Next Week: Socialism, Collectivism and **Democracy**

By SCOTT NEARING

Workers Age

Weekly Paper of the Independent Labor League of America

CLOSE THE DOOR TO WAR INVOL-VEMENT! . . . by Angela Bombace

DRIVING FORCES BEHIND FDR'S WAR POLICY . . . by Will Herberg . . . page 3.

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AT FIRST GLANCE

THE GREATER PROMISE OF LABOR

WE are living thru times crowded with events only yesterday believed unbelievable. In fact, every once in a while we get such a deluge of the weird that one gets to feel and think that these are days when the fantastic is commonplace. Yet, it would be folly to assume that the world, that movements and men, have gone altogether berserk. Nor could anything be as fatal to labor's advancement and hence to social progress as the paralyzing notion that there are no longer any analytical values, stirring ideals, valid ideas or sound principles.

Let us take the concrete situation in which American labor finds itself. Our working-class movement, the comparatively better off, is beset with house the week before in the form many difficulties. Division persists in the ranks of unionism; costly mis- of the Pittman resolution. Such takes undermine organized labor with disheartening recurrence and stub- minor differences as there were beborn persistence. Ineptness, petty jealousies, inflated ambitions, reckless tween the two versions were ironed Stalinist manipulations, slavish following of "progressive" boss-class politicians, apathy towards and misunderstanding of war preparations and plans, singly and collectively take their toll in defeats or devitalizing un- President's signature. Immediately certainty. Despite it all, there is much vitality, hope and promise in our upon signing the act, President labor movement. Moreover, there is one towering certainty in the present Roosevelt issued proclamations ininflux of uncertainties. In the welter of conflict and confusion, there is the overriding certainty that a united American trade-union movement is not law. Acting under the law, too, he only possible and desirable but also probable in a future nearer than dis- set up combat zones thru which couraging surface indications momentarily reveal. I am convinced that objective forces and subjective factors are combining to speed a resumption of unity negotiations between the A. F. of L. and the C.I.O. At Cincinnati, the former left the door wide open to a resumption and consummation of unity deliberations. Likewise, the C.I.O. convention did not the House came after some vigorous close the door to the reopening of conferences for reunification. We under the lasting four days. derscore this, the the San Francisco convention did sort of slam the door were three significant votes taken a bit in the face of President Roosevelt on the occasion of the receipt of on the question, in each of which his pro-unity letter.

I would be much surprised if the A. F. of L. and the C.I.O. were no to resume by January or February their negotiations looking towards peace in the house of labor. Here is no wishful thinking on my part. There that the House insist on a provision is multiplying and mounting evidence that the coming months will see to forbid Federal Reserve Banks or the federal government become even more directly responsible for a still other governmental agencies to greater share of the economic life of the country. This will mean a much higher coordination of industry that will itself drive divided labor towards coordination of its organized resources and unification of its ranks. Otherwise. our trade-union movement will be thrown into an extremely dangerous and humiliating situation—into a position of utter helplessness before the new and grave problems flowing out of America's decisive role in ficulty. Nevertheless, the Woolcott the world-shaking crisis.

Recent years have witnessed a sufficiently encouraging vitality in the 196. depths of American labor to chase despair and pessimism out of first calculations. Then, too rare tho these instances be, there have been heard in the last few months sincere and strong voices in behalf of unity. Slowly but surely, the rancor and shortsightedness generated by the split are receding even in top circles of the C.I.O. and the A. F. of L.—in the face of the rising complexities of the critical hours at hand. A. F. of L. Vice- the end of the last session of Con-President Woll's address to the last convention of the New York State gress but now the Administration Federation of Labor is significant in this respect. In this connection, we succeeded in downing it. also point to C.I.O. Vice-President Hillman's article in the New Republic Finally the main embargo test of November 8, reading in part:

"With the immediate objectives of the C.I.O. now won, the question of unity recurs under new conditions. The bitter experience of labor abroad stantially as in the old law. This has shown that direction of the desired by th has shown that division in the ranks of the progressive forces provides to 181. an entering wedge for reaction. . . . There is today a widespread recognition in the ranks of labor of the need for peace and a determination on was received with exultation in the part of the membership of the two organizations to achieve it. Given these conditions, I am confident that it will become possible to find a basis talk of huge orders for fighting and the Thirdfor a united labor movement which will sacrifice none of the gains of the bombing planes to be placed impast, but equip organized labor with the strength and the singleness of mediately in America. The press in purpose that it requires to perform the vital tasks which lies ahead."

None can exagerate the decisive import of these conclusions—provided aligned with the Allies and hinted the weight of the C.I.O. and A.F. of L. rank and file is put in the scale that ever greater assistance would for unity. Furthermore, the coming weeks can be utilized very effectively be forthcoming as the need would by the I.L.G.W.U. to revive its drive for trade-union unity. Substantial arise. Semi-official quarters in Gerprogress towards healing the breach must be acknowledged when some, many, forseeing heavy Anglo-French (Continued on page 2)

Lewis Ban on Third **Term Confuses Capital**

Frank Howard's Weekly Washington Letter Rally on

By FRANK HOWARD

Washington, D. C. TOHN L. LEWIS'S letter to eleven Partisan League regarding the western third-term conference surprised independence conforms to the new and confused Washington. Not knowing of Howard Costigan's con- ably, the Stalinists will claim this nection with this conference (Costi- turn is the result of their influence. gan is head of the Commonwealth They support it, but they are not Federation of Washington and a responsible for it. There continues leading Communist Party fellow- to be evidence here that Lewis is traveler), it did not make sense. The cleaning out the C.P. sympathizers behind-the-scenes story (I have it from trustworthy sources) is that this conference was arranged by Costigan in accord with the old line within a few weeks, perhaps days, of the C.P. When Costigan was in from the Department of Justice. I Washington to attend the last convention of the American League for speaks of jailing Dave Beck of Seat-Peace and Democracy (he is vice- tle and incriminating Dan Tobin in chairman), he stayed at the White widespread law violations by A. F. tional chairman of the K.A.O.W.C.; House. He had been introduced to of L. building-trades officials. They and Johanna M. Lindlof, progressive Mrs. F. D. R. by her daughter, Mrs. | are alleged to have broken the Boettiger of Seattle. Mrs. F. D. R. Sherman anti-trust law and are supsent Costigan to see the left New Dealers who have been promoting the third-term movement. He was contractors. There is talk of indictauthorized by them, and indirectly by the White House, in the way such things are done (see Moley's book) to organize this conference in cooperation with Philip Dunne of Los ceeded in making arrangements to Angeles. The story here is that he is now being repudiated because of what happened at the C.I.O. convention in San Francisco. Paradoxically, this move of John L. may hurt this doesn't phase Lewis. It rather pleases him. He is said to prefer

overlooked by New Dealers you may even more anti-New Deal.

offers that Lewis and the C.I.O. cannot any longer be counted on as unqualified supporters of Mr. Roosestate chairmen of Labor's Non- velt personally or of the New Deal. It is unfortunate that this political "line" of the Comintern. Unquestionor at least demoting them.

You may expect sensational news have been told that Thurman Arnold posed to be as guilty as scores of building-material manufacturers and ing thousands. This is the reason William Green and a large delegation visited Murphy and Arnold a short time ago. Whether they sucsoften the blow which they were about to receive from the Adminis-

C.I.O. is expecting this prosecution months. The anti-war mobilization Hillman's choice for the presidency of the A. F. of L. by Arnold to in Washington by the K.A.O.W.C. -who is F. D. R., of course-but recruit tens of thousands of building- and allied peace forces had a trades workers for them. If it does marked effect. The fight in the not take place as planned, the C.I.O. Senate on the arms embargo com-Burton K. Wheeler. And he can say will charge the Administration was pelled even those Senators who were to Sidney: "Didn't you tell me to bought off. If the Administration for the lifting of the embargo to stop working with communists and goes thru with its plans, the A. F. declare strongly against our involtheir stooges?" It is a nice kettle of L. is prepared to charge that Lee | vement in war abroad. Pressman assisted in the prepara-An angle of this incident, not tion of the cases and will become

tration is not yet known.

House Passes Repeal of Arms Ban

Embargo Is Killed By 243-181; Effort to Bar Loans Also Beaten

Washington, D. C. The House of Representatives last week backed the Senate in killing and munitions to warring countries by adopting a neutrality law very similar to that passed by the upper out in conference between committees of the two houses the next day and the measure was ready for the voking and implementing the new American ships may not pass, covering the waters of the North Atlantic down to Spain and including the North and Baltic Seas.

Action on the neutrality bill in the Administration forces scored a victory. The first roll-call came on an amendment by Representative Woolcott of Michigan demanding finance any purchases by belligerents. Supporters of this move stressed that without such specific prohibition, the ban on loans and credits to belligerent powers could be circumvented without great difmendment was defeated by 228 to

The modified embargo proposal of Representative Vorys, forbidding the export of arms, munitions and "lethal instruments," was defeated by 245 to 179. The Vorys bill had been passed by the House towards

came on a motion of Representative Shanely to retain the arms ban sub

London and Paris openly spoke of the United States as economically orders for American arms, munitions and airplanes, declared that German U-boats would probably intensify their activities in the Atlantic in an effort to sink as many arms-carrying ships as possible.

Big Anti-War be sure, is the additional evidence it November 10 offers that Lewis and the CLO can-

The biggest meeting of the New York Keep America Out of War Congress since the famous Hippodrome meeting in March 1938, which launched the national anti-war movement to block the Administration's moves toward war, will be held on the eve of Armistice Day, Friday night, November 10, at Carnegie Hall, 57th Street and 7th Ave.

