

At First Glance

By Jay Lovestone

(With this issue, we are resuming the regular weekly column by Jay Lovestone.—Editor.)

A few sidelights on the Chamberlain-Hitler escapade at Berchtesgaden will not be out of place. Here are some facts which have never before seen the light of printers ink: Lord Stamp, czar of British railways and mogul of the Bank of England; Lord MacGowan of Imperial Chemicals fame; and Lord Brocket, British beer king and highest up in Tory party councils, attended the last Nazi congress at Nuremberg in order to find out from Hitler just how much he wanted for "peace" on his own pattern. "Der Fuehrer" talked turkey and said: "Sudeten, to begin with." Lord Brocket flew back to Chamberlain with the terms. Chamberlain soon flew to Hitler. An agreement was, after such important preparations, arrived at and the question of a four-power pact—of the two greatest "democracies" in partnership with the two greatest fascist powers—was given most favorable consideration. The Soviet diplomats were entirely ignored in these confabs—quite naturally. The diplomacy of "collective security" can but lead to collective insecurity—for the great mass.

SIGNIFICANT LABOR DEVELOPMENTS

SLOWLY but definitely we are heading towards significant developments in the American trade-union movement. These will involve the A.F. of L. as well as the C.I.O. Most of the change has, of course, taken place in the latter which has in the last two years been the more alive and the more active. At the moment, we desire merely to register some of the important factors and forces which have gone into the unfolding of a new trade-union picture, a new situation in the American labor movement.

For the C.I.O., the situation has undoubtedly been made more difficult, more critical by the costly effects of the defeat in the "little-steel" strike; the hardships imposed by the economic crisis on new, insufficiently experienced and not yet stabilized organizations in the especially hard-hit mass-production industries; the fatally pernicious role of the Stalinites who have, for a number of peculiar reasons, been able to worm their way into the roof and floor of the edifice; the inability to-date to develop, or, for that matter, even to try seriously to develop, a collective leadership; finally, the danger of a costly loosening of the bonds with such genuinely progressive unions as the I.L.G.W.U.

The A.F. of L. was less hard hit by the economic crisis primarily because it was not rooted in some of the most gravely affected heavy industries and because it was the more consolidated and experienced organization. But untold ravages have been inflicted on the A.F. of L., which has also grown substantially in the last couple of years, by the reactionary and petty spite-policy of its top leadership.

In the light of the above developments and in view of the terrific tension flowing out of the acute international situation, trade-union unity is now more urgent than ever.

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Workers Age

A PAPER DEFENDING THE INTERESTS OF WORKERS AND FARMERS

Vol. 7, No. 41.

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ALP Expects Big Advance

Leaders Tell Trade Union Conference Of Party's Prospects In 1938

More than 350 delegates, representing A. F. of L. and C.I.O. affiliates of the American Labor Party, present at the A.L.P.'s trade-union conference at Hotel Astor on September 28, heard Alex Rose, state executive secretary of the party; David Dubinsky, president of the I.L.G.W.U.; and Luigi Antonini, state chairman of the party, declare that the A.L.P. would play an even more decisive part in the coming election than in the two preceding ones. Luigi Antonini presided.

The conference was called in order to mobilize trade-union support for the A.L.P. campaign. After outlining the main tasks of campaign work, Mr. Rose went on to discuss the party's prospects in the coming elections.

Mr. Rose also dwelt on the non-partisan composition of the conference, pointing out that it contained representatives of both A. F. of L. and C.I.O. unions. He declared that "the American Labor Party refuses to become the expression of any labor faction and will continue to represent all those whose sympathies are linked with organized labor."

President Dubinsky stressed the same point, declaring that the issue of C.I.O. and A. F. of L. was not involved in the task set itself by the party. "The only issue involved," he stated, "is labor, whether it is C.I.O. or A. F. of L."

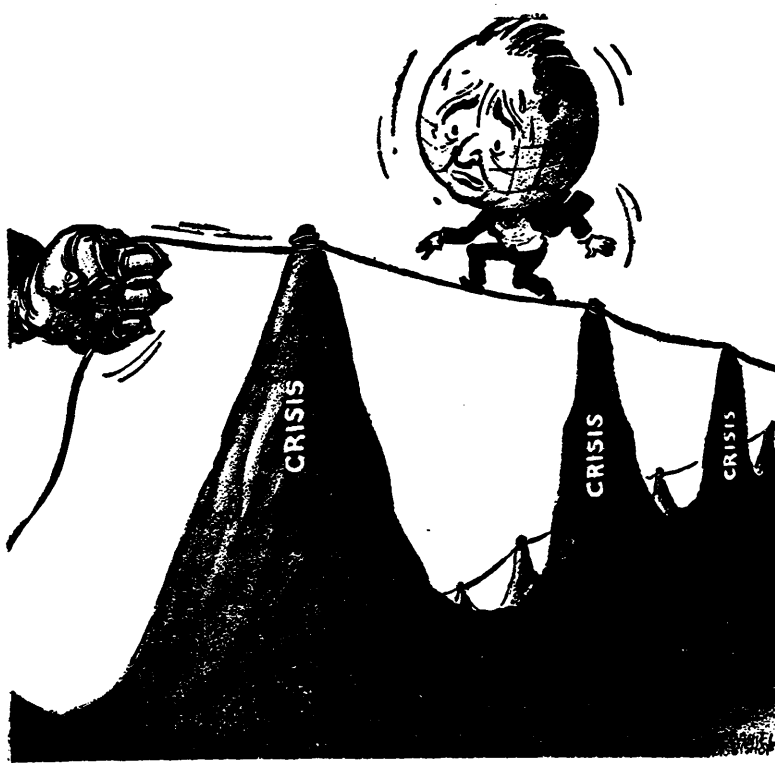
Special Anti-War Conference in N.Y.

An emergency conference of the Keep America Out of War movement in New York City has been called for Saturday afternoon, October 8, at the Methodist Building, 150 Fifth Avenue. Neighborhood groups and affiliated organizations are asked to send representatives. Each invited organization is entitled to two delegates, according to the conference call.

This special conference is being convened in view of the very tense international situation and the danger of American involvement in war. Among the matters to be considered at the conference are: the nature of the present emergency (Norman Thomas reporting), the fall plans of the National Governing Committee (Bertram D. Wolfe), youth activities (Leo Kent), finances (Dr. Allan K. Chalmers), and the proposed mass-meeting (Leonard Bright). John T. Flynn, the chairman of the New York K.A.O.W.C., will preside.

The Keep America Out of War movement was launched some months ago by representatives of labor, peace, political, civic and other anti-war groups. A big national congress was held towards the end of May in Washington at which over a thousand delegates pledged united resistance to any effort to involve America in war.

TOWARDS THE ABYSS



Bishop in The St. Louis Star-Times

Anti-War Groups Protest Roosevelt Mexican Policy

Ask "Sympathy And Practical Aid" For Mexico

Demanding that the State Department "alter its policy from one of embarrassment to one of positive encouragement for Mexico," three federations of anti-war organizations made public last week a letter sent to President Roosevelt on the Mexican situation. The three signatories of this letter are: the Keep America Out of War Committee, Clarence Senior, executive secretary; the Labor Anti-War Council, Tucker P. Smith, national secretary; and the Youth Committee Against War, Alvaine Hollister, executive secretary.

The "good-neighbor" policy, they told the President, "calls for sympathy and practical aid in the present crisis." Workers in American factories are losing jobs because of the present crisis and Mexico is being forced to trade with fascist powers, the letter declares.

