Next Week: RUSSIAN REVOLUTION

By Rosa Luxemburg

Workers Age

Weekly Paper of the Independent Labor League of America

A PPEAL TO THE COMMUNIST PARTY **MEMBERS** Page 4

I.L.P. EMERGENCY WAR PROGRAM

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AT FIRST GLANCE

OMINOUS TRENDS

CCORDING to the Department of Commerce the total national income has dropped from 83 billion dollars in 1929 to 64 billion in 1938. The actual drop is bigger than the figures indicate, because of the serious depreciation of the dollar in the last decade. Furthermore, these figures are for income produced rather than for that paid out. Certainly, they do not disclose the actual distribution of income and shed no light on the purchasing power of the various social strata and classes.

What interests us most in this instructive report is the section dealing with the number of persons employed and their wages and salaries. Here one can detect some ominous trends. In 1929, there were 35,500,000 gainfully employed; in 1938, the number shrank to 30,800,000. The average annual per capita income fell from \$1,475 to \$1,293 in this period. The total income of the employed and salaried workers registers a drop from \$42,400,000 to \$39,800,000 depreciated dollars. And this in the face of many Roosevelt reform efforts and armament-production stimuli!

Even more enlightening is a detailed analysis of these figures for trends of classified employment and earnings in these decisive years. Here we find that the 1938 dollar earnings of the building-trades workers were only 44% of those of 1929. We also note that the factory workers producing durable commodities earned last year but 63% as much as they did in 1929. In this same period, the income of the workers in the so-called consumer-goods industries fell 20%.

The only ones whose wages and salaries last year reached a total of more than 100% of the 1929 levels are those in sundry fields of government activity. Last year, the payrolls of federal employees were 38% greater than in 1929. At the same time, the payrolls of state government

employees leaped by 60%. Many an important social, political and economic conclusion can be deduced from these figures. At this moment, we will limit ourselves to but one angle. Employment in decisive private industry is declining; employment in government enterprises is increasing. An ever-smaller number and proportion of the working people are to be found in private capitalist enterprises. Increasing numbers and higher proportions of the working population are to be found in government undertakings. Under these circumstances, Roosevelt and his Attorney General Murphy howl that labor on government payrolls does not have the right to strike. This means that an ever-increasing section of the working people is to be denied the right to strike.

What else can this mean but the thin edge of a wedge in a calculated and concerted effort to rob labor of its entire right to strike? And what more dangerous move towards the destruction of the independence and vitality of labor could any enemy-let alone self-appointed friend-of labor propose these days? Here are the gravest intentions and heaviest stones with which the road to the fascist hell is paved in our country.

Peace Forces Demand Save Arms Embargo

9 Groups Unite in Capital Demonstration to report out the Pittman bill de-

By B. D. WOLFE

ting organizations converged on Washington last Friday for an tive power to involve America in President's recent message on neuanti-war mobilization. They came from 25 states and over 100 cities and towns of the eastern and middlewestern tier of states. Some of them, like the delegation from the Pennsylvania Anthracite, officially represented labor unions. Others came from the Youth Committee Against War, the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, the National Council for the Prevention of War, the Keep America Out of War Congress, and various church Hitler, but had made up their minds weeks, the Administration forces in peace organizations.

We found the nation's capital in a state of siege. Federal authorities had closed the White House grounds, posted uniformed guards around entrances to government buildings, compelled citizens calling on their Senators to remove arm-bands reading "Stop War Trade," breast-bands reading "Keep America Out of War," and even lapel buttons. These siege measures seem to be part of a general policy of creating a state of alarm which is supposed to cause citizens to abdicate their right to blindly down the road that leads to plan further work, the anti-war war-and a third term.

ing looking like the post-office and and turned away great numbers who telegraph center of America. In could not get in. Speakers included every Senator's office, clerks and three United States Senators, Capsecretaries were opening letters, per, Clark and Nye; Dr. Bussey of opening telegrams, sorting messages, piling up communications and more communications in great Lathrop; and Norman Thomas. piles. Always there were two stacks, a smaller one for embargo repeal, and a larger one, five, ten and more

times the size, for retention of the gress in session, for curbing execuwar. And when the Administration trality. resorted to the dodge of trying to smear the senders with "pro-Germanism" and "pro-Stalinism," the response was an enormous increase in the number of visiting citizens, taking time off from work or business to visit the capital in person. thousands daily, to protest the in-

sinuation, to express their alarm, to tell their Senators that they had on their own. The anti-war mobilization of the

Keep America Out of War Congress and affiliated organizations was the first organized demonstration. The thousands who have been coming in daily were spontaneous visitors; and the Administration is growing desperate and its tactics shrill and silly as the stream of letters, telegrams and visitors has passed the million mark and is still

After a day of visiting Senators and meeting by state delegations, labor delegations, youth delegations, night in a mass-meeting that pack-We found the Senate office build- ed the Belasco Theater to the doors, Goucher College; Dr. Tittle of the Methodist Peace Conference; Dr. Messages came from others who (Continued on page 4)

Neutrality Debate On In Senate

Pittman Presents Bill To Kill Embargo On Arms; Peace Block Resist Move

Washington, D. C. As the battle over neutrality began in the Senate, the fighting was centered not only on the arms embargo, which the Administration forces strove to repeal, but also on the 90-day credit clause, which was denounced as an effort to evade a strictly "cash" system of foreign war purchases.

Senator Pittman admitted that, as drafted, his bill would virtually nullify the Johnson Act banning loans ment. to foreign governments in default of their obligations to the United States. Thereupon, Senator Johnson, father of the act, and other "peace for every American worker," he block" leaders, announced that they would introduce amendments to see that such nullification did not take

Other protests were directed at the 90-day credits permitted in the Pittman bill. Sentiment for a strict credit provisions. Senator Taft, Re- cussed. publican leader, called for the elimination of the 90-day clause and also for the extension of the ban on loans to citizens of belligerent gov- Labor Unity ernments and not merely to the governments themselves. Senator Minton, Democratic whip and Administration stalwart, also asked for the elimination of the 90-day credit ing feeling of public hostility toward provision. "It would make it much labor. Matthew Woll, vice president said, thereby indicating how strong was the "keep-out-of-war" sentiment thruout the country and how uncertain was an Administration victory on the arms embargo.

Washington, D. C. The Senate Foreign Relations Committee last week voted, 16 to 7, signed to secure repeal of the present drafted from the army, contended embargo on the export of arms and that "slowly but surely our governmunitions of war to belligerent na- ment is becoming militarized by the arms embargo, for stiffening the tions. The Pittman bill has the enneutrality laws, for keeping Condersement of the White House and to responsible government posts."

> The core of the Pittman bill is the abolition of the arms embargo so as to enable the Allies to use the United States as a source of the A. F. of L., in a report submitmunitions supply. But, because of ted for consideration by its conventhe overwhelming sentiment thruout the country against any step that may lead to involvement in war, as manifested in the hundreds of thousands of letters that have poured in received no cables from Stalin or to Washington in the last two the Senate were compelled to embody in the bill far more stringent restrictions than are desired by the President or were at first regarded as necessary. This is especially true in respect to the discretionary pow-

> > PROVISIONS OF

ers of the President.

PITTMAN BILL The main provisions of the Pittman bill are:

Repeal of the embargo on the shipment of arms and munitions of war to belligerents.

All goods exported to belligent attached to the transportation of fact if not in form, be acting for goods and passengers to belligerent their governments. ports in American vessels. All title fore they leave American shores. ports, etc., are prescribed. This is the "carry" provision of the 'cash-and-carry" system.

All goods bought by belligerents that short-term non-renewable cred-

Green Urges Curbs on **Profiteering**

War, Labor Peace Will Be Among Issues At Federation Convention

Washington, D. C. The American Federation of Labor will take action at its com ing convention in Cincinnati to curb war profiteering, William Green president, stated last week.

The Federation had received complaints from all sections of the country against rising prices for commodities, Mr. Green said in a state-

"This inexcusable form of exploitation really constitutes a wage-cut said. "The American Federation of Labor is convinced that these rising prices are unjustified. This trend must be stopped."

The major issues at the A. F. of L. convention, according to Mr. "cash-and-carry" system on all war Green and other Federation leaders, trade was so strong that some of will be neutrality and war, labor those even who sided with the Ad-ministration against the arms em-which the Federation's attitude to bargo wanted to tighten up the the "reformed" N.L.R.B. will be dis-

Woll Calls for

Atlantic City, N. J. The conflict between the A. F. of L. and the C.I.O. is causing a growlabor, Matthew Woll, vice president easier to pass the [Pittman] bill," he of the A. F. of L., declared here last week, adding that "unless there is an end of this conflict there may be an end of the labor movement."

> Mr. Woll addressed the opening session of the sixty-first annual convention of the New Jersey Federa tion of Labor.

> Mr. Woll, pointing out that some W.P.A. and other officials had been

Metal Trades for Embargo Repeal

Cincinnati, Ohio The metal-trades department, of of the arms embargo and the "free sale" of American goods to all nations.

This position, observers pointed out, ran counter to the stand hitherto taken by the A. F. of L., particuarly as expressed in President Green's statement before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee some weeks ago.

its not exceeding ninety days are permitted. This is the "cash" provision of the "cash-and-carry" sys-

Extension of loans or credits to belligerent powers, except non-renewable short-term commercial credits not to exceed ninety days, is forbidden. This provision, however, seems to apply only to belligerent governments and their agents; it countries must be carried away in dos not cover private individuals in foreign ships. Heavy penalties are belligerent countries who may, in

Various restrictions on such matto and interest in goods sold to bel- ters as the collection of war funds ligerents must be transferred be- for belligerents, use of American Arming of American merchant ressels is prohibited.

American nationals are forbidden could not personally attend. Here must be paid for in cash-except to travel on ships of belligerent na-(Continued on Page 2)

FDR's "National Unity" Cabinet

NE of the things Roosevelt has discussed with intimate advisers since war broke out is the advisability of forming a Coalition Cabinet. The plan would be to include two, or possibly three, non-New Dealers in the Cabinet.

