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DEVISION OF LABOR LAWS AT

Vol. 8, No. 36.

NEW YORK, N. Y., SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 9, 1939.

Weekly Paper of the Independent Labor League of America

5 CENTS

AT FIRST GLANCE

by Jay Lovestone =

IDEALS AND DOLLARS

TOREIGN assets in the United States total about \$9,500,000,000. European interests own outright and directly at least \$6,600,000,000 Foreign owners have title to about four billion dollars in stocks and bonds. Europeans have \$1,700,000,000 in short-term banking funds in this country. Less than \$100,000,000 of all these funds are owned by Italy and Germany.

To our readers these are astronomical figures. Nevertheless, it would be well to keep these figures in mind during the coming two months. We underscore this particularly in the light of the United States being the war warehouse of our war-stricken world. European governments will naturally begin their vast arms purchases by shelling out their \$1,300,-000,000 of earmarked gold. But even if the miracle of miracles should occur and a world war should be postponed for some months, the financial preparations for war already made will have a profound effect on America's financial structure. The British pound reaching a six-year low during the last days of August is but a straw in the wind.

Britain and France are not counting on America's pouring billions of its own into financing their arming. England has already carefully surveyed its own resources available for arms purchases in the U.S.A. Lombard and Downing Streets realize that there has been a terrific increase in the cost of waging war. They are getting much comfort out of the fact that they will find it "possible to mobilize total investments at least equivalent in value to those raised during the last war." As a result of mounting war needs, Britain will be compelled to sell to American capitalists vast holdings in transport and mining enterprises in the

Hence, let none be surprised if the sweat and blood of the workers in our munitions plants serves as the stream carrying ownership of Rhodesian copper shares and Rand mining shares to the kingpins of Wall Street. From this there will flow economic and political consequences of paramount import for the entire world. Already the London Economist (August 12, 1939) has been compelled to arrive at the following portentous conclusion: "But it is certain that, in war, it would be necessary to recruit all assets which could be employed for paying for war-time supplies. For practical purposes, that policy involves the use of the United States as a bank of hypothecation, which could provide accommodation against the collateral security of mobilized British assets, or as a market in which British holdings of eligible securities could be sold outright in order to furnish dollar exchange."

Those of us who are anxious to keep America out of imperialist war should paste the above quotation in their hats. It will come in handy on more than one occasion in the near future—as a guide to rantings in Washington and editorial ravings in the metropolitan press about "ideals" that we must defend with arms in our hand and bayonets in others bellies.

STUDIED IGNORANCE

TNDEED, these are days when difficulties multiply all about us and when complexities defy all of us. I confess that there are too many things puzzling me and too many questions that I cannot answer. For instance, in the August 27 issue of the New York Times Review of the Week I found articles on the world crisis by such well-known correspondents as Edwin L. James, Harold Callender and G. E. R. Gedye containing such crude and clumsy inaccuracies that surely could not be attributed to ignorance. It is commonplace that Mussolini's government was among the first to recognize the U.S.S.R. Likewise, every one knows that Mussolini has for some time been working for a rapprochement between the Rome-Berlin Axis and Moscow. But Mr. James, commenting on the Stalin-Hitler pact, tells us: "It is possible Hitler told Ciano what he was up to, but whether he did or not, Mussolini, who has not even diplomatic relations

with Russia, played no role in the new treaty." Harold Callender tells us how the Fuehrer used Italy, Japan, France, the United States out of this war. Great Britain and the U.S.S.R. in turn, to win European hegemony. That's He concluded with an appeal that true. But why did Mr. Callender forget to mention Poland among the aiders and abettors of Hitler's drive? Surely he knows that Poland's non-aggression pact with Hitler in 1934 was the first aid to the Nazi in their imperialist campaign and that Poland joined Hitler in wiping Czecho-Slovakia off the map.

Mr. Gedye, in seeking to make a chicken-hearted defense of Stalin's switch to Hitler, discovers that "German communists—as distinct from the softer living Viennese communists-always found Russians eager to embrace them when they arrived as refugees." Almost unbelievable from the pen of so experienced an international correspondent! Surely Mr. Gedye knows that many scores of German refugee communists have been in the days to come," he stated in imprisoned or butchered by the Stalin regime. If Mr. Gedye wants some names, I should be glad to supply them.

And to cap it all, let me cite tonight's broadcast from London by John Gunther attempting to shed light on Stalin's sweeping agreement with threat of revision of the present the Nazi hangmen. I expected some "inside" stuff from Gunther who had neutrality legislation so as to allow just flown in from Moscow. Instead, all I heard was a cheap, clumsy and England and France to buy Ameranaemic apology for the sordid and sinister game played by the dictator ican munitions. over the Russian people. Mr. Gunther could have done better even by

"The Enemy Is At Home"

IN a message delivered to the recent convention of the I.L.L.A. Marceau Pivert, secretary of the French Socialist Workers and Peasants Party (P.S.O.P.), made this appeal to the American

"Others have crossed the Atlantic to ask the American workers to agree to sacrifice their lives for one or the other imperialist block. We, on the contrary, say to you: Fight your own exploiters! Stop them from preparing war and placing the burden on your shoulders! Stop them from lowering your standards of living! Do not surrender, under any pretext, at any price, your independence, your freedom of action, your trade-union rights. Neither of the two imperialist blocks now trying to redivide the world is worthy of the sacrifice of your lives, your bread, your liberties. Conserve all your strength in behalf of your own cause, for our common working-class aims.

"By carrying on your own class struggle against your chief enemy IN YOUR OWN COUNTRY, you will be extending the greatest help to the workers of the so-called 'democratic' countries, as well as to the workers of the fascist countries, to build their organizations for the overthrow of this regime of poverty, dictatorship, blood and filth!"

President Calls For **Neutrality**

Promises to Keep Out Of War But Urges To Break Down Safeguards

Washington, D. C. In a radio address to the nation delivered last week, President Roosevelt announced that the federal government would very soon issue a proclamation of American neutrality, to be followed immediately by another proclamation invoking and implementing the existing Neutrality Act. He also pledged that "every effort of your government" would be directed towards keeping "partisanship and selfishness" be "adjourned" to give way to "national unity.'

But while thus pledging neutrality, President Roosevelt indicated clearly that he would continue his efforts to weaken and emasculate the present Neutrality Act so as to permit a cash-and-carry trade in arms and implements of war. "I trust that his address. "our neutrality can be made a true neutrality," which all observers interpreted to mean a

Senators Nye, Borah and other spokesmen of the neutrality block in 'gress would be called.

Wartime Dictatorship

Revised Industrial Mobi-Full Control

Washington, D. C. In the next war, American labor not in the trenches will be mobilized and regimented on the job, government plans revealed last week in-

Under the government's revised industrial-mobilization plan, there ing the economic relationship that 1918! he maintained between man agement and labor for the duration of the war, and establishing the national policy to govern in the settle-(Continued on Page 3)

Congress immediately declared that they would fight to the last any effort to break down the embargo on arms shipments to belligerents. They stressed that permitting any sort of trade in munitions of war, even on a cash-and-carry basis, would tend to gear the American economic machine to the war needs of the belligerents and so create a powerful force making for American involvement in war.

No indication was forthcoming from the White Hous as to when or whether a special session of Con

Keep America Out of War!

War Breaks Out in Europe, Imperialist

of mankind has begun. Imperialist antagonisms, of Germany, began the invasion of engendered out of a decaying capitalism and aggravat- the Polish Corridor with the purpose ed by the last world war, have finally burst out into an- had already been taken over and other orgy of homicidal fury. Again is the world being declared part of Germany the day before. Two days later, on Sunday

plunged into a sea of blood and filth—again are human- morning, September 3, Great Britain ity and civilization to be trampled under the iron heel reply to their ultimatum to Germany of military dictatorship.

Let us not allow ourselves to be blinded by the glittering war to exist between themselves phrases and lying slogans propagated by those who are intent on and Germany. Thus, almost exactly drawing this country into the war. This is no war for democracy of the World War of 1914, began anor national self-determination; this is no crusade against total-other great war which, before it is itarianism. Who represents democracy and freedom in this bloody conflict? The Poland of Colonel Beck, dominated by a dictatorship as brutal and ruthless as any fascist regime, whose political repressions and anti-Semitic outrages have shocked the world? The England of Chamberlain and the France of Daladier, already converted into authoritarian states under the rule of military-imperialist dictatorships, holding in virtual slavery hundreds of mil- for the return of Danzig and the lions of people in their colonial empires? Or perhaps it is Hitler Polish Corridor. Charges, and Plan Mapped Germany that is championing the right of national self-determination, Hitler Germany whose bloody yoke has been forced on the ance in Berlin, London and Paris unwilling peoples of Czecho-Slovakia? No; these are all cynical last week but no light was cast on lization Plan Gives Army lies, gross deceptions practised on the masses sent to the slaughter. events of the few fateful days pre-This war is on both sides as imperialistic, as predatory a war, as ceding September 3. It was clear, ever was fought on the face of the earth. Reborn German imperialism is out to regain the losses of the last war, to revise the verdict of Versailles, to force a redistribution of the loot of im- ing to effect a redivision of the spoils perialism. The Anglo-French allies are determined to keep the of the last world war, and the other loot, the spoils of the victory of 1918, and to prevent Germany keep and enlarge their gains. from making a grab for it. Poland is only the pretext of this war, just as Serbia and Belgium were of the last. In reality, it is a war would be promulgated an emergen- over markets, natural resources, colonies, spheres of influence, cy national labor policy establish- imperialist control. It is a continuation of the World War of partner in the conflict last week,

> So far from being a crusade for democracy in any sense of the a result of Mussolini's own reluctword, the outbreak of this war has already brought authoritarian ance, was not clear. It was known, military dictatorship to those of the belligerents that call themselves "democracies," has already buried all democratic liberties to win Italy to their side as they everywhere among the belligerent powers. The war to "make the had done in the last war. But there world safe for democracy" of twenty-five years ago gave us Hitler, success. Mussolini and the war of 1939; the war of 1939 will drive the world to a universal all-engulfing totalitarian slavery and a fresh become fully clear. For the time beseries of imperialist slaughters-unless the workers of the world ing, Moscow declared it would rerise to their duty and responsibility and build a new socialist order on the ruins of imperialism!