The letter follows in part: "We hope that the government of the United States is not going to continue pursuing a policy which may turn Mexico into a new-world Spain.

"The 'good-neighbor' policy calls for sympathy and practical aid for Mexico in the present crisis.

"Foreign exploitation has denied the Mexican people their rightful heritage, control of their own natural resources. Since 1910, armed intervention and diplomatic pressure have brought abandonment of many plans to raise their abominably low standard of living.

"Pressure applied now may succeed in stopping the Cardenas government on its march toward political and economic freedom, but only at the expense of the peace of the western hemisphere. The days

of the disfranchised and silent Mexican masses are gone. The people south of the Rio Grande are listening both to progressive and reactionary appeals to action. At present, our State Department is aiding the reactionary campaign against the Cardenas government. "If that government is overthrown by a more successful counterpart of General Cedillo, we will bear a large share of responsibility. Intervention by the fascist forces of Germany, Italy, or Japan or the representatives of British imperialism will bring the horrors of the Spanish 'civil' war onto our doorstep.

"Mr. President, let Mexico solve its domestic problems without interfering on behalf of that small fraction of our citizens who have taken the natural wealth of Mexico for years and have already pocketed many times their initial investment. Remember that the oil companies would still be in possession of the wells if they had obeyed the labor laws of the country in which they chose to invest.

"Recognize that the oil companies, by their refusal to accept payment in kind and their sabotage of the sale of Mexican oil abroad, are endangering all commerce with Mexico. Jobs are lost by workers in our factories making mining and quarrying machinery, refinery equipment, steel plates, railroad cars, tractors, automobiles and parts, and radios, which were purchased in large quantities until the oil crisis. Mexico is forced, against her sympathies, to deal with fascist nations.

"Our government has accepted the refusal of European states to

Powers Sell Out Czechs

Munich Conference Gives Nazis Everything; New 4-Power Pact Seen

Meeting at Adolf Hitler's Fuehrerhaus in Munich, the heads of the four big European imperialist powers, two fascist and two "democratic," reached an agreement last week on the dismemberment of Czechoslovakia for the benefit of Nazi Germany, Poland and Hungary. Czech representatives were not even permitted to be present at the sessions. The Munich conferences also served as the starting point for a very significant realignment in European politics, leading to a four-power pact along lines frequently urged by the British Foreign Office.

The apparent deadlock that resulted after Chamberlain's trip to Godesberg, and which many feared would lead to war, was broken when Premier Mussolini, under British instigation, came forward as "mediator" and proposed the four-power parley at Munich. It did not take long for an agreement to be reached, since the only problem was to work out ways and means of granting Germany's full demands in a "decent" and "tolerable" form, that is, in a form that could be forced on Czechoslovakia.

The official result of the deliberations of the "big four," Hitler, Mussolini, Chamberlain and Daladier, was an eight-point pact along the following lines:

1. The evacuation of the Sudeten region is to begin on October 1. This was the date set by Hitler in his Godesberg ultimatum to Czechoslovakia.
2. The evacuation is to be completed by October 10.
3. An international commission, composed of the four powers plus Czechoslovakia, is to lay down conditions governing the evacuation.
4. and 5. The evacuation is to take place in five stages.
6. A plebiscite on annexation to Germany is to be held in still other regions, as determined by the International Commission. When all of these steps

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pay their debts without threatening them with reprisals. It is almost inevitable that we should ask whether the difference in treatment is in proportion to our ability to bully the nation involved.

"We hope, Mr. President, that the interests of the vast mass of us, who want peace with our southern neighbors, who want to see a continued increase in trade and tourist traffic with Mexico, who want to see the Mexican people succeed in their struggle to set themselves free, will not be sacrificed to the interests of oil men, either United States or British, or to the small group of landlords whose land has been given back to its original owners.

"We are convinced that the people of the United States desire and demand that their State Department alter its policy from one of embarrassment to one of positive encouragement for Mexico. Let's not make Mexico another Spain!"

ANTI-WAR MEETING

FRIDAY, OCTOBER 7 at Hotel Center

Speakers: JAY LOVESTONE and D. BENJAMIN

At First Glance

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In a most practical immediate sense, this problem is on the order of the day. It transcends all personalities and petty organization advantages.

THE WAR IN THE FAR EAST

EVERYBODY is all keyed up over the European situation. Too many of us are overlooking the major war in the Far East—the Japanese drive toward Hankow. The fall of this city to the Japanese imperialist army would be of far greater significance than the loss of Shanghai, Nanking and Hsuechow. What is more, such a victory or defeat for Japan would have tremendous consequences for Europe itself. The fate of Hankow will determine in no small measure the Japanese policy in the event of a Hitler attack on Soviet Ukraine next Spring.

We are not among those who think, because they wish or are ordered to, that China cannot lose the war regardless of how many cities she loses. There are cities and cities. If Hankow should become a second Madrid, it would spell far more serious danger to Tokyo than did its parallel in the Spanish war for Franco. But if Hankow should be lost, China loses her point of communication South, with Canton—the chief source of supplies from other lands—North, with Shensi and Honan and West to Szechuan. This would be fatal to the unity and effectiveness of China's resistance. It would drive a costly wedge between North and South China. After this, the Japanese would not extend their lines further but would seek consolidation of their gains, strive for a stranglehold on conquered territory and be free to time a move against the Soviet Union with the Hitler hordes.

A DANGEROUS CLAUSE

THE bill of Rights (Article I) of the Constitution adopted by the recent New York State Convention should not be swallowed whole by the workers of the Empire State. Several new provisions have been added to it. Amongst these is a declaration

Farm Union Ousts C.P.er

The National Executive Council of the Southern Tenant Farmers Union, sitting as a trial board in Memphis, Tennessee last week unanimously ordered the removal of Claude C. Williams as an officer of the union, according to H. L. Mitchell, secretary of the S.F.T.U.

A resolution was adopted stating that, for reasons established to the satisfaction of the executive council and "in the best interest of the union and the labor movement in general," all connections with Commonwealth College would be severed once and for all and Claude Williams removed as member of the executive council.

This action was taken following the discovery of a document outlining plans for the "capture" of the Southern Tenant Farmers Union for the Communist Party. (The most important sections of this document were published in the September 17 issue of this paper.)

Editor: Williams, according to the document, is a member of the Communist Party and was to lead a movement to take over the sharecroppers organization. Williams is at present director of Commonwealth College.

that labor is not a commodity. This is older than the hill-tops and has, time and again, been mounded even by Mussolini. At best, it's meaningless. Often, it is fraught with dangerous interpretations by the gentlemen of the robe dispensing injustice to labor.

Another "labor" provision is garbed in sugary and threadbare verbiage, but it may well serve as the basis for a fatal legal onslaught on the trade-union movement of the state. This section provides that "employees shall have the right to organize and to bargain collectively thru representatives of their own choosing." Stated thus, with no guarantees, it is the position of Landon and Vandenberg. This section affords the groundwork for allowing and encouraging company unionism. It obliterates the majority rule set down by the Labor Relations Board in the Houde case. This provision, because it threatens the very existence of closed-shop contracts, deserves the most vigorous hostility of the American Labor Party and all labor organizations. Sept. 28, 1938.

Negro Budgets in N.Y.

By FAITH M. WILLIAMS

HOUSING constitutes the greatest single problem of Negro families in New York City trying to make both ends meet. Living quarters for Negroes in the nation's largest metropolis are limited to a few small sections of the five boroughs which make up New York City. Their dwellings are small and rents are unduly high in comparison with the facilities furnished. As a result, Negro families are compelled to spend more on housing than white families despite their smaller average incomes.