"Among the possibilities are Edward R. Stettinius, 39-yearold head of U.S. Steel and chairmain of the War Resources Board; W. Averell Harriman, head of the Union Pacific; and Henry I. Harriman, New England power executive and former president of the U.S. Chamber of Commerce, All are Republicans but personal friends of Roosevelt." -Drew Pearson and Robert S. Allen, in their "Washington Merry - Go - Round" column,

Sept. 24, 1939.

Nazi-Soviet Bloc in "Peace" Offensive

New Agreements Include Economic Cooperation; Estonia Swallowed Up

war. Indeed, diplomatic moves and actual military operations.

The most sensational development tween Germany and Russia thru a series of agreements concluded in

Soviet Russia tightened its alli- | Moscow between Reich Foreign ance with Nazi Germany, Poland Minister von Ribbentrop, acting for was again divided between its con- Hitler, and Soviet Premier-Foreign querors, and large-scale prepara- Minister Molotov, acting for Stalin tions were made for another Berlin- A new treaty was signed in which Moscow "peace" offensive last week, the frontiers of Russia and Germany the fourth week of the European | -in what a month ago was Poland —were fixed, presumably in final manouvers played a much larger form altho there was still talk of part this week of the war than the ultimate establishment of a German-dominated buffer state. (In this partition, Germany got much more was the tightening of relations be- than according to the preliminary military demarcation line established the week before.) An exchange of letters between Molotov and Ribbentrop dealing with economic questions provided that Russia would supply raw materials in exchange for "industrial supplies stretched over a long time," "in such a manner that the German-Soviet Russian exchange of goods . . again reaches the maximum level of

> the past.' In a joint "protocol statement" of the highest importance, the Russian and German governments declared that the Polish "question" was "definitely settled" by the partition, "thus creating a safe foundation for lasting peace in eastern Europe"; that "it would correspond to the true interests of all peoples to make an end to the war" between Germany and the Allies; that "both [the Russian and the German] governments, if necessary in conjunction with other friendly nations, will direct their joint efforts towards this end as soon as possible"; and that "should the efforts of both governments fail, then the fact would be established that England and France are responsible for continuation of the war and the governments of Germany and Soviet Russia will consult each other re-

garding the necessary measures." What form this new "peace" offensive would take and what the "necessary measures" would be should it fail, were not clear last week. It was believed, however, that talian Foreign Minister Ciano's visit to Berlin this week was of great significance in this connection. and there were rumors that Italy or perhaps even the United States vene to end the war in some other way. A five or seven-power "peace" conference, including the U.S.A., was also suggested. Hitler's address at the Reichstag session called for ember 27 vividly portrayed the atti- press services were beginning to say this week was expected to cast light on the next phase of German-Soviet

> strategy. The Ribbentrop-Molotov conversations were also understood to relate to the division of spheres of influence in the Baltic states and in the Balkans. Estonia was the first to be virtually swallowed up by Russian aggression. Last week, it signed "mutual-assistance" pact with Russia which granted Moscow the right to sea and air bases on Estonian territory and the right to maintain armed forces in that country. Latvia and Finland were understood to be next on the list to be converted into Russian protectorates. In the Balkans, attention was directed towards Rumania and Turkey. The situation in regard to the latter

was very obscure. Turkish Foreign Minister Saracoglu was in Moscow and his committee are saying that but little apparent headway had been made at the end of the week in reaching an "understanding" owing, it was said, to the "stiffness" of the Russian demands. Turkey was rumored to be veering to the Allies, ready to sign a pact with them, altho (Continued on page 2)

War Jitters Heavy In Washington

Cannot Support

O^N Sunday, September 3, as Prime Minister Chamberlain announced the declaration of war against Germany, John

McGovern, Independent Labor Party member of Parliament, made a

the people who can pull Hitler down are the people in Germany, and

Hitlerism is not confined to the frontiers of Germany. Hitlerism is

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

catastrophe. I do not regard it as being idealistic. I do not regard

it as being for freedom, justice and human right. I regard it on

both sides as a hard struggle for gain, for the protection of selfish

the earliest possible moment, the peoples of the world, in Germany

and in other countries, will rise and revolt and overthrow the

tyrannies which exist and will establish the rule of peace and plenty

"I look to world peace wherein Hitlerism can be eliminated but

"I cannot follow our Prime Minister. I have no faith in him or

"I cannot support this government in embarking upon this

"In that, we will have no heart or part but we hope that, at

This Government.

statement which included in part:

to be found in every country in the world.

Frank Howard's Weekly Washington Letter | perhaps even the United States might be asked to mediate or inter-

Washington, D. C. | larger and more impressive than the tion this week, asked for the repeal D. J. PHILIP, New York Times K.A.O.W. leaders here expected it Paris correspondent, on Sept- would be. Just about the time the tude here as well as in Paris. He the pro-embargo sentiment had says that, because of the Hitler-Stalin collaboration, "it is impossi- working people descended on this ble even from day to day to pre- city. They made every minute count dict what may happen. Every one and many on-the-fence Senators are has the impression of being involv- now inclined to oppose repeal. More ed in a tremendous earthquake in letters and telegrams may do the which the only thing to do is to lie trick. Bert Wolfe played an impor flat, holding on to something solid- tant part in the leadership of this it may be in this case a religion or march on Washington and made a philosophy—until the cataclysm himself count for ten men in the depasses and one can be sure of where liberations of the K.A.O.W. committhere is solid ground."

With Weir, John L. Lewis, Henry Ford, Lindbergh and Charles Beard lined up against Girdler, F.D.R., Garner, Heywood Broun and J. P. Morgan-the old frames of references seem to be smashed beyond repair. One of the worst cases of jitters and demoralization has set in among the Stalinists and former the spot. Congressman Howard Smith stooges that I have witnessed for a long time. The Dies-Roosevelt Axis dedicated to purging Stalinists, has them running for cover in a most unseemly and not too successful

K.A.O.W. DEMONSTRATION SCORES BIG

demonstration on September 29 was

they need little additional testimony to show up the Labor Board as a pro-C.I.O. agency.

LEISERSON

AND THE C.I.O.

Mr. Leiserson in his dissent stated that the real aim of the Board in effect, was to impose a union of its own choosing on the Crystal City employees in order to give the The Keep America Out of War C.I.O. something which it could not (Continued on page 2)

William Leiserson is about as

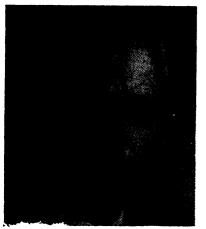
popular in C.I.O. circles as Trotsky

would be at the Kremlin. His one-

man dissent in the Pittsburgh Plate

Glass Co. case put the N.L.R.B. on

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Outstanding leaders in the fields of labor, education and politics will speak on "Towards A Better America." In addition to those whose pictures appear above, speakers will include Bertram D. Wolfe and Scott Nearing. Jay Lovestone will be chairman.

Friday Evening, October 6—Hotel Center, 108 W. 43 St.—Tickets 50c and 75c

The Next Step

AS we forecast in these columns last week, the Communist Party is already passing from indirect to direct defense of Hitler and Nazi imperialist aggression.

The joint Russo-German "protocol statement" issued on September 28 declared that should Britain and France refuse to make peace on the basis of the Stalin-Hitler partition of Poland, responsibility for continuing the war would rest with those two powers. Two days later, on September 30, the Daily Worker broke out with an editorial manifesto, "Stop the Imperialist War," in which France and England were denounced and excoriated in the bitterest terms-but not one harsh word was said against Hitler or Nazi Ger-

Again we ask: How long will it be before the Daily Worker finds that Hitler is fighting a "defensive" war against "Anglo-French imperialist aggression"?

Organized Labor

Leiserson Dissent Stresses NLRB Crisis

Views in Plate Glass Case Back AFL Stand

7AST significance for the future of the Wagner Act and the National Labor Relations Board is attributed here to the dissent of William B. Leiserson in the recent Pitts- to employees in unorganized plants

burgh Plate Glass Co. case. The Leiserson dissent in this case accused the Board majority of exceeding its authority under the Wagner Act, of fixing bargaining units away from his employees the right in defiance of union contracts, and guaranteed by the act to have a repof denying employees their legal resentative of their own choosing. rights to representatives of their

own choosing. The significance of this criticism, Reosevelt to "restore public confi- gaining units. dence" in the Board when it was under sharp attack on all sides, especially by the A. F. of L.

Now Mr. Leiserson in the Pitts- of its members." burgh Plate Glass Co. case has challenged the Board majority on that this Leiserson dissent will bevirtually the same issue on which the A. F. of L. attacked the Board versy over the Wagner Act and its | housed". decision in the Pacific longshoremen's case last Spring. It cannot be said, however, that Leiserson is pro-A. F. of L. and anti-C.I.O.

In the American Can decision, this same Leiserson interpretation of the law benefited the C.I.O .- and then Edwin S. Smith agreed with him. In since no one can challenge Mr. Leithe similar Chrysler Kokomo decision, against the C.I.O., Chairman as between the C.I.O. and A.F. of Warren Madden went with Mr. Lei-

serson, but not this time. The special House investigating committee which unlike Mr. Leiserson, is in part hostile to the Wagner Act itself, is preparing to use the Leiserson dissents against the Board. The committee is now studying Board records and sending out sweeping questionnaires as a basis for its public hearings next month. It is believed to be sympathetic to the demand for replacing the pres-

In the latest decision, the Board majority found the Pittsburgh company guilty of illegally coercing its employees by refusing to bargain collectively with the C.I.O. union as the exclusive representative in the bargaining unit fixed by the Board in an earlier decision.

The Board, without an election, included in the bargaining unit the unorganized Crystal City, Mo., plant, as well as the other plants where the C.I.O. had a contract. The Board held that an employer-wide unit was the proper one.

The Leiserson dissent vigorously challenged the majority decision on the following grounds:

The decision not only disregards it also sets aside the current contract, which excludes the Crystal City plant.

