Workers Age

Weekly Paper of the Independent Labor League of America

TMPERIALISM'S BLOODY TRAIL: Germany, England, U.S.A. page 3 REVIEW OF "KEEP AMERICA OUT OF WAR" page 4

Vol. 8. No. 48.

NEW YORK, N. Y., SATURDAY, DECEMBER 2, 1939.

Here's the Pledge

Made by President Roosevelt in the Democratic Platform in 1932 and reiterated in 1936:

66 NATIONAL Defense: a navy and army adequate for national defense, based on a survey of all facts affecting the existing establishments that the people in time of peace may not be burdened by an expenditure fast approaching \$1,000,000,000 annually."

Here Is How the Pledge Has Been Carried Out by the President:

Fiscal Year											"National-Defense"			
												Expenditures		
1933-34												•	\$ 540,356,000	
1934-35													729,931,000	
1935-36													921,684,000	
1936-37													935,114,000	
1937-38													1,027,841,000	
1938-39													1,119,810,000	
1939-40													1,734,342,000	
1940-41	(est	ima	ate	d)		•	•	•	•	•	•	•	2,800,000,000	

Socialist Peace Drive Grows in Britain

ILP Launches Movement Against War

socialist peace that is finding increasing support in many parts of the labor movement. The I.L.P. Peace Plan, as it is known, is formulated in the following resolution that is being introduced in trade unions, Labor Parties and other working-class groups thruout the country:

"This meeting urges that the working-class movement should take independent action to stop the war and to secure an enduring peace by "1. Demanding an immediate armistice.

"2. Preparing socialist peace terms including: (a) the liberation of all peoples from imperialism, whether German, British or French; (b) the recognition that national sovereignty must be subordinated to international unity; and (c) the establishment of an international economic order based on the distribution of the world's resources according to need and the ending of poverty by production for use instead of profit "3. Initiating a world-wide agi-

tation for such a peace. "4. Holding an international work-

ing-class conference simultaneously with any government peace conference to press for these demands. "5. Organizing an international

agitation to end capitalism." The November 3 issue of the New Leader, I.L.P. paper, carries a report of the growing peace movement under the heading, "'Stop War' Protests Pour In". The report fol-

"So many working-class organizations have reported resolutions denouncing the war as 'imperialist'

Allied Dump **Tactics Hit Stock Prices**

Washington, D. C. Recent governmental investigation have revealed strong indications that the chief reason for the flabbiness of stock prices is secret, systematic dumping of United States securities by England and France and their financial agents

The doldrums gripping the stock market are in striking contrast to the exuberance of industry, it is pointed out. While the business index is higher today than in 1937, in some lines even higher than in 1929, stocks are from 45 to 50 points below 1937 levels and approximately 200 points under 1929 highs

Every time the market stiffens and starts upward, a selling wave immediately develops and prices slump. The core of this selling, it is suspected, is of European origin-governments seeking to obtain dollar credits in this country to finance the war purchases made possible by lifting the arms embargo.

At the beginning of the war, British and French holdings in U. S. stocks and bonds reached about five billion dollars. These included holding in General Electric, DuPont and Allied Chemical and the major rail-Pennsylvania, Southern, Union Pacific, Southern Pacific, Great Northern.

Since then, the two governments have taken over these securities and in recent weeks have been secretly unloading them to pay for heavy outlays for war materials.

London, England. and demanding that it be stopped, that it is possible to give only a partial list. Most of the resolutions also demand an end of the political truce and a statement of socialist peace terms. Resolutions from the following have been reported to us. "Glasgow Burgh Labor Party Ex-

ecutive. "Kingsbury Amalgamated Socie ty of Woodworkers.

"Kentish Town Amalgamated So elety of Woodworkers "East Ham National Union of

"Southall District Committee of the Amalgamated Engineering Union. "Education Committee of the Vale

of Leven Cooperative Society. "Scarborough Labor Party. "Sheffield Youth Advisory Coun cil and Sheffield A.E.U. Youth Fel-

lowship Join Committee. "Lowhill, Fife, Miners Lodge (with backing of miners wives). "Springburn (Glasgow) 4th Branch of the A.E.U.

"Scottish Cooperative Guild (Section 2). "Acerington Trades

"Lancaster Labor Party (chairman and secretary).

"York Labor Party. "Barrhead Trades Council. "Kelty National Union of Distributive and Allied Workers.

"Houndsditch and Whitechapel Shop Assistants Union. "East London Union of Life Assurance Workers.

"Sutton and Cheam Labor Party General Council.

"Daneshouse Ward of Burnley Labor Party (Womens Section). "Southend Cooperative Women's

"Nelson and Colne Divisional Labor Party.

"Nelson Local Labor Party. "Textile Workers Union (Bradford No. 3 Branch). "Textile Workers Union (Brad-

ford No. 6 Branch). "Southport Trades Council and Labor Party.

"Hillsboro (Sheffield) Divisional Labor Party. "Gainsborough Divisional Labor Party (Executive Committee).

"Kirkby Labor League of Youth, "Bridgewater Labor Party. "Penge Women's Cooperative

"British Federation of Coopera-

Philadelphia

JAY LOVESTONE

will speak on "The Stalin-Hitler Pact

and the

American Labor Movement"

Friday Evening, December 8, 8:00 o'clock

810 Locust Street Philadelphia

Philadelphia Branch, I.L.L.A. INDEPENDENT LABOR LEAGUE OF AMERICA 810 Locust Street

Nazis Launch War on British Sea Power

German Socialists Denounce Nazi War

Describe Widespread Mass Suffering In Reich, Opposition to Regime

of the Independent Labor Party, publishes a message from the Independent Socialists of Germany, delivered thru secret channels established by the ILP. This message, the first to be received since the early days of the war, follows:

"After hardly two months of war, Germany is in a terrible economic state. The government has issued new regulations that cattle are to be fed with acorns only. Instead of tea, German housewives have to use the leaves of blackberries. It is prohibited to have a second suit. Soap is to be produced and sold only to the end of this year. The quantity of food prescribed on ration cards is insufficient for the preservation of

"To such a state Hitler's war has brought the German Fatherland. The misery and distress of the Gecman working class are great. Workers at the Siemens works deriand an eight-hour day and a living wage. Illegal leaflets say, 'We can and must save the German people from the catastrophe of war. Soldiers, do not shoot! We do not want to work for war. We would work well for peace.'

"Before provision-dealers shops. children. What they say in the markets is not very favorable to the Nazi regime. Heinrich Himmler orders the Gestapo to arrest these women and deal with them according to custom. But he will find very few German soldiers willing to shoot defenseless working women.

"The liberty army forms cells in

London, England | act only-when German military IN its latest issue, dated November formations are in disorder, when 17, the New Leader, official paper troops retreat from the front, when revolutionaries have to fight merely against the secret police and Hitler's private formations (Black Shirts and Storm Troopers) and not against the regular army; in one word, when the political and technical possibility of a German revolu-

tion exists. "This time will not come soon, but it will come. At this moment, when von Ribbentrop has announced a fight to the finish, the German illegal movement declares openly before the world: 'The German people do not want this war. Soldiers, do not shoot! Munition workers, combine the struggle for higher wages with the fight against Hitler's war!'

"At this moment, when the army is prepared to begin an offensive to win Hitler's war, underground Germany fights with leaflets and circulars for peace. Before the cannons speak, an appeal of reason sounds thru the ether. In spite of the Ge-

stapo, radio transmissions continue "In the midst of death and destruction, facing terror and torture, German revolutionary socialists do their duty. They are a mere handful of men and women against whole armies, against, apparently, the whole world. Compared with the hungry housewives assemble. They strength of our opponents, our efget too little food and milk for their forts appear futile—but they are not made in vain. Our day will come.

"According to the traditions of international socialism, the German illegal movement sympathizes with national movements for independence of peoples brought against their will under Hitler's domination. The fight for socialism in Germany includes the fight for liberation of German amy. The liberty army con- both suppressed races and supsists of members of all republican, pressed classes. It is a night not only It simply means that by a variety of democratic and working-class par- for a better Germany but for the

Norris Hits Huge Arms **Expenditures Three Billion**

Urges More Attention To Domestic Issue, Stresses Armaments No Way Out

Washington, D. C. Senator Norris of Nebraska, who usually supports Administration legislation and who backed the President on the repeal of the arms embargo, said that he would oppose increased military and naval appropriations at the next session of Congress because he believed the money could be spent more wisely for relief of unemployment and agricul-

tural distress. Voicing the opinion that enactment of the present neutrality statute had minimized the chances that this country would become involved in the European war, the Nebraskan said that he thought Congress should give its attention primarily

to domestic problems. "If we didn't have any other troubles," Mr. Norris told reporters, "I might not feel so strongly against spending large sums for the place the increase even higher, some army and navy. But we can't stop saying that the 1941 figure will be the expenditures for the relief of un- close to three billions. employment and agricultural dis-

Well-informed legislators indicatthe navy \$1,300,000,000 for the next fiscal year.