Most of the chief breadwinners of the 100 self-supporting Negro families studied by the Bureau of Labor Statistics in New York City worked at unskilled or semi-skilled jobs. Several had skilled jobs and about one-sixth of the total had various kinds of clerical employment. Families on relief or having an income of less than \$500 a year were not covered. Half of the Negro families had annual incomes of less than \$1,340 compared with the halfway mark of \$1,952 found among the group of white families studied in New York City. In 7 out of every 10 families reviewed, the income of the family head was bolstered by the earnings of one or more other members of the family.

On the whole, expenditures of Negro families at different economic levels followed the same general pattern which was found among a group of white families studied in New York City (see report in the Workers Age, Sept. 10, 1938.—Editor). In both white and Negro groups, families with greater purchasing power bought more nourishing food and better clothing and spent larger sums for recreation, medical aid, etc. Because of fewer opportunities for renting or owning better dwellings, the expenditures for housing among Negro families in all economic groups were relatively larger than for white families and the accommodations secured were relatively poorer.

Expenditures For Food

Out of every dollar spent by Negro families at the lowest economic level, 36 cents went for food, compared with 24 cents among families at the highest level. In actual amounts, however, families at the highest economic level spent about \$252 per person for food, or nearly 3 times as much as families at the lowest economic level, whose annual expenditures for food amounted to 87c per person. The tendency for families with greater purchasing power to spend more money for meals away from home, which was noted among white

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families, also appeared in the Negro group.

Clothing And Housing

Expenditures for men's clothing averaged \$37 per year at the lowest economic level, compared with \$68 at the highest level. Among Negro women, clothing expenditures were more than twice as high in the highest economic group as in the lowest.

Ninety-nine out of the 100 Negro families included in the survey rented their dwellings. Not one of these families lived in a one-family house and only four lived in two-family houses. Crowding was prevalent, especially among families in the lower economic groups. Only three families had play space included with the rental of their dwellings, and children of most families had to play in the streets. All Negro families had inside flush toilets and inside running water. All but two families had electricity for lighting. The large majority of Negro families at every economic level used ice for refrigeration. Expenditures for house furnishings and equipment varied markedly at different economic levels. Families with low purchasing power spent about \$20 per year on furniture, rugs, curtains, dishes, silverware, etc., compared with \$79 per year for families with relatively greater purchasing power.

Recreation And Medical Care

Negro families at the highest economic level spent relatively more for recreation than did families at the lowest level. Tobacco ranked first, with movie expenditures second in all the economic groups. Total expenditures on movies by Negro families were not so large as the sum spent by white families with comparable purchasing power.

Reading material purchased by Negro families centered largely about the newspapers bought on the street. Only a relatively few families reported purchases of books other than school texts, and no family listed payments for books borrowed from loan libraries. A somewhat larger proportion of Negro families, as compared with white families at the same economic level, owned radios. They also spent relatively more on pets.

Even among Negro families at the highest economic level, average expenditures for medical care were less than half the expenditures estimated as necessary for health by the Committee on the Cost of Medical Care. Expenditures for medical care ranged from \$3.62 per person per year at the lowest economic level to \$16.72 at the highest level. On the average the largest expenditures for all families were for medicine and drugs and for the services of general practitioners. At the highest level, the largest expenditure was for dentist's services. No family reported expenditures for nursing service or for a bed in a ward in a hospital.

(The above paragraphs are from an article by Faith M. Williams in the Labor Information Bulletin of August 1938.—Editor.)

RUBBER WORKERS URGES TRADE UNION UNITY

Unity between the A. F. of L. and the C.I.O. on the basis of industrial unionism, was strongly urged in a resolution unanimously adopted by the third annual convention of the United Rubber Workers of America, a C.I.O. affiliate, held at Trenton, N. J., last week.

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Powers Sell Out Czechs

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are completed, Hitler will have gotten practically all the territory he demanded in his Godesberg ultimatum. 7. The population will be permitted to move in or out of the ceded territories for a period of six months. 8. Sudeten Germans in the military or police forces of the Czechoslovak state are to be released if they so desire. All Sudeten political prisoners are to be freed.

An annex to this agreement pledges Britain and France as "guarantors" of Czechoslovakia's new boundaries. When the question of Polish and Hungarian minorities is settled, which must be within three months, Germany and Italy will join as "guarantors." This last point means that Poland and Hungary have also been empowered to grab their slices of Czechoslovakia—which Poland has already done. It is obvious, of course, that the "guarantee" pledged is a mere scrap of paper.

These cessions are bound to bring about the economic collapse of Czechoslovakia and result in a great gain to Germany in the way of raw materials and manufacturing resources. Czechoslovakia is now faced with the prospect of becoming an economic and political vassal-state of Germany.

Thus have Hitler's chief aims been accomplished thru the connivance of the "great democracies." Where he will turn next is uncertain but the probabilities are that some move will be made in the direction of Rumania. Here economic domination is more likely than any attempt at annexation. Rumania is necessary to the Nazis both for its resources and as an approach for an attack on Soviet Ukraine.

Of equal importance are the moves made towards a four-power "security" pact in Europe, embracing England, France, Germany and Italy, but definitely barring and therefore directed against the Soviet Union. The whole aspect of world politics is bound to be greatly changed by this development. The Soviet Union stands completely isolated and exposed to imperialist attack. The phantom of "collective security"—for it was never more than a deceptive phantom—is now definitely gone; the imperialist power-politics that dominates international relations is now out in the open.

After the regular sessions at Munich, Chamberlain and Hitler met separately and signed a pledge of "perpetual peace." Negotiations for a similar "pact" are said to be under way between Daladier and Hitler.

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Government as Employer

Have Civil Service Workers the Basic Rights of Labor?

By I. M. HAMILTON

THE government in all its branches is by far the biggest employer of labor in this country. Federal, state and local government units thruout the land employ approximately 3,250,000 people today—three times the number of railroad men, about five times the number of steel workers, five or six times the number of coal miners. And the number is rapidly growing, more rapidly than in any other field of employment. The federal government today employs 870,000; when Roosevelt took office, it employed only 570,000. Back in the days when the present civil-service system was adopted, federal employees numbered no more than 110,000; today, New York alone employs 150,000!

Real Significance Of Problem

Yet the significance of the problem passes beyond mere numbers or even rapidity of growth. The real significance lies in the fact that the employer is the government and the government considers itself entitled to special rights and privileges as an employer and regards its employees as deprived of rights and privileges that the ordinary citizen possesses as an employee in private industry. Because it is the final representative of authority in the community, it therefore lays claim to the absolute and unquestioned allegiance of all those who are in its service. There are some, indeed, such as Nicholas Murray Butler, who go so far as to maintain that every employee of the government owes it the same kind of obedience, whether the service be civil or military. This is, of course, an extreme statement of the case but it is, after all, essentially the standpoint of the government. The government as such demands final authority over its agents even if it does not, for obvious reasons, exert the same power over its civil employees as over those in the military service.

This is important from the point of view of the civil servant as a worker and a citizen. In effect, the government refuses to bargain with its employees on the same basis as private employers and it strongly challenges the right of its employees to organize on the same basis as employees in private industry, their right to affiliate with the labor movement and, above all, their right to strike.

On what grounds does it take this position? Ordinarily the argument is that its unchallenged authority is necessary for the continuance of social existence. Without such authority over its employees, we are told, the whole social fabric would collapse.

