges were dropped last May because of the State's inability to find an important witness.

Miller, asked by a reporter if he approved of Moran and Sylvester (Babe) Baldwin as officers of the bartenders union, replied: "Those boys are doing a good job. I do not believe in condemning a man just because the police pick him up."

Baldwin's police record includes a burglary sentence to reformatory from which he was paroled from the bench and many arrests for investigation.

No union can prosper with such a crew of officers. The American Federation of Labor must accept responsibility for this situation. If the A. F. of L. Executive Council would only exert such unsavory elements as it does against the C.I.O., then the trade unions of this country could be swept clean of all racketeering parasites. It is a nation-wide job. Trade-union unity would simplify the task enormously. Here is another reason for unity.

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Curse of Anti-Semitism

(Continued from Page 4)

wars—let those who support the dying order ponder this well. . . .

Those of us who perceive the relation between anti-Semitism and capitalist decay, however, cannot limit ourselves to the struggle for socialism. We must take those measures as well which will lighten the blows of the persecutor. We must first of all enormously increase our efforts for direct relief. Second, we must stop merely bewailing the fate of the victims and do something to force open the gates of America to their free entrance. Exclusion of the immigrant is itself a form of persecution, itself a sign of social decay. Third, we must bring overwhelming diplomatic and economic pressure to bear upon the monstrous perpetrators of this crime: the withdrawal of diplomatic representatives, the stopping of loans, the severing of commercial relations. There are dangers in this. Often such measures lead to war. But despite all Roosevelt-Browder ballyhoo to the contrary, there is no real danger of a German-American war at this moment, any more than there was with Czarist Russia when an earlier Roosevelt withdrew an ambassador.

A more serious danger is that the mass of the German people may suffer from these acts. Our only remedy is to increase enormously our aid to underground Germany, so that while these measures weaken the Hitler regime, our aid strengthens the organs of socialist revolution, which alone can put an end to the infamy.

Well-to-do-Jews must be made to understand that, if they are not willing to help the underground movement against Hitler, then the moves to boycott Germany may even help to consolidate his support. And it is not amiss to say a word against the danger of becoming mere war-mongers. Those who are so unthinkingly advocating war today should know by now that they cannot depend upon the ruling class of this country to wage a progressive war, that capitalist war automatically brings dictatorship and reaction at home, that fascism is a product of the last war, that the next—if without proletarian victory—would bring many more such regimes and hasten

World Labor Unity Against War Danger (Continued from Page 4) that war will be prevented. The I.W.F. appeals to workers in all sections of the working-class movement to unite, before it is too late, in support of this policy. It invites them to create an international movement, clear in ideas and strong in action, which will be capable of the historic task of this period—the defeat of war, fascism and imperialism by the overthrow of capitalism and the achievement of workers power and socialism.

World Labor Unity Against War Danger

(Continued from Page 4)

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enormously capitalist decay. And the betrayed masses might perhaps be led to vent their hatred on the war-mongers after the fashion that Hitler has set in Germany towards the "Jewish-Marxist" signers of the Versailles Peace.

A word about Palestine. Here Zionist error and British imperialist intrigue are accumulating fresh dynamite. The duty of the Palestinian Jews and their supporters is clear. Will they have the courage to follow it? They must cut loose from British imperialism. They must guarantee the Arab that they will not try to drive him out or enforce upon him a status of subordination. They must talk less of "control" and of a Jewish state, and more of a Jewish refuge and home. So long as the Arab fears that he will be bought out, crowded out economically, driven out or subjected, he will oppose the opening of the gates. Only if the sponsors of Jewish migration moderate their demands as to control—may, abandon them—and augment their demands as to freedom of immigration, is there any hope of stopping the Arab-Jewish war and forcing the hand of Great Britain by a common front of the Arab and Jewish poor. Here too one must take the decisive step forward towards socialism or one is forced to take the step backward towards fascism. Is there not even a Jewish fascism as well?

And here at home? Our first job is to set our own house in order. How can we fight "racism" in Germany while in our own South, and North too, there exists a very similar method of discrimination against the Negro? And what folly is perpetrated by those Southern (and not only Southern) Jews who play the race-prejudice jim-crow game! Jew or non-Jew, those who play with race prejudice, with the fomenting of war, with measures of "thought-control," with government control of unions, with plans for war-picket dictatorship, with anti-picketing ordinances, are playing with fire. It is time for us to ask why anti-Semitism, so long latent and declining, has flared up afresh? Why fascism has appeared in the twentieth century? It is time to perceive the relationship between these symptoms of social decay and the sickness of a dying social order. It is time to line up on the side of progress, to support, to join, to strengthen the champions here and there, in Germany and at home, of the new social order, the victory of which can alone stop the galloping decay. If you are not willing to do that, there is nothing left but prayer and lamentations and cursing and wringing of hands, and contribution, by inaction or false action, to the spread of universal decay.