Senator Burton K. Wheeler, running mate of the late Robert M. La Follette, who was candidate for President in 1924, will be the main speaker. Others to address the meeting are Morris L. Ernst, noted civil liberties attorney; John T. Flynn, author, economist and namember of New York City's Board of Education. Rabbi Sidney E. Goldstein will be the chairman. A labor speaker will be announced later. Theme of the meeting is: "One Armistice Is Enough for Us-We

In announcing the meeting, Leonard Bright, New York executive secretary, said: "Two months ago, governmental departments were being geared in preparation for war. Rumors were rife in Washington It is common knowledge that the that we would enter the war in six

Can Stay Out of This War."

"This meeting will be a further demonstration of the American people's sentiment to stay out of war."

No Trust in Words!

N his address to the New York Herald-Tribune Forum last week, President Roosevelt denounced as a "fake" the warnings sounded inside and out of Congress "against sending the boys of American mothers to fight on the battlefields of Europe." "The fact of the international situation," he solemnly asserted, "is that the United States, as I have said before, is neutral and does not intend to get involved in war."

Before we take these words at their face value, let us pause and think back twenty-three years. It was then, in 1916, that President Wilson assured the American people that he deserved reelection because he had "kept us out of war" and intended to continue doing so in the future. The American people took his solemn pledge at its face value and reelected him. That was in November 1916. In April 1917, six months later, President Wilson appeared before Congress asking for the declaration of a state of war with Germany!

The American people can trust in nothing but their own active determination to keep out of war.

Molotov Justifies Germany in War

Says Germany Seeks Peace and Allies Want War; Russia Pushes on in Baltic

formal address of Premier Molotov before the Russian Supreme Soviet made emphatically clear Moscow's close cooperation with Berlin. Russia was drawing closer to Germany, Stalin's spokesman declared, and

Russia again held the center of was striving to establish better rethe stage of war diplomacy last week lations with Japan. Germany deboth on its own account and on be- sired peace, he insisted, and the Alhalf of its ally, Nazi Germany. The lies were responsible for the continuation of the war.

> In his one and a half hour address, Premier Molotov ranged over many phases of Russo-German foreign policy, in the course of which: He struck at President Roosevelt for "intervening" in Russia's negotiations with Finland.

He declared Russia was "unable to understand" Finland's refusal of the Russian terms, which, he said, included a "mutual-assistance pact approximately on the lines of our pacts with other Baltic states." Continued efforts of the Finns to "frustrate the proposed agreement," he threatened, would, "of course, work to the serious detriment of Finland."

He denounced Great Britain and France for carrying on the war "against" Germany for the purpose of safeguarding their colonial possessions. "Today," he said, "Germany is striving for the earliest termination of the war and for peace."

He said "there can be no question of restoring Poland" and that it was "absurd to continue the present war" for such a cause.

He declared that Russo-German relations were being placed on an increasingly "friendly and solid basis," economically and politically. Russia held, he said, that "a strong Germany is an indispensable condition for a durable peace in Europe."

He announced that trade negotiations would soon be opened with Japan and hinted at closer relations with Tokyo, possibly a "non-aggres-

He said nothing in his address about the Scandinavian countries or the Balkans, but it was widely reported that a Russo-German move against Norway and Sweden was in the offing. It was said that Russia was demanding naval bases in Norwegian and Swedish ports. In its daily diatribes against Finland, the Moscow press began to include repeated references to the two Scandinavian countries as well. There were indications also that something was about to break in the Balkans. Germany was said to be offering Bulgaria a handsome trade bid in an effort to check the plan for a neutral Balkan block under Italo-(Continued on Page 2)



"O.K.-BUT NOT MORE THAN A MINUTE"

-from Justice

Term Boom

Directs Labor Non-Partisan League To Shun "Progressive" Parley

Washington, D. C. John L. Lewis last week publicly repudiated the movement for a third term for President Roosevelt in a letter to Governor Olson of Califorma in which he sharply criticized a conference of "progressives" of eleven states which he said two government officials were organizing with the secret purpose of promoting the candidacy of President Roosevelt for another term.

Mr. Lewis, chairman of Labor's Non-Partisan League, instructed officials of the League in the eleven states to stay away from the movement, which he said he believed was being undertaken without President Roosevelt's approval.

Mr. Lewis said the conference was being organized by Norman M. Littell, assistant to Attorney General Murphy in charge of the Lands Division, Department of Justice, and Marshall E. Dimock, second assistant secretary of the Department of Labor. He added that a "secret agenda for the conference has been completed and the organizers of this conference are awaiting disposition of the neutrality bill by Congress before the issuance of their public call for the conference."

"Labor's Non-Partisan League" Mr. Lewis wrote to Governor Olson "is opposed to the holding of this conference for the following reasons: "a. The source of its conception and the surreptitious manner in which its organizers have worked. "b. The doubtful source of its finances. An anonymous individual in California is counted upon to

"c. The questionable legality under the Hatch Act of the activities of Littell and Dimock. "d. The slight to Senator Burton K. Wheeler and othe great liberals in the West who have not been consulted and who are slated to be ex-

provide a plentitude of money.

cluded from the conference.

"e. The exclusion of labor from the privilege of making suggestions for a legitimate program. "f. The secret plans to use the conference to launch a third-term

Senator Wheeler said that he did not know much about the matter (Continued on page 2)

The repeal of the arms embargo John L. Lewis After the Repeal of The Arms Embargo

DRESIDENT Roosevelt has had his way and the arms embargo has been repealed.

Let us not blink at the facts—the repeal of the arms embargo represents a big step on the road to American involvement in war. ican industry to the war needs of the Allies but—and this must never be forgetten from the Allies but—and this must never be forgotten-from the Administration standpoint, it constitutes but the opening gun in a carefully planned campaign to break down all neutrality safeguards whatsoever and leave the issue of war and peace entirely in the hands of the President to do as he will. Today, the arms embargo is abolished and a "cashand-carry" system, the full of loopholes, enacted into law. Tomorrow, these loopholes will be stretched in every possible way to the gressional appropriations of about breaking point and beyond. At first, evasion and circumvention \$1,300,000,000 will be introduced at will be resorted to by the Administration to help the Allies hurdle the legal barriers of "cash-and-carry," and then the attempt will be made to wipe out these barriers altogether just as the embargo has been done away with. And the war party will then use the same "arguments" and the same appeals to emotionalism and confusion that helped it put over the arms-embargo victory. We are in for a long and hard fight, make no mistake about that!

But, on the other hand, the repeal of the arms embargo is no unmitigated victory for the Administration war party. The debate in the Senate and the House did have some educational effec upon the country, as the hundreds of thousands of pro-embargo letters that poured in on Washington as well as the trend in the Gallup polls showed. It is certainly a matter of satisfaction that every survey of public opinion during the weeks of debate indicated a steady rise of anti-war and pro-embargo sentiment. The people have not all been fooled by a long shot.

The victory of the Administration campaign to repeal the embargo should teach us two things. First, that Congress, as at present constituted, may indeed reflect public sentiment but it reflects it in a thoroly distorted and inadequate manner at best. Obviously, the overwhelming nation-wide demand for neutrality as a protection against involvement in war was frustrated by the operation of other forces on Congress, by political intrigue, by Administration pressure and by the pervasive influence of certain big-business interests. These pro-war forces are not great in number. it is true, but they are well-organized, strategically placed and very powerful indeed. The anti-war sentiment thruout the country will have to be better mobilized than it has hitherto been, rendered more articulate and effective, if we are to escape the catastrophe of war.

In the second place, we cannot overlook the fact that the organized anti-war movement has not succeeded in convincing all of the millions who are against involvement in war that repeal of the embargo means the beginning of just that. Many, too many people still believe that you can have your cake and eat it toothat you can keep out of war and yet let the Allies help themselves out of our resources. We still have to prove to millions that getting into war is not accomplished in one fell swoop but in a series of steps each of which may not seem so terribly dangerous in itself but which, added together, spell war. We still have to prove to millions that you cannot get into the war economically and stay out of it militarily.

These are the tasks cut out for us, the organized anti-war movement. The fight to save this country from the dread disaster except that some western politicians of war has only just begun. In spite of the victory of the Ad-(Continued on page 2)

Billion Dollar Is Proposed

Washington, D. C. A record-breaking naval-authorization bill which will require Conthe next session of Congress, probably on the first day, it was learned here last week.

This vast program, which carries the approval of President Roosevelt, provides for the construction of ninety-five combatant ships, including three aircraft carriers, eight cruisers, fifty-two destroyers and thirty-two submarines. Completion of the program will increase the fighting strength of the navy to about 2,100,000 tons. The bill also provides for a maximum naval air strength of 6,000 planes, for thirtysix lighter-than-air craft and twenty-one auxiliary vessels. This program goes far beyond the top figures set by the Administration last year.

Representative Vinson of Georgia, chairman of the House Committee on Naval Affairs, who will pilot the bill thru the House, said that the authorizations would give the United States a fleet having an under-age strength in 1944 of 15 battleships, 59 cruisers, 11 aircraft carriers, 173 destroyers, 87 submarines, 6,000 airplanes and 36 lighter-than-air craft. He added that the new construction might be completed within three or

Don't Miss It!

THE STALIN-HITLER GAME

(Who Is Playing Whomand For What?)

> by Jay Lovestone Wartch for it in the

Next Issue of the

Workers Age

Hosiery Union Holds Important Confab

Delegates Reject Move to Back Arms Repeal

By HOSIERY WORKER

THE twenty-eighth annual con-L vention of the American Federation of Hosiery Workers, an advantage of "Article C" in the naautonomous affiliate of the C.I.O.'s tional labor agreement to revise Textile Workers Union of America wage rates upward as the cost of was held in the middle of September in New York City. It witnessed the resignation of Emil Rieve as president of the union, a post which he had held for ten years. Mr. Rieve resigned to devote full time to his position as president of the Textile Workers Union of America. In his place. Alexander McKeown, veteran Philadelphia hosiery unionist and for the last five years vice-president of the Federation, was chosen unanimously by the 225 delegates. The elected William Smith as general secretary-treasurer of the union, position held by him since 1925.