Types Of Government Functions

And yet there is nothing in the character of employment of the great bulk of civil servants to give any color of justification to this argument. Leaving aside for the time being the fundamental social and class character of the governmental functions which the governmental machinery performs. These functions can be classified roughly under several heads.

First of all, there are the ordinary administrative functions which any plant, concern or institution must engage in in order to keep going. This involves such occupations as keeping records, filing, general clerical work, etc. Obviously government employees engaged in such activities can see no difference between their work and the work of private employees engaged in similar occupations, nor does the social fabric seem to depend more on the one than on the other.

There seems to be no reason why the one group should not have the same rights and privileges as the other.

Another class of occupations are the social-service functions—the administration of public relief, the dispensing of education, the conduct of public-health activities, the operation of hospitals, and so on. Obviously, here too these functions are of essentially the same kind as the comparable functions in private enterprises. There is no reason for denying the government-hospital worker civil and industrial rights which the private-hospital workers are supposed to enjoy.

The third great class of civil servants are engaged in industrial activities—manufacture, repair, transportation, communications, etc. Here the functions are exactly analogous to those in private industry. The government manufactures armaments in public plants and it does so in private plants. A tie-up of the railroads, of

transportation, of lighting, of communications, which are all predominantly in private hands, would surely hit the community a great deal harder than the tie-up of any industrial service that is today of a public character. As a matter of fact, there is such complete interdependence between the industrial activities of the government and those in private hands that it is impossible to make any valid distinction between the civil and industrial rights of one group and those of the other.

By Right Of Defiance

Of course, large groups of government employees do organize and exercise their rights as employees despite the absolutist claims of the government. The three-and-a-quarter million civil servants, let us remember, are also three-and-a-quarter million citizens with votes, and the effectiveness of their political pressure is the greater because of their greater concern with what the government

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The Mexican Oil Crisis

Attitude Of English And American Imperialism

By ELLEN WARD

(This is the sixth of Ellen Ward's series of articles on Mexico.—Editor.)

THE decree expropriating foreign oil holdings in Mexico was a serious blow at Anglo-American imperialism. Many people have asked why Cardenas chose precisely that moment for this very important step. And there are many answers. Some say that last year's drought came just when farm organizations were not functioning perfectly. Many workers on government projects had to be laid off because there was no more money to pay them. Then there were the preparations for a reactionary revolt captained by Cedillo. All of these factors had to be counteracted by some bold step to assure the continued support of the masses and the country as a whole. Then, too, there was the proximity of the presidential election. But that can not be all. It seems to me that even more important than the above was his realization that he could get away with such a move without too much pressure from the "good neighbor" because the world was facing another major war; that in the next war, as in the last, Latin America would be a vital necessity for the Yankee hinterland and the Anglo-American combine; that neither of the great imperialist powers could afford to antagonize Latin America at this juncture; that England was so embroiled in European politics and that Roosevelt had trumpeted his "good-neighbor" policy for such a stretch of years, that both would be compelled to swallow the move. Expecting all this, he was therefore, very much astonished at the arrogant tone of British diplomacy.

Great Britain has not budged from its position. It still insists on the return of all seized oil properties.

The Attitude of the United States

To the relief of the Mexican government, the United States has taken a somewhat different position, officially at least. It has recognized the sovereign right of Mexico to expropriate foreign holdings but has insisted that proper payment for said holdings must be made. President Roosevelt, in his Florida speech, right after the expropriation, stated that the claims of American oil companies would be limited and that said claims must be based on actual investments in Mexico and not on prospective profits. In the Administration point of view, the oil interests affected in Mexico comprise different groups:

1. Those who went into Mexico, bought a state legislature and thru bribery acquired title to hundreds of thousands of acres for nothing except the cost of the bribes of maybe two or three cents an acre. Those coming within this category have put in their claims far in excess of their actual investments.

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Another Trotskyist "Turn"

WE note with satisfaction that the Socialist Workers Party (Trotskyite) has completely reversed itself on the question of the labor-party movement. In a resolution published in the Socialist Appeal of October 1, we are informed that the party "gives positive and unambiguous support to the labor-party movement in general and to all its local manifestations," among which Labor's Non-Partisan League is also included.

Such reversals of policy have been rather common with the S.W.P. lately. First, in trade-union policy; then, on the war-referendum issue; now, on the labor-party

movement. Since these reversals have been in the right direction, we need not complain. But isn't it significant that the Trotskyites too have to fall back on the old Stalinist dodge of "changed conditions" to explain away their changes of line? Isn't it curious that they too have to resort to face-saving attacks on the "Lovestonites" while moving uncertainly in the direction of our policies?

Just another question: Is this labor-party "turn" of the Trotskyites any more than another maneuver undertaken for partisan aggrandizement, as was the brief adventure in the S.P. recently?

Can Stalinism Learn?

Recent Events Reveal Full Bankruptcy of C.I.

By BERTRAM D. WOLFE

A growing tendency in Soviet press and official circles," reads a Moscow Associated Press dispatch of September 22, "was to emphasize belief in the essential sameness of all imperialist powers, whether active aggressors or collaborators with aggressors. Some diplomatic observers reached the conclusion that Moscow . . . would use it—the capitulation of Czechoslovakia—as a groundwork for a new, vigorous campaign against all imperialist governments."

A Costly Lesson

If this prediction is true, it is all to the good. But it is hard to believe, alas, that those who are dictating Soviet foreign policy have really learned that elementary lesson. And, if they have learned it, at what a cost! What shall we think of those brought up on the teachings of Marxism, more or less closely associated for years with the author of "Imperialism" (Lenin), what shall we think of men who boast such a training and profess such a theory, yet have to "discover" or rediscover the connection between imperialism and war and the essential complicity of all imperialist powers, whether "sated" or "hungry," in the preparation of war? It is as if a group of physicists should solemnly enter a laboratory where a Bunsen flame is burning and decide to thrust the hand of some "subject" into the flame to see whether fire still burns or whether "conditions have changed" since the last time somebody tried it.

What now has been gained from the years spent in the whooping it up for the "great democracies"? In the liquidation of the Communist International as a revolutionary force? In the "abolition" of the class struggle? In the voting of war credits? In the betrayal of the colonial peoples? In the attempt to preach the "unity of the nation"? In the false distinction between the "fat" powers that are trying to hold on to what they got from the last war and the "revies" that division of the spoils? In the pretense that the workers can rely on their rulers, who are "good," all except "sixty" or "two hundred families" of them?

The Communist International glorified Poland, concealed the fact that it was a raked military dictatorship, proclaimed it a "small nation" which should be defended by the "great democracies," dissolved its Communist Party and murdered ("purged") all of its leaders. Now Poland sends its ultimatum to Czechoslovakia and demands its share of the spoils.

It glorified the British Empire, ruthless ruler of one-fifth of the earth, as the leader of the "great democracies." It proposed unity of these great democracies after

England and France had surrendered Ethiopia to Italy, Spain to Mussolini and Hitler. It continued its campaign for "collective security" after Austria was gobbled up, and even as late as yesterday—I have not yet seen today's Daily Worker—after Czechoslovakia was thrown into Hitler's waiting arms.

It would seem in all logic and decency—if those things still have any weight—that the Daily Worker would cease at last to urge the "union of the great democracies against the aggressor," and return to the policy of the union of the working class against their rulers in all lands. It would seem too that the Daily Worker would "rediscover" at last that bourgeois "democracy" is but a less drastic form of capitalist dictatorship than is fascism, that capitalist "democracy" in its declining days is the breeding-ground of fascism, that only proletarian democracy (workers rule) can lead out of class dictatorship to a classless society. And rediscover that the ruling class of England and France and the United States prefer Hitler and Mussolini to "chaos" (their name for proletarian rule) and will give Hitler and Mussolini what they need to maintain themselves in power.