> It is sheer folly to believe that emancipation can be brought to the German people at the point of the bayonets of Anglo-French also sent a military mission headed imperialism. Only the German people, thru their own organized by a commanding general, both of revolutionary action, can free themselves and overthrow their op- whom were immediately received by pressors. That is why the underground anti-fascist movements in sort of military alliance was under Germany and other dictator-ridden countries of Europe deserve discussion were plentiful in authorthe full support of all anti-war and democratic forces of this litative quarters. Drew Pearson and Robert S. Allen declared in their

> Workers of America! This is not our war. Wall Street fi- column of September 4 that "United nanciers and big-business imperialists may have their stake in the States army and navy observers war, the stake of investments and loans and opportunities for coining billions out of the blood and misery of the European of twenty Russian divisions against masses. But we, the people of America, have no stake in this war. Our vital interests are not tied up with one or the other imperialist sary." Reports also multiplied that block: there is no cause for us to spill our blood to help England | England was making every effort to and France hold on to their loot or to aid Germany to force a general redivision. There is no call for us to become involved in view of the latter's intense irritathe bloody conflict of predatory European power-politics!

> Our great and paramount task is to keep America out of war. Involvement in war will mean for us not merely the sacrifice of hundreds of thousands of lives and billions in treasure for a cause that is not our own; it will mean the establishment of an iron-clad Russia to concentrate on Poland, if military dictatorship under the "industrial-mobilization" plan and necessary. similar war-time legislation and the extinction of our rights, liberties and hard-won gains for years to come. For the American ers in Berlin, Moscow informed people to permit involvement in the European war would be Paris and London that in case of a nothing short of mass suicide!

And we can keep out of war! There is no reason for any fatalism. Of course, there are powerful forces dragging us, driving offensive. But unfortunately, the re- us, to involvement in war—financiers and business men out for their bloody profits, lying apostles of another crusade for "deproach the Stalinists with capitula- mocracy," false preachers trying to convince us that this war is our war. But if we, the American people, want to, if we are able to translate our determination into action, we can beat back these forces of destruction and keep America out of war.

> More than ever today is eternal vigilance the price of peace. The President tells us he is going to do everything in his power to keep us out of the war in Europe. But in the same breath he talks of emasculating the Neutrality Act and destroying all existing barriers to involvement in war. And the whole record of his foreign policy in the last two years has been one of incessant effort to line up the United States on the side of Anglo-French imperialism. Do not trust the pledges or promises of the Administration to keep us out of war. Remember that in 1916 Wilson was reelected on the slogan "He kept us out of war," and then within six months, America was thrown into the World War by Pres-

> We must act now and independently thru a powerful Keep America Out of War movement if we are to escape the awful disaster of war. Now, without losing a moment of time, we must exert all our efforts to:

> Brush aside the paralyzing fatalism that involvement in war is inevitable. We can keep out of war if only we really want to. (Continued on Page 4)

Powers Lock in Fight for Domination Nazis Invade Poland, Clash In Corridor

War broke out in Europe last FUROPE is in flames! Another wholesale slaughter week on Friday morning, September 1, as Adolf Hitler, Nazi Chancellor of annexing it to the Reich. Danzig to cease hostilities and withdraw from Polish soil, declared a state of twenty-five years after the outbreak over, may engulf all Europe and the whole world in another universal slaughter.

The outbreak of war followed the collapse of frenzied negotiations between England and Germany for a peaceful adjustment of the conflict precipitated by Germany's demand counter-charges of duplicity and war provocation were hurled in abundthe real course of the diplomatic however, that the war was in essence a clash of two giant imperialist combinations, one side (Germany) striv-(England and France) fighting to

ITALY AND RUSSIA STILL OUT

Italy took no step to join its Axis whether in line with a German plan to restrict the war to the East or as however, that Britain and France were doing everything in their power

Russia's intentions had also not main neutral but in the Russian press Germany received much more favorable publicity than the Allies. Furthermore, along with the new ambassador to Berlin, the Kremlin Hitler in person. Rumors that some Washington Merry - Go - Round" have persistent reports that part of the Soviet-Nazi deal is the sending Poland to help Germany if neces-"appease" Japan in the Far East in tion at the Russo-German pact. In fact, it seemed that Japan was being wooed by both sides, the German-Russian front offering Japan a free hand in China in return for allowing

According to well-informed quartgeneral war, Russia would "find itself compelled to revise its western frontiers," that is, participate in the partition of Poland.

The declaration of war by the Chamberlain and Daladier govern-(Continued on page 3)

Marceau Pivert, French Socialist Leader, Discusses Russo-German Pact New York City. MARCEAU PIVERT, secretary of the French Socialist Workers and Peasants Party and one of Europe's outstanding anti-war fighters, gave his views on the meaning and consequences of the Russo-German pact to a press conference held here last week one day after his arrival in this country. The questions and Pivert's answers follow in full: QUESTION: What do you think of the Stalin-Hitler pact? QUESTION: What do you think will

ANSWER: On the one hand, from the point of view of the rival im- popular masses? perialisms preparing to fight for a redivision of the world, it marks the beginning of an imperialist realignment. Japan's sudden turn back towards the "democracies" proves once duplicity with which it has carried again that it is a question of spheres of influence, markets, customers, and not of ideology. On the other hand, from the point of view of labor, it is the last in a series of counter-revolutionary acts which are transforming the Russian workers state into a totalitarian burocratic machine, bent on saving itself by fluence among the small bourgeoisie any means. The alliance between and intellectuals, by advocating a Hitler, the butcher of the German policy of so-called "firmness," and people, the champion of counterrevolution, and Stalin, hailed only yesterday in the world communist press, as the "beloved leader," "the father of peoples," and "the genial guide," brings an entire historic Stalin have been carrying on secret period to an end. Today, the Stalin- negotiations. As a result, the very ists have become, in the eyes of same patriotic small bourgeoisie and class-conscious workers, the bulwark intellectuals, seduced so recently by

be the effect of the pact on the French

ANSWER: The signing of the pact will be a signal for a general attack on the Communist Party. The on, for the last few years, a demagogic nationalist agitation will disgust the saner sections of public opinion. Indignation and disillusion will be all the more marked as the Communist Party has succeeded in winning a certain amount of inby lining up opinion against all elements of compromise or friendship with Hitler and against any trust in the Fuehrer's word.

Today, they hear that Hitler and of Hitler's rule of blood. And work- the chauvinistic language of the ers will understand much better the Communist Party, will become the real role played by Stalin in recent most violent opponents of communtimes: the decapitation of the Red ism. Doubtless, the bourgeoisie will Army, the execution of the Old Bol- profit from this shift of opinion to "disavow" Stalin, more or less, for were treated as "Trotskyites and sheviks, the betrayal of the revolu- intensify its measures of repression the pact signs the death warrant tion in France in June 1936, and the and perhaps to attack all minorities, Machiavellian assasination of the whether revolutionary or merely Spanish revolution. The pact with liberal. Thus, even more than social-Hitler is the final and logical cul- democracy, Stalin will have helped mination of such a series of events. to build fascism.



MARCEAU PIVERT

QUESTION: What do you think will happen to the French Communist Par-

ANSWER: I think that the work-

Communist Party, and it has had widespread political influence, will drop out quickly. Only the burocracy composed mainly of appointed functionaries, those who have hitherto swallowed everything, will try to adapt themselves to the new sible surprises, will also be affected situation. They may be allowed to by the pact. Those who yesterday of what remains of the Third (Communist) International. But those sections of the Stalinist organization back. And the Blumist wing of the recruited on the basis of the defense of French imperialism will be the

first to break. This will mean a fall in membership, internal fights, perhaps even a split. And in any case, it marks the beginning of the end of the Communist Party's influence. The best elements will abandon this party which has been exposed to the whole world as the political agency of Stalin, which he manipulates this way and that, according to his political caprices.

QUESTION: What about other see tions of public opinion? ANSWER: It means an open

crisis in the General Federation of Labor (C.G.T.), where independent trade unionism will now have the opportunity of beginning an effective formists are hardly qualified to retion for they have hardly carried out an uncompromising policy of "independence" themselves, and their own connection with French imperialism is hardly hidden. It was this situ ation which was partly responsible for the "colonization" of the trade union movement by the Stalinists. who were thus able to use this policy ing masses hitherto faithful to the of class-collaboration to gain a foothold. But on the other hand, the revolutionary wing among the trade

unionists will gain. The Socialist Party of France (S.F.I.O.), now in the midst of an internal crisis, whose outcome is not vet decided and may still yield pos agents of the Gestapo" by the friends of the Stalinists in the Socialist Party, will certainly fight S.F.I.O. will find it very difficult to

(Continued on Page 3)

The Voice of True Socialism

London, England. **TOHN** McGovern, Independent Labor Party member of Parliament, made the following statement upon Prime Minister Chamberlain's declaration proclaiming a state of war with Germanv:

"I cannot follow our Prime Minister. I have no faith in him or his system as an instrument for fighting Hitler. I put my faith in the German people as the only instrument for putting an end, to Hitler and Hitlerism."

LOUIS WALDMAN

Teachers Union Meet Lays **Basis for Big Progress**

Election of Dr. Counts Is Great Victory for Union

By D. BENJAMIN

union teachers, of whom 33,000 are national administration." in good-standing, met in Buffalo from August 21 to August 25 in were: protest against the cut in rethe annual convention of the Ame- lief appropriations, demand for fedrican Federation of Teachers, and eral aid for education, equalization elected the well-known progressive of opportunity in education (with educator, Dr. George S. Counts, special emphasis on the conditions president of the organization for of the Negroes), against militarism the coming year. In doing so, the in the school (in New York City, convention not only showed approval the administration opposed this of Dr. Counts' positive program stand), reaffirmation of the need for submitted by him to the delegates, but by implication administered a definite rebuke to the Stalinist operation on this matter in the last attempt to capture control of the organization, as well as to the vicious campaign carried on by them and allied forces against Dr. Counts | COUNCIL before and during the convention.

LINE-UP AT CONVENTION

The fight that developed around didacy symbolized the struggle between forces eager to have the A. F. T. adopt a program and work on a basis that would make possible rapid growth of the A.F.T., more blems, better relations with organized labor, and a broader social interested only in power-politics, domination of the A.F.T., and tying up the A.F.T. with a definite "party line." In spite of the rather loose functioning of the various progressive and trade-union forces opposed to the administration of New York presidential candidates, thus resulting in the paralysis of the campaign unfounded attacks upon the progres-Counts-the convention showed its approval of Dr. Counts and his program by electing him as president of the A.F.T. for the critical period ahead for teachers.