Emil Rieve, in his report to the convention, covered in detail the growth of the hosiery union from 55,000 in good-standing today. In 1929, the union maintained a feeble control over wages and working conditions in about 20% of the industry's production. Today, it controls more than 58% of its production. In 1929, there was no welldefined commercial finishing industry. Today, 75% of the capacity of that industry is under union con

DEBATE ON WAR ISSUE

Sidney Hillman, in his speech to the convention, urged the American labor movement to support the foreign policies of President Roosevelt as a safeguard against American entrance into war. The convention, however, refused to do so. The debate on neutrality was the most protracted at the convention, with representatives of almost every delegation taking part. The delegates finally declared their "unequivocal opposition to participation of the United States in the present European conflict," and warned the union membership to maintain vigilant guard against measures and propaganda designed to draw this country in. A resolution unanimously adopted urged the special session of Congress to take steps to prevent war profiteering. Endorsement of President Roosevelt for a third term was recorded by the delegates, the resolution urging the President to stand for reelection, and asking the

The convention also took up the against Philadelphia Branch No. 1, and urged the amendment of the Sherman anti-trust law so as to ment under which many red-caps ownership of gratuities and whether protect unions in the future.

OTHER IMPORTANT RESOLUTIONS

Other outstanding resolutions adopted were the condemnation of the Dies Committee's un-American activities, which the delegates felt to be attacks on labor, and reafirmation of the Federation's affiliation to the C.I.O.

The convention urged the resumption of peace negotiations between C.I.O. and A. F. of L., endorsed the work of Labor's Non-Partisan League, urged additional funds for public housing, endorsed consumers cooperation, condemned the legislatures of those states which have adopted anti-labor legislation during the past year, and sharply criticized

John L. Lewis Hits Third-Term Boom

(Continued from Page 1)

had reported that the real purpose of the conference was to advance the candidacy of Presinet Roosevelt with so-called progressives and labor leaders acting as a committee of sponsors.

Senator Wheeler said that if he had been invited he would not have attended as he is against a thirdterm nomination.

Mr. Lewis's warm reference to Senator Wheeler is regarded as of special significance in view of the repeated rumors circulated here that the C.I.O. chief is contemplating Brotherhood strenuously opposed swinging his support to Wheeler or the "accounting and guarantee" ar some other progressive in next rangement adopted by the railroads year's race for the Presidency.

the curtailment of W.P.A. and P.W. A. projects.

The delegates approved of the plan of the national officers to take living rises as a result of the European war, while at the same time seeing to it that the mills make provision for modernization and new installations of machinery.

On the day the convention opened, Monday, September 18, the minimum wages of 40 cents for fullfashioned hosiery workers and 321/2 cents for seamless hosiery workers, and the maximum work-week without overtime of 42 hours, went into effect under the wage-hour law. All hosiery locals were urged to set up

Be Just Terrible?

TOM GIRDLER, head of

66TN cold Garneresque prac-. tise, few Senators can find a sufficiently high patriotic excuse to oppose a lobby as solidly organized, as wellgreased, as the shipping lobby. From 1928 until 1937, its ocean-going appetite took from the U.S. treasury \$200, 000,000 in juicy ocean-mail contracts, has since taken \$19,668,000 in direct subsidies."

-Time, October 23, 1939. Perhaps that may help explain why so many Senators were so ready to relax the

the 8,500 dues paying members of 1929 to an organization of more than 1920 to an organization org On Tips and Wages

By ERNEST CALLOWAY

Chicago, Ill. new victory for the Interna-Caps is seen in the findings and recommendations of Dr. Gustav Peck, who, some weeks ago, presented to the Wage-Hour Administration salient points supported by the Brotherhood in its year-old fight against the American Association of Railroads on the question of tips and wages under the Fair Labor Standards Act.

Dr. Peck, chief of the Hearings and Exemption Section, was the presiding officer at the hearings on this issue last June. After examining the volumes of testimony, affidavits and briefs presented by the Brotherhood and the Association, he made the following recom-

"In the light of all the evidence, there can be no conclusion other not accurately record the data as to wages paid. It also appears that there is grave legal doubt as to the validity under the Fair Labor members of the union to work for Standards Act of the accounting his reelection so as to insure the and guarantee arrangement which continuation of the New Deal the carriers have used. It is there-

> determine the validity of the accounting and guarantee arrangeare employed.

"2. And, pending an authoritative court decision determining the validity of the accounting and guarantee arrangement, that employers be required to keep records which show separately from other amounts paid as wages, the amount | 1f not yet all, of labor's general staff of tips which are claimed by the employer to be wages paid.

records kept by employers for employees engaged in occupations in tions separately from the number of hours worked in other occupa- topmost ranks of labor-where such tions, if the employee accounts for

These recommendations follow the charges filed by the Brotherhood against the railroads upon their attempt to evade the wage provision of the Fair Labor Standards Act by forcing red-caps to report the amount of tips earned daily, which in turn were used to meet the minimum of 25 cents an hour required by the law. Thru this evasion of the law, the American railway industry has withheld an estimated \$3,000,000 in wages due red-caps since the incep-

tion of the act in October 1938. The basis for the hearing was the question of proposed amendments of Part 516 (records to be kept by employers) of Regulations issued under section 11 (c) of the Fair Labor Standards Act. The with volumes of fact and figures and

After Repeal of the Arms Ban

(Continued from Page 1)

ministration on the arms embargo, the fight is not over by any means, even on this issue. But the main stress must now be laid on building up resistance to the efforts the Administration is already beginning to make to break down the very safeguards of neutrality embodied in its own law. And never before has the issue of a war-referendum amendment been as vital and as immediate as at this moment.

Keep up the fight for an embargo on the export of arms and munitions to belligerents!

Plug up the loopholes in the present neutrality act! No circumvention of the ban on credits thru the R.F.C. or in any other way! Make the prohibition of loans and credits cover citizens of belligerent governments as well as the governments themselves! Extend the prohibition of war trade in American ships to all belligerent ports everywhere in the world and not merely in the North Atlantic! Instal a system of peace-time quotas on American trade with belligerents!

Push the LaFollette war-referendum amendment!

Wouldn't Peace

■ Republic Steel, reported recently that his company had made a net profit of \$2,800,000 during the past three months.

"This will hold up," he said, "unless there is peace, and there is very little chance of any peace."

Wage and Hour Committees, to Pittman neutrality bill for the benefit of the shipping inpolice not only the hosiery industry but every other industry in the

Andrews Opinion Backs Union Position

proposed an additional amendment to this section which would provide that: "Employers of red-caps or hand-baggage porters shall not in-A new victory for the investment of Red clude directly or indirectly in their records of wages, extra wages, additions to wages or total wages required to be kept by Section 516.1 hereof any amounts received by red-caps or hand-baggage porters as tips or gratuities from persons other than employers, such as passengers and the like. In no event may tips or gratuities to red-caps or handbaggage porters be counted as part of the wages required by the Fair

While the fight before the Wage and Hour Administration is being conducted principally by the International Brotherhood of Red Caps and supported morally by a few interested organizations, the struggle is one much broader than the class of employment directly affected by the fight. The question affects than that the pay-roll records of the directly and indirectly all phases of carriers for red-caps generally do service employment where tips and gratuities serve as a basis of in-

Labor Standards Act.'

on to accounting arrangement of the rail- our war! roads thru the court is one which will determine for all time the they can be used in a computation and payment of wages.

At First Glance

publicly recognize that "the question of unity recurs under NEW condi-"3. It is also desirable that tions" because "the immediate objectives of the C.I.O." have been won. This means that there is no which tipping may occur shall longer the slightest justification for record the number of hours worked the existence of two trade-union each week in such tipping occupa- movements. This means that there is a growing recognition even in the awareness is slowest yet most sigor turns over to the employer the nificant—that the labor movement amount of tips received from third dare not continue playing its own hand of cutthroat bridge.

> Herein lies the greater promise of American labor—a promise greater than even the most proudly "practical" of our labor leaders have ever dared to envision. More than that. In speaking of the greater promise of labor, we are sure that after our trade-union movement is School on October 2, have discussed reunified, the American working carnestly the situation in Europe class will be able to contribute decisively not only towards enhancing welfare at home, but also towards rebuilding the disorganized and destroyed labor movements in the lands now war-stricken. November 4, 1939.

Don't Miss These Lectures:

"The World at War"

Friday Evenings, Beginning November 3

Nov. 3: ECONOMICS OF WAR AND PEACE, Lewis Corey

Dec. 1: NATURE OF THE WAR IN EUROPE . . . B. D. Wolfe

Dec. 8: AMERICA AND THE EUROPEAN WAR . . . B. D. Wolfe

Dec. 15: FASCISM, DEMOCRACY, STALINISM . . Will Herberg

Dec. 22: SOCIALISM AND WAR Will Herberg

Single Admission: 25 cents

INDEPENDENT LABOR INSTITUTE

131 West 33rd Street, New York City

Nov. 17: TWENTY-TWO YEARS OF SOVIET RUSSIA

Close the Door to Involvement in War!

By ANGELA BOMBACE

(We publish below the address delivered by Angela Bombace over the radio in Baltimore on October 18, 1939 Miss Bombace is general organizer for the ILGWU. in Maryland -Editor)

AM against the repeal of the arms embargo, not because I believe that retaining it will be sufficient to keep us out of war, but because I am firmly convinced that the lifting of the embargo is our first step into

During this discussion in the Senate, many pro-repeal speakers, in stating their reasons, have stressed two very important points: help England and France and provide jobs for our unemployed. They have not said so in so many words, but in a very complicated manner they have brought out how important it is to our economy and how much our trade would suffer if we don't lift the embargo, and revise our neutrality legislation. I do not approach neutrality from the standpoint of being pro-anybody or anything except pro-keeping America out of war. I cannot make that too emphatic. I am unable to grasp how, on the one hand, we talk of keeping our country out of war and, on the other, of the necessity and importance of helping England and France. I don't believe that we can have our cake and eat it too, that we can somehow keep out of any real participation in the war and at the same time enjoy the advantages and considerable profit that would result from war trade. I believe that economic war is the road to the battlefield.