President Roosevelt has suggested that funds would be asked to recruit equip and train "an Initial Protective Force" of some 600,000 regulars and National Guardsmen, involving an increase of about 138,000

strength of the land forces. Senator Norris stressed that he felt that armaments construction work offered no solution to the problem of providing jobs for the unemployed.

To build a sounder economic foundation, he argued, it would be nec- the taxes of everybody who makes essary for Congress to take some more than \$5,000 year and get constructive action to provide emmoney enough to balance expendiployment and aid farmers in the tures with income," he said.

Arms Budget May Reach

Roosevelt Puts Costs At 21/4 Billions; New Taxes Are Proposed

Washington, D. C. Next year's army-navy budget vill reach \$2,250,000,000, President Roosevelt forecast last week as he arrived at Warm Springs, Ga. "Disturbed world cond'tions," he said, vould necessitate this vast expen-

It was up to the country, the Presdent added, to decide whether the bill should be met by a special "defense" tax or by additional borrowing. Representative Vinson, chairman of the House Naval Affairs Committee, promptly urged that taxes on lower-bracket incomes be

The current military and naval budget totals about \$1,760,000,000, a record peace-time figure. According to the President, the 1941 budget will top this by \$500,000,000. Wellinformed Congressmen, however,

Spokesmen of the peace movement were quick to point out that the size and character of the Presed that requests for the army might | ident's proposed arms budget inditotal \$1,700,000,000, and those for cated that he was still thinking in terms of intervention in a foreign war. No such vast expenditures, it was stressed, were required for na-(Continued on page 2)

drought-stricken areas of the West. He said that he thought the solution might lie in extensive power men beyond the existing authorized developments similar to the T.V.A. in other sections of the country.

Even if Congress pared down arms expenditures, Mr. Norris predicted that it might find it necessary to increase taxes to find needed

"I think Congres, should increase

On the Road to Disaster

GTHE significance to labor of this problem appears in the simple I fact that every workman engaged in the construction of armament must be provided with the necessities of life by the labor of those who are engaged in productive enterprises. Last year, it is estimated that over eight million men were actually under arms; how many more millions are engaged in the unproductive construction of death-dealing armaments we can only guess. . . . This means that not only are we thus prevented from raising our standard of living, but if the armament race continues, even our present inadequate levels of living cannot be maintained. In the long run, the greater part of the cost of armaments must be borne by those engaged in productive labor, who receive less than they could and should receive for their toil.

"I predict that the working men and women of the world will not forever be content to stand by while civilized living is being sacrificed on the altar of armaments. No longer will they be willing to forge the means of their own enslavement and their own destruction."-Assistant Secretary of Labor Edward F. McGradv. speaking at the International Labor Office Conference, Geneva, June 1937.

CIO Holds Convention In New York State

Stalinists Clash With Hillman on FDR

(Special to the Workers Age)

New York City. THE second annual convention of the New York State Industrial Union Council, the C.I.O.'s state federation, took place here on November 17 and 18. If the C.I.O. leadership is in earnest about purging its ranks of Stalinist influence, as John L Lewis proclaimed at San Francisco, this would have been a fine place to start, for the big majority of the 500 delegates were Stalinists or Stalinist stooges and every body knew it-indeed, Quill openly boasted of it in committee sessions. (That does not mean that the membership of the organizations represented are communists; far from it. they are so expert, the Stalinists which they can pose as spokesmen and representatives of the C.I.O.) But when the convention came to a close on Saturday evening, it was clear that in spite of a number of clashes at the sessions, nothing definite had been done to break the grip of Stalinism over the C.I.O.

in New York. The 500 or so delegates were reported to represent 900,000 members. There were, however, no particulars given of any sort, and those well acquainted with the labor movement in this state believe that half of that figure, or about 450,000, would be far nearer the mark. Nor were there any signs of the great organizational progress claimed in the report of Allan Haywood, re-

gional director. The only pleas for labor unity at the convention were made by Mayor LaGuardia and Governor Lehman. These appeals were received very coldly and the resolution finally adopted on the question of peace was vague and perfunctory, along the lines of the resolution that came out of the national C.I.O. conven tion in San Francisco.

There were two real forces at the of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers and associated organizations, who kept the strings in their hands. The two most important conventions committees, nominations and resolutions, were headed by Amalgamated men, who were thus able to keep general control of the situation, tho at the cost of many concessions to the Stalinists. In committees and behind the scenes, some terrific scraps took place between the Amalgamated people and the Stalinists, especially Quill, but only a weak echo ever reached the floor of the convention. Nevertheless, everybody understood what was happening and there was considerable tension in the air.

The San Francisco resolution on war was adopted verbatim, so a fight was avoided on that question. The clash came on the third-term the San Francisco convention-and there is a neat piece of politics involved here-the New York conven-Amalgamated. A few months before, used."

the Stalinists would have welcomed such a resolution with frantic joy But now the "line" had changed. They did not, as the Stalinists at the New Jersey C I.O. convention did, oppose the resolution outright; they accepted it-but with all sorts of qualifications, warnings, etc. Michael Quill and Irving Potash were their chief spokesmen. They were sharply attacked by Louis Hollander, Hershkowitz and other Amalgamated speakers. The vote was almost

The other resolutions adopted were the usual routine affairs, bearing all the earmarks of Stalinist workmanship. More significant than any resolution was the fact that, altho the convention was addressed schemes and manipulations at which by E. P. Oliver of Labor's Non-Partisan League in Washington have managed to worm themselves there was no speaker from the parachuted from planes. Whatever into responsible posts by virtue of American Labor Party, to which the method used, the mines took a most of the unions present at the heavy toll last week. Over thirty convention are affiliated! Indeed, the ships, British, French and neutral, A L.P was bitterly denounced by were sunk or damaged, including the Quill and others as a "union-bust- new 10,000-ton British cruiser Beling" outfit, without one word being | fast. Indeed, mines dropped by parasaid in its defense by any C.I.O. chutes even forced the closing of leader present.

floor; the Amalgamated Joint Board mine-sweepers could clear it. had introduced such a resolution in the committee but it was withdrawn under Stalinist pressure. Even stranger still, there was no resolution against fascism reported out and adopted, whereas at the previous convention there had been a vigorous resolution on this subject; this year, apparently, the "party (Continued on page 2)

High Court Upholds Free Speech Right

Washington, D. C. The United States Supreme Court state convention of the C.I.O.—the in a 7-to-1 decision, last week over-Stalinists, who had the bulk of the ruled the lower courts and held that delegates, and the representatives ordinances of four cities restricting distribution of handbills and other literature violated the guarantees of free speech and free press under the Constitution. Justice Roberts delivered the opinion, while Justice Mc-Reynolds was the lone dissenter. It was also announced that the late Justice Butler had not shared in the

The municipalities involved were Los Angeles, Milwaukee, Worcester Mass, and Irvington, N. J. In the former cities, ordinances prohibited distribution of leaflets in the streets and one of them in other public places, allegedly in order to prevent "street littering." In Irvington, house-to-house distribution without a permit was banned. The Supreme Court decided that, while regulations to keep the streets clean and maintain order were necessary, they could not interfere with Constituissue. At variance with the action of | tional rights. "This court has characterized freedom of speech and that of the press as fundamental personal rights and liberties," Justice tion was presented with a third- Roberts declared. "The phrase is not term resolution introduced by the an empty one and was not lightly

Air Attacks, Mines Take Heavy Toll

5 CENTS

For the first time since the Polish campaign, diplomatic manouvering receded to the background last week, the twelfth week of the war, to give way to actual warfare. As the week opened, it became clear that Germany had put aside, or more likely postponed, plans of striking a decisive blow at the Allies on the western front thru invasion of Belgium and Holland. Instead, the Reich war lords apparently determined to concentrate all efforts on breaking the British blockade which threatened to strangle Germany economically. So, while the western front remained quiet, gripped in the deadlock that has continued since the outbreak of hostilities three months ago, largescale German operations began on sea and in the air, and by the end of the week already reached the point where they constituted a challenge to the Allied strategy of economic strangulation.