It would seem too that the Stalinists today now "discover" that capitalism today is inseparable from imperialism, that imperialism leads inevitably to war, that only the abolition of capitalism will "keep war from the world," that a struggle against war is inseparable from a struggle against one's own ruling class and one's own imperialism.

"Buried" Truth

The "line" of the Seventh Congress of the Communist International and all the subsequent monstrosities that were peddled in its name, have been buried, along with Ethiopia, the Spanish revolution, Austria and Czechoslovakia. And now the Associated Press assures us that in Moscow Stalin has rediscovered a "buried" truth, the truth he sought to bury deep under the filth of slander of those who continued the class struggle, under the corpses of "purged" revolutionists!

Unfortunately, the Stalinists have gone too far in betrayal, too far in the perversion and vilification of the doctrines they once professed. The Associated Press dispatch is too good to be true. Tomorrow's Daily Worker, foreboding tells me will contain no acknowledgment of error, will mark no change of heart or line. It will only mark a new twist in the Talmudic justification and elaboration of a line which was bankrupt and obviously reactionary before the first "test" of it was made.

WORKERS AGE

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A BLOODY SWINDLE

Now that the Chamberlain-Hitler conversations enlarged to a four-power conference, have ended in another Nazi triumph, the whole bloody swindle of imperialist diplomacy comes out into the open. It would be well worth our while in America to pause a moment to consider what has happened.

Not long after the seizure of Austria, Hitler launched his campaign against Czechoslovakia. Strictly according to schedule, disturbances began to break out in the Sudeten region; wild and menacing speeches were delivered in Germany; an "atrocity" propaganda was initiated in the Nazi press; threats of war began to fill the air in Europe. At the decisive moment, Chamberlain stepped in with his program of "appeasement," already foreshadowed by the authoritative Times of London. After the sensational flight to Berchtesgaden, he proposed—and, of course, the French government approved—that Hitler be granted his full demands, that the Sudeten region be ceded outright to Germany. This plan was promptly communicated to Czechoslovakia in the form of an ultimatum—an ultimatum, mind you, not from Germany but from England and France, the "great democracies," the "friends" and "allies" of the Czechs! The Prague government yielded "to irresistible pressure," as it declared in a statement ringing with indignant protest. The role of Anglo-French diplomacy as agent and attorney for Hitler was plain for all to see.

Press and public in this country were practically unanimous in denouncing Chamberlain and all his works. The New York Times, strongly pro-English tho it be, declared editorially that the action of the British Prime Minister had killed all prospects of "collective security" for the indefinite future. "Perfidious Albion" was on every tongue.

Then Chamberlain went to Godesberg. There Hitler insisted that not only should he get the Sudeten region, and more too, but that he should get it immediately in the form of armed conquest; and he threatened war if refused. At this point, Mr. Chamberlain assumed a new role. Striking the virtuous attitude with which we are so familiar in our own Mr. Hull, he declared that the new demands were impossible, that he could not ask the Czechs to accept them. M. Daladier, of course, chimed in, echoing, as always, the words of the senior partner of the Anglo-French combine. The war fever gripping Europe grew tenser: military and naval preparations were rushed forward at breakneck pace; mobilization orders were issued or held in readiness for issuance; wild rumors were rampant; the outbreak was expected at any moment. And then came the conference at Munich, with the four-power agreement for the "gradual dismemberment of Czechoslovakia."

But notice the shift effected with all the cunning of a sleight-of-hand trick: Hitler's original demands, involving the annexation of the Sudeten region and the partition of Czechoslovakia—demands yesterday denounced as a veritable outrage upon civilization—are now taken for granted and accepted without protest by press and public; indeed, they are even made to appear as a "conservative and reasonable adjustment." Chamberlain repeats his approval and devastating than the imagination can picture. What of it? That is exactly what imperialist diplomacy is there for!

And now, when the smoke clears away, what have you? Chamberlain, yesterday denounced as Hitler's attorney and the evil genius of European politics, this very same Chamberlain is now a knight in shining armor. For has he not "preserved the peace of Europe" and forced Hitler to "retreat"? The New York Post, which a few days before decorated the British statesman with the "awastika double-cross," now sees in him the authentic expression of "elemental human hopes and fears, voiced with a grave sense of responsibility." Even Ludwig Lore heads his column: "Civilized World Owes Chamberlain An Apology." Truly, virtue is its own reward! But meanwhile Hitler has gotten what he was out for all along—the Sudeten area, a stranglehold

Nikolai Bukharin

French Marxist Tells of Great Bolshevik Leader

By CHARLES RAPPAPORT

(Charles Rappaport is a distinguished Marxist scholar, a veteran of the French and Russian labor movements. He recently resigned from the Communist Party of France in protest against the Moscow "trials." This is the third of Rappaport's series of articles dealing with events in Russia. The other two appeared in previous issues of this paper—Editor.)

STALIN'S hatred and antagonism are easily aroused by people of character and outstanding abilities. Small wonder, then, that he persecuted Nikolai Bukharin, who possessed many gifts, vast erudition and a clean record as a revolutionist.

Interests Of Revolution Supreme

Bukharin had lost his political battle but that did not prevent him from serving the Soviet regime even under Stalin's leadership. What persuaded him to do that was the general interest of the revolution. He loyally carried out his work as chief editor of the official newspaper and as one of the leading Soviet theoreticians.

Some years ago, Bukharin was sent to Paris to purchase, as we now may reveal, the Marx-Engels archives from the German social-democrats. The first question I asked upon meeting him was: "How are you getting along with Stalin?" He replied: "Fairly well."

During his stay in Paris, Bukharin delivered a lecture in French (which language he knew very well) before a large and distinguished audience. In that lecture, he tried to prove, among other things, that Soviet Russia was, apart from the restrictions necessary in the work of socialist construction, the freest country in the world. When I met him on the following day, I reminded him that, in ancient Rome, one augur could

over Czechoslovakia and the way laid open for further aggrandizement. Meanwhile, too, the four-power pact, a "security" alliance of the "democratic" with the fascist powers, something for which the British Foreign Office has been striving for years, is being brought measurably nearer realization. And, last but not least, the super-heated atmosphere of the crisis has helped speed up war preparations and stimulate a frenzy of jingoism among the people, for which every European power is duly grateful.

Of course, Czechoslovakia is left to the tender mercies of Herr Hitler. Of course, the noose of war and oppression has been tightened about the neck of the peoples of Europe. Of course, Soviet Russia stands completely isolated and exposed to imperialist attack. Of course, the stage has been set for a world slaughter more dreadful and devastating than the imagination can picture. What of it? That is exactly what imperialist diplomacy is there for!

not look at another without laughing. I added: "We are both augurs! You can't possibly look at me and keep a straight face after that attempt of yours to make people believe that Russia in the freest country in the world." He looked at me but did not laugh, and I suddenly realized that he seriously believed in what he had said.

Remembering this, I am inclined to credit the report in the Soviet papers according to which Bukharin defended himself passionately against the charges that were brought against him before the Central Committee of the Russian Communist Party. To his mind, it must have been too revolting an idea that they wanted to punish him, an old revolutionist, for the views he had held in the past and to brand him a counter-revolutionist at that.

Stalin, the barbarian, sent him back to prison, that is, to the secret torture chamber where they teach defendants how to "confess freely."