I have no quarrel with the pro-repealers other than that, while covering themselves with the cloak of peace and neutrality, they are really preparing us for war. Bait for the jobless, implements of war for England and France—all for the preservation of peace and neutrality! To lift the embargo because we must help England and France would have the psychological effect of preparing the American people for war in during the hearings on the recomspite of the fact that the people of this nation have most emphatically expressed their desire to stay out.

War Boom Suicidal Folly

The war trade which would come as a result of the lifting of the embargo would at best provide employment for a few of the millions of those in the N.R.A. code. Mr. jobless for a short time and would be accompanied by a rising cost of Andrews, however, approved the living and followed by a post-war depression. I am hopeful that the working men and women will not be fooled by this bait. Labor has, thru its spokesmen, both John L. Lewis and William Green, expressed its unanimous desire to stay out of any European entanglements and has insisted that the only road to peace and prosperity is jobs for the millions of unemployed, better homes for those living in slums, and a better America for all. Implements of war are manufactured for the sole purpose of destruction, and serve no purpose but to kill and destroy all that we have spent years in building.

Labor, however, is not indifferent to the fate of its brothers in Europe under the heel of dictatorship. We are aware of the necessity of fighting and crushing totalitarianism. But how are we to go about it? In two ways: first, by strengthening our own democracy and by showing that can be seen from reading at random our country must not necessarily depend upon a war boom to relieve even in part our unemployment problem, and, secondly, by giving moral and material support to those of our brothers who are fighting in Germany to restore democracy and freedom of speech and the rights of workers to superintendent of a building, the place in 1900! form into free trade unions.

Let Us Learn from 1917!

During the entire fight, the rail- Europe's war. Only a fool makes the same mistake twice. Today, we roads have based their whole case know better. The belief that we cannot stop the war profiteers and the upon the lack of authority of the money kings from another involvement in war is false. Because we who Wage-Hour Administration to rule have nothing to gain by war are the overwhelming majority of the naon the nature of tips in relation to tion and we can stop it if we are determined to do so and are organized "1. That the Division take im- determine the validity of the present and united for the purpose. Let us keep America out of war! This is not

> I conclude by quoting some ringing words uttered by the President rabia from Rumania, either directly ican boat, sailing from Murmansk of the United States in December 1936. I thought these words true then and I think them equally true today: "The men, women and children of Bulgarian conflict, stimulated from a German prize crew, put in at a the Americas know that warfare in this day means more than the clash of armies. We know too that vast armaments are rising on every side and that the work of creating them employs men and women by the millions. It is natural, however, for us to conclude that such employment is false employment, that it builds no permanent structures and creates no sian press but as the week drew to cargo turned over to the American consumers goods for the maintenance of lasting prosperity. Nations guilty of these follies face the day when their weapons of destruction must be was being eased somewhat. Hope for of protest to Oslo, demanding adeused against their neighbors or when an unsound economy like a house of cards must fall apart."

Furriers Meeting Hits Stalin-Hitler Pact

Denounces Potash Support of Betr ayal

(We publish below a resolution regenerally and to the ever-persecuted cently adopted by a conference of ac- Jews in particular. tive members of the Furriers Union in New York and since issued in leaflet form -Editor)

WE, a group of active members of the Furriers Joint Council. of the Furriers Joint Council. gathered in conference in the Rand which resulted from the combination of Hitler and Stalin.

We have decided to solidarize with all those bodies and organizations which see eye to eye on the great danger which Commu-Nazı fraternity will bring to the working class

. Jay Lovestone

We raise our voice in the sharpest the Commu-Nazı block.

We consider the fraternization of bol of war, of the destruction of to these organizations. very vestige of freedom and de-

On instruction of the Communist Party of America, the manager of our union, Irving Potash, has given is approval to the shameful Hitler-Stalın combination.

Other officers of our union, folowing the directions of the Commuist Party, are active in the fur market trying to sell to the workers the false idea that the Stalin-Hitler pacts hold out a "big fortune" for the Jews. Even now, when tens of thousands of people have lost their lives or hmbs to advance the murderous ambitions of Hitler and his new ally, Stalin, the communists still persistently defend and justify Stal-

in's treacherous act. Our union still continues membership in the Jewish People's Committee, in the League for Peace and Democracy, in the International Labor Defense, in the Youth Congress, and other such open or hidden communist organizations. The dues which our union pays out to the above-mentioned organizations comes from the pockets of the hard-working fur workers All the above-mentioned organizations have sanctioned the Hitler-Stalin pacts.

Indirectly, we fur workers are elping to strengthen the hand of Hitler's executioners.

Indirectly, we are contributing to the destruction of everything that is dear to us in the countries that are today under the iron rule of the dictators, Hitler and Stalin.

We cannot overlook these facts. If we remain silent, our union will be

Labor and the

= by Joseph Elwood =

BEHIND THE ANDREWS RESIGNATION

A NEW regime begins for the Wage and Hour Administration with the ousting of Elmer F. Andrews as Administrator and the naming of Colonel Philip Fleming. Mr. Andrews's "resignation" is followed by that of Deputy Administrator Paul Sifton, leaving Colonel Fleming free to make a clean break with past administration policy.

In "resigning" from his position, Mr. Andrews offered no explanation for this move, and no public statement was issued

which might give a clue to any disagreement over administration use of which he had received for The record shows, however, that, his services, constitutes a sit-down at least on two points, there was an apparent clash of views.

While amendments to the wagehour act were being considered in Congress at the last session, Mary Norton, chairman of the House Committee on Labor, introduced a bill which had the approval of the President. Mr. Andrews also publicly expressed his approval. One of the clauses would have exempted workers earning more than \$200 dollars a month from the hour provisions of the act. After the bill had been introduced, however, Mr. Andrews reversed his stand, stating that organized labor, which had been a great help to him in administrating the law, opposed the exemp-

second instance occurred mendations of the Textile Industry Committee for a minimum hourly wage of 321/2 cents in the industry. During the hearings, F.D.R. made is known that he favored geographical differentials in the minimum wage rates for the industry similar to recommendations of the industry committee, which proposed a flat minimum wage for all parts of the In 39 Years

The result was that the Administrator had to be "purged!"

Reactionary Trend In Courts

That some of the courts have begun to follow the increasingly reactionary trend of public opinion some of the latest decisions. Thus, the New York County Court recently ruled that continued occupancy of an apartment by a striking | years, its last one having taken

strike and may be terminated by a court order. If this decision is allowed to stand in the higher state courts, a new and, to some extent, unexpected use will be made of the Fansteel case, decided by the U.S. Supreme Court last March, thru which sit-down strikes were declared illegal.

In Michigan, the Circuit Court in Wayne County recently ruled the case of Stearns and Co. vs. U.M.W. A. that all picketing in the state was unlawful on the theory that any kind of picketing leads to disorder. The defense that the picketing was for the purpose of advertising the existence of a strike was rejected by the court, thus taking us back to the 18th century

view of labor relations. After one reads that sort of decision one must naturally ask: "How long will it take before John L. Lewis will consent to reestablishing unity in the organized labor movement? Must we really wait until such reactionary court decisions again become the prevalent view in the American courts?"

First Convention

The Circuit Court of Appeals of Kentucky upheld the decision of the state circuit court requiring the Fobacco Workers International Union (A. F. of L.) to call a convention of the organization. Between the time of the lower court's decision and its affirmation by the higher court, E. Lewis Evans, the union president, had called a convention for the last week of October in Louisville, Ky. This will be the first convention the Tobacco Workers International Union has held in 39

Molotov Justifies Reich In 1917, we made a tragic and costly mistake when we entered rope's war. Only a fool makes the same mistake twice. Today, we

Says Germany Seeks Peace. Allies War

(Continued from Page 1) lation came to the fore unexpectedly Turkish influence. Russia was push- | last week in connection with the City ing plans for the retaking of Bessaor as a by-product of a Rumanian-Berlin and Moscow.

The Russo-Finnish situation conister Erkko multiplied in the Rusa close, it seemed as if the strain "compromise," satisfactory to Russia, of course, grew in Moscow. Another aspect of the Baltic situ-

disgraced forever in the eyes of the labor movement

We declare that we never gave up the fight against fascism and Naz-

Today, Stalin is exposed as one of the worst enemies of the working class and as such he must be fought The conference has therefore decided to demand of the Joint Council to immediately withdraw from all the above-mentioned organizations protest and condemnation against that are identified as Communist

Party adjuncts. We demand that the Joint Council Communists and Nazis as the sym- give no moral or financial assistance

We demand an open statement of the right-wing elements, Begoon, Goldstein and the others, in regard to the Hitler-Stalin pacts.

We feel that particularly these right-wing elements are now committing a terrible crime by not clarifying their viewpoint on the matter. Begoon, Goldstein, Fishkoff and the other right-wingers will have much to answer for their practices of today.

Now is no time to keep silent. No one today can continue riding two horses.

No one can serve two gods at the same time. We demand that each one speak

up clearly and definitely,

of Flint incident. When this Amerto Germany under the command of Norwegian port in order to obtain medical aid for one of the American tinued tense. Attacks on Finland and | sailors, it was taken over by the especially on Finnish Foreign Min- Norwegian government, the German crew interned and the ship and its crew. Germany sent an angry note quate compensation, which from all appearances Norway was planning to reject. In informed circles, it was believed that Norway was acting under British influence and direction and in accordance with a British diplomatic military plan of hitting at Germany in the Baltic.

In Italy, the great event of the veek was a thoro reshuffling of the cabinet that removed six cabinet ministers, the army and air chiefs and the secretary of the Fascist party. It was believed that this was an anti-Axis move, as most of those removed or demoted were strongly pro-German and the new appointees were not.