The German drive started off in three directions. First, the submarine campaign against Allied shipping and neutral commerce with the Allies was greatly intensified, with corresponding results. In the second place, German air attacks on British warships multiplied and grew bolder. In one action, four British warships were hit by bombs dropped from German war-planes in the North Sea in an attack off the Scottish coast, probably close to the Scapa Flow naval base in the Orkneys. Other attacks, including another at the Firth of Forth, were reported from Berlin.

But, most important of all, the Germans began extensive mine-laying activities in the North Atlantic, the English Channel and the North Sea in an effort to weaken English control of the seas and to break the maritime connections thru which alone the Allies, especially England, are able to maintain themselves. Mines, unmoored and uncharted, were laid in great numbers in these waters, either by submarines or the port of London to traffic for sev-No resolution on the Stalin- eral hours, and ships were obliged Hitler alliance was brought to the to stay outside the channel until

Britain's reply to the mine warfare was a decision to extend "contraband control" to German exports, that is, to seize German exports no matter where destined. This move brought prompt protests from Holland, Belgium, Japan and Italy.

RUSSIAN-FINNISH RELATIONS TENSE

Russian relations with Finland suddenly grew much tenser last week in connection with a border incident. At Moscow, it was unofficially said that Stalin was preparing some "punitive" action against the Finns. The controlled press continued repeating the warning that Finland would soon suffer the fate of Poland. But Russian attention was mostly

concentrated on the Far East, where, under German encouragament, an accord was being worked out with Japan at the expense of China, which would be carved into two "spheres of influence," one dominated by Moscow and the other by Tokyo. Repercussions of these negotiations were already felt in China. Reports multiplied of rifts and clashes between Chiang Kai-shek's government and the communist forces. Towards the end of the week, the entire Chinese cabinet resigned as part of a sweeping shake-up in line with the new international situ-

JUST OUT!

KEEP AMERICA OUT OF WAR

By Norman Thomas and Bertram D. Wolfe

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"The Nature of the European War"



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Salary Bias Against **Negro Teachers Hit**

Maryland Case Brings Old Issue to Court

Baltimore, Md.

MARYLAND has become the testing ground in a legal battle which eventually may outlaw on tle which eventually may outlaw on constitutional grounds the whole the public schools of the southern and border states are paid lower salaries than whites of the same grade.

Walter Mills, a Negro teacherprincipal in Anne Arundel County, time, salaries have been equalized is seeking an injunction in the federal district court to restrain the in the state. Board of Education of Anne Arundel County and George Fox, county superintendent of schools "from islature where it was hoped salai making any distinction solely on the grounds of race or color in the fix- Legislature increased the salary ing of salaries paid white and color- scale for white teachers, but reed teachers and principals in the fused to touch the Negro salaries public schools of Anne Arundel County.

The jurisdiction of the federal court is sought under the so-called ON DIFFERENTIAL civil-rights statutes, title 8, sections 41 and 43 of which provide:

"All persons within the jurisdiction of the United States shall have plaintiff, for an injunction to rethe same right in every state and strain the state Board of Education territory to make and enforce con- from distributing the "Equalization tracts, to sue, be parties, give evi- Fund" of Maryland on the basis of dence, and to the full and equal ben- discriminatory salary schedules in efit of all laws and proceedings for the Maryland code. This case mark the security of persons and proper- the first trial on the merits of this ty as is enjoyed by white citizens, and shall be subject to like punish- first on the merits of the point. The ment, pains, penalties, taxes, licenses and exactions of every kind, and the salary schedule in the statutes to no other.

"Every person who, under color of any statute, ordinance, regulation, custom or usage, of any state or territory, subjects, or causes to be subjected, any citizen of the United States or other person within the jurisdiction thereof to the deprivation of any rights privileges or immunities secured by the Constitu- equalization of salaries in Montgomtion and laws, shall be liable to the party injured in an action at law, suit in equity, or other prope proceedings for redress."

DIFFERENTIAL ESTIMATED AT \$500,000

It is estimated that the total d f ference in the salaries paid Negro and white teachers thruout the State is approximately one-half billion dollars annually. The plaintiffs in the present action and in previous actions on the same point maintain that this differential is instituted solely on the basis of race and color which is unconstitutional.

Since 1908, Maryland has maintained salary schedules by statutes which provide for higher minimum salaries for white teachers and principals than for Negro teachers and principals with the same qualifications and experience. Maryland is the only state with such a discriminatory salary schedule in the stat-

Since 1908, the Negro teachers and principals of Maryland and interested citizens have been petitioning the Legislature to repeal these statutes and pass ones providing for equal salaries. These efforts have been unsuccessful.

In 1936, attorneys for the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People were requested by | the question of renewed affiliation the Negro teachers and principals to take the necessary legal action to fore the delegates of the whole remove the discrimination. The first case was a petition for a writ of mandamus filed in the Circuit Court of Montgomery County the latter part of 1936 on behalf of William Gibbs, a Negro teacher-principal, to require the board of education of Montgomery county to equalize sal-

EQUAL SALARIES IN NINE COUNTIES

A check of the records of the Board of Education of Montgomery County and the scales of salaries revealed that white high-school teachers received an annual salary of \$1,571, as compared to \$859 for colored teachers, or a difference of \$712; that white elementary school teachers receive an annual salary | belonged for thirty-seven years, will of \$1.362 as compared to \$631 for be determined by our convention" colored elementary teachers, or a difference of \$731. It was found, union's attitude with regard to the also, that the schedule of salaries in the county for white janitors pro- American labor has undergone no vided \$960 a year, which was \$399 a year more than the average salary of a Negro elementary school teacher and \$101 more than the average salary of a Negro high school teacher.

The defendants filed a demurrer of the opinion that the fundamental which was argued before the full obstacles which stood in the way of bench in Montgomery County. I'ne a united labor movement when the demurrer was overruled and the de- C.I.O. was organized, namely, the

fendants required to answer. The

The second effort at equalization was made in Calvert County in Novsystem whereby Negro teachers in ember 1937 and here, as in Montgemery County, the legal case was settled out of court thru an agreement by the Board of Education to equalize salaries. At the present in nine out of twenty-three counties

> Further actions were withheld pending the last meeting of the Legies would be equalized. Instead, the thereby increasing the differential

FIRST COURT HEARING

Thereupon, action for an injunccourt by Walter Mills, the present point and the decision will be the purpose of the plaintiff is to have declared unconstitutional and to secure an injunction,

Those backing the fight for equalzation of salaries point out that the differential of a half million dollars ın Maryland alone ıs a serious economic handicap to not only the Negro teachers, but to Negro citizens generally. It is pointed out that the ery County alone brought an addition of some thirty thousand dollars annually into the pay envelopes of the Negro teachers and that a subsequent survey disclosed that this money went into the purchase and improvement of homes, the education of children, and the improvement of the teachers themselves thru advanced training.

U bor movement by that time, the

International Ladies Garment Work-

ers Union, with its 250,000 members.

will most probably rejoin the A. F.

of L. at the garment union's next

convention in May 1940 in New York

City. This was the meaning of the

action taken by the General Execu-

tive Board of the I L G.W.U., in ses-

sion here last week, in the form of

a public statement that when the

union's convention is held next May

with the A F. of L. will be laid be-

The ILGW.U. left the Federa-

tion to affiliate with the C.I.O. and

then declared its independence of

the C I.O. prior to the first annual

C.I.O. convention last year. Since

then, it has maintained an indepen-

dent status, cooperating with both

"We had hoped and we still hope,"

the statement of the General Execu-

tive Board reads, "that by the time

our convention takes place in May

1940, peace will be realized so that

we might join in a united labor

"If peace is not accomplished by

that time, the question of our con-

tinued independence or affiliation

with the A. F. of L., to which we

The statement declares that the

supreme importance of peace in

"We still consider labor peace as

"Furthermore, we still are firmly

SOCIABILITY

a primary factor to the well-being

and the progress of American work-

membership.

organizations.

movement.

ILGWU May Reaffiliate

GEB to Put Question to Convention

TINLESS there is unity in the la- for the mass-production industries

Washington, D. C. recognition of industrial unionism

of L. on these issues.

and a greater measure of democracy

in union government, have largely

disappeared with the substantial

change of the position of the A. F.

in the labor movement unfortunate

ly are not bright at this hour. We

regret that the several efforts of

are glad to know that the President

interest in the cause of labor peace.