Many panel discussions at the convention showed that the teachers of the country are facing a series of attacks: cuts in educational budgets, interference with educaeducational projects, etc. It was felt that Dr. Counts, who has influenced in a progressive direction scores of thousands of teachers thru his books and in his classes, could best symbolize to the country's teaching staff the A.F.T., what it stands for and what it means. In his acceptance speech, he called for the unification of ranks behind the A.F.T., pledged to devote time and energy to the work of the organization, pointed out real opportunities for growth, and accepted the responsibility of being the leader and president of the A.F.T. He called attention to the character of the period in which we are living and the necessity for a progressive social outlook.

A.F.L. AND **TEACHERS**

most vivid fashion what affiliation teachers. He indicated how the A. the struggle for educational freedom education. He also related how the A. F. of L. was working for labor unity, how it had made important concessions in the last negotiations, and that it stood ready to resume negotiations once again. The convention voted to recommend to the incoming Executive Council the publication of Mr. Googe's speech as a pamphlet for organizational and recruiting purposes.

ATTITUDE TO NEW DEAL

On the floor of the convention, the most important discussion revolved around the question of the New Deal. The New York administration forces stood for unreserved support to the New Deal and for its victory in the 1940 elections. Another viewpoint was presented that called for a more critical attitude, proposing that each measure of the New Deal be considered on its own merits: that the organization not commit itself on 1940 questions that are still to arise; that it was inadvisable to have a tie-up with either of the old-line parties, as such a step would make more difficult the organization of the teachers of the country; that the question of political policy be left to the local unions for consideration and action. The speaker stated his own personal preference for a broad farmer-labor party. As a result of the debate, which was marked by the most vindictive methods on the part of Bella Dodd, spokesman of the New York administration forces, a substitute supervise the elections. If these

resolution was adopted that indicat-| that with Dr. Counts as president PPROXIMATELY 500 delegates ed support only for the "progressive there will be consolidated an ef-A representing 40,000 organized labor and educational policies of the

> Some other resolutions adopted labor unity with commendation to the A. F. of L. for its spirit of conegotiations.

NEW EXECUTIVE

convention floor. It is to be hoped essence.

fective leadership on the part of the Executive Council, one that will enable the A.F.T. to give real guidance to teachers and make rapid strides forward in organizational strength. Certainly, there is plenty of talent and ability and devotion in the ranks of the unionized teachers, as evidenced in the many discussions carried on by the delegates on the convention floor where experiences were exchanged, conclusions drawn. Certainly, Dr. Counts's progressive program (published in the last issue of Workers Age.—Editor) offers a real basis for growth. The teachers of America, in cooperation with organized labor, have a real job to perform, as educational workers and as educators of children, and there is no A new Executive Council was time to be lost in the doing of it. elected, composed in the main of in- With fascist trends on the increase dividuals not heretofore on the lead- within the country as well as abroad ing body of the A.F.T. There are with war definitely threatening the also on the Executive Council repre- world, with mounting attacks upon the question of Dr. Counts's can-sentatives of the various viewpoints labor and upon teachers, speed and and tendencies that clashed on the concentrated action are of the

rapid growth of the A.F.T., more-effective tackling of teachers problems, better relations with organized labor, and a broader social outlook for the troubled times ahead, as against those essentially Furriers Union

Progressives Determined to Fight On

By B. BARAZ

New York City. Local 5, spearhead in the attack against Dr. Counts; in spite of the mistake made by the leadership of hard by the economic crisis in this these forces in falling for the country but it is not the industry manouver and trap of the New York as such that has been really hit. administration's proposal for a As a matter of fact, more fur garcompromise, that both Dr. Counts ments were produced in the last few and Jerome Davis be withdrawn as years than in the previous years of prosperity. Nor were there any bankruptcies of any importance in for Dr. Counts, while the New York | the last few years. The manufacadministration and its allies drove turers are still making good money ahead for power and control; in and plenty of profit. It is only the spite of the irresponsible and worker that has become worse off from year to year. A small percensive and constructive record of Dr. tage of the workers who are employed in the mink and jap-mink highly skilled craft and are able to

TEMPORARY

After the fifteen-week strike and lockout in 1938, the Stalinist-controlled administration of the furriers union talked the workers into the "victory" of temporary jobs. When the workers returned to the shops and tasted the fruit of this so-called "victory," they could not find words strong enough to condemn the leadership. The administration was well aware of the dissatisfaction. In order to make sure of the elections last year, they resorted to all kinds of schemes and manouvers. First, they rejected the demands of the opposing candidates for a one-day election, voting by machines and the right to have watchers in George Googe, representative of the polling places. Then they forced the A. F. of L., demonstrated in a the employed workers to pay advance dues and handed out a few with organized labor means to the dollars to the unemployed. This was done only a couple of weeks before F. of L. was helping in the organiz- elections, obviously to bribe the uning of teachers, how it was aiding employed. Ben Gold mobilized his entire paid staff to campaign for and tenure and how it was throwing the administration. He himself was the weight of its influence behind actively engaged in helping the the campaign for federal aid to reelection of his henchmen. The opposing candidates were unscrupulously besmirched by the paid organizers. Opposition slates were torn up. Voting went on the open table. The opposing candidates raised objections and Gold, the president, paid no attention whatever. Or, at best, the manager, Potash, would say: "So what?"

> Equipped with the sad experiences of last year, the United Progressive tions, we issued a programmatic statement raising the various trade issues. In the same statement, we included the demands for watchers in the coming elections, for elections to be held on one day by machines, and for a competent committee of the labor movement acceptable to both sides to supervise the

ADMINISTRATION

REFUSES SAFEGUARDS. The administration paid no attention to our just demands. We then proceeded with a committee to the Joint Council placing our demands before that body. The Joint Council referred the matter to the Election and Objection Committee. This committee flatly rejected our demands. We issued an official challenge to the leadership, thru the press and in a leaflet, in which we again demanded that we be granted watchers, one-day elections and a committee of the labor movement to

demands would be met and an honest election held, we agreed if defeated to give up our opposition to the leadership and abide by the decision of an honest majority.

The administration was deaf and dumb to our challenge. We then spared no time and our committee got in touch with the president of the International Fur Workers man. Union. So vital was the question of our participation in the elections that we left no stone unturned to secure an honest election. However, we found Gold acting like a Tammany politician. He marked time postponing the answer for a couple of days and then he told me that we would not be allowed to have lines are fortunate because of their watchers. We were also informed that most of our candidates would make a more or less decent living. not be allowed to be on the ballot The great majority of the workers under a flimsy constitutional pretext however, are doomed to meager that some time during the year they earnings and shortlived seasons. owed more than thirteen weeks The introduction into the trade of dues, tho they were in good standan inhuman speed-up system almost ing now. It is a matter of fact and triples production. As a result of I am ready to prove it that a good the speed-up the seasons are many of the Stalinists were actually tional freedom, attempts to drive shortened. There is always a great not in good standing. Yet they were married women teachers out of the army of unemployed. Many workers on the ballot and were reelected to find employment only for six, eight | serve in the council. On Monday or ten weeks during the entire year. evening, July 25, a day before the elections, the administration refused to give us the numbers of our candidates to make up our slate. The United Progressive Furriers had to make a quick decision, whether under these circumstances to take part in the elections or not. There were altogether twenty-four hours left before voting started. The progressives felt that this administration could not be trusted an inch. They therefore made a hasty decision not to participate in the elections

WITHDRAWAL FROM

THE ELECTIONS In general, withdrawing from an election is a wrong policy. The progressives knew this. Yet they felt that it would not be possible for the opposition to participate until an honest election was secured. Another argument presented was Gold and his clique do in the union. that our participation in the elections without watchers would give RESULTS OF the administration an opportunity to swell the vote to unlimited figures. They would then declare themselves elected by "great majority." There is a good deal of truth in these arguments. But on the whole, it seems to me that withdrawing from the election was incorrect and inadvisable.

THE "UNITED FRONT" OF RIGHT AND LEFT

Furriers started out very early this have the blessing of his silent partthe union have long parted with protest in this eloquent manner.

Symposium

Waldman to

Address

social-democratic leader and future at the symposium, "Towards A Better America," arranged under the auspices of the Independent Labor Institute for Friday evening, October 6, at Hotel Center, 108 West 43rd Street.

Other participants in this symposium will include: Luigi Antonini, chairman of the American Labor Party and first vice-president of the I.L.G.W.U.; Dr. George S. Counts president of the American Federation of Teachers; Norman Thomas labor economists; Abram L. Harris professor at Howard University and Bertram D. Wolfe, educator and author. Jay Lovestone will be chair

These men, distinguished in the fields of labor, education and politics will discuss from various angles the current trends of American social development and the outlook for a better future for the great mass of American people.

Tickets are 75 cents and are to be obtained at the Independent Labor Institute, 131 West 33rd Street, New York City.

that movement for the sake of their paid jobs. The furriers have never heard a word of criticism from Begoon and his friends. Is there nothing to criticize in the union? the unemployment situation? Must A.F.L. the union administration be mortgaged to the bosses? Doesn't Begoo remember that Gold used to accuse the former leadership of the union of close cooperation with the bosses? And what are Gold and his comrades doing now? What is there so mysterious that makes these right wingers agree on everything? Begoon, as the secretary-treasurer of the union, sanctions the squandering of the union treasury, all for the price of the paid job. The responsibility and the blame, therefore, fall mainly upon those who are giving the Stalinsts the protection of their "right-wing" label to be used by Gold and Company as a cover for a "united front."