"It seems to me quite improper for the Board to go back of a signed agreement. I think the [Board's] repetition of the legal verbiage about interference, restraint and coercion is a mistake that tends to frustrate the amicable collective bargaining which the act is designed to promote. "This [merger of the plant in the

bargaining unit without an employee vote] does not seem to me essentially different from the denial of free Others Out of the Committee." This

(Continued from page 1)

tions, with exceptions, such as war

correspondents and the like, as the

American vessels may not carry

passengers or articles of commerce

to any belligerent country. The

President may from time to time

designate "combat areas" into which

American vessels or citizens may

not go except under such regula-

from the provisions of the act if

they are engaged in war against a

non-American state. The regulations

on travel do not apply to Canada or

to other dependencies of the bellig-

All the restrictions prescribed in

the Pittman bill are to come into

operation once a "state of war" be-

tween two or more foreign states is

declared to be in existence either

by the President or by concurrent

resolution of both houses of Con-

gress. In either case, the President

is to issue a proclamation naming

the states and invoking the law.

This "parallel responsibility" is a

After a series of consultations,

spokesmen of the Senatorial "peace

block" declared that they would

would drive this country a long

way on the road to war, despite

other acceptable features of the Pitt-

mit all this window dressing to dis-

and only issue, the arms embargo",

the sentiments of his colleagues of

new feature of the Pittman bill.

ATTITUDE OF

"PEACE BLOCK"

rents in the western hemisphere.

American republics are exempted

President may prescribe.

tions as he may prescribe.

Washington, D. C. | choice of representatives in cases where employers impose labor or-

ganizations on the employees. "I do not think the Board is vested with authority by the act to extend the representatives chosen by organthe representatives chosen by organized workers in other plants. Even Labor Peace if the employer misbehaved, that does not justify the Board in taking

"What the Federation (C.I.O. union) could not itself secure by collective bargaining when the contract from an official friendly to the Wag- was negotiated is given to it by the ner Act is that Mr. Leiserson is the Board in a finding as to the appro-Administration's outstanding labor priate bargaining unit. The majorexpert. He was transferred to the ty decision argues that the Board Labor Board last June by President has the authority to determine bar-

> "I do not believe that the act authorizes the Board to establish any bargaining units that suit the fancy

There seems to be little doubt come quite important in the controoperations. It will certainly stimulate the movement to change the Wagner Act. This is particularly so serson's good faith and impartiality L. The "reform" of the Board, which began with the appointment of Leiserson in place of the discredited Donald Wakefield Smith, will now in the face of the war danger to de-

A Swell Idea!

66SHARP rises in living costs are being closely studied by both A. F. of L. and C.I.O. leaders. Their idea is to move to reopen old wage contracts if prices get too far out of line."—United States News, Sept. 18, 1939.

Group Urges Neutrality

New York City

N a telegram to President Roose velt, the Needle Trades Division of Labor's Anti-War Council last week called for the maintenance of strict neutrality and the application of the embargo to Soviet Russia. The telegram, signed by Louis Nelson, chairman, urges the adjusting of our economy to the needs of the American people, not the war needs housing to the one-third of a nation "ill-fed, ill-clothed and ill-

At its recent membership meeting, which was addressed by Norpersonnel of the Labor Board a plan man Thomas, the Needle Trades Diwhich now seems to be gaining vision also protested the action of favor in A. F. of L. circles, as the F.B.I. in engaging private deagainst the idea of amending the tective agencies to assist in the drive against spies as a serious menace to civil liberties and the labor movement.

A third resolution was sent to the American Federation of Labor and to the Congress of Industrial Organization urging them to unite undoubtedly be pushed with greater fend the interests of the American

Renewed Anti-War Drive in Detroit

Movement Gets Under Way in Auto City

By S. MEFFAN

Detroit, Mich.

URING the past few months, little activity in the shape of genuine anti-war work has been done in this section. It is extremely welcome news, therefore, that anearnest. A number of unionists, groups, and others have come toprogram for unification of all honthe collective-bargaining history but est anti-war forces thru the Keep recall that these "friends" are in America Out of War Congress. many cases the Communist Party Church and fraternal organizations are being contacted and speakers are being scheduled for neighbor- S.P. trade unionists deepens the hood groups and at Negro clubs. The Independent Labor League of Socialist Party. However, I.L.L.A. America is very active in this work, and is appealing to all real anti-war forces to get into this fight.

> One difficulty here is the amazing attitude of the Soc alist Party, which has apparently come to the conclusion that he init als of the K.A.O.W.C. stand for "Keep All and Hearst will become the leaders

as follows, altho there are wide dif

on secondary questions:

garded as fundamental.

ferences of opinion within the group

Unconditional retention of the

and munitions of war. This is re-

Cash-and-carry for all other goods

going to belligerent powers. Prohi-

bition of all loans and credits to bel

ligerents, even short-term commer

cial credits. The provision in the

Pittman bill allowing ninety-days

credits is regarded with suspicion

and warnings are also expressed as

to the danger of circumvention of

the ban on loans and credits because

of the loose wording of the bill

Senator Nye has declared himself

in favor of extending the embargo

on exports to belligerents to cover

all commodities whatsoever, even

'North Dakota wheat," the North

Rigid prohibition of American

vessels carrying passengers or goods

to belligerent ports or passing thru

"combat areas", of American citi-

zens traveling on belligerent ships,

Concurrent power to the President

and Congress to invoke the opera-

tion of neutrality restrictions by de-

war between foreign powers.

concentrate their fight on the issue has adopted a plan to adjourn per-

of the arms embargo, contending iodically until October 9 so as to

that the repeal of the embargo leave the whole matter to the Sen-

man bill. "We are not going to per- culty in getting his way on the re-

tract the public mind from the one clear last week that the situation in

declared Senator Nye, expressing tled. The "peace block" is strongly

claring the existence of a state of

The big fight on neutrality will

take place in the Senate. The House

Despite earlier predictions that

the President would have no diffi-

peal of the arms embargo, it became

the Senate was still far from set-

organized and determined to put up

a vigorous fight. From all parts of

Dakota Senator said.

would be rather amusing were i not for the fact that the work is somewhat hampered by this nonsense. The oroginal K.A.O.W. committee, with Tucker Smith of the S.P. as secretary, has never been active and has only shown semblance of life again this week as a result of work done by those kept out of the official committee. Local ti-war activity has now started in sympathizers are skeptical of the reasons given by S.P. members for members of fraternal and political their attempted exclusion of I.L.L.A. members and others. In spite of The strange inactivity of certain conviction of C.P. infiltration in the members believe that there are many honest members of the S.P. who feel as we do, that this is no time to indulge in petty recriminations, and that the fight against war must be conducted with all speed. The danger that Coughlin

Senate Fight on Neutrality sary. Begins; Peace Block Active bargo be kept. In fact, pressure has become so great that many Senators formerly regarded as lined up solidly for the Administration have now let it be known that they are still undecided. From all indications, there is a very good chance not only mandatory embargo on arms of defeating the President's killneutrality drive but even of considerably strengthening the present neutrality legislation, which it badly needs.

of such a movement, only to betray

it later, makes the united action of

all working-class organizations at

an early date all the more neces-

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of Wrath"

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Washington Atmosphere (Continued from page 1)

serson directly: "The majority decision argues that the Board has the authority to determine bargaining units. I do not believe that the act authorizes the Board to establish any bargaining units that suit the fancy of its members." When you

Nazi-Soviet "Peace" Drive

(Continued from Page 1)

that may have been merely diplo matic bargaining. To a great extent, the Turkish developments would determine the outcome for Rumania as well. The visit of Count Ciano to Berlin was expected to "clarify" Italy's part in the Balkans—and its share in the Balkan plunder.

On the Allied side, the week was relatively quiet. In France, the Communist Party was dissolved, its papers suppressed and its meetings banned as a reprisal for Soviet Russia's alliance with Germany. London, there were indications that an effort might be made to break Russia from Germany by hinting that it would be allowed to keep what it had grabbed in Poland. But little was expected from such moves. On the military side, there was was finally taken and some fighting went on the western front. But by far the most important aspect of the war was the "white war" of diplo-

Special Performance — Age Benefit

matic manouvering.

"Salvation"

A Magnificent Play by Sholom Asch

Friday Evening, October 20, 1939

YIDDISH ART THEATRE

Tickets available at Workers Age office, 131 West 33rd Street

Meets in Convention

THIS week both the A. F. of L. and the C.I.O. will meet in annual convention, the one at Cincinnati and the other at San Francisco. Not for decades have the problems facing the American labor movement been as grave and as momentous as those that will confront the hundreds of delegates that will gather in these two cities to frame the policies and steer the course of the two great labor federations of America. These delegates will surely need all the wisdom, experience and good-will at their command, for upon their decisions will depend in large measure the fate of termination to maintain real wages. the organized labor movement in the years ahead.

First and foremost, of course, will be the problem of keeping ever rises in living costs necessitate America out of war. It is unnecessary to rehearse here what in- a demand for wage increases. Union volvement in war would mean to the people of this country in policy will be to avoid long-term terms of wastage of life and treasure, of the loss of civil liberties commitments on wages wherever and the hard-won rights of labor, of militarist reaction and dicta- possible. torship. Fortunately, there is a growing awareness of the danger in the leading circles of both A. F. of L. and C.I.O. John L. Lewis's copper mining, current contracts magnificent Labor Day address places the C.I.O. chieftain squarely in the ranks of those who want to save democracy not by suicidal military adventures abroad but by winning, consolidating and income preserving democracy at home. "Let those who will seek the votes of the workers of America," he flung into the teeth of the "states | Labor Hits War men and national leaders" at Washington, "let them be prepared to guarantee jobs for all workers and freedom from foreign wars. Labor in America wants no war nor any part of war. Labor wants the right to work and live—not the privilege of dying by gunshot of Europe, to provide food and or poison gas to sustain the mental errors of current statesmen...

Mr. Green's address on Labor Day stressed the same senti- Both A. F. of L. and C.I.O. chiefs ments and spoke the same determined language. "There must be have opened an attack on the imno European entanglement," he declared, "and no involvement in | portant War Resources Board which European wars. Labor thruout the length and breadth of the is shaping detailed plans for control United States is opposed to sending another generation into the in case of war. trenches of war. The working people of this country are firm in their desire to avoid entanglement in the intrigues of nations seeking aggrandizement of territories or protection of the gains of Navy, is now composed of six men, former aggression.'