"The prospects of an early peace

To AFL Next May

It's Either Unity Or Government Control

66 TOHN L. LEWIS and William Green have before them the prospect of Administration support for a plan of govern prospect of Administration support for a plan of government regulation of labor unions unless they can compose the the National Labor Relations C.I.O. and A.F. of L. differences. The Administration view is that Board in the Western Union case, this country cannot afford the luxury of unnecessary labor strife more than one significant fact in times like these

These ominous words from the well-informed "Washington Whispers" column of the November 13 issue of the United States that the dispute within the Board News ought to be read and pondered by every labor leader, by every wideawake worker, in this country. For they place the issue over the restrictions which the Wagsquarely, in words whose significance cannot be mistaken. Either the labor movement will be able to compose its differences and establish peace in its own family or else the federal government, backed by wide sections of public opinion sick and tired of the interminable warfare in labor's ranks, will crack down and fasten on the labor movement an iron-clad system of overhead control that will indeed enforce unity but will at the same time also fasten the yoke of slavery on the neck of labor. Is the trade-union movement ready to pay such a price as this for the narrow vision and inexcusable obstinacy of its leaders?

There is today absolutely no excuse for the continuation of the civil war in labor's ranks. We have said this a thousand times in the past two years and we say it again here at this time with all the emphasis at our command—for it is as true today as it ever was and far more urgent. Today, precisely because of the historical achievements of the C.I.O., it is quite possible to reunite the labor movement and to reunite it so as to guarantee a free hand to ndustrial unionism in the mass-production industries. The terms repeatedly offered by the A. F. of L. peace committee are surely such as can serve at least as the basis for negotiations. There are ciation. no insuperable obstacles and whatever difficulties there are, and there are a number of quite serious character, could certainly be overcome were there present the will and the willingness to subordinate all secondary considerations to the paramount need for

And the need is paramount. No trade unionist with his eves open can fail to see that unity today is a life-and-death question for the labor movement. If the supreme urgency of the need and the gravity of the danger cannot bring the labor leaders to their senses and compel them to put a quick end to the demoralizing, disorganizing dissension, then the heavy hand of governmental regimentation will do it-to the ruination of both of the contending parties and of the labor movement as a whole.

We realize that the long series of bitter disappointments has given rise to a certain spirit of weary scepticism among trade unionists, A. F. of L. and C.I.O. alike. But this is a dangerous sentiment to which to yield. Labor unity can be achieved and must be achieved in the quickest possible time, and the sooner the rank and file make it clear that they will not take "no" for an answer, the sooner it will be achieved.

As a result of pressure from the White House, peace parleys are said to be scheduled to resume in January. This time, these conferences must not adjourn until they have opened the door to unity in the labor movement, until they have taken some decisive action to bring the civil war in labor's ranks to a definite

Prices Still Rising

Washington, D. C. THE Senate Monopoly Committee last week published a report listing 25 commodities on which there have been price rises as high as 77% since the beginning of the war

in Europe. The report emphasized that sugar "merits special mention" because early in September. sugar prices "reached for the sky" and, despite a subsequent drop, were last week still 24% above their August level.

President Roosevelt in this direction CIO. In refusing to join a permahave met with little success, tho we nent C.I.O. organization last year we decided to remain independen had retained an abiding and sincere until peace is established in the labor movement or until our status "Our union still retains its posi- otherwise determined by a conven tion outside either the A. F. of L. or tion of our International Union."

CIO Unions In Convention In New York State

(Continued from page 1)

By and large, the composition of of Buffalo, was elected secretary, with the understanding that the Amalgamated man.

Despite the sharp conflict behind line" forbade it, and the Amalga- the scenes and the clash on the mated had to swallow another bitter third-term issue at the convention proper, very little if anything was actually done to loosen the hold of the Executive Committee of the the Stalinists over the C.I.O. in New State Industrial Union Council was York. Fundamentally, the C.I.O. in left unchanged, with about half of New York remains in the same proits members Stalinists or Stalinist foundly unhealthy condition in which stooges. Because of Haywood's it has been since the formation of transfer to Washington, a new pres- the Industrial Union Council here. ident was elected, Gus Stroebel of If the non-Stalinist leaders of the the Amalgamated. Hugh Thompson, C.I.O. realize the danger, and some of them appear to, they certainly work would actually be done by an are not doing anything about it. And it may soon be too late.

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NLRB Makes Vital Ruling In W.U. Case

Washington, D. C.

In the first place, it seems clear does not involve any disagreement ner Act puts on employers in order to enforce the right of collective bargaining.

In the Western Union case, the company is directed to pay back \$500,000 deducted from wages of employees and turned over to an "employee association," that is, to a company union. The company is directed also to stop all dealing with this association.

The Association of Western Union Employees was formed under company sponsorship in 1918, during the life of the War Labor Board. In the years following, the com-

By giving free passes for railroad transportation to Association offi-By allowing in its offices bulletin

pany assisted the Association:

boards for the free use of the Asso-By encouraging membership in the Association, and discouraging

By attributing wage increases and mprovements in working conditions to efforts of the Association.

These acts of assistance brought no government rebuke until 1935 Labor Relations Act. The act prohibits an employer from aiding one organization of employees while op-

posing another. To meet the requirements of the Wagner Act, the Board contends, the company should have withdrawn, and now must withdraw, all recognition from the Association, and announce to its employees that they are free to join any labor organization they choose. The dues collected for the Association since the effective date of the act must be repaid

The authority of the Board to require such action has been challenged by the company The Supreme Court has been asked to decide the issue in another case involving the Newport News Drydock Company.

The Board's order does not prevent the employees, if they choose, from retaining their membership in the Association and refusing to join an "outside" union. Both the Commercial Telegraphers Union (A. F. of L.) and the American Communications Association (C.I.O) are competing for members among Western Union employees. The A. F. of L. union recently obtained a contract covering employees in the Washington, D. C. office of the company The CI.O. union is now conducting a strike against the company's San Francisco office.

That the new Board member, Wm. M Leiserson, signed this decision is testimony to the unanimity with which the Board views the responsibility of employers under the Wagner Act.

Arms Expenses May Reach Three **Billion Next Year**

(Continued from page 1) tional defense as distinct from foreign wars On this all military and naval experts seem to be agreed.

Washington, D. C. The major item on the agenda

for the next session of Congress is "national defense." All signs point to a happy-huntingground in Congress for the army and navy when 1940 rolls around. Preparations are already under way to secure approval for a special "national defense" deficiency appropriation of \$275,000,000. This will be used to take care of army and navy increases occasioned by the President's "limited-emergency" pro-

The army is planning to get approval for a regular army and National Guard of 600,000 men. This will be the largest peace-time army in our history. This will mean that the army budget will be on the way up again. The navy is planning to get approval for 95 additional vessels and more improvements at shipyards and shore posts. It is thought that the regular appropriations for the army and navy will total something in the neighborhood of \$3,000,-000,000 for the next fiscal year.

Both army and navy have been in consultation with members of the House committees handling their affairs. The next step in the consultations will be a consideration of the needs of "hemisphere defense." It should be noted that the three-billion dollar defense estimate is limited to the United States and possessions and does not necessarily include the expenditures which will be asked to "protect the whole hemisphere."

Thru the efforts of Senator Mc-Carran, the 1939 version of the War and Navy Department's Industrial Mobilization Plan has been printed as a public document. Copies are not easy to secure, but if you write to your Senators or Congressmen and ask them to get you a copy from the Government Printing Office, you may be able to read what is in store for the country in the event of war. The choice parts of the Industrial

Labor and the Law = by Joseph Elwood =

THE REPUBLIC STEEL DECISION

THE first court decision in any Labor Board case growing out of the Little Steel strike of 1937 resulted recently in enforcement against the Republic Steel Corporation of the largest backpay order ever issued to-date. The ruling also appears to limit the Fansteel doctrine on reinstatement of strikers engaging in

The size of the back-pay order for the benefit of 3,000 to 5,000 strikers, as estimated by both union and employer, will reach

\$7,500,000. All portions of the Board's order were enforced by the court, except that for the reinstatement of 40 strikers found guilty of Paradise more "serious" acts of violence. Others convicted of violence, the court held, are entitled to reinstatement because "some disorder is unfortunately quite usual in any extensive or long-drawn-out strike." The court further held that "union disorders" should not deprive a striker of the possibility of reinstatement, thus distinguishing minor offenses on the part of a striker from those which the United States Supreme Court regarded as sufficiently grave to justify refusal of reinstatement.