At the trial, Bukharin showed great dignity and remarkable courage. With biting sarcasm and sparkling wit, he refuted the false and ridiculous charges raised against him and revealed to the whole world that the trials were a huge frame-up directed against the real revolutionists.

Lenin's Estimate

Bukharin was highly prized by Lenin both for his personality and his abilities as a Marxist thinker. In his political testament, it will be recalled, Lenin referred to Bukharin as "the most valuable and best theoretician of the party and quite rightly considered the favorite of the party." He had the gifts of an artist to express his thoughts in spoken or written form. In 1922, when I was in Moscow to defend the social-revolutionaries before the Executive Committee of the Communist International, he drew a picture showing me as a priest holding in his hand a Bible open at the page bearing the words: "Thou shalt not kill." That picture really was an excellent piece of work.

I helped to save those social-revolutionists from death but, alas, I could do nothing to save the life of my friend, Nikolai Bukharin. I sent to Stalin a note of protest signed by many prominent people, but it proved to be completely ineffective.

The great political writers and leaders of the Soviet Union have either been killed or else are dying a slow death in prison. Not very long ago, I met Mr. Bullitt, for several years ambassador of the United States to Moscow. He told me that almost all of the three hundred guests who had once been invited with him to an official reception in Moscow, have been executed or exiled.

The murder of Bukharin is a terrible crime against the working-class movement, a crime on Stalin's head.

WORLD TODAY

By Lambda

London, Sept. 16, 1938.

A CONFERENCE was held at Geneva on Monday, September 12, attended by representatives of revolutionary-socialist sections of the working class movements in Britain, France, Germany, Czechoslovakia, Italy, Sweden, Holland, Spain, Greece and Palestine, as well as of revolutionary-socialist youth organizations in the same countries.

Fenner Brockway, secretary of the Independent Labor Party, presided. It was decided to establish an international organization for the purpose of resisting the threatening war, to be known as the International Workers Front Against War.

It immediately issued the following appeal to the working class of all countries:

"WORKERS of all countries: Twenty-four years after 1914, the menace of war again hangs over the world. Tomorrow, as in 1914, you will be invited by two opposing groups of governments to die for the liberty of the people. You must not be deluded a second time by this lie which, on the first occasion, cost ten million lives and which today will cause rivers of blood to flow over all the earth and sow the seeds of destruction and death in all lands.

"No! The coming war will be neither a war for the liberation of an oppressed people nor a war for the defence of 'democracy' against fascism. It will be a war in which two groups of brigands will come to grips for a new partition of the earth.

"The conflict between the Sudeten Germans and the Czechoslovakian government is only the pretext for a settlement of accounts between German imperialism, on the one hand, and British and French imperialism, on the other.

"If war breaks out, it will inevitably become a new world conflict. For the catastrophe which follows, the responsibility, as in 1914, will be divided. Since 1918, the Czechoslovakian capitalist class, allied to French imperialism, has suppressed three million Germans. Hitler now exploits this situation to realize his plans for expansion in south-eastern Europe.

"Our class interests are neither on the one side nor on the other. Workers of all countries, all races, and all colors—this war will not be our war. Let us unite to bar its way while there is still time. Only our class action can drive it back.

"If, nevertheless, war takes place, continue the struggle which your fathers in 1917 and 1918 were unable to complete. Use the situation of the war to overthrow the capitalist regime. The capitalist class in committing this new crime will ring the knell of its domination over both the workers in the mother countries and the enslaved masses in the colonies.

"Long live the class struggle of the workers! "Long live the international solidarity of the working class! "Long live the world revolution!"

P.S.O.P. FIGHTS WAR

THE new French Socialist Workers and Peasants Party (P.S.O.P.) has issued a manifesto against war on similar lines to that printed above. Many of those distributing this manifesto have been arrested in the streets of Paris and the French police have attempted to seize copies. In spite of this many thousands have been distributed and have received widespread approval from the French workers.

Meetings of the P.S.O.P. have been forbidden by the French authorities. Marceau Pivert, leader of the new party, attended a trade-union meeting, and while speaking against war, he was interrupted by disruption from the Communist Party and was unable to continue. He then decided to speak directly to the rank and file of the workers. A huge meeting was held outside, attended by more than 8,000 French workers, and his message was enthusiastically received.

The Stalinists have attempted to break up the meetings of the P.S.O.P., and all the speakers against war are called, as in 1914, German spies or agents of fascism.

The fight goes on and the genuine anti-war forces of the workers are gaining ground in spite of the opposition of the authorities and the oppression of the government.

P.O.U.M. TRIAL

FROM Paris, we have received word that the long-delayed trial of the members of the Executive Committee of the Spanish Workers Party of Marxist Unity (P.O.U.M.), now in jail, will be held on October 11.

BOOKS

ENDS AND MEANS, by Aldous Huxley. Harper and Brothers, New York City, 1937.

ENDS ARE MEANS, by K. S. Shelwankar. Lindsay Drummond, London, 1938.

LAST year appeared Mr. Aldous Huxley's "Ends And Means"—brilliant, provocative, sometimes profound, yet shot thru with inconsistencies and, on several issues, strangely out of touch with reality. He argues as a philosophical idealist that the world can be saved only by the action of "non-attached" individuals who, "devoted and intelligent, living in association . . . build up a working model of a more satisfactory society."

His views as to the nature of this society are partly liberal, partly socialist—i.e., pervaded by the anarchist fear of the centralized power of the state. His two main theses are that: (1) good ends should not be pursued (and cannot be attained) by evil means; (2) violence is an evil and the methods of reformers and revolutionaries must therefore be non-violent.

To this Dr. K. S. Shelwankar has written a reply entitled "Ends Are Means." His polemic is sustained at white heat by a cool ferocity which renders his onslaught terrific. He attacks Huxley's idealist assumptions, inconsistencies, and lack of realism.

The first is shattered by arguments and illustrations familiar to those who accept historical materialism as the clue to social development. The second are shown to include even striking moral lapses, such as the proposal to placate the aggressive "have-nots" among the powers by transferring to them colonies from the larger empires.

"It never occurs to Mr. Huxley . . . to mention such a small point as that the ownership of colonies means the ownership as well of the human beings inhabiting the colonies." The unreality is quite fairly damned. "So engrossed is Mr. Huxley in preparing the blueprints of Utopia that he completely forgets to tell us the ways and means by which actual evils and injustices can be overcome. If our efforts, unlike his, are to be fruitful and well-directed, we must fix our attention on the relations between men and institutions as they actually obtain in our time and consider how they can be rearranged so as to provide the pattern of a better society."

Yet, when full justice has been done to the destructive efficiency of Dr. Shelwankar's merciless analysis, it must be said that he falls on the very point to which he attaches the greatest importance. "That good ends cannot be attained by evil means" is to him "the central fallacy of Mr. Huxley's philosophy." His attempt to refute that fallacy takes the double form of arguing that: (1) this is an undialectical separation of good from evil, whereas, in the real world, the word not of "being" but of "becoming," they are inextricably intertwined; (2) if actions are to be judged by their consequences, the end (actual, not intended) furnishes in fact the sole criterion of the means.

The first statement is unassailable, and disagreement with the second requires a closer analysis and more elaborate argument than is possible in these columns. But there remains a hard core of truth in Huxley's contention that an evil means can so enter into the end it was intended to subserve that the end is transformed, defeated, and destroyed.