For this false label the Stalinists are offering Begoon and his few friends their endorsement in the elections. In exchange, these so-called "right wingers" pledge solemnly to shut their mouths and give a blanket endorsement to everything

RECENT ELECTIONS The elections went on for two days in succession. The administration fully mobilized its forces. The paid officers, in cooperation with the bosses, forced workers to go to vote. Business agents were on the lookout at subway entrances. The administration spent thousands of dollars of union money on campaign literature. Yet with all these tricks and manouvers at the administration's I maintain that all the treachery disposal, they themselves report not in the furriers union must not be more than 6,300 participating, out attributed to Gold and his comrades of a membership of 15,000! Out of was filled with voters six abreast only. I am of the opinion that it these, they were forced to give would never be possible for Gold to to the opposition, whose names do what he is doing if he did not remained on the ballot, over 1,200 votes for paid officers, and over 1,ners, the so-called "right wingers." 600 for Joint Council members. These few individuals, who at one There were also between seven and time paraded as leaders of the eight hundred blank ballots thrown right-wing socialist movement in in by workers who made their

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can be offered only by consolidated forces of the workers.

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Lovestone, **Pivert Talk** On Nazi Pact

A N enthusiastic audience filled the big hall at Hotel Center last Wednesday evening, August 30, to hear Marceau Pivert, head of the French Socialist Workers and Peasants Party (P.S.O.P.), and Jay Lovestone, secretary of the Independent Labor League of America, discuss the meaning of the Stalin-Hitler pact and the war situation in general.

Pivert, just recently arrived in this country, told his hearers about the indignation and disgust of the French workers at Soviet Russia's sudden alliance with Nazi Germany. He went on to describe in vivid terms conditions in France in the grip of a military dictatorship. He concluded with a stirring appeal for international workers solidarity against war and the war-makers. Jay Lovestone, who was the first

speaker, presented a clear and forceful analysis of the background, causes and consequences of the Russo-German alliance, laying special stress on its implications for the international labor movement. His final appeal was directed particularly to members and follow-New York City. ers of the Communist Party whom outstanding the shock of the pact was forcing to recent decisions, "wherever A. F. of do some hard thinking. He called L. organizations have insisted upon labor attorney, will present his upon them to make a definite and craft units, the Labor Board has views on the subject of America's final break with the C.P., which only too willingly granted such renow stood exposed as merely an unscrupulous, slavishly obedient agency of the Stalin dictatorship, and join the I.L.L.A.

> (Marceau Pivert's address will be published in full in the next issue of this paper. Jay Lovestone's speech will be used as material for a series of articles to begin in an early issue.

Labor and the Law

= by Joseph Elwood =

THE C.I.O. AND THE LABOR BOARD

THE first repercussions of recent modifications of National Labor Relation Board rules of procedure are already here. In issuing a warning to all its affiliated unions against certain rulings of the Board enumerated in recent decisions, the C.I.O. appears to have altered its attitude and its policy towards the Board from one of blind support under any and all conditions to open criticism and attack.

Statistics

seen by the C.I.O. of a "policy of the Board to attempt to placate the A. F. of L. at the expense of the interests and at the risk of encouraging chaos in industry." This statement was contained in the August 15 issue of the C.I.O. Legal Bulletin, which is prepared under the direction of Lee Pressman, its general counsel.

After "viewing with increasing alarm" recent decisions of the Labor Board, the Bulletin states: "Our unions should feel free to express their criticism publicly and make our members aware of the dangerous policy being followed by the

Decisions which aroused the ire of the C.I.O. involve the issues of craft versus industrial bargaining unit and plant versus employer-wide bargainers of the Communist Party whom ing unit. The Bulletin alleges that in quests in the face of opposition of C.I.O. industrial unions.

The Bulletin adds that "considerable attention" will be given this matter at the forthcoming national convention of the C.I.O. at San Francisco.

So now it is no more "verboten" to criticize certain practices of the issue.

Board. Only yesterday any criticism of the Board was regarded in C.I.O.

chairman of the Socialist Party; Lewis Corey and Scott Nearing, labor economists: Abram L. Harris Facts Behind the CIO-GM Agreement

Settlement Ignores Production Men

(These paragraphs are from the | rates agreed on in the settlement, August 16 issue of the Western Michigan Auto Workers, issued by Region No. 7 of the United Automobile Workers of America (A.F.L.).—Editor.)

Lansing, Mich.

DUBLICATION of the G.M.-C.I.O. "memorandum of settlement" reveals that the C.I.O. surrendered all of its demands-10-cents hourly increase, tool and die union label, and supplementary contract—and submitted to the drastic demands of the company in a fruitless effort to Isn't there a better way of handling gain recognition over the U.A.W.-

Tool and die workers in Saginaw, Cleveland, and other plants found themselves out of a job on Monday following the settement of the tool and die strike between the C.I.O. and General Motors, the company simply pointing to the "back-towork-according-to-seniority" clause in the settlement and stating that it had no work for them.

The company refuses to negotiate further on grievances arising from the settlement as it calls attention to the paragraph in the "memorandum" which states that the union agrees not to appeal over the heads of divisional managers for a period of thirty days.

LESS THAN 200 MINOR RAISES

In Cadillac, only two company

stooges have been found to be eligible for the minor changes in But even these figures are a mystery. I shall compare these figures with the elections held in

own judgment. In 1935, when unity tion. was achieved between the "independent" Stalinist Furriers Union and the Furriers Joint Council of PRODUCTION WORKERS the A. F. of L., both sides put up slates. Both sides were keenly interested in winning the elections. It was natural for each side to try to bring out the maximum voters. The elections in 1935 were on for three were definitely lined up on each side. The sidewalk near the polling place vote. Yet, all in all, not more than elections in 1935.

nounced its official withdrawal from of the union. A good many of them GM. contract. did not turn out to vote. The conditions in the trade, the last gen- drastic demand of the company upon eral strike, the fake "victory," the the rights of tool, die, and mainto the prestige and popularity of days. The memorandum says: the leadership. The workers were less and less interested in the elections. How in the world it was possible for the leadership to swell the number of votes to 6,300 only they know, and it is for you to judge what these figures mean.

The election results show clearly what the situation in the furriers union really is, I am firmly convinced, and this is also the opinion of many others, that with an honest election the entire outcome would have been different.

and these two have been raised accordingly. Some fifty men voted on the strike settlement in Cadillac, according to very reliable reports, and Cadillac workers in this meeting spoke bitterly against the "company policy" agreement. Reliable reports put the number

of minor rate changes affecting tool, lie, and maintenance workers at less thru comparison comprised the than 200, while the corporation's policy of awarding such raises to units the number of elections was its red-apple men and stooges is well-known thruout General Motors.

to the C.I.O.'s "sole bargaining in by the N.L.R.B. are not available, 42 plants" claim, call attention to size is not among the criteria guid-C.I.O.'s comparative silence regarding any concrete gains made by the settlement, and point out that a G. M. grant of sole bargainng in any plant of the corporation would be a direct violation of the Wagner Act, there having been no election in the plants.

An examination of the settlement eveals that the company agrees not recognize another committee where the C.I.O. already has the only committee existing in the plant -which leaves the C.I.O. exactly where it was in all plants before. Further, the company did not agree o refuse to recognize another committee if it lawfully represents the workers in any shop. Thus the C.I.O.'s declaration of "sole bargaining in 42 plants" is disclosed to be simply a barrage to cover up the handing of the workers rights to the company.

Factual examination shows that 1 plants which have two committees contain the overwhelming majority of G.M. workers; they are 1935, and then let you pass your the 11 major plants of the corpora-

NO DEMANDS FOR

To what extent the C.I.O. was prepared to go in its shameless effort to force recognition by a craft strike is shown by the following paragraph from the settlement: 'The U.A.W.-C.I.O., for itself and days in succession. The workers its members, agrees not to make any demands, the granting of which would require any changes of the present U.A.W. - General Motors waiting for hours for their turn to agreement while the ownership of the present agreement may be in 7,000 workers participated in the dispute." The ownership of the present agreement may well be in This time, the opposition an- dispute for years; no comment is necessary on this surrender of the the elections. The workers in gen- rights of the production workers to eral, even Stalinist sympathizers, change their present intolerable conwere disappointed in the leadership ditions in relation to the inoperative

The C.I.O. accepted a further constant collaboration of the union tenance workers of the C.I.O. when officials with the bosses, the it agreed not to appeal any grievance mishandling of the unemployment relating to the terms of the settlequestion, all these were no small ment over the heads of divisional matters. They certainly did not add managers for a period of thirty

The basis for this change is the allegedly "definite indication" circles as high treason to the labor

Some Interesting

COMPARISON of statistics suggests that in the majority of certifications of collective-bargaining agents issued in representative cases, the National Labor Relations Board and the New York State Labor Relations Board arrive at their determinations by somewhat

Of 342 certifications issued after formal action by the N.L.R.B. for which figures have been reported, 68% were based upon the results of employee elections while 32% resulted from other procedure, such as comparison of union authorizations with the payroll of the employer. etc. But in New York, analysis of 481 certifications made by the State Board during the past two years shows that 60% have been based upon comparison of union designations with employer payrolls and only 40% have followed elections

conducted by the Board. That the New York Board's method of determining employee representations may be influenced by the size of the approximate bargaining unit is suggested in an analysis of its representation cases prepared by Louis Goldberg and made public recently by the Board. According to Mr. Goldberg, the statistics indicate 'substantially that certifications in larger bargaining units resulted mostly from elections by secret bal-lot, while those resulting from comparisons involved principally the smaller bargaining units embracing the least number of workers."

As to the method of selecting representatives, Mr. Goldberg states: "Of the total figures in both methods of selecting collective-bargaining representatives, comparison cases outnumbered elections by 33, while 21,063 more workers were involved in elections than comparisons. These contrasts indicate that in small-sized units determinations greater part, whereas in the larger

Altho comparable statistics on the Many active union men, referring size of bargaining units sanctioned ing its determination of bargaining representations.

Employer Goes To Jail

The first employer to go to jail or violation of the wage-and-hour act was committed last week for a maximum term of six months by the federal district court in West Virginia. His offense was contempt of court. resulting from failure to produce records for inspection by the Wage and Hour Division and failure to make restitution to work-

ers of back-wages totaling \$3,152.

tion of work no issue regarding classifications which may arise as the result of the application of those rules will be appealed from the decision of the general manager of the division." As a grievance must be appealed to the main G.M. management thru the International Union before strike action is possible, this also amounts to renouncing the right to strike. Divisional managers of G.M. settle little, especially when the union signs that they do not have to.