There was still little actual military activity in this ninth week of war. The war of diplomacy, the war of seeking and forming alliances, was still the vital aspect of the European conflict.

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Driving Forces Behind the Administration War Policy

FDR Looks to War Boom as Escape from Depression

By WILL HERBERG

WHAT are the driving forces policy? And what is his war drive doing to the New Deal? These are questions of central importance today, now that everything in Washington has been made to hinge on the European war and our relations

What are the motive forces behind the President's course? Here we are not referring to such long-term factors as fundamental American commercial and financial interests abroad, which have been behind the imperialist drive for decades, but which, for that very reason, are quite capable of finding expression in many diverse forms The question is asked here in a more immediate sense: What factors are in opera tion today giving shape and direction to the President's policy?

IN WILSONIAN

Considerable stress is usually laid on the "Messiah complex" which, it is alleged, obsesses Mr. Roosevelt as it did the late Woodrow Wilson. The President, it is said, is out to "save the world," and in this he but reflects a sentiment deep in the hearts of all Americans, who are the most missionary of peoples. He wants to save the world from the forces of evil, quite naturally conceived as embodied in the person of Adolf Hitler and his system; he wants to bring the world the blessings of democracy and freedom as they are known in America. In short, he wants to accomplish what Woodrow Wilson tried to do and failed.

We are not in a position to present an analysis of the President's inner consciousness, and it may be that those who attribute these missionary motives to him are right. But it does seem curious that this "Messiah complex" just happened to crop up some time in 1937, strangely in coincidence with certain domestic and international developments of very direct relevance. It is safe to say that whatever elements of Wilsonian salvationism there are in the situation are secondary and subordinate to those other developments.

SOURCES OF FOREIGN POLICY

Professor Beard has always insisted, echoing Marx and going beyond Clausewitz, that domestic and foreign policy are continuous, and that, while there is always the latter are generally to be found, in the former. And it is almost obvious on the face of it that Mr. Roosevelt's sudden plunge into an "active" foreign policy late in 1937 was closely connected with the dire straits into which the New Deal was heading, economically and politically.

It should be remembered that President Roosevelt opened his period of office in a thoroly "isolationist" spirit. We have not yet forgotten the World Economic Conference in London in 1933 and how the President virtually wrecked it what he saw and heard and read, by his pronouncement that recovery depended more on domestic factors -on stimulating industry and agriculture and raising purchasing authentic stamp of genius. No one power at home-than on "stabilization" or "adjustment" of international commercial and financial relations. Indeed, the banner under which he led his New Deal hosts of social and economic reform in those early years of the "Roosevelt Revolution" was precisely the banner of the now-despised "isolationists" "Save America First!"

In those days, Mr. Roosevelt was strong for neutrality, altho even then he demanded great discretionary power for himself In those days, he warmly praised the arms embargo, roundly condemned the "fool's gold" of war profits, and insisted time without number that relief and salvation for the American people would come from reforms at home and not from "international cooperation" in the Hull sense or from the missionary adventures abroad.

THEN-SUDDEN CHANGE

The change came some time in 1937. It was signalized in the stratling "quarantine-the-aggressor speech at Chicago in October 1937 And in accounting for this change of front, two factors must be brought to the fore: (1) the undeniable failure of the New Deal to bring about permanent economic recovery, manifested in the strong recession that set in towards the end of that year; and (2) the sharply adverse public reaction on the Supreme Court issue followed by the crumbling of Administration support in Congress and in the country at large with the worsening

of the "recession." Let us consider these factors in reverse order. From the momen of his Chicago address, President Roosevelt never let up calling for "national unity" behind the Administration in the face of the danger of "foreign aggression." Seconded by Alf Landon, his late opponent, he insisted that "politics ends at the water's edge." It is almost impossible to miss the political significance of this strategy. What better way of making up for the shattering blow of the Supreme | ment-twenty years of fatal errors, betrayals, disas- | predatory imperialism?

too near unto my state," as Shakespeare and Professor Beard have put crease in times that were bad. it?* From time immemorial, this has been the favorite device of governments hard-pressed by domestic difficulties and troubles, and it looks very much as if President Roosevelt found it necessary to resort to it.

ESCAPE FROM RECESSION

The onset of the "recession" was even more imperative in its pressure, for it showed plainly that the New Deal, with all its experimentation, was a failure; that it had not established our economic system on a healthy basis; that it had not cured the depression; that, after an all-too-brief "recovery," the depression had returned in full force. Let us recall that the rate of decline

* See Professor Charles A Beard's bulliant article, "Giddy Minds and Foreign Quarrels," in the September Department under Stimson as it now 1939 issue of Haipeis Magazine This article has been reprinted as a pamphlet and published by Michillan

Books

=by Jim Cork=

ACCENT ON POWER: The Life and Times of Machiavelli, by Va-Winston. Farrar and Rinehart, New York. 1939.

SURELY no one has ever been as badly treated by bathy Niccolo Machiavelli. Satanic nouns fact, altho not by any means an and adjectives have been coined out official, public or avowed fact. It of his name; he has been made synonymous with unprincipled cunning, unscrupulous trickery, coldblooded butchery and cold-hearted occasions thru leaks and other treachery - "Machiavellianism," in short. To this very day, only relatively few people know the true Machiavelli, who bears not the try under the slogans of "collective slightest resemblance to the monstrous caricature of tradition. The agressors," had its various phases, rest are satisfied to repeat the of course. During the Munich period, epithet, "Machiavellian." But if you for example, it was, for obvious read Valeriu Marcu's fine biography, reasons, pushed to the background you will never make that mistake in favor of the idea of "continental again, for you will get not only a security" and "Pan-American soligood insight into the man. Machiareciprocal interaction, the roots of velli, but also a vivid picture of the aspect of American imperialist critical transitional period in which

he lived, Machiavelli was the very incarna tion of scientific realism in matters of politics and society. His cold, penetrating intellect was unclouded by superstition, prejudice or "ideo logy," altho he was perhaps unduly influenced by the example and tradition of classical antiquity. He plumbed far into the springs of human action in politics, observed keenly the turbulent world around him, pondered long and deeply on and distilled the fruits of his long studies in the "school of misfortune" into a series of works bearing the can read "The Prince" or the "Discourses on Livy" or the "Florentine the author's mind.

Niccolo Machiavelli was for eigh teen years secretary of the Second Chancery of the "Ten of Liberty" of Florence, a commission concerned primarily with military and foreign affairs. His post was not a very

Court defeat, and defeat it was, during this "recession" was even despite all of Mr. Roosevelt's "ex- more precipitate than during the behind the President's war planations"; what better way of original depression; let us not reconsolidating popular support forget, especially on this tenth already beginning to dissipate under anniversary of the crash in 1929, the impact of recurrent economic that all thru the decade we have distress, than by dramatizing a had an average of ten million people "foreign quarrel" with which to out of work every year, ten million "busy giddy minds" lest they "look without much abatement in "good" times and with considerable in-

The "recession" came as a terrible blow to the Administration, and just as it sought to recoup its political fortunes by building up the psychology of "national unity" against a "foreign aggressor," so it launched a drive to recoup its economic fortunes by a large-scale rearmament boom. In fact, "recovery thru armament" may be said to have become the central slogan of the Administration from the time it became fully aware of the meaning of

ANGLO-AMERICAN "COOPERATION"

Behind these domestic developments was the ever more precarious international situation. American imperialist interests were threatened by Japan in the Far East and it had been the study of the State was under Hull to build up a joint Anglo-American front against such "aggression" in the Orient. For its own good reasons, the British Foreign Office rejected these overtures for some time; hence the Stimson fiasco in 1931. But then, as the European situation began to shape up in a formidable manner and as the Japanese began to encroach more and more upon British preserves in China, Downing Street seemed to suffer a change of leriu Marcu. Translated by Richard heart, which came providentially at about the same time that President Roosevelt was beginning to undergo his at home. Thenceforth, Anglobadly treated by history as American "cooperation" became a was carried on secretly and behind the backs of the people and Congress, coming to light only on rare

accidents. But carried on it was. This Anglo-American imperialist "cooperation," masked in this counsecurity" and "quarantine the darity," embodying another vital policy. But thruout it all, despite latent hostilities that cannot be overlooked, American foreign policy was closely geared to British Empire strategy and so it remains today.

(This is the first of two articles by Will Herberg The second, dealing with the effects of the Administration war drive on the New Deal, will appear in

important one but it brought him into the very sanctuaries of Power where he could observe and examine that mighty force from every angle He was entrusted with important Cesare Borgia, to the German Em- from their base. peror, to the Pope, and to many holders and wielders of because he described what he saw, (Continued on Page 4)

A Timely Warning

THAT the repeal of the arms embargo is only the first step in a concerted drive to break down all our neutrality safeguards was charged last week by Senator Gerald P. Nye in an address in Chicago. Warned Senator Nye:

"If and when the embargo is repealed, Congress will be asked in a few weeks to repeal the 'cash-and-carry' provision because Europe won't have any cash left. Then will come the demand for repeal of the Johnson Act, which forbids loans to those who haven't paid their debts from the last time they went crazy over there-and we went with

"Invasion" Scare Incites War Hysteria

By JOHN T. FLYNN

MAJOR General Smedley Butler spoke by radio the other night n the neutrality fight. While listenng, I could not help thinking that, of all the cheap forms of propaganla used on the American people in he last two years, nothing tops the ttempt to make them believe that, f Hitler could dispose of Britain and France, he would turn his atention to our vast and alluring re-

That particular argument has alrays struck me as a peculiarly conemptuous affront to the intelligence f the American people.

General Butler, who spent his life n active operations as the comlanding general of the Marines ho has taken part in 125 military perations all over the globe, disosed of that argument pretty uickly

He said what, it seems, every per on must admit-that any country hich sent a military expedition to he United States would not think of ending fewer than a million men. fter all, a million men would not be too many to send against our rich nd powerful 130,000,000 people ,000 miles from Europe, when Italy ent a half million against the alnost unarmed and barefoot people f Ethionia.