It will be for the conventions meeting this week to translate business. The chairman of the board these militant pronouncements into official resolutions and official is Edward R. Stettinius, Jr., chairpolicy. Mr. Green has already announced that the Federation con- man of the board of United States

vention will be asked to make a "strong declaration" on neutrality Steel. Other members are Karl T. the effect of its rule permitting emand related issues. Mr. Lewis's words seem to indicate that the Compton, president of the Massa-ployers to petition for certification C.I.O. convention will be called upon to take similar action. Should chusetts Institute of Technology; of a bargaining agency for their emboth great labor federations take a clear, firm and unequivocal position against involvement in war under any pretext—or, better Co.; Harold G. Moulton, head of the ing unit. During the first two months still, should they decide to lend their organized support to the Brookings Institution; John Lee growing anti-war movement-that would be a powerful blow Pratt, director of General Motors;

ndeed struck in the cause of keeping America out of war. The war has brought forward a number of other grave issues that the conventions at Cincinnati and San Francisco will have to face, the problems of profiteering and the rising cost of living, of automatic wage reductions because of rising prices, of growing governmental intervention in labor affairs, of expanding authoritarianism under the cloak of "national emergency." Now is the time for labor to act on these questions, and act decisively.

The second big problem is the problem of unity. The havoc wrought by the civil war in labor's ranks during the last two years is indescribable. Now, with the heavy clouds of war lowering over us, trade-union unity is literally a matter of life and death for the labor movement. The A. F. of L. has shown itself more than willing to go half-way to meet the C.I.O. for the sake of peace in the ranks of labor. Despite Mr. Lewis's unfortunate position on this question in the past, there are signs that a more reasonable attitude may emerge at the C.I.O. convention in San Francisco. Let us hope so; a lot depends on it.

We greet the conventions of the A. F. of L. and the C.I.O. in the hope and confidence that they will measure up to the great gether and are rapidly pushing a explanation that "our friends in the responsibility placed upon them at this critical point in the life

War Jitters Hang Heavy in

read this, it is important to rememitself secure thru the processes of ber that Leiserson was appointed collective bargaining. Quoting Lei- by F.D.R. to clean up a situation unsatisfactory to the Administration A monumental study was released

here last week. It is called "Structure of American Economy-Part I: Basic Characteristics". It is a report prepared by the industrial section of the National Resources Committee, headed by Secretary Ickes. The major part of the work on the report was done by Gardiner Means. in Washington assisted him. I refer has suffered severe defeats and its up against its policies on the war to Corwin Edwards, Lauchlin Currie, Mordecai Ezekiel, Isador Lubin is more severely impaired than at be leaning in the direction of Stalinand Tom Blaisdell. Coming at this the outbreak of the last world war,

time, it has direct reference, with- the forces of world reaction are with the C.P.G.O.'s entire political out any specific plan in this direction, to the question of staying at home and minding our own business. In the letter of transmission to F.D.R., the committee states: "The serious failure to use these resources to the full is placing our democratic institutions in jeopardy. The maintenance of democracy requires that an adequate solution be found to the problem of keeping resources fully employed." The committee proves that 200 billions have been lost thru idleness of men and machines during the depression. To make clear the size of this enormous sum. the committee points out that for this amount every family in the country could have a \$6.000 home and that the railroad system of the little to record last week. Warsaw country could be scrapped and rebuilt at least five times before the sum would be used up. The committee believes that the study "throws light on the character of the basic national problem and discloses the direction in which possible solutions might lie." Altho the hints at solutions imply that changes can be made fairly easily within the present structure of capitalism, there is full recognition that the system is very sick and that the changes will have to be drastic ones. Few studies have proved more adequately by charts and statistics that the capitalist system is finished. Therefore, I urge you to order a copy of this report-bigger than most books for which you pay \$3.50—from the Government Printing Office, Wash-

> All government departments are being prepared for war. The U.S. H.A. is expecting to get its 800 million appropriation for housing thru Congress with the understanding that many houses built can be transformed quickly into army barracks.

ington, D. C. Enclose \$1.00.

Labor and the Law

= by Joseph Elwood =

LABOR AND RISE OF LIVING COSTS

COST of living promises to become an increasingly important factor in wage negotiations between employees and unions. Alarmed at the initial spurt in food prices during the first days of the war in Europe, both A. F. of L. and C.I.O. unions are studying ways and means of maintaining the pre-war ratio between prices and wages. They have already announced their de-

permit rates to be reopened when-

In a number of industries, notably provide for minimum daily wages with increases automatically following any sustained rise in industry's

Resources Board

Concern has been expressed by union leaders over the effect on labor relations of possible involvement of the United States in the war.

This board, appointed on August by the Assistant Secretary of War all of them representatives of big Walter S. Gifford, president of the ployees if competing unions claim a American Telegraph and Telephone majority of the appropriate bargainand General Robert E. Wood, chairman of the board of Sears, Roebuck

Statements issued last week by William Green, president of the A. retary of the C.I.O., contain warnings that cooperation cannot be "imoosed" on labor.

But mere protests, no matter how ommendable, are certainly not make up its mind on the practical of the special session of Congress. Organized labor must insist on bor Relations Act.

Union leaders prefer short-term wage agreements which will immediate anti-profiteering laws to prevent the rise of living costs from cutting earnings. Congress must also act at once on war-risk insurance and related issues involving the maritime unions. Labor must also insist on prompt enactment of the pending Walsh-Healey amendments to protect more workers on government contract jobs and to blackball contracting firms violating the Wag-

> Labor must resume the fight on relief it lost during the last session of Congress, especially in connection with the so-called "30-day furlough" for W.P.A. workers and the denial of prevailing wage rates on

relief projects. In view of the various "war booms" that are in the offing, labor must demand a quick upward revision of the minimum wage rate in the wage-hour law. (The hourly minimum is now 25 cents and will become 30 cents on October 24.)

Employer Petitions Under the N. L. R. B.

The National Labor Relations Board has issued its first report on of the operation of this rule, the Board received only 16 petitions from employers out of a total of 400

received from all sources. Two of the employer petitions were acted on by the Board. One was dismissed and the other resulted F. of L. and James B. Carney, sec- in an election conducted with the consent of the competing A. F. of L.

and C.I.O. Unions. Basing ourselves on this initial experience, we may conclude tentatively that employers subject to the enough. Labor must immediately Wagner Act are not likely to make any more extensive use of their new problems presented by the convening right to petition than have employers under the New York State La-

German Socialists Greet ILLA Meet

Sudeten Group Also Sends War Message

From German Marxists:

Paris, France August 25, 1939

To the Convention of the I.L.L.A. ON the occasion of your eighth stalinist control. national convention, we send our fraternal greetings and our best wishes for successful and fruitful

deliberations. Your convention takes place at a time when the imperialist conflicts fascist terror. have about reached the breaking point. The danger that these conflicts may be resolved in a new world conflagration is steadily ris- tion. We were expelled a few months Some of the soundest New Dealers ing. Whereas the labor movement organizational and ideological status

> growing and becoming bolder. Despite the weakness of the revolutionary movement, there are growing signs of the beginning of new revolutionary forces in the ranks of the proletariat. The creation of the as the group of International Marx-International Revolutionary Marxist ists. Center is an important and promising step towards a new orientation of the international working class. The I.R.M.C. is becoming the center for rallying all genuinely Marxist volved in the struggle against the forces. This is both a difficult and lengthy process and can be carried directed at securing a concentration thru successfully only by an abiding of all German revolutionary forces faith in the principles of revolution- and groups into a unified organizaary socialism and a strict applica- tion based on the principles of the tion of the methods of proletarian I.R.M.C. The nearer war approaches

great merit of doing successful fought and still fight against the

ever-increasing menace of war. We know that within the labor movement you are seeking to give direction to its struggles and help guide it into channels of independent political action. You are fighting for the unification of your trade-union movement and for the elimination of

We congratulate you above all for your fine expression of international solidarity with the revolutionary organizations of the European labor movement and with the victims of

Comrades, we of the Communist Party (Opposition) of Germany since its incepago because we felt obliged to speak question, which appeared to us to ism. We expressed our differences activity, which seemed to us sectarian and directed against a new orientation of the revolutionary working-class movement. For this realignments and crystallization of expression of opinion, we were expelled. We then organized ourselves

We have maintained connections with the underground movement in Germany and are doing our part in clarifying the difficult problems in-Hitler dictatorship. Our efforts are the greater the tasks of the weak You, comrades of the Independent revolutionary forces in the German Labor League of America, have the labor movement. The struggle for the defeat of the fascist dictatorship

pioneer work in probing for a new and the victory of socialism in Gerorientation. We know you have many can be carried thru only in the (Continued on Page 3)

The Best Protection . . .

For Workers and Their Families can be offered only by consolidated forces of the workers.

 HEALTH INSURANCE LIFE INSURANCE

• MEDICAL CARE

 HOSPITAL AID RECREATION

SOCIABIL.

Join the **WORKMEN'S BENEFIT FUND**

714 Seneca Avenue, Brooklyn, N. Y. organized 1884

The general standpoint of the the country, a veritable deluge of "peace block" on the issue involved letters and telegrams has been dein the Pittman bill and other neu-scending on Washington in recent trality legislation may be defined weeks demanding that the arms em-

the "peace block".

Heavy Costs of Depression Set at Over 200 Billions

New Government Survey Shows Chaos of Capitalism

NEMPLOYMENT of men and source like unharnessed water powmachines during the depression caused an estimated loss of \$200,000,0000,000 in terms of 1929 dollars, in the national income of the United States from 1930 to 1937 inclusive, according to a report on "The Structure of American Economy" submitted to President Roosevelt recently by the National Resources Committee.

and machines, the report declares, "the American people are faced with a basic national problem." It holds that resources of manpower, materials and skills are available to establish a much higher standard of living than now exists and that the failure to use these resources to the full "is placing our democratic institutions in jeopardy." The maintenance of democracy, it continues, depends upon finding a solution which will permit the complete utilization of our national resources under democratic control.

HOW FIGURES WERE OBTAINED

The report explains that its figures for real national income are taken from the National Buro of Economic Research and the Department of Commerce, "deflated by an index of goods prices computed by the National Buro." Its potential national income (if there had been no depression) is "derived by connecting the averages of real national income, 1923-29, with the estimate of real national income for 1938, corresponding to practical full employment, with a compound interest curve." Full employment was assumed to involve a residual unemployment of 2,000,000.