A by-product of the decision is seen in the effect it may have on Republic Steel's \$7,500,000 damage suit against the SW.OC. and the C.I O. for acts committed during the strike allegedly in violation of the membership in other employee or-Sherman anti-trust law. The C.I.O. declares that the present decision "knocks out the basis" for this suit.

The Republic Steel case will also bring home the frequently overlooked fact that there are some teeth in the administrative enforcewhen Congress passed the National | ment of the Wagner Act, even tho the Board itself is powerless directly to compel obedience to its orders. The present decision shows judicial sanction of the Board's most potent persuader—an order providing for the accrual of back wages if the employer does not comply with a rein statement order.

It is perfectly true that an em ployer is not forced to reinstate strik ers when the Board so orders. He may choose to bring the case to the courts. But, if the employer goes to the courts without compliance with the Board's order, the employer wil pay will pile up for every day of 1e sistance to the Board's order, if the order is eventually upheld by the

Court to Decide On Tips and Wages

Two court actions were begun last week for final determination of the question whether tips are wages for the purpose of the wage-and-hour

Both suits involve railroads. One suit was brought by the International Brotherhood of Red Caps, in which this union asks that 1.500 station attendants, employed by five railroads in Chicago, be

awarded \$1,000,000 in back-pay and an additional \$1,000,000 in damages The union assumes that tips are not wages. The other suit was brought by the

Wage and Hour Division, charging the Union Terminal in Cincinnati with failure to keep prescribed records on the amounts paid by the company and the amounts received as tips. The Wage and Hour Division also charges that the company has either paid no wages, which implies that tips are not wages, or has paid less than the minimum wage, which is open to the interpretation that tips are wages. The court is thus invited to settle this important ques-

Mobilization Plan have been omit ted as usual because they would raise too much of a protest now in a peace-time "democracy". The abbreviated version is valuable, how ever, in giving the reader a picture of the wide scope of the program It must be kept in mind at all times that the printed draft of the plan is not the complete program since it only mentions but does not discuss the selective-service (draft), warlabor and press-relations (including censorship) provisions of the pro-

In Garner's

In the first action taken against an employer in the pecan-shelling industry, the Wage and Hour Division on November 4 asked the federal district court in Texas for an injunction against J. R. Fleming and Co to restrain it from violating the Fair Labor Standards Act.

The firm is one of the largest in the industry. During a recent hearing on petitions for learner exemptions in that industry, it was revealed that entire families were working as pecan shellers for wages of \$5 a week, and that a great many had to get relief to maintain a minımum subsistence.

In the present action, the Wage and Hour Division asserts that many of the workers of the company were paid wages as low as 6 cents an hour, and that the company failed to make overtime payments and kept no records at all for some of its workers, while maintaining false records for others.

Correction

In this column in the November 18 issue, there appeared an item headed, "Standards in the Knitted Underwear Industry" and thruout the item the phrase "knitted underwear" was used to describe the industry under discussion. This was, of course, a typographical error. The industry was the knitted OUT-ERwear industry.

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LaFollette Bill Curbs Anti-Labor Terror

Measure is Based on Senate Probe Findings

Washington, D. C. comprehensive bill, introduced A by Senator Robert M. LaFollette of Wisconsin and Senator Elbert D. Thomas of Utah, designed to outlaw certain "oppressive labor practises", was reported favorably to the Senate by the Senate Committee on Education and Labor a few days before Congress adjourned last Summer. It is understood that prompt enactment of the bill will be urged when Congress reconvenes in regular session next January.

Altho the Senate Education and Labor Committee made a number of amendments in the details of the measure, it was reported substantially as drawn by Senators LaFollette and Thomas. It outlaws labor spies, the use of professional strikebreaking agencies, the employment of armed private police off company property and the possession by corporations of "industrial munitions", including machine guns, sawed-off shotguns and gas bombs.

TO END NOTORIOUS **METHODS**

The measure is the result of tesby the Senate Civil Liberties Commember. It seeks to eliminate a dangerous to the public welfare. number of notorious industrial practises which anti-union employers have developed during the last forty makers follows, as an incidental and years in their determination to prevent the workers from organizing in | er of government. effective trade unions and carrying on united efforts to secure better possession and use of dangerous wages and hours and improved con- weapons and gases is not inhibited ditions of labor.

which have been denied by private spy systems and by private force," the report of the Senate Committee declared.

The measure would operate under authority of the right of Congress to legislate in matters affecting interstate commerce, the committee emphasized.

to prescribe appropriate conditions gases." to contracts, loans and subsidies awarded by it is too well-established to merit discussion," the report went the A. F. of L. and the C.I.O. at

The bill also bars the movement labor practises" The section was country.

Getting Ready for the "War for Democracy"

66 PESPITE public denials of a coming 'witchhunt', agents of J. Edgar Hoover privately boast that they have compiled a list of 'known radicals' in the New York area. Everyone on the list, they predict, will be promptly arrested if the United States gets into war-The Nation, Nov. 11, 1938.

drafted to follow the pattern of the Fair Labor Standards Act, incorporating appropriate exemptions to protect common carriers.

The bill invokes the power of Congress to regulate or to prohibit the movement across state lines of goods which "offend against sound national policy."

"No objection can be raised" the report on the bill pointed out, "under the due process clause to the timony taken during many months proper and necessary restrictions imposed by the bill on the use of lamittee of which Senator La Follette | bor spies and similar devices which is chairman and Senator Thomas a are offensive to public morals and

"The loss of revenue to the detective agencies and to the munition unavoidable exercise of a valid pow-

"The restrictions on the private by the provisions of the second "The bill will give vitality to the amendment, which protects 'the rights of free speech and assembly right of people to keep and bear guaranteed by the Constitution, arms' in the interest of preserving November 11, 1939 -Editor) 'a well-regulated militia.'

"The principle established by the decision of the Supreme Court upholding the National Firearms Act | INSIDE regarding the transfer of eight U. S. Lines vessels to Pan-(U.S. vs. Jack Millet, et al., decid- ama is: the President knew all pared May 15, 1939) clearly validates action by Congress banning the private possession and use of weapons such as sawed-off shotguns, machine "The power of the government guns and bombs filled with chemical

The La Follette-Thomas bill was enthusiastically endorsed by both Mercantile Marine. their conventions last month. It deserves the support of all sections in interstate commerce of goods pro- of the labor movement and of all

"HOW ABOUT ME?"



-Fitzpatrick in St. Louis Post-Dispatel

Imperialism's Bloody Trail

Germany in Czecho-Slovakia

(As described in a United Press dispatch, November 17, 1939)

N^{INE} Czech students were executed and 1,200 were taken into custody today by heavily-armed German storm-troopers and squads of the Nazi Gestapo for "acts of re- went to the Haitian National Bank in the protectorate of Bohemia-Mo-

A total of 2,000 students were arrested, but 800 were released later.

two days of disorders among the with rifles, charged into crowds of demonstrating Czech students five All Czech universities were closed

for three years under orders of the Nazis . . More storm-troopers arrived during the day, bringing the total to 10,000, as warnings were issued that "if resistance should continue, energetic measures will be taken to restore peace and order"...

Martial law was clamped down on Prague and surrounding districts, following the execution of three additional Czech rebels, including two police officers.

U.S.A. in Haiti And Philippines

(As described by Oswald Garrison Villard in "Fighting Years")

O^N December 13, 1914, the government of Woodrow Wilson embarked in its hypocritical and bloody course . . . American Mar-ines landed in the Haitian capital, sistance" against the Nazi regime and carried off \$500,000 in gold by force . . . The excuse given in Washington was "fear of revolution" . . The next day a regiment of American Marines was put ashore and there began an occupation which did not end for eighteen years . . . The punitive measures were tak- What happened after American conen in a series of swift raids after trol was complete was subsequently told by Major General George Barstudents . . . Hitler Guards, armed nett of the Marine Corps. This officer . . . declared that 3,250 Haitians were killed and that he regretted that many of these deaths were "practically indiscriminate killings."

(From the same source)

WE had not been long at war in the Philippines before we had instituted the very concentrationtook over from Spain the "water-I diabolical means of inducing confes- effective than the pure kind!