To bring such an army would reuire a thousand ocean-going vessels -large ones. And they would have o be landed all at once.

But for every soldier the conjueror would have to carry immense tores, arms, ammunition. He would have to bring for an army of 1,000,-100 men 400,000 vehicles—tanks rucks, cannon carriers, wagons, etc Ie would have to bring gasoline to service those trucks and tanks 50.-)00,000 gallons for a limited period of nine months. He would have to bring machine guns and countless shiploads filled with ammunition for these guns.

How many additional ships this would take one may only estimate. the next issue of this paper -Editor) but not fewer than an additional thousand.

All these men and all this material would have to come all at oncenot in installments-because it would be ridiculous for a foreign enemy to land a few thousand men embassies to the French King, to on this coast, thousands of miles

When the ships which landed them airived they would then have to re-History" without a lively sense of Power. With open eyes, cold and turn to bring more materials. And the scope, power and penetration of critical, he studied the Renaissance to do this they would have to have Italy in which he lived, the Italy of fuel—coal or oil. Where would they the Despots, the Italy in which the get it? Certainly, we would not be modern world was being born. And at the beach to supply them with it And what would the American because he depicted Power and its people be doing all this time? Reworkings without illusion or pious member, all our great harbors put together could not accommodate all

New York City BETWEEN eight and ten million Americans have been swept from a position favoring Britain and France to a "keep-out-of-the war" attitude within the last month the magazine Fortune reported last

This publication recently con cluded a national survey which, i declared, revealed a "pronounced drop in the popularity of Mr. Roosevelt's foreign policy" and sharp changes in public opinion concerning the war. This survey, conducted by the

same methods which enabled Fortune to forecast Roosevelt's 1936 majority with an error of less than one percent, disclosed that since September:

Sentiment favoring "equal treat ment to all belligerents" increased by 13%.

Approval of the President's foreign policy declined 13%. In September and October, accord-

American people stood as follows: In favor of entering the war at once on the side of England and France and of sending an army to Europe: in September, 2.3%; October, 1.7%.

ng to the magazine's figures, the

In favor of (a) entering the war on the side of England and France only if they seemed to be losing and (b) in the meantime to helr that side with food and materials: in September, (a) 35.7%, (b) 13% in October, (a) 24%, (b) 10%.

Opposed to entering the war, but in favor of supplying England and in September, 19.9%; in October

In favor of taking no sides, but offering to sell anything to anybody on a "cash-and-carry" basis: in September, 29.3%; in October, 37%. Refusal of aid of any kind to either side: in September, 54%; in October, 67%.

In favor of aiding Germany: 0.1% n both September and October.

"The striking thing," Fortune of the month that saw the elimination of Poland, something like 13% of the nation's adults swung away from a belief in taking sides toward neutrality." The number of American voters

be drawn into the European war Dr. George Gallup's American In-

at once 2,000 ships to unload their men and munitions, assuming that the enemy had possession of themwhich, obviously, they would not

And where is the navy which would be equal to convoying such an armada across the seas? The whole thing is a preposterous tale, fit only to frighten children. Yet, serious men are saying we had better go over and fight against Hitler in Europe rather than have to fight him later on our shores!

(These paragraphs are from the New York World-Telegram of October 13 939 --- Editor)

"STALIN"

By Boris Souvarine (A Critical Survey of Bolshevism)

\$3.75

WORKERS AGE BOOKSHOP 131 W. 33 St., New York City

Wide Swing To Neutrality Shown in Poll Who Is Responsible for the City of Flint "Incident"?

WE are no jurists so we can't say much about the rights and the wrongs of the City of Flint case, especially as it all revolves around "international law," which doesn't really exist, so that anybody can make of it whatever he pleases.

But we do think that the whole incident proves to the hilt that such "incidents" should never have been allowed to occur, that American ships should never have been permitted to carry goods to belligerent ports in the first place.

Whose responsibility is it that the City of Flint was permitted to carry goods to British ports during war-time? Well, let's see! In 1937, a neutrality law was adopted which included a ban, altho a rather weak one, on American ships engaging in such trade. This section of the neutrality law was to run for two years, until May 1939. Early this Spring, when the time of expiration was drawing near, outstanding "isolationist" Senators approached Administration spokesmen and asked for an agreement whereby the section could be reenacted without prejudice to the question of the arms embargo, with which it really had little to do. The Administration spokesmen refused. The "carry" clause expired and there was nothing to prevent the City of Flint from engaging in any trade it pleased.

A few weeks ago, during the neutrality debate in the Senate, Senator Tobey proposed that the Pittman bill be broken up into two parts, one dealing with the controversial arms embargo and the other with the supposedly non-controversial "cash-and-carry" clause provisions, so that the latter could be put into effect right away without having to wait for the full discussion on the arms embargo. Had the Administration leaders in the Senate accepted the Tobey proposal, the "cash-and-carry" regulations would have been enacted into law immediately and the City of Flint could never have embarked on its ill-fated voyage. But the Administration leaders again refused.

The responsibility for the City of Flint "incident" as well as for other war-breeding "incidents" that may occur at any moment rests squarely on the shoulders of the Administration!

France with materials while refusing to ship anything to Germany: Is Our Involvement in War "Inevitable"?

Trotskyist Defends Dogmatic Fatalist Stand

N the Trotskyist Socialist Appeal pointed out. "is that in the course by Felix Morrow purporting to defend the "Marxist position on the war." In substance, it is an attempt to answer our recent criticisms of the fatalistic, position of the Trotskyites. On its own merits, Morrow's who believe the United States will article does not deserve any serious consideration-nor would we engage decreased sharply in the six weeks in discussion with anyone contempfollowing the outbreak of hostilities, tible enough to refer to the British I.L.P., that courageous bannerstitute of Public Opinion stated last | bearer of international socialism week on the basis of a survey just in England, as "impotent" and "cowardly." (By the way, where are the "Fourth International" and its "sections," so imposing when listed on paper, in this crisis?) But, since Morrow so clearly gives himself away in his answer, a few remarks seem in order.

WHAT IS

"INEVITABLE"? "Since the very beginning of our

movement," pontificates Morrow. we have predicted the inevitability of the present war and the inevitability of American capitalism's participation in it . . . The theory of the inevitability of war does not begin with Bolshevism. . . . The Stuttgart (1907) resolution [of the | it is the duty of the working classes Second International], for example, and their parliamentary represensays, after describing the im- tatives in the countries involved, perialist character of modern capi- supported by the coordinating talism: 'Wars, therefore, are part activity of the International Socialof the very nature of capitalism; ist Buro, to exert every effort to they will cease only when the prevent the outbreak of war by the capitalist system is sholished. . . . "

All this is so silly, it's almost an insult to our readers to quote it. the sharpening of the class struggle Wars as such are mevitable under capitalism, of course, but not any political situation. particular war. (Strikes, too, are inevitable under capitalism, but does that mean that every particular formula make if "the present war" strike is inevitable?) On the con-

trary, whether this particular war does or does not break out at this particular time depends on a vast of October 24, there is an article complexity of factors, not the least of which is the consciousness, temper and resistance of the masses of the people. That is the sense and meaning of the anti-war struggle, which otherwise would be nothing but a fraud and a delusion

No one but a dogma-ridden fatalist ever "predicted the inevitability of the present war" or of American participation in it. Anyone who can't see the difference between the inevitability of war as such under capitalism and the inevitability of American involvement in the present war has no right to be discussing serious political questions.

THE STUTTGART RESOLUTION

Morrow refers to the Stuttgart resolution. Let him read it. Yes, the resolution does speak of wars as being "of the very nature of capital-1sm" and therefore bound to persist as long as capitalism continues to exist But the resolution also concludes in the following section, said to have been written with the direct participation of Lenin and Rosa Luxemburg:

"If a war threatens to break out. means they consider most effective, which naturally vary according to and the sharpening of the general

"To prevent the outbreak of war. . . . " What sense would this

An Appeal to the Socialists of the World

the International Revolutionary Marxist Center -Editor)

(We publish below a manifesto-appeal issued recently by

100 the Socialist Workers of the World:

After twenty years, the world is in flames again Again gigantic imperialist combinations are at war, hurling millions of men against each other, threatenng to bring rum and devastation to all mankind. Again are men sent to slaughter for imperialistic objectives of plunder and profit, of rule and domination: Ger many, aided by Russia, out to secure a redivision of the spoils of empire; England and France out to hold on to these spoils secured by past aggressions. In the truest sense of the word, the war that is now under way is but the continuation of the first World War that ended—only temporarily—in 1918.

As in the last war, millions of men are being sent to death, millions more of women and children condemned to suffering and misery, under the slogans o "defending the Fatherland" and "making the world safe for democracy". And as in the last war, too, the great bulk of the organized workers movement has lined up officially behind the war-makers, behind the General Staffs-the Socialist (Second) International and its affiliates behind Anglo-French "democratic" imperialism and its aims and the Communist (Third) International, thru the Stalin-Hitler pact, behind German fascist imperialism and its aims. The division, the degradation, the demoralization of the workingclass movement are even worse than in 1914.

TET us look the facts in the face, for only if we can Le face the facts realistically, unafraid, can we hope to rise to the level of the great tasks before us. Behind us lie twenty years of defeat and disappoint-

trous experiments, both opportunistic and sectarian; twenty years of fratricidal splits and suicidal conflict within the ranks of labor. During these years, the international working class, split into mutually hostile factions, unconscious of its own strength, misled by illusions, proved unable to rise to the height of its own revolutionary socialist mission. The decaying capitalist system was allowed to survive the last war-and now the entire world is paying the awful price! Defeat after defeat, fascist reaction, Stalinist count-

er-revolution, totalitarian degradation, and finally the bitterest defeat and degradation of all-the second world war. This is the dreadful picture of a whole his-

Amidst such ruin and chaos, what becomes of the socialist hope of a world of fraternity and peace, of a world without classes, without dictatorship and oppression, without poverty and need, a world of peace, freedom and plenty?