"When the national income is \$60,000,000,000 instead of \$90,000,-000,000," it says, "the worker suffers a lower income thru unemployment or partial employment or thru wage rates lower than resources make possible; the farmer receives a lower income because of a reduced home market; the return on capital is reduced as a result of the partial use of equipment and the resulting increase in unit costs."

The sense of frustration caused by inability to find effective use for one's skills, the report adds, is even more significant with respect to the security, self-reliance and resources to the full, eliminate ecoproductive capacity of individuals.

"Moreover, as people become increasingly aware of the discrepancy and assure an adequate and conbetween rich resources and poor re- stantly rising standard of living to sults in living and as the ineffective- the great masses of the people of ness in the organization of resour- this country. ces becomes more clear, a sense of social frustration must develop and be reflected in justified social unrest and unavoidable friction. Individual frustration builds into social frustration. And social frustration is quite as likely to work itself out in socially destructive as in socially constructive ways.'

GREAT OPPORTUNITY BEFORE US

At the same time, the report stresses, the waste of resources holds out a great opportunity for the nation to work out the effective use of national resources which "promise a much higher standard of living than is now being obtained."

It is a serious question, according to the report, how long the opportunity will remain open to Amercan democracy. Time for finding a democratic solution is not unlimited, it says, and if one is not worked out, "other means will undoubtedly be sought."

"The basic problem facing economic statesmanship today," it continues, "can be stated as follows: How can we get effective use of our resources, yet at the same time preserve the underlying values in our tradition of liberty and democracy?

"How can we employ our unemployed, how can we use our plant time this hopeful development. We that we and our friends at home in and equipment to the full, how can we take advantage of the best modern technology, yet in all this make the individual the source of value and individual fulfillment in society the basic objective? How can we obtain effective organization of resources, yet at the same time retain the maximum freedom of individual action?"

The report says that it is inevitable that such an organization as the American economic system should fail to function adequately or prop-

"Resources are wasted or used ineffectively," it continues, "as parts of the organization get out of adjustment with each other, or as the organization fails to adjust itself to new conditions; as individuals of Czecho-Slovakia, send our frater fail to find, or are prevented from nal greetings to your eighth nationfinding, the most useful field of acal convention, and hope that your tivity; as material resources are unused, or as their effective technology is not used or its use is pre-

WASTAGE OF MAN POWER

"The waste of natural resources thru misuse, or ruthless exploitation, is thoroly familiar. Equally important, but less often thought of as a waste of resources, is the idleness of men and machines that could be productively employed. The power of individuals to produce is a re-

SPREAD THE WORKERS AGE It cannot be stored.

"If ten million men are able and willing to work, but are forced to be idle for a year by lack of jobs, the community has wasted the valuable resources of manpower. And because of idleness, the individuals are likely to suffer a loss of skill and a breakdown of morale. The nation is poorer both by the goods that In the extensive idleness of men have not been produced and by the frustration and loss of morale of

the unemployed individual. "While no calculation can give a precise figure for the depression loss in income due to idleness of men and machines, the figures do suggest that this loss thru non-production was in the magnitude of \$200,000,000,000 worth of goods and services. Most of this represents sheer wastes, tho to some extent it reflects a smaller depletion of nataral resources.

"The significance of this figure of \$200,000,000,000 is hard to grasp, but some idea can be obtained by considering what \$200,000,000,000 would mean in terms of concrete goods. If all the idle men and machines could have been employed in making houses, the extra income would have been enough to provide new \$6,000 house for every family in the country. If instead, the lost income had been used to build railroads, the entire railroad system of the country could have been scrapped and rebuilt at least five times over. Of such is the magnitude of the depression loss in income thru failure to use available resources. It meant a lower standard of living for practically every group in the community.'

AS TO THE WAY OUT

As to what solution can be reached to insure full use of national resources, the report has little of importance to say. Indeed, very little of importance can be said by anyone adhering to the present capitalistic system of production for profit. Only when our economic life s planfully organized on the socialistic principle of the collective ownership and democratic operation of the means of production for the use and welfare of the people, will it be possible to utilize our productive nomic depressions and the tremendous wastes they bring with them,

MARXISTS OF GERMANY

To the Independent Labor League

E, a group of emigre Sudeten

mer Communist Party (Opposition)

deliberations will be successful. We

have always followed your work

with a great deal of interest. We

fully share your point of view on

the international orientation of the

working class which has found ex-

pression in the International Revo-

Tho we are today in exile and not

in a position to exert a direct influ-

ence on the political situation in our

country, careful in our work be-

cause of the danger that threatens

our comrades working underground

in Czecho-Slovakia, we are reassur-

ed by the knowledge gained from re-

liable sources that our comrades are

attempting to rally the forces of re-

sistance against Hitler fascism un-

der the most difficult conditions.

lutionary Marxist Center.

London, England

August 26, 1939

From Sudeten

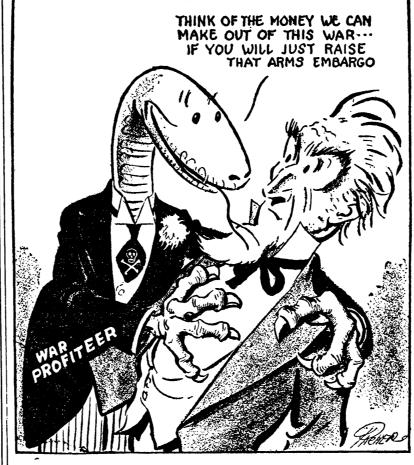
Socialists:

German Socialists Against the War

London, England. NDEPENDENT socialists in Germany are distributing leaflets appealing "in the name of humanity for the overthrow of the Hitler regime and the end of this war," the Independent Labor Party announced last week. Copies of the leaflets were published as received thru a neutral coun-

The leaflets asked workers, peasants, soldiers and intellectuals in Germany whether "this is your war." It said that German towns "will be bombed, too," adding: "Do you want nation to fight against nation so that the whole world may be condemned to misery and destruction because you have been unable to overthrow

THE "FOOL'S GOLD" OF WAR



HAT is the advantage to us in sending all manner of articles across the ocean for final processing there, when we could provide employment to thousands by doing it here?"--President Roosevelt in his recent message on neutrality legislation.

Balance-Sheet of Crisis

					Loss due to
	National				Depression
	Incon	ne	Real	Potential	Unemploy-
Produced		ced	National	Real	ment of
	(Bill	ions Price of	Income	National	Men and
	of Cur	rent Goods	Produced	Income	Machines
	Year. Dolla	rs). (1929=100)	. (Billi	ons of 1929	Dollars)
	1919 67.5	102.5	65.9		
	1920 68.1	118.1	57.7	61.0	
	1921 50.7	103.9	48.8	63.0	
	1922 58.7	97.2	60.4	65.2	
	1923 68.0	99.9	68.1	67.0	
	1924 67.9	99.9	68.0	68.9	
	1925 72.8	3 102.0	71.4	71.0	
	1926 74.9	102.7	72.9	73.1	
	1927 73.8	3 100.9	73.1	75.2	
	1928 77.6	99.8	77.8	77.4	
	1929 81.1	100.0	81.1	79.8	
	1930 68.3	97.3	70.2	82.0	11.8
	1931 53.8	89.0	60.4	84.5	24.1
	1932 40.0	80.4	49.8	86.9	37.1
	1933 42.5	76.6	55.2	89.5	34.3
ĺ	1934 50.1	1 79.8	62.8	92.3	29.5
	1935 55.2	81.1	67.5	94.9	27.4
	1936 63.5	82.8	76.7	97.7	21.0
ı	Total loss				204.7

European Recent Changes Help Social Security Act Socialists Greet I.L.L.A.

But Many Big Defects Still Remain in Law (Continued from page 2)

spirit of revolutionary internation-It is our opinion that the job of the German revolutionaries is to the amendments adopted by the last parallel the struggle against imperialist war conducted by the revorevised survey of the American solutionary workers in other countries. cial security provisions issued We must fight shoulder to shoulder ecently by the Public Affairs Comnot with some imperialist power preparing for war against Germany

This study, prepared by Maxwell

but with the international proletariat resisting all imperialist wars. Only in this manner can the Ger- Despite the difficult circumstances man proletariat win its battle for that surround the class struggle in liberation. We reject all proposals the Sudeten territory and in the which accept imperialist war as a protectorate, there are definite method of struggle against Hitler. signs amongst the working popula-Today more than ever, such pro- tion that justify renewed hope. The posals are wrong. The present con- chauvinist frenzy instigated by Hittradictions of German capitalism are ler is slowly beginning to subside creating objective conditions in and is giving way to disillusionment which a revival of struggle against and fear of war. The so-called "nathe Hitler dictatorship can be ex- tional emancipation" of the Sudeten pected. The outbreak of an imperial- Germans has in reality led to the ist war would interrupt for a long worst political oppression. We hope are with you in the struggle against our country, jointly with you and imperialist war because this strug-gle serves the interests of the Ger-I.R.M.C., will succeed in reorienting gle serves the interests of the German workers and the working class the working class on the basis of the revolutionary principles of Marx-GROUP OF INTERNATIONAL

We extend our best wishes to your convention. We hope that you will succeed in further strengthening your organization. At the same time, we wish to thank you for the marvelous international solidarity which you have displayed.

GROUP OF EMIGRE FUNCTIONARIES

THE old-age sections of the Social IS. Stewart, editor of the Committee's Security Act are seen as sub- pamphlet series, compares America's stantially improved as a result of system of social protection with that in other countries and finds that, session of Congress, according to a particularly in the field of old age, it stands up well.

> It points out that the new schedule of payments adopted by the 1939 Congress gives men now in their 60's a larger, tho still inadequate, benefit. "As a minimum, a man of 65 or over, who has qualified, will get a monthly check for \$20 if his wage has averaged \$50 a month since January 1, 1937," states the pamphlet. "Higher paid workers will have their checks increased by 10% of the amount by which their average wages exceed \$50. Thus a man earning \$100 a month will be entitled to \$20 plus 10% of \$50, or a total of \$25 a month.