To see this process at work it is necessary only to look at the influence of the Communist International in declared objective, it is the hope of the world. In concrete results, it has demoralized and

The Real British Empire

No Democracy for Scores of Millions in Vast Colonies

By FRANK C. HANIGHEN

CHAMBERLAIN'S British Empire is no democracy. The seventy-odd million Britons who live under political democracies in England and the really self-governing Dominions are but a fraction of the population of the Empire.

Some 450 million individuals—of black, brown and yellow races—suffer under an autocratic rule little different from the Hitler dictatorship.

For this reason, Chamberlain without hypocrisy was able to make a deal with Mussolini. For this reason he would like to make a deal with Hitler—if he could . . .

The City Is Worried

The City is worried. Every day one sees in the papers references to riots in Burma, in India, in the West Indies, in Palestine. The Empire is in ferment.

Reuters, regarded as a semi-official British news agency, sends these reports and naturally they give the British side. But they can't conceal the fact that all over the world the people of the Empire on which the sun never sets are rising in revolt against British rule. I saw a handsome report of an Indian iron company in a financial paper the other day. It

Government as Employer

(Continued from Page 3)

ment does. As a result of this fact and as a result also of the fact that the labor movement realized the necessity of protecting its rights when the growth of the government services began in earnest, the government is for the time being content to "forget" its demand for absolute and unquestioned obedience on the part of its employees and to permit them to organize and affiliate with the labor movement.

In Britain And France In Great Britain, in 1928, the government employees took no active part in the general strike but they supported it with public pronouncements, with financial contributions and with pledges that they would refuse to engage in strike-breaking. The government thereupon declared that this was a threat to its sovereignty and authority and, in 1927, it introduced and passed legislation disaffiliating by law the government employees from the Trade Union Congress and the Labor Party, to one or the other of which they had been affiliated for half a century.

In France, the civil service is more important than in any western country, not merely because of its numbers but because of its position and role in the labor movement, where until recently it was by far the largest, most active and most militant single element. Yet the French courts, the government and even certain statutes deny civil servants the right to affiliate with the C.G.T. or to strike. The civil servants have met these prohibitions with open defiance. They affiliate with labor and they strike freely. So far the government has tolerated this situation, although it has made some gestures to save face.

But the contradiction is there and, as social and political conditions grow tenser, as absolutist and authoritarian tendencies grow more pronounced even in the "democratic" states, as the trend towards public ownership or control makes headway in the various fields of economic life, the problem of the civil and industrial rights of the government employees obviously grows more critical. It is one of the big problems of the day.

What can Dr. Shelwankar say in reply? That such tactics are to be condemned, because in the long run self-defeating? To which we who are humanists as well as socialists reply: "Because of that only? And what of the cause which employs such methods—and such agents?"

C. A. SMITH

What About Daladier?

HEADLINE in the Daily Worker of September 30: "CHAMBERLAIN IN MONSTROUS BETRAYAL ORDERS SEIZURE OF CZECHOSLOVAKIA."

Very true, even tho this "discovery" is a little belated!

But how about Daladier? Every crime committed by Chamberlain was aided and abetted by Premier Daladier of France! Daladier was present at every conference and gave his approval to every move made by the British Prime Minister. Daladier was one of the big four at Munich; Daladier signed the eight-point agreement for the dismemberment of Czechoslovakia.

But, in France, Daladier is supported by the Communist Party. The Stalinist deputies voted for the Daladier government when it was first formed; they have voted for it every time the issue came up of a vote of confidence.

How about Daladier, Messrs. Stalinists?

But, in the Empire, democracy is retreating rather than progressing. In the Union of South Africa, the suffrage of the natives was recently abolished. In Newfoundland, democratic government has been suspended and the province is now ruled by a commission. As George Padmore pointed out, the British for the last hundred years have taken no steps to give the West Indians self-government. And, in India and elsewhere, the British are really setting natives against natives—dividing and ruling.

With the subject people aflame with rebellion, it is no wonder that the Chamberlain government claims the lid on democracy here and there, plays one people against another, one class against another. No wonder, too, that Chamberlain hesitates to risk war with Germany and Italy. Such a war would be the tocsin for open revolt in all parts of the Empire. The British would have to fight on a dozen other fronts than on the continent of Europe. It's the sobering thought which inspires such missions as Runciman's, such deals as the Anglo-Italian pact. . . .

In short, the British Empire is no democracy. The real fact is that British democracy is like the democracy of ancient Athens. The Athenian democracy rested on the labor of a mass of helot slaves. The British democracy today rests on the backs of 450 million slaves. . . .

England is looking about for a support—looking particularly across the Atlantic for the United States to help her save the Empire. Will the United States, under the pretense of saving democracy, drop its neutrality and come to the aid of the British Empire?

(The above paragraphs are from an article by Frank C. Hanighen in the New York Post of September 12.—Editor.)

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Unite Against War Danger!

WAR! The world is face to face with it. The powers have their armies mobilized on the borders. Again the millions of working masses will be sent to slaughter to make the world safe—for capitalism and capitalist profits. The whole world will be drawn into the holocaust. This means the United States, too.

Hitler, with the able and continuous assistance of "democratic" England and "democratic" France, takes the Sudeten region and is prepared to make the remainder of Czechoslovakia a vassal. Poland and Hungary have jumped on the bandwagon. Rumania is next on Hitler's blackmail list.

Rather than risk a blow-up of the capitalist social structure in Europe, the

"democracies" of Britain and France go along with their fascist class brothers—Germany and Italy. Ethiopia, Spain, China, Austria, Czechoslovakia—all in turn have been double-crossed and bartered away by the "democracies" to fascist invasion and terror—in order to preserve the capitalist regime in Germany and Italy, in order not to disturb the British and French empires. The myth of "collective security" has been exploded.

HITLER Germany is out for bigger game. With the deceitful help of its "democratic" partners, it is getting ready to attack the Soviet Union. It wants the Ukraine.

With the great Skoda Works of Czecho-

slovakia in its power, with the grain and oil of Hungary and Rumania soon at its disposal, with bases in Poland and Rumania practically within its grasp, it is ready to invade the workers country of Russia and seek to impose another Brest-Litovsk. It champions and offers to lead a four-power front of capitalist powers—Germany, Italy, England and France—in an imperialist crusade against the Soviet Union and the working-class movement all over the world.

INTERNATIONAL labor must gather its forces, must cease depending on imperialist "democracy," must exercise its own independent power to put a stop to the impending world slaughter. It must serve

notice that it is determined to put an end to the whole system of brutal capitalist exploitation and war.

WORKERS OF THE WORLD, UNITE—AGAINST YOUR EXPLOITERS!

SWEEP AWAY THE WAR-MAKERS—FASCIST AND "DEMOCRATIC" IMPERIALISMS!

FIGHT FOR OUR OWN INTERESTS—FOR PEACE, FOR BREAD, FOR SECURITY!

DEFEND THE SOVIET UNION—THE WORKERS COUNTRY!

FIGHT FOR WORKERS POWER EVERYWHERE. ONLY SOCIALISM CAN BRING PEACE!

Attend Big Anti-War Meeting, Oct. 7, Hotel Center

A.F.L. Clash in St. Louis Brings Officer's Murder

Jurisdictional Fight Reveals Serious Abuses

By ALBERT EDMUND

St. Louis, Mo.

THE murder of Arthur Schading, business agent of Local 1, St. Louis, International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, by two gunmen as he left the union hall, dramatically calls to the attention of the labor movement that William Green's A.F. of L. is not quite the one big happy family that he would like to have everybody believe. Schading was business agent of the local for six years before 1929, when he was suspended from membership for five years and barred from holding office for an additional two years for "dishonorable conduct." He was restored to power as business agent two years ago and took up his stormy career where he had left it off.