Is socialism no more than a grand and magnificent dream, a sort of idealistic vision of escape from a world of violence and oppression? Is the solidarity of the exploited masses in the great historical struggle against capitalism and imperialism but self-deception, a consolatory illusion in a world of savage hatreds? How can we continue to believe in socialism when so many of those who call themselves socialists are today the recruiting sergeants for imperialist war, when those who claim to speak in the name of a "socialist country" have become the close allies of the most brutal counterrevolution? How can we continue to believe in the emancipatory mission of the working class when those who are the official leaders of the workers are the very ones to bind them hand and foot to the chariot of the battlefield to kill and to be killed in the interests of a of our problems. That is why we know, that is why we

WORKERS! Socialism and the emancipation of labor are something more than a generous but illusory dream!

Socialism has nothing in common with those who drag the glorious banner of international solidarity in the blood and filth of nationalistic jingoism! Socialism has nothing in common with Stalin and his

gang, with the butcher of the Russian people, the destroyer of the Russian Revolution, now allied with of German socialism!

No, socialism has nothing in common with the lies treds of race and nationality that are generated to place: justify imperialist greed and imperialist war.

WORKERS of all lands!

With this monstrous caricature of "socialism," the "socialism" of the Second and Third Internationals you must break and break once and for all. It is the kind of false "socialism" that has led to defeat after defeat, disaster after disaster, until now it is driving us into the shambles of bloody war again, less than a generation after the close of the last world war!

Today, we must rebuild the unity of the workingclass on a genuinely socialist foundation. This is your task, the task of your collective effort. If you can accomplish this task, you will take the first step towards our great goal, a democratic socialist society.

We who are sending out this appeal once belonged to organizations of the Second and Third Internationals. We have broken with these organizations because we saw in time towards what they were heading. We have been able to reach common principles and common conwar machine, the very ones to send them out to the clusions, thanks to an honest and realistic examination insist, that unity is possible!

As the present war goes on, events themselves will expose the full bankruptcy of these nationalistic and totalitarian caricatures of socialism represented by the Second and Third Internationals. Our most urgent task now is to hold aloft the banner of internationalism and working-class solidarity in the face of all difficulties, in the face of all repressions and persecutions. Our most urgent task now is to reestablish and preserve international connections among the genuinely socialist ele-Hitler, the butcher of the German people, the destroyer ments in all countries, among those who are fighting against the stream, among those who remain loyal in their conviction and action to the basic ideals of socialand the swindles, with the treacherous formulas under sm. It is on the ground of these principles that a funwhich the workers are sent out to war, with the ha- damental regrouping of working-class forces must take

1. Uncompromising opposition to this war and to the war-makers. International solidarity in the struggle against imperialism and imperialist war. Frater-

nization of all the exploited so as to put an end to war. 2. Proletarian class struggle against capitalism with the final goal of winning political power so as to open the way towards a democratic socialist society.

3. Full and complete democracy within the working-

class and its institutions and organizations. 4. Right of self-determination of all peoples-striv-

ing towards a socialist federation of the world. Workers of all countries! The choice before you now s: World Totalitarianism or World Socialism, Fascist Reaction or Socialist Emancipation! And it depends on

Unite your forces! Tighten your international connections! Build up a united force of revolutionary socialist internationalism!

you which it shall be!

Let your rallying cry be: International Solidarity-Peace—Freedom—Socialism!

THE INTERNATIONAL REVOLUTIONARY MARXIST CENTER

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MR. CHAMBERLAIN REASSURES STALIN

WE direct the attention of our readers to the edifying spectacle of Prime Minister Chamberlain and Foreign Minister Halifax standing up in the British Parliament and excusing, even justifying, Stalin's grab of half of Poland as a measure of "defense."

Of course, the political motives involved are as plain as a pikestaff: to woo Russia, to isolate Germany, to drive a wedge into the Stalin-Hitler alliance. It is just a routine piece of diplomatic trickery and as such it is taken in the Foreign Offices of the world.

But where does it leave the sanctimonious Mr. Chamberlain and the "great democracy" he heads as a defender of small nations, as the foe of aggression, as the champion of international law and the sanctity of treaties? For it is precisely under these slogans that British imperialism is now waging its war against Germany.

"Foe of aggression"-justifying Stalin's unprovoked assault upon Poland from the East while that country was being beaten down by Hitler's invading hordes in the West!

"Defender of small nations"-blessing Stalin's ruthless seizure of huge stretches of Polish territory, while his partner, Hitler, was taking the rest!

"Champion of the sanctity of treaties"-whitewashing Stalin's brazen violation of the Russo-Polish non-aggression treaty, exactly of a piece with Hitler's violation of his pledges to Poland!

With what face can the British protest against the German invasion of Czecho-Slovakia and Poland when they are quite ready, when it suits their interests, to connive in the overrunning of Poland by Stalin?

In the light of Chamberlain's statement, what is Britain fighting for anyway? The reconstitution of Poland and Czecho-Slovakia, as we were told only a short time ago? It is to laugh with Stalin being assured that he can keep his share of the Polish loot with the blessings of the British government. To put an end to aggression and the disturbance of the peace of Europe, as we are still told today? Another joke—with the British Prime Minister proclaiming that Stalin may retain hold of the fruits of his outright aggression against Poland. To beat back totalitarianism and save democracy, as the orators keep on dinning into our ears? Perhaps the worst joke of all-with Mr. Chamberlain making "friendly gestures" to Stalin, Hitler's worthy peer as blooddrenched dictator.

As a matter of fact, of course, Britain is fighting for objectives that have nothing to do with small nations, sanctity of treaties and the like. Imperialist Britain is fighting for imperialist ends; primarily, it is out to do what for a time it believed it had accomplished in the first World War-to destroy rival German imperialism once and for all and to eliminate it as a menace to British empire interests This is the real objective of the war, overshadowing everything and justifying everything.

We would urge our social-democratic friends and certain leaders of the A.L P., who detest Stalin for being "Hitler's twin" but fully trust in the sacred pledges and "democratic" avowals of the British government, to give some thought to the significance of the Chamberlain-Halifax declaration.

APOLOGIES TO BEN STOLBERG

IN our issue of Oct. 7, we criticized certain radical intellectuals who, only yesterday uncompromising opponents of "collective" security" and American involvement in European power-politics, are now joining the cry for another "war for democracy." Among these intellectuals we included Benjamin Stolberg, altho we made it one can have a virtual end of private capitalism, as ers The achievement of the cooperative commonclear that we were by no means classing him with the outright war party.

quite wrong in bracketing Ben Stolberg with the pro-war intel- many, and be very far removed from socialism. lectuals He has not in any way abandoned his opposition to American involvement in war. We regret the injustice done to him in

WE APPEAL TO OUR READERS

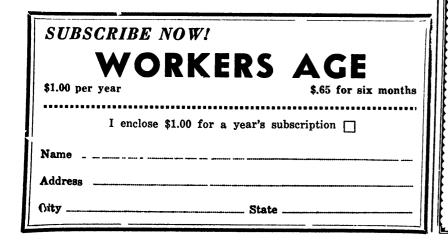
WE know that our readers are anxious to see the Workers Age expand in circulation. If every one of our readers merely (Continued from Page 3) got ONE friend to subscribe, the Workers Age would become is inevitable? And Morrow has the expand in circulation. If every one of our readers merely the most widely circulated radical paper in the country. Unfor- brazen gall to refer to Lenin and tunately, most of us are apt to feel that "George is doing it." Frankly, how about it, dear reader? Are we asking too much of MORROW GIVES you in calling upon you to aid the labor paper of your choice by getting one subscriber to the Age? Or, how about presenting some one with a year's subscription? The cost is only one dollar for the duration of the Autumn subscription drive-and think of the good you will be doing to all concerned! What do you say? -Fill out the subscription blank below RIGHT NOW!

66BUT it was only after the discussion on this deliberately confusing report was closed that Woll and Frey brought out their real war program. This came in a resolution on the continuation of the boycott on German goods. This resolution threw overboard all pretenses at 'neutrality' . . . The resolution carried this Chamberlain line one step further by pretending that the Soviet Union was at war by calling for a boycott on Soviet goods."-Daily Worker, October 12, 1939.

So, the anti-Nazi boycott is called off too? It's not "neutral" any longer? Or is it also a "matter of taste"?

66 A NOTHER reason why it is too early for a genuine discussion of peace terms is because the war as a whole has not yet passed from that, in the conviction of the Trotsthe political to the military stage". Thus writes the peace-loving New is inevitable, with no but's or if's Republic editorially in its October 11 issue.

In other words, you obviously can't have any serious discussion of peace until you have had some serious slaughter!



AT THE MOSCOW BERCHTESGADEN



"Just sign here. You can read it later." -from the New Yorker

Towards A Better America:

wofold Task of Socialism

By NORMAN THOMAS

(We publish below the paper presented by Norman Thomas to the symposium, "Towards A Better America," held recently in New York under the auspices of the Inde pendent Labor Institute Norman Thomas is chairman of the Socialist Party -Editor)

TT seems obvious that, under present conditions, the struggle for a better America is first of all struggle to keep America out of war. Conversely, however, it is true that our failure to win more than we have yet managed to win in the struggle for a bet-

> ter America is one reason why America is more likely to enter war. The fool's for a people who had learned how their children.

> > attached to it.

NORMAN THOMAS

to the Stuttgart resolution!

"Our complete position," Morrow

proclaims, "is that American partici-

pation is inevitable if the workers

permit the democratic-imperialist

government to remain in power...