"A man earning \$200 a month will be entitled to \$35, and a \$250-a- turies and from the historical movemonth man will get \$40 monthly.... Thus John Smith, who earned an lutionary rise of the proletarian average of \$100 a month during class." 1937, 1938 and 1939, would be en-

Congress's failure, however, to extend old-age protection to the employees of religious, charitable, educational and other non-profit orof the former Communist Party ganizations, or to farm laborers or (Opposition) of Czecho-Slovakia domestic workers, as recommended

Books =by Jim Cork ==

KARL MARX, by Karl Korsch. John Wiley and Sons, New York, 1938

THIS is not another biography of Marx. It is one of a series of sociological studies, published in England under the title, "Modern Sociologists." The book is a remarkably concise, thoroly scholarly and highly original exposition of the most important principles and contents of Marx's social science. The author, tho not widely known in the United States, is an outstanding Marxist scholar and was active in the German labor movement for many years.

The work is divided into three main parts: "Society," "Political Economy," "History." The three parts of the book, says the author, do not deal with independent branches of a compound system but rather with the various aspects of theory"—a theory which all flows from the study of political economy as Marx's new science is in its form above all a strictly empirical investigation and critique of society, so in ts content it is, above all, economic

In a way, this book might be called "From Ricardo to Marx," for Ricardo represents the highest point in the development of classical economics just as Hegel does in philosophy Moreover, this volume complements Sidney Hook's excellent work, "From Hegel to Marx," and is much superior to Hook's "Towards an Un derstanding of Karl Marx." Both Korsch and Hook are independent in their approach to Marx and are very critical of those Marxists who believe in a "universal and eternal dialectic pervading the whole development of nature and man." But the nature of Marx's dependence upon Hegel and Ricardo can only be understood if we bear in mind the author's warning that "the last foundation of the new Marxian science is neither Hegel nor Ricardo, neither bourgeois philosophy nor bourgeois economy Marx's investigation into the move ment of modern bourgeois society received its decisive impulses from the reality of historical development that is, from the great bourgeois revolutions of the 17th and 18th cenment of the 19th century, the revo-

There are four principles underlytitled, on reaching his sixty-fifth ing the Marxist method of investibirthday on January 1, 1940, to a gation as discussed by the author: monthly benefit of \$25.75 payable the Principle of Historical Specificaas long as he lives. If his wife is tion, the Principle of Change, the also 65 or over, his benefit will be Principle of Criticism, and a New increased by half, making the total Type of Generalization. He defines Marxian theory, viewed in its general character, as a "new science of bourgeois society. . . . It 'specifies' bourgeois society and investigates the tendencies visible in the present

> by the Advisory Council on Social Security, is strongly deplored. Criticism is also made of the meagerness of the changes in unemployment insurance, and of lack of protection against sickness.

In discussing this last defect, the States is . . . almost wholly without safeguards against one of the most frequent and disastrous causes of insecurity . . . (and) is the only large proletarian class. industrial country in the world in which the government makes no provision for the protection of individual citizens against the economic hazard of disease.'

"One of the chief tasks of the "will be that of integrating and harmonizing the various types of social security. Needless to say, the job is a difficult one. It is complicatfrom being exactly alike.'

The Emergency War Program of the I.L.P.

(We publish below the program issued by the Independent Labor Party during the first week of the war, under the heading, "Socialist Program During War." It was published in the September 8 issue of the New Leader, I.L.P. paper.-Editor.)

THE Independent Labor Party will remain true to the principles of international socialism in this war as it did in the war of 1914-18.

At this dark moment, it holds out a hand of solidarity across the frontiers to the workers of other countries, and over the roar of guns greets those heroic socialists who in German territory maintain their opposition to the fascist regime and to the war.

During the war, the I.L.P. will do all that it can to retain the spirit, organization and action of international socialism, and it will work to secure conditions so that, at the end of the war, the world will be rebuilt on a socialist basis, thus removing the fear of a repetition of the present

Meanwhile, the I.L.P. will strive to realize the following aims:

SAVE THE WORKING-CLASS MOVEMENT!

1. The maintenance of the independence of the working-class movement, both politically and industrially. No participation of the working class in a coalition government with the capitalist class! No "national industrial front" which surrenders the independence of the trades unions!

2. The formation in all workplaces of Workers Committees to represent every section of those employed, with the object of securing the maximum control of working conditions. The appointment of Shop Stewards with recognized rights to function on behalf of such committees.

3. The recognition of the Trades Council as the organized voice of the trade-union movement in every locality.

4. The organization of an active campaign for the enrolment of all workers in their appropriate trade unions and particularly the new workers who will be brought into industry.

5. The establishment in every locality of Workers Rights Committees representing all sections of the labor movement—political, industrial and cooperative— to function as a safeguard against profiteering in rents, the necessities of life, etc., and to maintain the interests of the workers in all spheres of social life.

6. The maintenance of contact with the working-class organizations of other countries, and particularly with those which remain true to international socialism, with the object of ending the war at the earliest possible moment on the basis of a socialist peace.

SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC WELFARE

7. The adoption of a national living wage with family allowances, to be paid as a minimum to civil workers and those in the armed forces alike. 8. The fixing of rent standards within the reach of working-class

9. The immediate increase of old-age pensions to 20s, a week and the increase of unemployment and sickness allowances, and of widows and

blind persons pensions in accordance with any increase of living costs. 10. The conscription of wealth, including the transference of industry, transport, land and banking to public ownership and workers control.

11. The appropriation by the state of all personal incomes above £500 a year.

12. The suppression of all profiteering by the fixing of prices for raw materials and of goods in all stages of production, including the prices of the necessities of life.

13. The provision of pensions at a living standard to all injured in the armed forces and in A.R.P. and similar work, and to all injured in air raids one social, economic and historical or in other ways, together with adequate pensions for their families and

14. The appropriation of the superfluous mansions of the rich, whewhere, as Marx said, "the anatomy ther in town or country, and their use as hospitals, evacuation centers, nomes for the aged and infirm, and for other social purposes.

15. The appropriation of the estates of the rich now left idle as park lands or devoted to "sport," and their use by adequately paid agricultural workers for the growing of foodstuffs and other useful purposes.

MAINTAIN FREEDOM AND DEMOCRACY!

16. Opposition to all emergency powers which restrict the liberty of working-class organizations and liberty of speech, press and organization.

17. The maintenance of the rights of those whose convictions, whether political or religious, cause them to decline service in the state war or-

18. The provision of pensions at a full living standard to all who are wounded and disabled, together with adequate allowances for their dependents. These pensions and allowances to be paid to all who suffer disability following war service, without insistence upon its direct relation

of Historical Specification are extremely valuable because they offer struggle against the existing condi- duction." tions of society." He illustrates it by stractly but by a new type of gen- tend to want to alter the present re-He simply adds that, under the prestudy points out that "the United the ruling bourgeois class and that, armament and heavy industry. in the same way, the present bourgeois state is the political form of

importance of the understanding of "the fetish-character of the comprevent any two family budgets ty." It is only thru this that we can pose the only possible solution. understand the meaning of value as

development of society, and the way; developed by Marx. "The value of a to its immanent practical transfor- commodity does not arise either mation. Thus it is not only a theory from its physical qualities or from its of bourgeois society but, at the same specific utility, nor even from its time, a theory of the proletarian physical qualities belonging to the labor involved in its production. The The two chapters on the Principle value relations appearing in the exchange of the products of labor as commodities are essentially not relaan unusual and fruitful approach. tions between things, but merely an The author shows how this principle imaginary expression of underlying "becomes of first-rate importance as social relations between the human a polemical weapon in the practical beings who cooperate in their pro-

As in all the theoretical criticism a discussion of that section of the by Marx, the disclosure of the fetish-Communist Manifesto, dealing with stic appearance of commodity pro-"bourgeois objections to commu- duction, has a tremendous impornism." In answer to the accusation tance for the practical struggle of that they want to abolish property, the oppressed. Responsibility for opliberty, culture, law, family, father- pression and misery is placed upon land, etc., the Manifesto says that the capitalist class where human acthe point at issue is not the general | tion can remove the causes of poverconditions of all social life but only ty and war instead of being shifted the specific historical form assumed to the sphere of so-called immutable, by them in present-day bourgeois so- nature-ordained relations between ciety. But a real scientific method things. But capitalism, whether fasmust be able to generalize, not ab- cist or democratic, does not even preeralization. For example, bourgeois lations between the classes. Instead, science defines the wealth of society it attempts to "control," to "coras the "wealth of nations" and the rect," to "steer," the existing ecostate as a form of unity necessary nomic system. In doing this, it merefor society. Marx does not deny the ly disrupts whatever planning and "abstract" truth of such statements. organization there is within capitalism. This is most evident in Germavailing "concrete" conditions, the ny where industry and trade have wealth of a nation is the capital of been disorganized for the benefit of

No serious student of Marxism can afford to miss this profound and the rule of the bourgeoisie over the stimulating study. If the book has not already aroused considerable The author rightly stresses the controversy in Marxist circles, it is merely proof of the low state of Marxist scholarship today. The most modity and its secret." He considers important theoretical contributions the theoretical exposure of this mys- to Marxist thought are being made tery as "not only the kernel of the outside the organized Marxist coming years," the study concludes, Marxian critique of political econ-groups, by men like Korsch. Rosenomy, but, at the same time, the quin- berg, Hook and others. And yet it is tessence of the economic theory of the task of the organized socialist capital and the most explicit and movement to prove in practise the most exact definition of the theore- validity of Marx's theories which ofed by differences in living costs, and tical and historical standpoint of the fer the only rational explanation of a multitude of special factors which whole materialistic science of socie- present-day developments and pro-

Reviewed by ALBERT EASTON

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SHAMEFUL TACTICS

THE September 23 issue of the New Leader, the New York social-democratic paper, features a sensational scare story under the following full-page headline: "Anti-New Deal Senator Burke Linked to Nazis." And the story begins: "As Congress opened one of the most important special sessions in American history, Senator Edward R. Burke, Nebraska Democrat, ENER-GETIC OPPONENT OF 'NEUTRALITY' REVISION, was linked to the American section of the Nazi International . . . (emphasis ours.—Editor).

But it so happens that on Sept. 22, the New York World-Telegram published a "debate" on the neutrality law. And, in this debate, Senator Edward R. Burke was the spokesman of the Administration, strongly IN FAVOR of revising the law and abolishing the arms embargo.