(Readers of this paper are invited to express their views on the subjects raised in this article.—Editor.)

B. LIFSHITZ

will speak on "The Road to Unity in the Labor Movement"

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The Case of Ben Mazen

CP Teachers Union Clique Removes Progressive For His Views

By CLAIRE GREENE

New York City

THE Stalinist-controlled Teachers Union, Local 5, New York, voted at a recent meeting to oust Ben Mazen, a member of the Independent Group, from the chairmanship of the Legal Aid and Grievance Committee. About two years ago, before he had allied himself with the Independent Group, Mr. Mazen was appointed chairman of this important committee. At no time was his work or conduct as chairman criticized. Under his leadership, the union won many important cases for victimized teachers. However, Mr. Mazen, dissatisfied with the tactics and policies of the Stalinist administration, joined the Independent Group.

A few weeks ago, Mr. Mazen was called in by the president of the union, Charles Hendley, a Stalinist stooge parading as a "socialist," who advised him of the fact that he was to be replaced as committee chairman. Mr. Hendley said he based his action on four charges: (1) Mr. Mazen "discouraged" teachers who came to him with complaints; (2) he never championed any cases before the educational authorities; (3) he was at variance with the union attorney on the conduct of cases; and (4) he did not take the lead in the work of the committee but acted mainly as a critic.

The local executive board concurred on all four charges and approved the appointment of one of the Stalinists as the new chairman. Yet all four charges were wholly false and unwarranted. Repeated requests for evidence to substantiate these charges were unheeded. While Mr. Mazen was chairman of the Legal Aid and Grievance Committee, over 300 cases were hand-

The Pay-Off

"REPORTS in the hands of the President from his political observers declare that some of the widespread opposition to the Democratic candidates had its inception in antagonism to any 'meddling' by the United States in foreign affairs."—John O'Donnell and Doris Fleeson, in the New York Daily News, November 10.

led. Mr. Mazen has numerous testimonials from teachers whose cases were tried; yet Mr. Mazen was accused of "discouraging" teachers! Mr. Mazen had appeared before Board of Education officials on numerous occasions. He expressed disagreement with the union attorney only when the executive committee sanctioned such action. The fourth charge is simply ridiculous in view of his generally recognized untiring efforts in the committee work.

It is obvious from the facts of the case that the only real "charge" against Mr. Mazen was that he was an active member of the Independent Group and that he held a post in the union which won him too much popularity for the administration's liking. The real "charge" was that the union administration wished to drive out all opposition. The administration spokesmen stated, in arguing the case, that no one who disagreed with its policies could work successfully in the union. The administration rules by undemocratic steam-roller methods. It is ready to go to any extent in vilifying members who disagree with it and in attempting to discredit them before other union members. Mr. Mazen, the champion of victimized teachers, is an outstanding victim of such tactics.

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Open the Doors to Refugees!

I.L.L.A. Appeals For Letting Down Immigration Bars To Victims Of Nazi Persecution

Strong condemnation of the anti-Semitic terror of the Nazi regime, coupled with a demand upon the United States government for unrestricted entry here of all victims of fascism, marked the closing sessions of the National League of America in New York last week.

While approving the statement of President Roosevelt, Jay Lovestone, secretary of the I.L.L.A., stressed the necessity of immediate action to cut immigration law red-tape.

Far more than "mere expressions of inspiring sentiment" were on the order of the day, he declared in a letter to the President and to Secretary of State Cordell Hull.

"Unrestricted entry into the United States of all refugees, without regard to race, color, creed, or political affiliation," was urged upon the President. Following is the text of the letter to Mr. Roosevelt:

"We note with satisfaction that the government, thru the personage of the President, has so strongly condemned the bestial terror and persecutions of the Hitler regime in Germany.

"It is our opinion, however, that the great wave of revulsion at Nazi brutality which is now sweeping this country must evoke far more than mere expressions of inspiring sentiment. We therefore urge upon the government immediate action in line with the convictions and feelings of the great masses of the American people, and especially of the labor movement.

"It is not enough, we stress, that the present persecutions of the Jews, the expected drive against the Catholics, or the past, present,

and future suppression and terrorization of the once great German labor and socialist movement be condemned in words.