American participation in the way

can only be prevented by a socialist

That means that unless a socialist

revolution is achieved in this country

in the immediate future. American

involvement in the European war

is inevitable. But even the self-

deluding phrase-mongers of the

Socialist Appeal can hardly believe

that a socialist revolution is possible

in this country in the coming

months. The conclusion therefore is

kyites, American involvement ın war

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THE CASE AWAY

revolution.'

rather simple terms of collectivism against a more or less individualistic capitalism. Many of us socialists were guilty of letting our struggle for socialism de-

The battle for a high degree of collectivism is almost won in the world. Even in America, collectivism marches on. But collectivism is not socialism and the exploitation of monopoly state capitalism may be worse than the exploitation of rival individual capitalists or rival capitalist corporations.

Here, in America, we will not go by one jump into totalitarianism unless and until we go into the dreadful totalitarianism of war. We shall, all too likely, reach our own version of a fascist totalitarianism as a consequence of, or a reaction to, a widespread unrest of little men which has been unable to find satisfaction in Townsend Plans and all sorts of other pana-

Assuming that we are able to keep out of war, the outstanding problem for socialists is twofold.

First, to work out plans and organization for achieving and maintaining socialism under terms congold of war pros-sistent with democratic control and the preservation perity would of civil liberty. These blessings will by no means be have little lure the automatic consequences of the abolition of private finance capitalism.

Second, while we grapple with this fundamental problem, we must also find a way to deal with imto harness ma- mediate demands of masses of men and women who action? chinery to the will not wait for Utopia. How to keep in sympathetic touch with those masses and to satisfy their legitimate abundance for demand for immediate security and not be swept by themselves and them into unsound attempts to bolster up the present order by some variation of the old scheme of bread As I see it, we must face the fact that the struggle and circuses—that is an enterprise to challenge the for a better America cannot be carried on in the best we have of loyalty, intelligence and capacity for organization.

It is to the good that we have learned that the achievement of socialism will be no automatic process generate to this level of conflict. We know now that instinctively worked out by the wisdom of the workin the U.S.S.R, or an extension of state power to a wealth—and what's more of a federation of cooperapoint which, as Anne O'Hare McCormick has it, tive commonwealths—is in the highest sense a crea-We are now glad to be in a position to state that we were makes "private property a euphemism," as in Ger- tive task which will require all that we have of fraternity, intelligence and will.

Is Our Involvement in War "Inevitable"? The World's Gone Screwy...

DECLARES Howard Vincent O'Brien in his Chicago News column to show how the times are out of joint: "Pacifists are all for fighting; the communists are all for Hitler; the liberals are all for despotism; and the Republicans are all for Roose-

A VERY SPECIAL ANNOUNCEMENT: Hold Everything! Hear Ye! Hear Ye!

We are all stepping out to the

This is what we charged origin-

ally and this is what Morrow now

himself proves to the very hilt. And

this position is thoroly false in fact

and utterly poisonous in its effects.

The Trotskyist attitude on the war

is fatalistic, defeatist and capitu-

latory; it is worse: it is outright!

war-mongering in the guise

"Marxist analysis!"

International New Year's Eve Dance SUNDAY EVENING, DECEMBER 31

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International New Year's Eve Dance | their dealings in murder. Millions of

C.P. Members Protest Hitler-Stalin Pact

Party Group Issues Statement on Alliance

(In the September 2, 1939 issue of this paper, we published a declaration circulated within the ranks of the Communist Party by a group of members of the CP and the YCL It dealt with the capitulatory policy of Stalinism on the issues of unemployed relief and WPA Below we publish another declaration of the same group, this time dealing with the Russo-German pact It should be remembered that this letter is dated September 1 and was written before the European war broke out

(We present this document to our readers not only for its intrinsic worth but also as evidence that there still exist elements within the Communist Party capable of independent thought and action It goes without saying that we do not share the faith in the possibility of reforming the Communist Party or instituting democracy within it, nor the notion that simply a "return to Lenin" will set everything right An evaluation and criticism of the views expressed in these documents will appear in a coming issue of this paper -Editor)

To Members of the Communist Party and Y.C.L. Only!

BOMBSHELL has burst over to you discussed the opportunist line of deal with Hitler, "business" or of our party in the recent W.P.A. strikes. The whole question is now overshadowed by the terrible happenings of the last few days.

You do not have to be told about the confusion of the party member-Many others are becoming disildanger!

"EXPLANATIONS" THAT CANNOT BE BELIEVED

In common with hundreds of other impossible to believe the explana-Stalin-Hitler pact or to get anyone else to believe them. Consider these important points:

greatest weakness is his lack of es- making, and label him as an enemy sential raw materials. The trade of the Soviet Union? The truth of pact signed between Hitler and it is, and everybody knows it, Hit-Stalin provides that Hitler receive millions of dollars worth of raw materials from the Soviet Union, particularly oil, cotton and iron for Hitler's war machine.

Our party in the United States has been calling for an embargo on shipments to Hitler and a boycott against German goods. The U.S S.R., as the workers fatherland, was supposed to set an example for the workers of the world. Now, the Soviet Union, at this critical period, gives Hitler just what he needs most -raw materials. What happens now to our party campaign for the embargo and boycott? How are we to answer the jeers and the scorn of our friends and shop-mates when they point to the Soviet Union's

How can the Daily Worker say ler? We are convinced that this pact strengthens Hitler's position.

The Daily Worker quotes Pravda. the Soviet C.P. organ, to the effect that this trade pact would lead to friendlier political relations with Germany. It did lead to friendlier political relations!

WHERE IS THE

"ESCAPE" CLAUSE? 2. The Stalin-Hitler non-aggression pact is not like the other nonaggression pacts which the Soviet Union has previously signed. Before the text of the pact was known, the Daily Worker editorial on August 23 stressed that "in each and every non-aggression pact which the Soviet Union concludes, there is a basic clause of Soviet peace policy which provides that, in the event one

of the parties to the pact invades or commits an act of aggression against a third nation, the other party (the Soviet Union) is not bound to the treaty, is free to act in defense of This is correct for all previous

treaties. But there is no such clause in the present pact with Hitler Verify this fact for yourself. Why this change from the "basic clause of Soviet peace policy" precisely with the country from whom the aggression is to be expected?

The policy of "collective security" has been destroyed by one blow. The Soviet Union is now bound to stand aside, no matter what acts of aggression Germany commits. (See Articles I, II, and IV of the Stalin-

Hitler pact.) 3. The pact destroys the whole policy of a democratic block against fascist aggression. Article IV of the pact states: "Neither of the high contracting parties will associate itself with any other grouping of powers which directly or indirectly

is aimed at the other party." 4. The final argument, and this has become the present line of the Daily Worker, is: "The pact has split the fascist axis." It is possible that Japan may abandon her alliance with Germany, but the main line of the fascist axis was Germany and Italy and not Japan. And Germany's position as the chief director of the fascist axis has been strengthened a hundredfold.

"Collective security" is dead. The democratic front against fascist aggression is dead. The French-English-Russian alliance is dead. The Stalin-Hitler pact puts us in the position of saying everything is white which we yesterday claimed was black.

5. It's no use to say that "this is purely a business deal." The business men who sell scrap iron to Japan in order to blow up Chinese cities use that argument to justify

September 1, 1939. | dollars worth of raw material for Hitler just when he renews his demand for a new Munich on Poland is not a "purely business deal." A BUMBSHELL has burst over our party. Our previous letter Until this pact was signed, any kind otherwise, would have received the blasting it deserved in the columns of the Daily Worker.

6. Now, comrades, you have been

istening to speeches the last week and explanations in the Daily Workship over the Stalin-Hitler pact. As er about the pact which try to make a matter of fact, the party member- out a case on the grounds that the ship is absolutely bewildered and capitalist press is lying about the stunned. Numerous sympathizers effect of the pact in Germany. How and so-called fellow-travelers are is it possible for every newspaper already beginning to quit the party. without exception to report the "great rejoicing" among the Nazis lusioned and cynical. Our party is in and acclaim in Italy, if the pact is a defeat for them? More important, if the capitalist newspapers are lying in this case, and we agree that they lie most of the time, still how account for Hitler making the pact comrades of our party, we find it unless it was a gain for him? If it was a gain for the Soviet Union to tions of the Daily Worker on the make a pact with Hitler, why didn't we advocate it until after it was signed? Why did we blast every person in the capitalist press who 1. It is well known that Hitler's suggested that a pact was in the ler is a mortal enemy of the Soviet Union. He signed the pact because it guaranteed the Soviet Union would not interfere with a new Munich and a fresh aggression against Poland, which would bring him a step closer to the Ukraine, and because it supplied him with desperately needed raw material. That is why he immediately moved soldiers up to the Polish border and demanded Danzig and the Corridor, or war. That is why we have had the worst war scare since the World War ended. How can that be a blow for peace?

(Concluded in next issue)

Books

(Continued from Page 3) that this pact is a blow against Hit- deception, he was maligned as a preacher of iniquity, as the very devil himself. So far from "Machiavellian" in the vulgar sense was this Florentine secretary that, after the return of the Medici in 1512, when he made a desperate effort to retain his position by a little conventional flattery, he simply could not do it. "In spite of his fluent pen," Marcu tells us, "he could not even compose a plain little eulogy. After every sentence which was supposed to bring forth the magical fragrance of pious incense, he slipped back into cold reason." He despised "ideology" and dogmatism, often called principle, but he himself could not escape the rigid control of his own realistic reason, of his own scientific integrity. He wrote a handbook for princes, but he was a convinced republican and his works are suffused with his eager vision of Italian unity and freedom and his deep love of Florence.

> Like Thomas the Cynic in Silone's "School for Dictators," which is cast in the true Machiavellian tradition, Machiavelli wrote also for those "who wish to retain the liberty of a republic." That is why Rousseau called "The Prince" the book for republicans and Lenin recommended it to all revolutionists. Facing the facts realistically, without illusion, and yet mastering them in order to promote a great objective is certainly not easy but it is something we can learn a great deal about from Niccolo Machiavelli

Reviewed by WILL HERBERG

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