Why do we bring all this up? Certainly not to defend Senator Burke, who merits precious little defense at our hands; nor to rebuke the carelessness and slipshodness of the New Leader on factual matters. A much bigger issue is at stake. For what is the real point of the New Leader article? Burke is against the New Deal (which he is) and against neutrality revision (which he is not) Burke is (allegedly) "linked" to the Nazis. Hence everyone who is against the New Deal and against neutrality revision is somehow "linked" to the Nazis! Such is the crooked "logic" of the New Leader "smear" article; it is logic of the Stalinist "amalgam" tac tics which the New Leader indignantly denounces upon every possible occasion. It is of a piece with the indecent, contemptible attack on Norman Thomas recently featured in the columns of the New Leader, in which Mr. Thomas was virtually branded as a fascist sympathizer and an anti-Semite because he opposes America's involvement in the war.

Nor is the New Leader alone in resorting to such tactics. The New York Post, which prides itself on its liberalism as much as the New Leader prides itself on its orthodox social-democracy, published in its September 22 issue a report by its "staff correspondent" in Washington on the flood of mail pouring into the activities of the Communist Party contributed capital urging that the arms embargo be retained. To describe this report as outrageously biased would be putting it mildly. The Post "staff correspondent" writes as if he were press agent for the Administration. One paragraph stands out as particularly relevant to our present purpose: "One Democratic Senator from an eastern state said that three-quarters of this correspondence against repeal was signed by persons of German name and the remaining one-quarter showed evidence of the Coughlin influence." It would be well to read this precious sentence carefully. To have a "German name" has now evidently become a suspicious circumstance, perhaps meriting investigation by Frank Murphy's Department of Justice and its hordes of volunteer snoopers! Evidently, too, no letter to a Congressman signed with a "German name" merits consideration. Now if it were only an "English name" or a "French name," it would naturally be something else again! This is how the New York Post-which, remember, prides itself on its liberalism-hopes to conjure out of existence the millions of sincere Americans whose determination to keep America out of war by strengthening instead of weakening our neutrality legislation has never been as clear or as strong as it is today.

We have not yet forgotten the "good old days" of the World War when having a "German name" or reading a German book against capitalism and its evils. It became a seror listening to German music was little short of treason, when vile, uncritical supporter of President Roosevelt country who dared to raise his voice against the war or against the imperialist war aims of the Allies was immediately accused of being in the pay of the Kaiser, when Gene Debs himself was denounced as a German agent. Are we in for this kind of hysteria again today when we are still officially at peace and neutral? And are the New York Post and the New Leader quite ready to accept their share of the responsibility for helping to stir up these brutal jingoistic passions that may wipe out every sign of liberalism and socialism for years to come?

WHAT PRICE "INDEPENDENCE"?

THE function of intellectuals, it has been said, is to expose past wars and justify current ones. This generalization finds striking exemplification in the turn-about that a number of prominent radical writers have made on the question of war in recent weeks

Some months ago, there were no more ardent opponents of the "collective-security" swindle or of American entanglement in European power-politics than such men as Charles Yale Harrison, Benjamin Stolberg and Eugene Lyons. It is not necessary here to quote or even to recall their sharp, often brilliant, exposures of the hidden forces making for our involvement in war or their fervent appeals to keep out and "tend to our own garden." Now they have changed. To some degree, each has lined up with the war party: Harrison has gone in for outright war-mongering; Lyons still talks of "neutrality," but it is the President's kind of "neutrality"; while Stolberg is somewhere in between.

How is this sudden change to be accounted for? It seems to us that these three and others like them are, in a very real sense, victims of the Stalin-Hitler pact. They fought against "collective security" yesterday and the day before not so much for what it meant to this country but because Stalin and the Stalinists were for it. As long as Stalin flirted with the "democracies" they sneered at them. As long as Stalin was out to get the United! States lined up in a "democratic front against fascist aggression," they demanded that America keep out of foreign embroilments. But now Stalin has changed his mind and so have they, or rather are a few highlights from the Stalin has changed it for them. Now that Stalin is aligned with Hitler, they are taking over Stalin's abandoned position and are preaching American participation in a "collective-security" cru- the United States will hold their sade against fascism.

These people pride themselves on their independence; they are "independent radicals" par excellence. But how skin-deep is their independence in reality! Ideologically, they are dependent on Stalin almost as much as are his agents and puppets—only in reverse. They are orthodox counter-Stalinists, and intellectually that is almost as fatal as orthodox Stalinism itself.

SIGMUND FREUD

WE bow our heads in mourning over the grave of Sigmund Freud. It is not necessary to have special knowledge of the innumerable fields of human thought which he worked so fruitfully or to agree with all of his conclusions, which he himself World War just about ended demonever held as sacred or immutable, to realize that in the creator of cracy. . . . I am opposed to sending psychoanalysis the world possessed one of the few authentic ge- our boys overseas again, to comnuises in history, one of the great company of Plato, Galileo, New- plete the job of replacing democratic that if the United States caves in ton, Darwin, Marx and Einstein. Humanity has suffered an incalculable loss in the death of this man.

The world of socialism—to which nothing human is alien and which cherishes every genuine manifestation of the human cash runs out, rather than lose our spirit—lays the wreath of homage on the grave of Sigmund Freud.

ARSHAL Petain, French ambassador to Spain, and German Ambassador von Stohrer shook hands warmly to day when they met for the first time since the war."—United Press dispatch, September 26.

But, of course, the soldiers have to keep on murdering each other! that as a United States Senator I

An Appeal to the Members and Followers of the Communist Party:

Draw the Lesson of the Stalin-Hitler Alliance!

THIS is an appeal to reason. It is not an at- of the democracies against the fascist aggressor" rect appeal to common-sense in the hope that you perialism! Instead of the "defense of the Soviet will think--and think hard.

You consider yourself a communist, a revolutionist. You have dedicated your energies to the great cause of building up a militant socialist labor movement able to settle accounts with the decaying system of capitalism and usher in a new socialist order of peace and plenty. Now the question you must face and answer-and answer frankly and honestly-is:

Do you think that by remaining a member of and active in the Communist Party you are advancing the cause of labor and socialism? Do you think your devotion and energies have been used and are being used for constructive purposes or have they been exploited for purposes that have nothing in common with the interests and welfare of the American working class?

Just Look at the Record:

In 1929, you were told suddenly to change your line. Overnight, you were told to go in for the craziest kind of sectarianism-reckless, irresponsible tactics; union splitting and dual unionism; attacking the Labor party movement; breaking up meetings of socialists and other political opponents in the ranks of the working class. What of communism, instead of raising communist prestige and influence in the ranks of labor, the to isolating and discrediting communism, to breaking its connections with the masses, to it in the trade-union movement. Isn't that true?

Then came 1935—and another change of line, again suddenly, overnight, without discussion or for the better—the old suicidal policy would be dropped and the Communist Party would gradually recover lost ground and get ready for new advances. But, before long, it became only too clear how bitterly betrayed this hope was. The crazy "third-period" tactics were dropped, it is true, but along with them also every vestige of communist program or principle for which the party had ever stood. Thus opened the era of Popular Frontism.

You know what Popular Frontism meant. The Communist Party gave up the fight for socialism; it gave up any real, militant class struggle and his Administration, whitewashing and justifying every crime committed in the name of the New Deal. It idealized and worshipped capitalist 'democracy". It came out against every effort to consolidate labor's power along really independent class lines and preached a Popular Front alliance with "liberal" or "democratic" capitalism. It became the most reckless and blatant advocate of a war front of the so-called "great democracies" under the name of "collective security". It became super-patriotic, jingoistic, hellbent for war, in a way that nauseated even many of its friends. It flattered and kowtowed to every reactionary prejudice in order to obtain an appearance of "Americanism" and "respectability" Why, party leaders even offered themselves as stool-pigeons and finger-men to help the authorities round up "subversive elements," particularly opponents of war. What was there left of communism under such a policy, under such a regime? What was there left of ordinary working-

And now. after four years of this, there have Everything that your party leaders and party of socialism, your place is in the I.L.L.A. press have said for years, is now cynically thrown on the scrap heap. Instead of a "concerted front

tack, denunciation or harangue; it is a di- a close military alliance with barbarous Nazi im-Union against fascist attack", the brutal invasion of a neighboring country not only with the aid and assistance of the German fascists but al so under cover of typical Nazi excuses and pretexts! And it's only the beginning. Who knows how far it will go? Who knows how long it will be before the Daily Worker passes from indirect to direct defense of Hitler, before party members are forced to become apologists for Nazi imperialism? Who knows to what the new turn will lead in party policy in America, what new abominations you will be forced to swallow and defend if you want to remain in the party? Out of an alliance between Stalin and Hitler anything

> Do you think all this is working for communism? Do you think all this is constructive service to the American and international labor movements?

Don't you see that what determines party policy, what you are told to accept, defend and carry out, is not the needs and interests of the working masses but the dictates of Soviet foreign policy, of Stalin's power-politics? Stalin orientates his foreign policy towards the "great democracies" and you are forced to give up every principle of communism and the class struggle and to crawl before "democratic capitalism" in the hope of achieving a Popular Front and "collective security". Then, Stalin changes his foreign was the result? Instead of advancing the cause policy and concludes a pact with Hitler and instantly you are ordered to drop "collective security" and the Popular Front and to go in for defending the overrunning and partition of Poland and who knows what else. What has all this to do with communism, with the fight building an attitude of bitter hostility towards against capitalism, with service to the labor movement?

Don't you see that as long as you remain a member of the Communist Party, you are only a decision by you or the other party members. At pawn in the game of Stalin's power-politics? You first, it looked as if there would be a real change never know one day what you will be ordered to defend and do the next, but one thing is certain -it won't have anything to do with the needs or interests of the working masses!

> If you are really a communist, if you are really a revolutionist, if you are really devoted to the cause of the working class, then you should break with the so-called Communist Party, which for years has been not a Communist Party in any sense of the word but a burocracy-ridden instrument of Stalin's suicidal foreign policy and diplomatic adventures. Isn't it time to brush aside illusions, no matter how deeply cherished, and look facts straight in the face? Surely, after the Stalin-Hitler pact, no self-respecting, class-conscious worker can remain a member of this Communist Party any longer!