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prochement repeatedly during the pass

"If, as it is likely, a break is to

be made (by the Soviet Union) with

the pro-French orientation and there

establishing some modus-vivendi be-

tween the two. A truce with Nazi

Germany would be of great aid to

Soviet military and economic con-

ditions, particularly in view of the

dreadful damage inflicted on both

by Stalin within the last three

"The Nipponese imperialist

threats hurled with such increasing

frequency and fury against the So-

viet Union in recent weeks are very

likely only means of pressure

exercised by the Axis powers on the

U.S.S.R. to speed up some momen-

tary understanding and insure some

substantial Russian concessions in

the bargaining. Already Italy has

managed to get the Soviet govern-

ment to supply Rome's navy with

"But not for a moment should

anyone overlook the fact that Hitler

and Mussolini can very well utilize

ly impressive. But in describing all

of these incidents, Sheean does not

see the insidious grasping control

desperately needed oil.

oppose to any part of it."

geoisie

be made: first, that they

Here is Sheean's doubt. "I thought

would

that there were two observations to

never really convince the bour-

second, that they would never re-

concile the Spanish working class to

an abandonment of the revolution

even for a time. In the Newtonian

laws of the intellect, inertia itself

was not more terrible than momen-

tum; and what the Communists were

attacking here was the momentum

over. The middle classes everywhere

for twenty years had thought of the

Communists as their most danger-

ous enemy; the proletariat, especial-

reasoning belief in constant revolu-

tion; and both currents of thought

had acquired such terrific momen-

This is the measure of Sheean's

political blindness. Instead of re-

cognizing that only by fundamental

changes in Spain, during the war

could the war have been won, Sheean

regrets that the Communist Party

was not able to curb the revolution-

ing class. What a tragic populariza-

of the great mistake of the Social

Reviewed by FRANK HOWARD

arrest them came too late."

of their sincerity, and

years."

MARCH 8, 1939:

---Editor.)

effect will appear in future issues.

NOVEMBER 19, 1938:

French imperialism."

FEBRUARY 11, 1939:

Moves to Revise Labor Laws Foreshadowing the Pact Face Next Congress Session

See Attacks on Wagner Act and Wage-Hour Law

By ARTHUR GREEN

Washington, D. C. THE Congressional battle over it administers. Employers have been go into its next round when Congress meets again in January, and when competing unions are contesa fateful round it is likely to be.

The rap of the adjournment gavel early in August was only a signal for time out. Resumption of the struggle is scheduled to begin again in a few weeks.

In the meantime, an on-guard atmosphere prevails in the Washington headquarters of the parties concerned: the A. F. of L. and the C. I. O. for labor; and for the employers, the National Association of Manufacturers, the United States Cham ber of Commerce and similar employing-class pressure groups with direct interest in changes in the laws covering the rights, privileges, wages and hours of labor.

CHANGES HELD UP IN COMMITTEES

Only a last minute manouver kept a drastic set of amendments to the wage-hour act from reaching the House floor just prior to adjournment. A long list of witnesses still to be heard prevented either Senate or House Labor Committees from re- | ber of amendments to the Fair Laporting out amendments to the Wagner Act. Changes in the Walsh-Healey Act, which sets minimum wages on federal orders privately asm for amendments than Mr. Anplaced, would have lowered the pre- drews had bargained for. When it sent application of the law from contracts of \$10,000 or over to those of \$4,000 or over. These amendments received Senate approval but never emerged from a House Committee.

Indications that a sizable group of Congressmen will attempt to bring these amendments out of committee next session are not difficult to find.

committee to investigate the Labor Board will begin operations early in October. The alleged purpose of the inquiry, which will be headed by I have been alone while reading reactionary Representative, Howard it near a Blue Ridge mountain Smith, is to test the "fitness" of the the N.L.R.B. But it is obvious that Is this Jones Creek running down the the real purpose of the inquiry will be to provide ammunition to force Ebro? Munich, Prague and Barthru certain amendments much desired by employer groups.

It should be realized that, whatbe left unchanged.

BROADER SCOPE ASKED FOR WALSH-HEALEY ACT

The unprecedented volume of government orders flowing to private industry for rearmament and other purposes is likely to create a demand for lowering of the Walsh-Healey Act exemptions. A campaign by labor unions to inform the public of the issues involved is counted upon to create sentiment in favor of this legislation.

On the matter of the national minimum-wage and maximum-hours law, agricultural, canning and allied interests are keeping up a steady barrage intended to blast the Barden amendments out of committee early next session.

In general, the prospect is that labor legislation when it reconvenes as over any other single topic, with divides the world." the natural exception of neutrality.

The National Labor Board, for out of context, a reader of the Age

one, has made attempts of its own | appeared that certain pressure to forestall amendment of the act groups wished to change the wage-L this country's labor laws will granted a limited right to petition for collective-bargaining elections ting the right to represent their employees. In addition, recent decisions of the Board have made concessions to the A. F. of L. point of view rather than to the C.I.O. position in

a number of important cases. Further "appeasement" for employers is contained in a recent Labor Board decision declaring that employers may flatly refuse a minimum pay and maximum hours liquidated. We must remember that, On the home front, the Board has

There is little likelihood, however. the Wagner Act, but they are in- wishey-drinking, poker - playing, tended to soften considerably the blow of the Congressional axe.

These self-defense tactics have been used by the administrator of the wage-hour law, Elmer Andrews, but with different results.

With this strategy in mind, Mr. Andrews asked Congress for a numbor Standards Act. The House Labor Committee agreed, but the

hour act far beyond what the Labor Committee had originally intended Mr. Andrews hastily withdrew his amendments and arranged to have them bottled up in committee until Congress had gone home.

Chief cause of concern for the

Wage-Hour Administration lay in the sweeping changes proposed by is to be even the slightest move in Representative Barden of North the direction of a rapprochement Carolina. The Wage-Hour Division with Germany, then surely some pointed out that upwards of one French spies and agents will have million persons would be deprived of to be fabricated in order to be union's demand for a closed shop. protection if the Barden amendments passed. It was in this conmade internal administrative changes | nection that John L. Lewis, C.I.O. calculated to please some of its president, named Vice-President Garner as the chief inspiration of hostile amendments to the wagethat these Labor Board self-defense hour law, and threw in for good moves will prove completely effect- | measure the now-famous charge that ive in staving off amendments to Mr. Garner was a "labor-baiting.

evil old man." Thus the Wage-Hour Administration's attempt to obtain cautious changes in the law ended in a strategic retreat. The only amendment finally approved by Congress was one exempting operators of small telephone exchanges. The demand for revision of the law persists among representatives of wholesale agricultural, canning and similar in-House itself displayed more enthusi- terests and this demand certainly

will be felt next session. (Continued on Page 4)

Books of the Age

= by Jim Cork =

Vincent Sheean, Doubleday, Doran and Co., New York. 1939.

THIS is not light summer reading stream. It set me thinking furiously. mountain before me or is it the celona begin to seem as near as the villages down the road.

Reading the epilogue, later in the ever the reason may be, there evening, the news broadcaster is considerable dissatisfaction with catches my attention with a report the Wagner Act as it now stands. on ominous moves toward war in all The trend of public opinion is un- parts of Europe. A few minutes lamistakable. The most recent Gallup ter, I am reading Sheean's prediction poll on the subject, released in June, of an inevitable general war. "Such reveals that 48% of persons with a war will take place when or if the opinions on the Wagner Act believe fascist powers directly attack the France and 18% think it should be repealed and England, and not before; that is to the remaining 34% think it should say, it will be an imperialist war, fought for no principle except that of empire. The principles all went by the board in September 1938. So idid the treaties, the promises, the obligations and the frontiers; so did the structure of international law as hitherto known and partially observed. The naked greed and selfishness of all European imperial states are so hideously exposed by the events of 1936-39 that an American must hesitate before expressing a preference between them." This is good Marxism, I thought to myself.

And then a few pages later at the end of the blackest of black pictures which Sheean has portrayed, he thermore, he is too important a pubcloses this important book with the darkness which encompasses the we are justified in retaining for the after page of this book belies his sat-Congress will be as exercised over future progress of humanity thru and beyond the conflict which now

Having cited these two quotations,

For one thing, the five-man House NOT PEACE BUT A SWORD, by | can be pardoned if he decides that Vincent Sheean has learned a hard lesson from his recent exsperiences. He evidently understands, you are saying in your mind, why Loyalist Spain was defeated, why fascism stalks and menaces the earth and what must be done to halt its advances I am sorry to report that these quotations are misleading. The author has written a deeply moving story with profoundly true observations mixed with some surprisingly superficial and naive political explanations of events-explanations which basically contradict the obser-

exerted in Spain by the Communists. He admits it but tends to praise it as necessary in order to preserve vations. Perhaps it is inevitable that order and achieve efficiency. Only once, in his lengthy treatment of the a sensitive spirit, such as Sheean, with little beyond liberal political three-and-a-half-hour political reconvictions, should have been fooled port of "Pasionaria" before the Cenby the Communists in Spain and tral Committee of the party, does he elsewhere. Wasn't the line of the express doubt. First, he tells what Comintern made to order for such he heard her say. It surprises him. as he? Nevertheless, I regret that he He had known of the resolutions of associated only with del Vayo, No- the Seventh Congress of the Comgrin, Hemingway, Herb Kline, Milt mintern, "they told the Communists Wolfe and other Stalinists and fel- of the world to support the demolow-travelers. There is no evidence cracies only under this or that set of in the book that he ever met Ca-ballero or leaders of the POUM. I they did not tell Communists to supdon't remember one mention of the port private property as a constitusocialist leader and the POUM is tional principle. What Dolores was mentioned only once in Sheean's reputting forward was a program under which the Communists would port of Dolores Ibarruri's speech becease to be any different . . . from fore the Central Committee of the the ordinary Republican liberals. Spanish Communist Party delivered Her program was Dr. Negrin's proon May 23, 1938. Now, what I dislike about all this is that Vincent gram, and that was all. President Azana would have had nothing to Sheean has too many good political

lic figure and too influential only bit of light he can see in the to excuse himself by saying he is not a politician or that he is satisworld. "Upon the will and instinct of fied with being a fellow-traveler of the proletariat reposes such hope as the CP. On the latter point, page isfaction with the Communists. He is much to the left of them.

instincts and too keen a mind to be

satisfied with the Stalinist line. Fur-

The book opens with a chapter dealing with a ride on Bus 13 in London. I have taken this ride many times and it thrilled me again to of all post-war thinking the world take it in the Blue Ridge Mountains. As a literary device, it serves well to enable the author to comment brilliantly on the members of the British ruling class and how the English working people are duped by them. The remaining chapters begin and end in Spain.