"To give true humanitarian significance to the words of the President, action to open wide the doors of the United States to all victims of fascism must be forthcoming immediately. In these times of organized savagery and barbarism, the red tape of officialdom must be cut; the immigration laws cannot be permitted, in our opinion, to stand in the way of the most urgent need of the hour—unrestricted entry into the United States of all refugees, without regard to race, color, creed or political affiliation."

THAT the assassination of Ernst vom Rath was only a pretext for the sudden savage attacks on the Jews in Germany and the levying of the huge \$400,000 "fine" upon them, is virtually admitted by the Berlin Boersen-Zeitung of November 19, which writes:

"The promptness with which the bill was presented shows the preparations had been made long in advance. . . . Vom Rath's murder only precipitated this intended course of action."

Picketing at Nazi Consulate in N.Y.

New York City.

Five hundred workers took part in a striking picket-demonstration before the German Consulate in New York City on Saturday, November 19. This demonstration, so far the only one to raise a workingclass viewpoint and to make further demands upon the United States government, was organized jointly by the Independent Labor League of America, the Socialist Party and the Socialist Workers Party.

The central slogan of the protest, both shouted and born aloft on many placards, was the demand that President Roosevelt open the doors of America to all victims of fascism, regardless of political affiliation. In view of the fact that the numerous Administration denunciations of the Nazi terror have not yet brought forth any action save a promise to extend the visitors permits of refugees already in this country, this demand is of central importance and must be taken up by the labor movement and liberals generally. Emphasis was also placed on the slogan declaring the "struggle against fascism is the struggle against capitalism."

The demonstration lasted more than two hours, its effectiveness giving rise to discussions of the possibility of a joint mass protest meeting, sponsored by the same organizations.

How Labor Party Develops

(Continued from Page 3)

the old parties, wages open war against them both. And yet the A.L.P. was also formed under the sign of loyalty to the New Deal.

Political realities are notoriously hard for doctrinaire radicals to grasp and it is hardly to be wondered at that some of the super-radical spokesmen of the Socialist Party make it their special point of pride to misunderstand what is happening right before their eyes. "Organized labor," Frank N. Trager tells us in the September-October issue of the Socialist Review, "is giving a 'splendid' version of the Gompers philosophy. It is rewarding friends and punishing enemies up and down the line. President Green and the Executive Council of the A. F. of L. join hands figuratively with the presumably 'progressive' American Labor Party in picking out 'good' Republicans and 'good' Democrats." With such an absurd hodge-podge doing service for political analysis, we can begin to make out the curious policy of the S.P. in the recent elections, from the sham "independence" in Michigan to the head-on attack on the A.L.P. in New York and the refusal to back outstanding labor men and women running on the A.L.P. ticket. Make it out, yes; but understand it, never!

Experience has shown us that the independent labor support of New Deal candidates may sometimes serve as an external framework for the development of a labor-party movement in its formative stages, as a starting-point for the movement, so to speak. Then, when the movement reaches its political maturity, it must break thru this scaffolding and ultimately discard it. This scheme of development is not something spun out of our own inner consciousness; it would assuredly have been far neater and more direct were it such. Unfortunately, it is the scheme of development imposed by the compelling force of political reality.

But a scaffolding or a frame-

work may very well serve to hamper the full completion of the structure within if it is not removed in time. At any rate, it is clear that New Deal orientation of the labor-party movement may well become, indeed must inevitably become, an obstacle to the development of the movement once it passes out of its formative stages. For, let us emphasize again, full political independence of labor implies an independent and critical attitude to the New Deal as well as a recognition of its true character and social significance. This process of maturing is being gravely hindered by the policy of indiscriminate fusion with the Democrats along Popular Front and hence anti-labor party lines, practised by Labor's Non-Partisan League in certain sections of the country, especially where Stalinist influence is marked. The whole emphasis today should manifestly be in the direction of ever-greater independence, political and organizational. The essential condition for such a course of development is the increasing dissipation of the illusions about New Deal Democracy today harbored by almost the whole body of labor. Here experience itself will be the prime teacher. The very fact that the American people are already beginning to vote along income-group lines (roughly, class lines), as Dr. Gallup shows, is a welcome sign of awakening consciousness, with far-reaching implications for the future. It is full of vast dynamic possibilities; once the masses get to acting politically along economic lines, if only in a primitive, undeveloped form, they are not likely to stop, despite all defeats and retreats, until they have completed the journey to political independence.

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