If you want to have your efforts really count in advancing the cause of labor and socialism, we call upon you to join the Independent Labor League of America. In the I.L.L.A., you will find an organization firm in its devotion to the tested principles of militant socialism but realistic and flexible in its tactics. There you will find an organization that is an organic part of the American labor movement and cannot be driven from Barbarians in their outlook and sadone extreme to another by orders from the out- ists in their mode of feeling, the fasside. There you will find an organization that works out its policies, independently and democratically, to meet the needs and interests of the working masses and stands responsible for these come suddenly, again without explanation or policies before the entire labor movement. If you warning, the Stalin-Hitler pact and the joint Rus- want to be of real constructive service to the so-German assault upon and partition of Poland! cause of labor and to do your bit for the victory

JOIN THE I.L.L.A.

Peace Forces Demand to Save the Arms Embargo

(Continued from Page 1)

Senator Capper: "The people of elected representatives responsible if these take action that leads us

"The war issue in Europe is boundary lines, spoils, power-politics -not democracy. Let us not be misled into believing that the Allies in Europe are fighting in some unexplained way for democracy, for civilization, or for the United States. The millions of boys, the tens of billions of dollars, that went to Europe last time won the war for those who talked democracy—but they didn't save democracy. In fact, the government with dictatorships all over the world—for that will be the result, win or lose. . . . If we start selling munitions for cash, when the customers and dislocate our business structure, we will substitute credits . . and then finally send Americans boys overseas again. . . . Europe is the land of the double-cross. as well as of the little white

crosses . . . I promise you right now

never will vote to ever again send American boys across the seas to fight some one else's war . . . This is not our war."

Senator Clark declared that the interest and pressure of the people and the resistance in Congress had alone saved us from already being nvolved and on the brink of war. The chief danger lay in government by Presidential decree. Congress must stay in session, retain the arms embargo, strengthen the other neutrality legislation, and see to it that government by decree was prevented in favor of government by

Senator Nye: "England and France wish the United States to United States against being drawn into their war? . . . Their World War experience has taught them on one really important issue, the road to war will be easily laid out. "This battle to retain the arms embargo will be won if the people

GET YOUR TICKET FOR THE BIG OCT. 6 SYMPOSIUM

An Unfortunate Prophet

66THE refusal of the Sov-L iets to shill for the Munichmen and plump for an end to Hitler's murderous gambling is appreciated by the Polish folk. They know that their eastern border is the safest in the world, since it is faced by our U.S.S.R." - John Stark, New Masses, Sept. 5, 1939. On September 17, Russia in-

vaded Poland!

will continue their insistence. News paper dispatches report that majority of the Senate is pledged to repeal. . . . This is intended to convince the people that their fight is repeal the arms embargo . . . Do already lost and that there is no use they want it repealed to insure the writing letters and telegrams. . . Will it work? Not for long! The fight is not lost; it has only just begun, and there is ample reason to believe that the majority in the ing for further support from the embargo.'

How to Defeat Fascism

By MAX NOMAD

(We publish below an article by Max Nomad, well-known author of "Rebels and Renegades" and "apostles of Revolt," taken from the September 2 issue of the New Leader, the New York social-democratic weekly. While we think Mr. Nomad is somewhat naive in his remarks about a "swift 'radicalization' of the government personnel" leading to the "establishment of a planned, socialized economy," we believe that his general standpoint that "fascism can be fought only by attacking the status-quo n behalf of greater concessions to the inderdog," is thoroly sound."—Editor.)

T ESS than two years before the L final triumph of Hitler, a German anti-Nazi leader declared at a convention of his party that "the most important thing is to keep what we have." These words, it they could not altogether obliterate would seem, contain the secret of the past record of their "better" all the defeats suffered by the de- days. All they were able to achieve fenders of democracy and of all the with their tactics was merely to successes accompanying the activi- bring about the greatest possible ties of the fascists.

True, today the opponents of fasscism do not use exactly the same words. They do not speak of "keeping what we have." It would be somewhat too raw in the face of the millions of unemployed and hopeless victims of the depression.

Yet their exclusive insistence upon the defense of what they call "democracy" and "liberty," and their hope to swing the masses to their cause by the sheer force of propaganda, points to one thing only: that at bottom they are the defenders of the status-quo, that at bottom they are satisfied with existing conditions.

True, it is the status-quo of the post-Hooverian era, a status-quo somewhat improved by Roosevelt's timid attempts at social reformyet, for all that, a status-quo that is nothing else than the old capitalist system embellished by a certain amount of official charity; a statusquo, in short, which permits the liberals and the radicals to voice their sympathy for the downtrodden and to feed them with hopes for a better

WHAT IS DEMOCRACY TO THE JOBLESS?

Now, the existing system is certainly preferable to the hell which the various brands of totalitarianism have in store for the great majority. But the trouble is that the averageman-without-a-job, that the averageman-without-a-future, does not care to come back. a rap for any existing system, no matter how much better it may be than the promised blessings of the fascist or "communist" paradise.

offered to him, no matter where that enemies. offer comes from. The desperate sec tion of the population is not frightened by the stories of the loss of pared by the Polish lower nobility liberty and of all cultural values at- and intelligentsia, Metternich's govtendant upon the establishment of a ernment was able to use the Polish dictatorship by adventurous dema-

To these people liberty means at best a free choice among various groups of speakers and writers offering them all kinds of political philosophies which they don't understand and all kinds of political remedies none of which has so far proven of any real value in alleviating their present distress.

It is on this state of mind of the man in the street that the fascists count for winning the followers. cists are, for all that, and perhaps because of that, shrewd psychologists with regard to the thinking and the sentiments of the uneducated

They know that the crowd invari- diate provision of jobs for the unably responds to appeals to its religious and race prejudices; that it bulk of the illiterate, unskilled, unis ready to believe the most fantastic fairy tales, if they are in tune with struggle for such objectives was not its hatreds, and that it is always ready to pounce upon some defenseless minority group that is presented to it as the source of its misery.

No wonder the fascists have been generally successful in taking ad- extension of the revolution had not vantage of this inherent political arrived as yet. As a result, the Czarilliteracy of the uneducated and ist government could easily arouse semi-educated. (Experience has the poorest sections of the populashown that even large groups of tion against the Jews and the intelpeople with formal education are lectuals. The masses were divided swayed by their sentiments rather the revolution was crushed. than by logical considerations in their choice of, and in their perseverance in, their political loyalties.)

This political illiteracy cannot be fought merely by counter-propagan da. The potential convert to fascism is deaf to the eulogies of political and even industrial democracy, and he is not impressed by the exposure of the falsehoods and lies of the

The "Protocols of the Elders o

. . In an America at peace, American citizens can find better and easier ways to aid underground movements of the masses for peace and justice in Europe than in an America at war."

All the speakers united in appeal-Senate will vote to keep the arms people of the country in the struggle against war. They want more Norman Thomas: "The United letters, more telegrams, more visits, States will not cure by a new war urging the retention of the embargo what its participation in the first on arms, a mandatory cash-andworld war did so much to cause. The carry on other materials, forbidding best hope of Europe is a determi- of loans, curbing the discretionary nation by the masses of all coun- power of the President, and most of tries to build a United States of the speakers, including Senator Cap-Europe. That end will not be served per and Norman Thomas, urged an by a sweeping victory for either increased demand for an amendment side, or by American participation. to the Constitution making obliga-

Zion" have been exposed as forgeries a thousand times. Yet the number of those who believe in their genuine-

ness is increasing. (Besides, why should we blame the poor near-illiterates for believing in them, if hundreds of "liberal" college professors are still sincerely ready to believe in the genuineness of the Moscow "trials" and to brand as a "reactionary" any one who refuses to be persuaded or bribed into endorsing them?)

The only "effective" counter-propaganda would consist in descending to the level of those one professes to combat. In Germany and France, that method has been attempted by the Stalinists who tried to outdo the fascists in nationalism and even dabbled in anti-Semitism as well.

But even this did not help much confusion within the leftist camp and to evolve a party whose methods, aims and psychology differed little from those of the fascists.

LESSONS FROM HISTORY

Time and again, the susceptibility of the masses to reactionary propaganda has been demonstrated by the sad epilogue of the many revolutions of the past and present centuries.

However, it must be stated frankly that the progressive middle classes bear their share of responsibility. For, once in possession of power, or near its conquest, they have as a rule been in the habit of thinking of themselves rather than of the immediate needs of the masses that had helped them to win.

The latter, thrown out of their lethargy by the revolutionary upheaval, naturally expect a substantial improvement of their lot from those who during the days of struggle had made them believe that everything was to change for the better.

But "the change for the better," after a few initial concessions, seldom extends beyond the ranks of the new masters and of their hangers-on.

The masses are told to wait. This they do for a while, until they lose patience.

Then they succumb to the siren call of the reactionary demagogues who have ben waiting for a chance

In 1848, the progressive middle classes, during their short fling at power in most European countries, forgot all about the workers, the The average man, who is suffering peasants and the oppressed national from the chronic depression, is ready minorities. By doing so, they paved to hail any violent change that is the way for the return of their

Two years before, in 1846, when a national uprising was being prepeasants of Galicia for massacring the malcontents and conspirators. For the Polish patriots and democrats had been unwilling to commit themselves on the question of granting freedom and land to the rural population.

In 1905, during the first Russian revolution, the Czarist regime could successfully emulate Metternich's stratagem of sixty years before.

The political revolution sponsored by the liberals and socialists had failed to include among its objectives the struggle for the immediate satisfaction of the needs of the poorest of the poor, the unemployed, the slum dwellers-of all that "rabble" that could understand the revolution only in terms of immediate breadand-butter advantages.

That is, in the form of immeemployed and higher wages for the derpaid laborers. But an immediate within the scope of the merely democratic-political, that is, bourgeois, revolution.

In the opinion of practically all revolutionists, the time for such an

(Concluded in the next issue)

tory a referendum vote of the people prior to a declaration of war. What will the readers of the Workers Age do, to make their opinions felt and their voices heard in Washington? Send that telegram or letter—to each of your two Senators (Wagner and Mead) and the President today.

"STALIN"

By Boris Souvarine

(A Critical Survey of Bolshevism)

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