To Sheean, Spain was an oasis, during 1936-39, in a desert of increasingly virulent reaction and barbarism. Spain, however unsuccessfully, was fighting back. There was life and hope in Spain. The book racial oppression. We are not only the plight of the refugees, the sigagainst war, but against all dicta- nificance of Munich and reflections of what happened in Prague and ary tendencies of the Spanish work-Vienna. Sheean is at his best when want to prepare the masses who are he deals with persons in relationship tion, in the year of Our Lord 1939, and the last to be killed, is tragical-

(We publish below extracts from Jay | these arrangements with the Stalin Lovestone's column, "At First Glance," regime to insure major shakedowns foreshadowing the recent sudden change from their French and British imperialist opponents. World tension in Russo-Soviet relations. Last week, we quoted extracts from our editorial and has reached the trigger point. In news columns indicating that the Worksuch situations, bluff can at any ers Age forecast the Stalin-Hitler rap- moment turn into grimmest reality."

year. Additional quotations to the same JULY 1, 1939:

"We, as all the world knows, think that the U.S.S.R. should keep out of all entangling imperialist alliances. We do not look upon the Franco-Soviet pact, that was and is, as an instrument of good for the Russian or international working class. Nor do we see the slightest cause for jubilation by the world labor movement should Stalin conclude a 'peace pact' with Chamberlain or Hitler."

AUGUST 5, 1939:

in the halcyon period of the Franco-"In line with this, too much im-Soviet pact, there 'logically' was no portance cannot be attached to the one accused of being a spy for coming visit to Stalin by the Nazi economic negotiator, Helmuth Wohlthat. The latter, who put over the Rumanian deal for Hitler, will seek "There is another angle to the to conclude a \$600,000,000 credit whole situation. No unusual vehemdeal to provide the German war maence characterized Hitler's diatribes chine with oil, ores and timber from against Bolshevism; in fact, the entire effusion here has a stench of staleness about it. This may well suggest that there may be under way negotiations between Hitlerwill then go to Moscow. Germany and Stalin-Russia towards

"Apparently it would be wrong to Mussolini has been working hard afforded aplenty the other day when between the Stalin regime and the Mussolini, Hitler and Franco regimes, and that therefore 'their destinies lay naturally together.' Duce: 'There are many reasons which might bring Russia close to the Axis powers and to those who gravitate around them; this may appear a heresy, but it is not.'

"Of course, here is a trial ballon illed with poisonous ideological gas. Nevertheless, let no one minimize the likelihood of contemporary politics making even for stranger bedfellows than Stalin and Hitler. Didn't Italian bombers use Soviet petrol to shoot down Russian pilots flying in Spain? Paradoxical? Realy illuminating of what consorting with imperialist brigands will bring! of imperialist brigands, From the viewpoint of independent international working-class action, the eign affairs."

War Starts In Europe

(Continued from page 1) ments were supported almost unanimously in the House of Commons and the Chamber of Deputies. Practically all the British Laborites lined up behind the Tory government, the strongest voice of opposition being that of the Independent Labor Party which, thru John McGovern, delared it could not follow the Prime Minister for it had "no faith in him or his system as an instrument for fighting Hitler." In the French Chamber, the socialists and communists joined in backing Daladier and nis war program; it is not yet known what voices of protest, if any, were raised in that assembly. In both France and England, the cabinets were reorganized in the direction of greater "national unity"; the inclusion of socialists and Laborites in the war governments is expected in the near future. In both countries, coo, the military dictatorships established even before the outbreak of war were considerably tightened up last week.

MILITARY OPERATIONS ly in Spain, had developed an un- BEGIN

Military activity of the war began with vigorous fighting in the Corridor and nearby sections of Poland tum by 1938 that this attempt to The Germans were reported to have made wide gains and to have closed the Corridor by military occupation. What line of military operations Great Britain and France would follow was by no means clear last veek. Of course, England immediate ly blockaded Germany in the North and Baltic Seas and closed the entrances to the Mediterranean With Germany able to draw to some degree on the economic resources of Russia, the blockade could not possibly be as effective as in 1914-1918. France announced that "operations have begun, involving the entire land, naval and air forces." But some time ago, the French General Staff is reported to have decided that to take the offensive along the old "western front" was out of the question in view of the impassable system of tank barriers and concrete machine-gun nests that Germany has built into its Limes, or Siegfried Line. For France or England to invade Holland or Belgium to get at Germany was said to be "unthinkable"- altho not, of course, by any means impossible. The only way seemed to be across northern Italy and thru the Brenner Pass. That is why Italy's neutrality was so obnoxious to the Allies; from their standpoint, even its participation on the German side would be preferable. The general impression seemed to be that if Italy could not how decisive that would be was not be won over by London and Paris, at all evident.

What Do Foes of the Wage Law Want?

Reactionary Bloc Out for Starvation Wages

By ELMER F. ANDREWS

WHAT do these people who are trying to wreck the Fair Laing to wreck the law merely because of unwavering addiction to some abstract but outworn economic theory. They are practical people, and what they really want is the right to pay their workers something less than 25 cents an hour, something less than \$11 for a 44-hour week, the wage and hour standards for this

WHAT THEY ARE OUT FOR

Heaven knows that \$11 a week is most, it represents the absolute minimum that Congress considered rapidly as we can with limited peressential to sustain life for an Amerthe law don't want to pay 25 cents the U.S.S.R. As if to put even firmer an hour; they don't want to pay finishing touches on these manifes- time and a half for overtime; certations of real friendship in deed, a tainly, they don't want to be forced delegation of Nazi steel magnates to pay 30 cents an hour for a 42hour week, which becomes the standard after the 24th of next October, "Apparently it would be wrong to if they can help it. What they want damaging ments.... for a rapprochement between the forced to make up the difference in Axis powers and the Stalin dictatorship. Evidence of such efforts was wretched wages they are willing to the authoritative Gazzetta del Popolo wrote a long dissertation to the public to pay their wage bills prove that there was little difference for them so that they will be free to cut the throats of their responsible competitors by underbidding them on a price basis. That's what they Said this Turin mouthpiece of Il to gloss over their greed by highfalutin talk about the "American way," or the beauties of "rugged individualism," or "the dastardly plot

The issue is not thus simply one between labor and employers. The interests and the economic and social welfare of the entire nation are involved. Are a large group of the American people — those whose wages are insufficient to hold body and soul together even on a bare minimum standard—to be supported in whole or in part by the contribu-Stalin's policies have led the Soviet tions of the rest of the population? government to a position of being That state of affairs is unsound ecodependent on one or another brand nomically, socially and morally. The Fair Labor Standards Act is not in itself the complete answer to the present problems of this nation, but U.S.S.R. is now impotent in its for- it does embody a fundamental principle: a man's work should pay enough to support him.

at Washington to impose autocratic

regulations upon American busi-

INADEQUATE ENFORCEMENT

There is more than one way to wreck a law. In this case, the frank and honorable way would be to attack the law and work for its repeal. You might be able to respect an industrial pirate, however much you disagree with him, were he to take the position that it is nobody's business if he depresses the wages of his workers to the starvation level, that society has no right to hold him accountable for any of his acts. But you can have mighty little respect for those who, working behind the scenes to knife the wage and hour law, at the same time profess to be the friends of labor bent upon enslaving labor for labor's own good. That is the kind of opposition we have had in the last few months.

Still another danger is that enforcement may be crippled by inadequate funds. The enactment of social or labor legislation, however well conceived, is not enough. No law is of value until provision is made for its enforcement. It is relatively easy to enforce a law requiring the protection of factory ma-

! chinery with safety appliances. A single trip thru a factory will disclose to an inspector whether the law is being complied with or not. bor Standards Act really want? To enforce the Fair Labor Stand-Their past history certainly does not ards Act is a far more difficult prosuggest that they are motivated by position. The inspector must study unmixed altruism. They aren't try- the payroll records. He must interview the workers, usually in their homes, since they fear dismissal or some other form of retaliation if seen talking to the government's representative. Frequently, he must stand at the factory gate at night to check up on the overtime work. He is often called upon to educate employers and employees alike as to their responsibilities and rights under the law.

To-date we have received approximately 19,000 complaints of violations and we have investigated a little enough in these times! At sizeable number of them. We are nibbling away at the remainder as sonnel and inadequate funds. But ican family. Yet these enemies of until we are able to employ a sufficient number of trained men to make inspections on a regular and systematic basis, and not solely on the basis of complaints, we are likely to continue to lose ground. In the circumstances, continued operation on a shoe string will be almost as damaging as destructive amend-

For the moment the schemes of those who want to wreck the act have been upset. But these schemes are not yet dead; they are being revived in slightly different form and will be put forward again-if not during the remaining days of this session of Congress, then during the next session beginning in January. The ball has been punted out behind the goal posts, but next January may see it on the five-yard line.

I think you may have to expect that these attacks will be periodically renewed for some years to come, or until, at last, the principle of decent pay for decent hours of work becomes so firmly entrenched in the conscience of the nation that no man will dare to challenge it.

(These paragraphs are from the address delivered by Elmer F. Andrews, wage-hour law administrator, on July 31 at the American Newspaper Guild convention in San Francisco.—Editor.)

MARCEAU PIVERT

Leader of the French Socialist Workers and Peasants Party (P.S.O.P.)

will speak on "The New Socialist

Youth Movement"

Wednesday, Sept, 6

8 P. M.

Auspices: New York Youth Section, I.L.L.A.

'Present Situation in the French Trade

Union Movement" Thursday, Sept, 7

6:30 P. M. Auspices: New York Dressmakers, Branch, I.L.L.A. Both meetings will be held at RIVERA HALL

131 W. 33rd St., N. Y. C.

New Wartime Dictatorship Mapped In Washington

Army To Get Full Control Under The New Plan

(Continued from Page 1) nent of all labor disputes."

Control would be vested in a War Labor Administration under an ad-ninistrator appointed by the Presi-Necessity for "modification" of ministrator appointed by the Presi-

Wage and hour laws, labor standords, collective bargaining and Labor Board machinery would be "modified" as the emergency required.