Recently, he had faced bitter opposition within his own union. He succeeded in retaining his position as business agent but the opposition elected four out of the five board members and the president. A few hours before one meeting where Schading's powers as business agent were to be curbed by the membership, the president of the local, David A. Jones, was severely beaten by unidentified assailants. The resolution against Schading was lost by one vote that evening.

It is interesting to note how the two factions in the union (neither of which seems to be progressive) got around the union rule forbidding caucuses. The two factions camouflaged themselves under the name of "Schading's Hot-Shot Baseball Team" and the "Bourbon Hunting and Fishing Club."

There seems to be general agreement that the assassination of "Two-Gun Artie" was caused by rivalry over the organization of electric-phonograph service men. The Brotherhood of Electrical Workers had signed a closed-shop contract with the International Association of Electric Phonograph Owners. A rival group of owners, the Independent Phonograph Operators Association, has a working arrangement with the teamsters union. Herman Tipton, former head of the "Cuckoo gang," is said to be connected with this owners association. Teamsters Local 751, Furniture, Piano Movers and Helpers Union, claims jurisdiction over the men who service the coin-slot electric phonographs, on the ground that these machines are moved from one tavern to another. This phonograph business grosses

about \$16,000 a week in St. Louis and vicinity, in which about 3,000 machines are operated.

In connection with this killing police questioned, among others, Ed. S. Miller, international vice-president of the Hotel and Restaurant Employees Union and Bartenders Alliance, who came to St. Louis to investigate five unions affiliated with his organization. Miller's chief task here is to assist in the reorganization of the Miscellaneous Hotel Workers Local 430, which is now being run by Kitty Amsler, who warned the revolting membership of the local that she was prepared to rule with the "iron hand of a Hitler or Mussolini." Mrs. Amsler holds two \$40-a-week union jobs, being the head of both the Waitresses Local 249 and the Hotel Local 430. She has held her job as secretary-treasurer of the waitresses for sixteen years and four years ago she was elected for life. Mrs. Amsler's threats did not frighten the hotel workers, who broke up a meeting called by her at which she was to lay down the law. In doing this, the opposition merely copied the tactics employed by the administration, which had disrupted a meeting of the rank and file a few days before. Mrs. Amsler was more successful with the

C.P. "Unionism" In Action

Detroit, Mich.

BY a vote of 69 to 61, the Detroit district council of the United Automobile Workers, under Stalinist influence, voted last week to endorse the Midwest Record, a Communist Party paper, as its official newspaper and urged affiliated locals to subscribe.

This action is, of course, in outright violation of the U.A.W. constitution and is perhaps the first instance of a trade-union body officially going on record endorsing the organ of a political party outside the pale of the trade-union movement.

waitresses, whom she succeeded in intimidating by threatening the loss of job. The waitresses have complained of having to pay \$3 a month dues with weekly earnings of \$9.50 a week full time. The rate is \$1.58 a day.

Mr. Miller is reported to have indicated that Mrs. Amsler would probably be removed by the International.

The whole messy situation which exists in a number of the locals of the A.F. of L. would indicate that William Green had better attend to his own garden, which seems to abound with altogether too many noxious weeds, instead of butting into the affairs of the C.I.O.

Weinstock's "Expulsion" Bought, Painters Declare

Election Scheme Bares Stalinist Union Trickery

By R. W.

New York City.

STALINISM has brought such rottenness and corruption to the labor movement that many of us are no longer surprised at anything. But the trick it recently pulled off in the New York painter union is surely something the like of which has never been heard of anywhere.

Readers of the Age will remember that, just before the elections in Painters District Council 9 a few months ago, Louis Weinstock, the Stalinist incumbent of the position of secretary-treasurer of the joint council, was suddenly expelled by the General Executive Board of the International. Resentment at this arbitrary act, which looked very much like a last-minute election maneuver to bar Weinstock from running, is generally regarded as having turned the tide in the voting and given the victory to the Stalinist clique, tho by a very narrow margin. Weinstock immediately instituted legal action and the case came to the courts.

Recently, Weinstock was again reinstated by the International. It began to be rumored that, in order to bring this about, the sum of \$5,000 had changed hands and

found its way to certain people highly placed in the International. When these rumors became such that they could no longer be denied, the Stalinists admitted the payment but "explained" it was all for "court expenses."

But that's not the whole story, nor even the real story. The real story is only now beginning to leak out. It appears that the "expulsion" of Weinstock was itself a fake, a put-up job. Realizing that they were facing defeat because of widespread opposition among the rank-and-file painters, the Stalinists decided on a piece of brazen trickery. Apparently you can buy an "expulsion," just as you can anything else. The arrangements were quickly made behind the scenes and Weinstock was "expelled" at the psychological moment, just in time to enable him to get the few hundred "indignation" votes necessary to win the elections. After the elections, things could be cleaned up quickly enough, with the pay-off coming in the form of the \$5,000 for "court expenses. . . ."

Seems an incredible story, a conspiracy between the reactionaries of the International and the Stalinists of District Council 9 to help Weinstock get elected by means of a fake "expulsion!" But the evidence, progressive painters will tell you, is decisive, altho all aspects of the affair are not yet clear.

This is a sample of the trade-union "politics" of Stalinism, which, for slimy scheming and trickery, can't be beat!

The Mexican Oil Crisis

(Continued from Page 3)

In his address, Roosevelt expressed little sympathy for such claims and stated that the government would not become a collection agency for such claimants.

2. In a second category are the American oil companies that acquired great rights and properties in Mexico in a "legitimate" way without bribery or similar devices. These oil companies, the President said, should receive compensation from the Mexican government for the actual sum invested, less depreciation for such capital outlays as are incidental to drilling, pumping, etc.

This sounds reasonable, looks good in print, and made a very favorable impression upon Latin America, especially in contrast to the arrogant stand of Great Britain. But let us look at what is transpiring quietly, without any publicity, in our State Department to bring pressure upon the Mexican government.

1. Immediately upon expropriation, the American silver-purchasing contract was abrogated. Now there is only sporadic buying at a rate fixed by the United States.

2. Great Britain and the United States oil interests maintain an almost air-tight boycott of Mexican oil. Lloyds of London has refused insurance on any oil leaving Mexico. British and American pressure has been brought to bear upon friendly Scandinavian governments to restrain their large number of independent tankers from going to Mexico. Since the Mexican government cannot begin payment for the expropriated properties or even maintain her budget without the aid of the sale of her oil, we can see the difficulties that the two imperialist powers are creating. And it is this attitude which is forcing Mexico to sell her oil to Germany, Italy and Japan.

Japan has offered to purchase 500,000 barrels annually and is

eager to help in the further development of Mexican oil fields. The Japanese finance minister proposed a bond issue to recompense British and American owners. In return for oil, the Japanese are willing to provide technical assistance in construction of pipelines and improvements in Mexico's Pacific Coast harbors. The pipe lines would cross the Isthmus of Tehuantepec, with Salina Cruz as the possible point of loading. The crude oil would have to be piped about 150 miles down grade to reach the Japanese tankers in the Pacific Ocean.

3. It is reported in the New York Times of June 30, 1938, that a proposed loan of \$200,000,000 to aid Mexico to build roads and to fund some of its indebtedness, has been withdrawn.

4. A proposed purchase of \$10,000,000 of Mexican oil for the United States Navy has been withdrawn.

It is reliably reported, altho denied by Secretary of State Hull, that the above two were cancelled due to British pressure.

(Concluded in the next issue)

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