Great Britain In India

(As described by I Cork in an article in the Workers Age, Nov 25, 1939) THE terror culminated in the in-

famous Arritsar massacre in the Punjab in 1919. Soldiers shot at a peaceful public meeting of protest convened at the Johanwala Bogh, a public garden, with only one entrance to it. The troops placed themselves at this only entrance and simply fired on the peaceful, unarmed crowd. An official British commission estimated the number killed at 379, and the number wounded at 1,200 . . . General Dyer admitted the following before an official commission of investigation:

"I had made up my mind that I would do all the men to death, if they were going to continue the meeting." He had committed this act, he said, because he "thought it would be doing a jolly lot of good, and they would realize they were not to be wicked."

sions ever devised by the sadism of camp system which had aroused our man-the insertion of a hose or indignation when utilized by the bamboo into a man's mouth and Spaniards in Cuba. We .. actually pumping him full of water until his organs are ready to burst; duty wacure" torture in order to get infor- ter was actually recommended by mation This is one of the most one American officer as much more

(These paragraphs are from Drew Pearson and Robert S Allen's "Wash ington Merry-Go-Round" column of

Washington, D. C. ticulars almost before anyone else. First, he has a fetish—some friends think a blind spot-regarding anything that pertains to ships. Second, he is surrounded by friends and ex-officials of the U.S. Lines and of its parent, the International

In his Treasury Department as Under Secretary is John Hanes. former director of I M M; also Basil Harris of British-American Tobacco duced with the aid of "oppressive liberty-loving people thruout the Company family, now Commissioner

FDR Was on the Inside of Ship A and Sacialist Democratic Transfer Scheme And Socialist Peace!

Masses Must Find Way Out of Endless Misery of War

By C. A. SMITH and FENNER BROCKWAY

(Concluded from Last Issue) TT is too late to doubt the terror. I The execution of the most

trusted colleagues of Lenin, and of

Kermit Roosevelt and Vincent Astor get control of the U S. Lines.

The State Department knew all about the Panamanian transfer and approved it in advance—tho Secretary Hull later changed his mind. And tho it has been denied, the British government probably knew about the plan and was not averse to convoying the newly-transferred Pan-

military leaders whose alleged of- perialist or not, the fact of aggresfense was that they were preparing sion cannot be denied. When Stalin the way for the very cooperation substituted an alliance with groups

local, thruout Russia. We repeat—what is the explanation? No single factor is the sole cause of this tragedy. But one thing is certain: the impulses for liberty released by years of development in Russia have come into conflict with the impulses for the maintenance of burocratic power persisting from the

In Russia, because there has been an absence of proletarian democracy, conflict has developed between many ministration and the burocracy, and discontent has arisen because of the rebirth of social differences. When local and national leaders have dared to criticize Stalin's policy, this has been regarded as the unforgivable sin and they have "disappeared." When administrators have failed to vield results satisfying the false expectations of Stalin's policy, they have been treated as the scapegoats. The secret police, organized as the G.P.U., has hunted out those who

the Stalın regime. The change in Russia's external policy can similarly be traced step by step from the days of Lenin to the present time First Lenin's theory of world socialist revolution was put on one side for the theory of "socialism in one country." Then, national patriotism was deliberately developed by the popularization of the slogan, "Defend the Socialist Fatherland" Now, Russia is pursuing a policy of aggression which, however much it may be interpreted as a tactic of self-defense, has the effect of imperialist expansion

have expressed discontent against

It is too early to give a final interpretation of the most recent events, but two significant occurrences should be noted. During the Czecho-Slovakian crisis, the Russian government used for the first time since Czarist days the term "Slav' tion, this was a reversion to the psychology behind the Czar's dream We welcome the proposals now of a mighty Slav empire. Secondly, current for the establishment of a the Berlin copy of the recent Russocialist alliance, based on clearly un- sian-German agreement included the deistood first principles, devoted to phrase that the two governments well-defined limited objectives. Such partitioned Poland on the basis of "the frontier of their imperial inright by unqualified resistance to terest." The Moscow copy of the do-

with Germany which has now been of capitalist governments for an alconsummated, has been accompanied liance with the world working class, by the "liquidation" of at least 6,000 he took the first step towards power communist leaders, regional and politics in international affairs which has led to the present development

A DRIVE FOR A SOCIALIST PEACE The time has come for the whole working-class movement to reconsider its position. It should now

drive the government on towards a regime which was established during "fight to a finish" but to drive the the transition period of the revolugovernment out and to demand a so-We do not ask socialists to en- from 15 to 24. dorse the Russian-German peace

terms or indeed any terms which would come from a conference of existing governments. Capitalism of thought among the young generation, the Association found that cannot give us a just peace or an enduring peace. At best, it would only be another truce. If the Chamberlain government decided to negotiate peace, we know that it would take that course in the interest of the ruling class of Britain, and we should be in opposition to an unjust peace concluded to save capitalism just as we are in opposition to an unjust war to maintain the interests of imperialism. It is necessary for the workers to

recognize clearly that no just or enduring peace is possible so long as we allow ourselves to be partitioned in watertight compartments owing allegiance to the ruling class of sovereign nation-states. Just as a permanent peace requires the disappearance of capitalism on the ecoomic side, so it demands the disappearance of sovereign states on the political side.

This is of special importance at the present time because of the pro posals which are being made for federal solution in Europe. We warn the workers that a federation of capitalist states will prove as incapable of maintaining peace in Europe as the capitalist League of Nations proved of maintaining peace in the

We demand a socialist peace, but we make the demand without any illusions that the Chamberlain government or any capitalist govern ment in this or any other country will fulfil the demand. Nevertheless it is the duty of the working-class movement at this time to advocate a socialist peace. The drive for such a peace would have a tremendous effect thruout the world. The proposal would reach the working class in elements which will build the new Germany and would give the courageous socialist opposition new

We know that at this moment many of those who have given full support to a war against Hitlerism are reconsidering their position, that their fellow-workers of Europe and many who have differed from the ILP. have come to conclusions similar to those we have advocated

We hope that before it is too late those who hold these views will get together for common action. A great united drive for a socialist peace now might change the course of history. The alternatives are a capitalist truce which, unless it is replaced by a socialist peace, will renew the present tragedy, or a world war, lasting it may be for years, with millions dead and a social wreckage

American Youth See End of **Opportunities**

New York City. BECAUSE of present-day conditions, ability no longer offers assurance of success, in the view of 80% of a cross-section of the young men and women of New York City, according to the results of a poll conducted by the Young Men's Christian Association, made public last week. Only 20% believe that young people with ability are finding it no more difficult today than at other times to get ahead.

The Y.M.C.A said it made the inquiry with a scientific sampling technique which, it believed, limited probable error to a margin of 5%. Covered in the poll were samdecide to use its influence not to ple groups of the employed and unemployed, those at school and not. the upper, middle and lower economic classes, Protestants, Jews and Catholics, white persons and Negroes-all young men and women

In its effort to determine the drift of thought among the young gener-65% think that expert advice on how to choose and get a job would be more valuable to unemployed young people or those in dead-end jobs than more school or college or government-made jobs to help until better times. It also learned that 80% were guided less by religion than were their parents, and that 87% put less store by their parents opinions on political, social and economic matters than did their elders

not far removed from that depicted by Wells in his "Shape of Things to

There are three possibilities before mankind in the future to which the war is a prelude.

The first is a regime of fascism arising not necessarily from the victory of Hitler but from the circumstances of social chaos which would follow a prolonged war whoever was the victor, and of the need of the capitalist class to impose a dictatorship to crush revolt.

The second is an expansion of a G P U. terror, which would be all the more tragic because it was maintained in the name of communism.

The third is a socialism based upon a belief in the value of freedom, equality and solidarity and aiming only at human happiness and fulfilment.

The third is attainable. We live in a world of potential abundance. with no inherent necessity for poverty, or war, or tyranny. But it will be achieved only if in these days of the maximum disaster of the capitalist regime, we have the confidence and courage to seize the opportunity to save and to strengthen out of the present ruins those society

We are confident that Russia's millions who began socialist construction at the end of the last world war will reconquer the achievements of the Russian Revolution and with the world will be ready to join in the task of building the new order.