Everything would be subordinated o the aim of quick victory.

On the outbreak of war, the Wan abor Administrator and his adrisory council would consider these

Measures to "prevent grievances from interfering with war produc-The "effect of organization of em-

loyers into trade associations and of labor into trade unions and the effect of the maintenance of the right of collective bargaining on in-

they would try to force it into the

Aside from the main land operations and command of the sea, the British and French were expected to come to Poland's aid immediately with their air forces. But exactly dustry's ability to meet the material requirements of the armed forces. Standards of wages, hours of

the statutory work day "with due regard for the national necessity.' Maintenance of maximum production in all war work, and the suspension for the period of the emergency and a "reasonable adjustment thereafter" of regulations not having the force of law "which unreasonably limit production."

Regarding the suspension of protective laws and union agreements covering women and children, the plan states that most of these are "expedient rather than necessary," and adds: "In a national emergency, much of this expediency is lost and the operation of some of these regulations and restrictions may well be suspended.

In addition to the 10,000,000 women and girls over 16 now working and who will be diverted to "munitions and essential civilian industries," the non-employed will be recruited, trained and infiltrated to jobs vacated by soldiers.

As to the employment of children under 16, "it must be recognized from the beginning that the nature of the emergency may require such employment."

Pivert, French Socialist Leader, Discusses Pact

Probes Effects On Labor Movement Of France

(Continued from Page 1) get out of this embarrassing alli- the framework of capitalism. We are ance. But here again the reformists therefore against this war which can are incapable of putting forth a only be carried out at the expense of genuine working-class program the working masses, thru misery which would help the labor move-

QUESTION: What do you propose?

What is your program? ANSWER: Our party, the Socialist Workers and Peasants Party of now face to face with the terrible to events. His story of Jim Lardner, France (P.S.O.P.), is a newcomer catastrophe of war, for a complete the last to join the Lincoln Battalion Democrats. to the French political scene, since it transformation of the economic sysarose in the leftward split of the tem. We too want to overthrow Hit-Socialist Party in 1938, but all our ler, but the means suggested-war worker and peasant members have |--may actually help Hitler prolong indeed stood the test under the fire his rule or extend it over other counof events these past twenty years. tries, and would certainly tend to We have today several thousand stimulate the setting up of dictamembers who were formerly mem- torships in the "democratic" powers. bers of the Socialist or Communist The capitalist system is too hopeparties or who reached a revolu- lessly bankrupt to allow the survival tionary point of view thru their ex- of democratic institutions; it needs perience with the Popular Front. We the shot in the arm brought about were therefore not very much by militarism. It cannot turn back astonished at Stalin's latest turn. now. We will explain and prove For us the problem was clear; we this to the workers of France and denounced Stalin as the gravedigger other countries. We say this to the of the proletarian revolution without workers of Germany and Italy now having to wait for the pact.

can be no solution at all, because, rope

like dictatorship, it remains within privation, suffering, bloodshed and does contain, however, chapters on torship, whether Bonapartist, "democratic," fascist or totalitarian. We under the yoke of their dictators, For us imperialist war is the fine and we hope that the popular masses flower of the existing economic sys- all over Europe will one day sign tem. War preparations have already their own non-aggression pact on the become an absolute necessity with- ruins of dictatorial systems, on the out which the regime would be un- ruins of capitalism, giving way to able to solve its contradictions. War the Socialist United States of Eu-

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Workers Age

Organ of the National Council, Independent Labor League of America, 131 West 33rd St., New York City. Published every Saturday by the Workers Age Pub. Assn. Subscription Rates: \$1.50 per year; \$.85 for six month; 5c a copy. Foreign Rates: \$2.50; Canada \$1.75 per year.

Entered as second class matter Nov. 5, 1934, at the Post Office New York, N. Y. under the act of March 3, 1879. Phone: LAckawanna 4-5282.

WILL HERBERG, Editor

Editorial Board: Lyman Fraser, Jay Lovestone, M. S. Mautner, George F. Miles, Bertram D. Wolfe, Charles S. Zimmerman.

SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 9, 1939.

NO. 36

LABOR DAY 1939

LABOR DAY 1939 finds the American working class confronted with a prospect that is darker and more difficult than anything we have had to face in recent years. Reaction is riding roughshod over the rights and gains of labor. The labor movement, more bitterly divided than ever, has been driven to the defensive by the concerted onslaught of the employing class. Unemployment shows no sign of diminishing while relief is being slashed right and left. The danger of America plunged into another world slaughter is growing every day as the war crisis abroad has reached the breaking point. What will the next year bring? What will Labor Day 1940 witness?

Reaction is riding high because it is being fed not only by the anti-New Deal forces in both parties but also by the Administration in its war-preparedness campaign. The Fourth New Deal has meant an end to domestic reform and the intensification of an aggressively "active" foreign policy leading to American involvement in war-breeding power-politics abroad. It has meant the sinister shadow of war preparations—material preparations in the form of rearmament, moral preparations in the form of jingoism and war-mongering-threatening to obliterate everything liberal, progressive and worth-while in this country. It has meant huge war budgets, cutting relief to the bone to build battleships and airplanes. It has meant savage, patrioteering legislation of a kind unknown since the dreadful days of World War hysteria, legislation to deport aliens, to bar citizens from public office merely because of their opinions, and the like. It has meant reaction all along the line.

Labor has been driven to the defensive and forced to yield some of its positions primarily because it is divided, because it some of its positions primarily because it is divided, because it of May 6 and 8, 1911. Rosa Luxemhas not been able to heal the fatal breach in its ranks. The vital burg was undoubtedly one of the most need for unity was never so clear as in the year that has just profound and fruitful socialist thinkpassed. Today it is literally a matter of life and death. Nothing ers of her age.—Editor.) must be permitted to stand in the way of its realization before Labor Day 1940.

Labor has been weakened, too, because it has not proved able consist merely in vigorously demonto consolidate its forces as an independent power on the political strating at all times that the socialfield. Staking everything on the New Deal, it could not entirely escape confusion and some degree of demoralization when the New Deal began to peter out and lose whatever degree of liberalism and concern for labor it once had. Labor independence on the political field and labor unity on the industrial field are the great need of the hour.

That Labor Day 1940 may find us with a year of achievement behind us and a brighter prospect to look forward to, let us take

Against war, war preparations and war-mongering! Keep fact that the bourgeois apostles of America out of war!

For the unification of the trade-union movement! For the united, militant defense of the interests of labor, employed and unemployed alike!

For independent labor political action! For a Labor party!

FOMENTING WAR HYSTERIA

TEW YORK'S Commissioner of Correction McCormick issues sensational public statement to the effect that should war come world only with the destruction of the firm scientific basis of our in Europe, the city's prison facilities would be so overtaxed with the capitalist state. From this fol-party that not only the general line the hordes of "spies, saboteurs and other war-time law violators" that a new jail had better be built right now. The very next day, tactics in spreading the idea of Police Commissioner Valentine announces "detailed plans for policing the city in the event of European war", including the placing of "special guards at vital points" to "protect essential services." "Meetings, demonstrations, etc., as well as sections of the city where foreigners are colonized, will be given special attention both by the uniformed and detective forces" and hall managers have already been instructed to keep the police informed of any meetings on their premises.

Now all this is, of course, a sign of war hysteria that is beginning to grip the country but far more significantly it is part of the deliberate campaign, encouraged by the Administration, to foment and intensify this feeling of panic to the point where American involvement in war will be regarded as inevitable and will be accepted with a sort of fatalistic despair whenever the President comes to feel that we should rush in to make the world safe for Anglo-French imperialism once again. Watch out now for a growing barrage of sensational publicity on how America is being prepared to "withstand the shock of war in Europe".

If ever there was need for counter-propaganda of peace and sanity, now is the time!

66THE non-aggression pact concluded between the Soviet Union and Germany," declares the Moscow Pravda in an official editorial in and to oppose bourgeois claims and its August 24 issue, "is a document of great significance which reflects pretenses with the ruthless analysis the consistent peace policy of the Soviet Union.

"The foreign policy of the Soviet Union is invariably based on a striving to defend and preserve the cause of peace. In this policy, the U.S. S.R. invariably strove to support and strengthen friendly and business relations WITH ALL THOSE STATES WHICH SHARE THIS POSITION." (our emphasis.—Editor).

These paragraphs state in just so many words that, in the opinion limitation of armaments in all its of the Pravda, that is, in the opinion of Stalin, Germany "shares" the impracticability, as a half-measure "position" of the Soviet Union in "striving to defend and preserve the and to endeavor to make it clear to cause of peace." Who, then, is the "fascist aggressor" about whom we the people that militarism is closely have read such dreadful things in the columns of the Daily Worker in linked up with colonial politics and recent years? It must be Trotsky!

OST of the workers affected by the pay reduction here," writes the New York Times about the wage slashes on W.P.A., "will suffer a loss of \$2.60 a month, but some of the lowest paid will have their wages slashed by \$7.80, according to tabulations made public by Colonel Harrington in Washington. For 8,128 supervisory employees the new schedule will involve no change. All other classes of relief workers will have \$2.60 a month deducted from their pay checks, except for unskilled workers on 'inside' jobs. Persons in this group will get \$52 instead of \$59.80."

"From them that have not shall be taken "

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AFTER ALL, BUSINESS IS BUSINESS!



Socialist Conception of the **Problem of Peace**

Rosa Luxemburg Shows Folly of Utopian Schemes

By ROSA LUXEMBURG

(This article by Rosa Luxemburg was first published under the title, "Peace Utopias," in the Leipziger Volkszeitung

WHAT is our task on the question of peace? It does not democrats love peace; but first and foremost, our task is to make clear to the masses of people the nature of militarism and to bring out, sharply and clearly, the difference in principle between the standpoint of social-democracy and that of the bourgeois peace enthusiasts.