"STALIN"

By Boris Souvarine (A Critical Survey of Bolshevism)

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of Customs, whose fortune helped amanian ships thru the war zone. Writers Appeal Against War an absence of proletarian democracy, an absence expressed in a growing burocracy and widening inequalities, conflict has developed between many

(We publish below the programmatic statement of the Randolph Bourne Council, an organization of radical writers, artists and other intellectuals formed recently on the West Coast We publish this document because it is a sincere expression of socialist opposition to war, because it is an ardent plea for socialist unity But we cannot ignore the fact that the entire declaration is cast in a sectarian mold and is infused with altogether too doctrinaire and dogmatic a spirit, a spirit of finality and ultimate judgment that does not go well with the times we live in or the tasks confronting us Nor can we overlook a number of specific errors of fact and opinion that warp the statement as a whole No one acquainted with the record or public pronouncements of the elder and younger Senators LaFollette could possibly place them in the camp of imperialism, as this document does Nor does it make political sense to say that the American Labor Party, or even the Social-Democratic Federation, for all its present position on the war, has already "joined the 'government of national defense'" And it is utterly inexcusable to speak of the position of the Independent Labor Party of Great Britain as "equivocal" or to place that party among the "middle-class intellectuals" Readers of this paper need not be convinced of the thoroly socialist, thoroly internationalist, position adopted by the ILP in the present war crisis

(We sincerely hope that the Randolph Bourne Council will find it possible quickly to correct its sectarian, dogmatic approach in the light of deeper thought and increasing experience—Editor)

1 an organization of artists, the raising of the fascist militarizawriters and professional people, de- tion of society to its final logical voted to the following objectives: 1. Socialist opposition to the pres-

2. The alliance for mutual aid of all principled, anti-totalitarian socialist groups and individuals in the United States. 3. The mobilization of the radi-

cal section of our own class in the

struggle against war and for a free

ent war.

society; aid and publicity for our persecuted fellows abroad. We are not a Popular Front organization seeking names on a letterhead The following statement is designed to make our position clear

SOCIALIST OPPOSITION TO THIS WAR

beyond doubt.

voices have been raised against it, for many reasons. We are against it soon as possible. for the following reasons:

hand, for the maintenance of the soon as U.S. hegemony over the slave power of the British and western hemisphere has been con-French empires; on the other, for solidated, and when, from military the territorial expansion of the Ger- and economic stalemate in Europe, man and Russian dictatorships. This remains true whether or not the latter country enters as a belligerent on either side.

All the governments of the world have been faced for at least ten years with an economic crisis, steadily worsening, insoluble under any existing system, and with the risis, in one aspect, a war declared marily to American expansion in of the capitalist system—who know

San Francisco, Cal. | against the working class by their THE Randolph Bourne Council is "own" governments, and represents level. In the words of Stephen Spender, this is a war "in which each side is fighting to produce chaos in the other before it has lost control of itself."

Under the impetus of the maturing war crisis, the socialist movement has just begun to emerge from the confusion and disillusion of twenty years of betrayal and disaster. Unless we can regain our old unity and effectiveness, this war will result in the extinction of the militant elements of the working class and the physical or moral destruction of the exponents of art and

The imperialist interests in this war can be divided into four groups: 1. A large section of American tary of War. Since the outbreak of war, many capital is identified with British imperialism. This group wants war as

2. The decisive section of Ameri-This war is a struggle, on the one can capital desires our entrance as America will be able to dictate the

terms of peace. The present head of the government occupies a position between these groups, and speaks (always in words of peace) sometimes for one, sometimes for the other.

3. Many American capitalists and small business men fear the conseing discontent of their peoples. This quences of a general war, look pri-

contradictions of our economic structure. They hope to absorb, as an "island of peace and order", many of the possessions of Great Britain as that empire disintegrates in a disastrous war. Their political spokesmen are the inheritors of Bull Moose "manifest destiny", such figures as LaFollette and Hıram Johnson.

4. Partisans of foreign, anti-British imperialism wish to keep the United States neutral in the interests of the nations they represent, or with whom they sympathize. Many Nazi-minded capitalists and politicians, the German-American Bund, the leadership of the Communist Party, belong in this class.

Bona-fide, native anti-war forces can be divided into three groups: 1 Many middle-class liberals are,

at the moment, opposed to war. To judge from our last experience, most of them will go over to the war party and provide it with a smokescreen of pious wishes. "Peace with honor" 'No reprisals, no indemnities" 'Self-determination for oppressed minorities", "Our war is not with the . . . people", "For the defense of civilization as we know it", even 'For a Socialist United States of the World". Slogans will be provided to suit all tastes. The body of opinion represented by the Nation and the New Republic is already moving in this direction. The Social ist Party of France, the Labor Party of Great Britain now play this role The position of the British Independent Labor Party is equivocal. In America, the Social-Democratic Federation and the American Labor Party have joined the "government

dia is considered as a "good" Secre-2. There exists a large body of ir econcilable religious pacifists, mempers of the evangelical churches of the small Christian communist sects. Their integrity and reliability are unquestionable; their effectiveness is nominal. Welcome tho they may be as allies, few can share the convictions on which their opposition to war is based. Ultimately, if and when the United States enters this war, their resistance must become a resistance to the society which makes war possible. Meanwhile, by stressing the personal, moral aspects

of national defense". Mayor LaGuar-

of the struggle against war, they serve to diffuse resistance to it. 3. Finally, there are those who realize that war is an integral part

this hemisphere as a solution to the | that disarmament conferences, legislative neutrality, negotiated peace, will not solve the problem of war, any more than the prohibition of blackjacks, the activities of social workers, the passing of laws, will solve the problem of crime. War will be abolished only by the establishment of a world society of socialist production, in which authoritarian state forms have disappeared and the full measure of creative liberty has been assured to all men.

The people of America have shown that they are opposed to participation in this war. Their reasons are simple. They know that the conflict is none of their business; they know that they will have to do the dying This is a struggle, on one side, to insure expression of the popular will, on the other, to pervert it.

SOCIALIST ALLIANCE

We do not believe that the prospect of a general war advances the cause of world socialism. The last war produced the dictatorships which now harry the European working class. This war has destroyed the vestiges of democracy abroad; the present Administration moves to extinguish it here. Whatever the outcome of a world war. any socialist society which might to arouse sympathy for another naemerge would be purchased at a

price incalculably high. alliance should be defined on the

this war, but on the left the door cument omitted the word "imperial." should never be closed, however in- The explanation of the discrepancy transigent or sectarian those groups is not known but is significant. (Continued on page 4) Whether Russia's motive is im-

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WILL HERBERG, Editor

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SATURDAY, DECEMBER 2, 1939.

Personally, to YOU....

HANS —, a metal worker in the town of —, Germany, was offered a chance to leave the Reich, to recuperate from the dreadful strain resulting from his work in the underground trade-union movement in his town. He refused: "The overthrow of Hitlerism will be brought about only by those of us who remain and fight from within." But he added: "Please, please, send us some money ... no matter how little. You can't appreciate what the money you sent last month meant to us. DON'T FAIL US!" Must we, can we, add anything to this appeal?

No matter how badly off each and every one of us may be, can we compare our lot with that of Hans or that of score of thousands of other socialist militants in the war-torn and dictator-ridden countries of Europe? Hans is ready to make any sacrifice, even life itself. What are you ready to do? Are you ready to do your bit so that Hans's sacrifice may not be in vain? Will you let Hans's plea go

It depends on you. Send us immediately whatever you can spare -pennies, dimes, quarters, dollars. Help us help Hans and the many like him in Germany and elsewhere, DON'T DELAY!

THE CHALLENGE OF PRAGUE

THE anti-Nazi demonstrations conducted recently by Czech students in Prague drawned in a sec of blood by the second dents in Prague, drowned in a sea of blood by the armed hooligans of Hitlerism tho they were, undoubtedly constitute an event of immense significance. For they demonstrate that the spirit of the Czech people has not been entirely broken despite measure the vast influence of the overwhelming power of the oppressor. They demonstrate that | Charles A. Beard's brilliant writings | policy the property of the common the aspiration to freedom has not been entirely crushed by the iron heel of the storm-trooper The domain of totalitarianism is not the one vast graveyard of helpless and hopeless conformity that we have sometimes tended to think it was. Despite everything there are stirrings of revolt-today, in Czecho-Slovakia, where national oppression gives a particularly keen edge to the hatred of the masses for the Nazi overlords; tomorrow, perhaps thruout all Germany as well. . . .

We greet the demonstrations of the Czech students with special enthusiasm because we have always stressed that the emancipation of the masses in the dictator-ridden countries of Europe must come, will come, thru their own collective revolutionary effort and not at the point of foreign bayonets. The demonstrations of the Czech students, supported, according to report, by sympathetic actions of the workers of Prague, may well prove a forerunner, a harbinger of the spreading movement of revolt that will eventually settle accounts with the organized savagery that is Hitlerism.