In what does this difference consist? Certainly not merely in the peace rely on the influence of fine social order, whereas we, who base that of a capitalist state. ourselves on the materialist conception of history and on scientific REALISTIC BASIS socialism, are convinced that mili- OF SOCIALIST SLOGANS lows the essential difference in our

BOURGEOIS "PRACTICAL" **PROJECTS**

The bourgeois friends of peace endeavor-and, from their point of view, this is perfectly logical and explicable—to invent all sorts of 'practical" projects for gradually restraining militarism and are naturally inclined to consider every outward and apparent sign of a tendency toward peace as the genuine article, to take every expression of diplomacy in this vein at its word, to exaggerate it into a real basis for earnest activity. Social-democracy, on the other hand, must consider it as its duty in this matter, just as in all matters of social criticism, to expose the bourgeois attempts to restrain militarism as pitiful half-measures and the expression of such sentiments on the part of the governing circles as diplomatic make-believe, of capitalist reality.

tasks of the social-democracy with regard to the declaration of the kind issued by the British can only be to expose the idea of a partial that, therefore, the nations of today, if they are really serious and honest in their wish to call a halt on competitive armaments, would have to begin by disarming in the commercial and political field, by giving up predatory colonial campaigns, by abandoning the international politics of spheres of influence in all parts of the world-in a word, in their foreign as well as their domestic politics, they would have to do the exact opposite of everything which the nature of the present politics of a capitalist state demands. And thus would be clearly explained what constitutes the kernel of the socialdemocratic conception: that militarism in both its forms-as war and as armed peace—is a legitimate child, a logical result of capitalism, and that whoever honestly desires world peace and freedom from the tremendous burden of armaments must strive for socialism. Only in this way can real socialist education and propaganda be carried on in connection with the armaments debate.

Such work, however, will be rendered somewhat difficult and the attitude of the social-democrate will

words, while we do not depend on become obscure and vacillating if, departure is diametrically opposed: our party tries, on the contrary, to the friends of peace in bourgeois convince the bourgeois state that it the frame-work of the present this from its own standpoint, from

of our program but also the slogans of our practical every-day policy were not compounded out of indiscriminate odds and ends just because they sounded desirable but that we always relied on our un- undertake the war against Russia derstanding of the tendencies of and which made Japan the predosocial development and made the minant military power in the objective trends of development the Pacific. The Boer War resulted in a basis of our attitude. For us, the military reorganization of England determining factor has hitherto the strengthening of its armed been not possibility from the stand- forces on land. The war with Spain point of the relation of forces inspired the United States to reorwithin the state but possibility from ganize its navy and moved it to the standpoint of the tendencies of enter colonial politics with imsocial development. Limitation of perialist interests in Asia; thus was armaments, the retrenchment of created the germ of the antagonism militarism, does not coincide with the of interests between the United further development of international States and Japan in the Pacific. The capitalism. Only those who believe Chinese campaign was accompanied, in the mitigation and blunting of in Germany, by a thoro military class antagonism and in the reduc- reorganization, the great Navy Law tion of the economic anarchy of of 1900, which marked the beginning capitalism can believe that these of the competition between Gerinternational conflicts will permit of many and England on the sea and slackening, mitigation and elimina- the sharpening of the general tion. For the international antagonisms of the capitalist state are but tions the complement of class antagon-

but the reverse side of the anarchic system of capitalist production Both grow together and must be overcome together. "A little order and peace" is, therefore, just as impossible, just as much a pettybourgeois utopia, with regard to the world politics as it is with regard to the capitalist world market, with regard to the limitation of armaments as it is with regard to the restriction of crises. Let us cast a glance at the events

isms and world-political anarchy,

of the last fifteen years of international development. Where do they show any tendency toward peace, toward disarmament, toward settlenent of conflicts by arbitration?

During these fifteen years, we ave had the following: in 1895, the ar between Japan and China, the relude to the East Asiatic period f imperialism; in 1898, the war between Spain and the United States; in 1899-1902, the British Boer War in South Africa; in 1900, the camwords alone. Our very point of by some strange exchange of roles, paign of the European powers in China; in 1904, the Russo-Japanese War; in 1904-07, the German Herero disarmament can be realized within achieve peace and that it can do also the military intervention of Russia in 1908 in Persia and, at the the Y.C.L., this girl said she thought currency, at the expense of masses present moment, the military in- that the C.P. ought to break up the of people, with continual threat of tervention of France in Morocco, meeting because the Bund is a fascwithout mentioning the incessant! colonial skirmishes in Asia and in accused of being "destructive"! frica Hanca the hara facts along It has hitherto been the pride and show that, for fifteen years, hardly a year has gone by without some sort of war activity.

But more important still is the effect of these wars. The war with China was followed, in Japan, by a military reorganization which made it possible ten years later to lantagonisms between these two na-

(Concluded in the next issue)

From this same standpoint, the Keep America

(Continued from page 1)

Expose the sordid, predatory imperialist character of the war in Europe—expose the fraud that it is being fought for freedom and democracy on any side.

Make plain to the masses of the American people that they have no stake in the war in Europe and have nothing to gain, but everything to lose, by involvement in it.

Spur immediate Congressional action to put every obstacle in the way of America's economic entanglement in the European conflict and to restrict the arbitrary power of the President to embroil the United States in the power-politics of Europe. Invoke the Neutrality Act immediately and strengthen it by extending the mandatory embargo on arms and munitions to an embargo on all materials of war and by restoring the cash-and-carry provisions for all other trade with belligerents. Pass the LaFollette-Ludlow war-referendum amendment putting the power to declare a foreign war into the hands of the people.

Resist all attempts to restrict the freedom and rights of the trade-union movement or to worsen the conditions of labor in the interests of the Administration's war and rearmament plans.

Rally the labor movement to the fight to keep America out of the war in Europe. Every resolution of a trade union or labor organization, every pronouncement and declaration of a labor leader, is a powerful blow in the struggle to save America from the bloody jaws of war.

Organize and mobilize the deep, nation-wide sentiment against involvement in war into a powerful, irresistible Keep than 15,000 contracts. Of these, 5,-America Out of War movement that will be able to beat back and 1000 have been inspected and 2,000 defeat the war-makers.

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Letters from Our Readers:

Stalinist Antics

Editor, Workers Age:

THE Communist Party has always there is no more freedom for work- lose. ers than there is in any other totalitarian country. But the non-ly oppose the opportunistic policy aggression pact made by Stalin and of the Communistic Party, which Hitler, of course, proves just what would gamble with lives and livelikind of a country Russia really is. hoods of workers in the imperialist In defending dictatorship in Rus- war game on the chance that "comsia, the communists practise it in munist governments" would emerge

their own organizations here. A friend of mine, a sixteen-year old girl, has been brought on charges for expulsion from the Young Communist League. The charges against her are, firstly, that she is friendly with a "Lovestoneite." The "Lovestoneite" is myself, also a girl of sixteen, not a member of your organization, and who has never perialist war now going on— a war carried on any political discussions of attrition today, a war of with the "defendant." The second violence tomorrow—taking its toll of charge is that she advocates millions of starving workers. It

this second charge. ist organization. For this, she is It is odd that the C.P., which practises violence against Lovesto-

neites, Trotskyites, socialists, and In Defense of other workers organizations, should become very careful when it comes to an outright fascist organization. I hope that the readers of the Workers Age will realize how false

the Communist Party is when it claims to be democratic and anti-

DOROTHY STONE

Suggests Name Of "Peace Party"

New York City.

Editor, Workers Age: NASMUCH as there is not a people but whose greatest desire is for peace, and inasmuch as there is

not a government that is willing to sponsor a genuine peace policy, the socialist opposition might well take he name of Peace Party. While recognizing the danger of international war that lies in fascist

powers, it would also recognize the grave peril to workers everywhere in permitting non-fascist governimperialist programs. It would, carry more material on the Beal case. therefore, divorce its own anti
Editor.)

Brooklyn, New York | fascist program from the imperialist powers, and by so doing, warn worker's against again being en-L claimed to oppose Nazi and tangled in an imperialist struggle Fascist countries, and yet they never for power, from which they have say a word against Russia where nothing to gain and everything to

> Such a Peace Party would utterfrom the wreck. There is an even better chance that fascist governments would emerge-and, in the event of 'communist' regimes dictatorship is today.

But above all, the Peace Party would devote itself to ending the im-"violence" and "destruction." There would recognize that imperialist war is a very interesting story behind is not, as the C.P. professes today, an abnormality due to fascism, but A few months ago, there was a a normal condition of capitalist soprosecution with weapons of war.

"End the War!" might well be taken as the Peace Party's slogan.

Fred E. Beal

Editor, Workers Age: A s a member of the working class and as an active participant in the struggle for socialism, I consider the Workers Age as one of the

foremost working class newspapers. May I therefore suggest the following? In almost every one of the issues of your publication can be found various slogans and maxims. How about coming to the aid of Fred E. Beal? I am sure you know his story. Why not have one of your editors or columnists write an article on the Beal case. You could have the following in the paper.

Fred E. Beal

Send letters or cards to Governor Hoey of North Carolina urging a pardon for this victim of injustice.

B. RUSSELL

(The Workers Age is thoroly in faments to exploit this danger, as they vor of the movement to free Fred E. are, as justification for their own Beal. Future issues of this paper will

Moves to Revise Labor **Laws Face Congress**

(Continued from Page 3) gains in other departments that may carry over into legislation next orders widens the scope of governsession. The LaFollette Civil Liber- ment contracts and presents a legisties Committee has gone to work with a grant of \$50,000 for an investigation of "oppressive labor practises," especially on the West Coast. There is good chance of translating this into a law against use of strike-breakers and vigilante groups. In a Gallup poll on the sub-

strikes. Legislation to curb this has already been prepared. Enforcement of minimum-pay standards on contractors working for

ject, the public voted more than 3

to 1 against the use of "citizens

committees" and vigilante groups in

the government is a task that Congress has not completed. The Walsh-Healey Act amend-

ments, which bring all contracts above \$4,000 under minimum-pay requirements, have passed the Senate and await House action. Since its inception, the Walsh-Healey Act administration has negotiated more violations discovered. Without recourse to legal suit the government has helped employees on government

contract jobs recover almost \$300,000 Meanwhile, labor has registered due them because of underpayment.

Expansion of "national-defense" lative situation which Congress will be asked to handle when the Senate and House reopen for business.

All in all, organized labor will undoubtedly be confronted with a pretty difficult job when Congress begins considering amendments to labor legislation next session. How well it will be able to protect its interests and advance its aims will depend very largely on the degree of united action it will be able to achieve in its ranks.

Greetings Labor Day

KNITGOODS WORKERS UNION Local 155, I.L.G.W.U. LOUIS LEVINSON, President LOUIS NELSON, Manager