Events themselves are fortunately serving to purge the poison of Stalinism from the anti-fascist movement in the Reich as elsewhere If now this movement can only maintain its integrity and independence and avoid all entanglements with the imperialist literally nothing, to be said on the powers momentarily aligned against Hitler, powers that only yesterday were fascism's best allies in its aggressions and may be so again tomorrow, it has the future before it.

We hail the heroic Czech students. We place our wreath of age and solidarity on the graves of those that were sent to redeath by the hrown-shirted murderers during those three their death by the brown-shirted murderers during those three the authors are members of the Govbloody days in Prague.

667 THE theoretical alignment of democracy versus fascism was predicated on the assumption that Britain and France are in reality democracies. That these two states are as imperialistic as Germany and Italy was overlooked. In their colonies-India, Morocco, Cochin-Chinathey had been pursuing a policy of ruthless exploitation of millions of human beings long before Hitler and Mussolini appeared on the horizon.

"The difference is merely that not possessing colonies, Italy and Germany are compelled to practise British and French colonial methods on their home population. Because of their colonial wealth, too, the contradictions in society have not been so rudely challenged in Britain and France as they have been in Italy and Germany; at home, therefore, London and Paris have been able to carry on with a semblance of democratic

"England will fight not for democracy but to safeguard her imperial interests where they are at stake. . . . "-Pierre van Passen, "Days of Our Wolfe Frederick A Stokes Company,

A Review of "Keep America Out of War":

Fighting Plea for Peace

By WILL HERBERG

the issue of war or peace for America could be decided by the quality of the books written by the spokesmen of the contending sides, we should indeed have very little reason to fear the outcome. For rarely in our history has a great public question brought forth in an equal period such a brilliant succession of works as the issue of American involvement in war has done in the last four years. And it has been remarkably one-sided battle of books too, for whereas the anti-war (sometimes loosely called "isolationist") side has to its credit a series of historical surveys, economic and social studies and political appeals of really first-rate character, the "collective-security") school has been able to produce very little besides moralizing sermons based on glittering abstractions false to the evidence; the point is obvious enough.

BOOKS ARE ALSO

SOCIAL FORCES The issue of peace or war for America will not, of course, be decided simply by the quality of the ties. But, make no mistake about it, do with the outcome. Who can on foreign policy in recent years, particularly on elements of the population that have a great deal to and teachers? Who can estimate the provisions. . . . A heavy tax on war far-reaching effects, particularly in labor circles, of such a work as war-dictatorship plan... Reduction Rose M. Stein's "M-Day"? "The of the size of the military-naval idea also becomes a material force budget. . . . Vigilance against the once it seizes hold of the masses."

"Keep America Out of War," by Norman Thomas and Bertram D. Wolfe,* is the latest work to appear in the long succession that began with Professor Beard's "The Devil Theory of War" and Miss Stein's classic, and it is one of the best. For clarity, comprehensiveness linked with brevity, and vigorous argument, it is well-nigh unsurpassed. It states the case for keeping America | war means to big business, to the out of war with such persuasiveness | workers, to the farmers, to the lower and power that it leaves nothing.

In essence, it is an unofficial commentary on the program of the Keep America Out of War Congress, with war that could be used to explode erning Committee of the K.A.O.W.C and they are familiar with the antiwar struggle in its practical organizational forms as well as in its ideological aspects Naturally, this is flation followed by ruthless deflabound to add materially to the power and effectiveness of the work.

This book was written by two socialists, and it is permeated thru and thru with the spirit and message of socialism. Yet it is thoroly intelligible and appealing to the average thinking American, as so few socialist works have ever been. It is intelligible not merely in its vocabu-

KEEP AMERICA OUT OF WAR, by Norman Thomas and Bertram D New York, 1939 \$1 50

lary and idiom but in its approach ing freedom to the masses under to things, in the very cast of its the heel of Hitlerism. Especially thought. It speaks the language of cogent is the line of argument provthe average thinking American in ing that the danger of totalitarianof minds. Nothing short of reproducing the

entire text of the book itself could give an adequate idea of its con- an authoritarian state; in a permatents, for not a word is wasted in its 184 pages. The character of the present war in Europe, the consequences for the American people and for Europe as well should this country be involved, the chances of staying out and a positive program for keeping out of war, are all dealt with trenchantly, concisely and yet with a wealth of factual material pro-war (or "interventionist," or and quotation. Particularly effective in this part of the book, in my opinion, are the chapters, "Can We Stay Out?", where the theory of the "inevitability" of American incore, academic disquisitions on the volvement in war is thoroly refuted, fascist reaction and war into total unrealities of "international law," and "Can We Stay Half Out?", ıtarian dıctatorship under a univerand subtly disguised appeals to pre- where the Administration policy of judice and passion. There is no need getting into war by "measures short of presenting a list of books in of war" is exposed in a magnificent manner.

HOW TO KEEP

OUT OF WAR The two chapters on "How to Stay Out," constitute the programmatic part of the book. Some of the section headings will give you an idea of declaration of war. . . . Make the issues of diplomacy and foreign man.... Organize the will to stay out of war into an effective force.. Restore and extend the arms emdo with forming the opinions of bargo ... Rigid enforcement of the others, such as editors, journalists 'cash' provisions . . . of the 'carry' trade profits. . . . Put an end to the

of the size of the military-naval danger of war in the Pacific. . . Guard against Dollar Diplomacy in Latin America. . . . Devote our resources to the solution of our domes-

tic problems." I do not want to give the impression that there are no faults or shortcomings in the work at all. I think it is a real deficiency that so little attention is given to the economic consequences of war, to what

middle classes, in terms of profits, wages, earnings, living costs, hours of labor, working conditions, inflation. There is a vast amount of significant material relating to the last President Roosevelt down, are now beginning to exploit quite openly Why not more stress on the inevitable cycle of war boom and post-war collapse, on the spree of wild in tion? But such deficiencies, while real, are entirely secondary and do not detract from the essential value

BASIS FOR AN ENDURING PEACE

of the book.

The last chapter, "America and the Peace," contains the basic socialist conclusions. It presents a devastating critique of imperialism, Allied and American as well as German; of racial and national oppression, in America with the Negroes as victims as well as in Germany with the Jews; of war as a means of overthrowing fascism and bring- make."

more than the narrow sense of the ism lies not in impossible foreign inword: it permits a genuine meeting vasion, not even in the over-publicized foreign propaganda, but in a decaying economic system, making for monopoly state capitalism and nent depression spreading insecurity, distress and desperation like a plague; in "unsolved" economic and social problems that cannot be solved within the framework of the stop but accelerate [these tendencies towards totalitarianism], as already war has done," the authors warn. "The question seems to us to be Shall we move towards a planned collective economy with as little violence and as much democracy as the circumstances permit, or shall

sal arbitrary and tyrannical state?"

"The Problem of Enduring Peace": is such peace possible and under what conditions? Certainlythe authors stress-no tolerable, no enduring peace will be brought into being by those who plunged Europe into this war, as twenty-five years before they plunged Europe and the world into its predecessor. An enduring peace means not merely an books written by the contending par- | what this program is: "Curb the | end to the present war but an end to power of the Executive. . . . Give the | the war-making regime and warthe books will have a great deal to people the power to decide on a making system responsible for it An enduring peace can be only a democratic peace, an anti-imperialist peace, a socialist peace. It can be only a peace on the basis of the genuine self-determination of peoples, on the basis of the eradication of imperialism and imperialistic rivalries, on the basis of the replace ment of the "monopolistic ownership of the machinery of production by a few . . . by the social ownership and democratic control by the many' And the best way America can help in the realization of this kind of enduring peace is by keeping out of war; by making our own country safe for democracy, political and economic; by defeating the forces of reaction, fascism and imperialism at home; by doing everything in our power to aid the oppressed peoples of the world to achieve emancipation thru their own efforts, for no emancipation can ever be brought to them at the point of foreign bayonets.

"Here in our own land," the book concludes, "our duty is not war. It is rather to set an example for peace. It is to overcome the racial the war-mongers of all stripes, from the war-mongers of all stripes are war-mongers of all stripes. the equality on which true democracy must rest. It is to overcome the mertia which permits a few men in the seats of economic and political power to think and act for the rest of us and determine our fate. It is to maintain and increase our social enlightenment, our freedom of discussion and examination of problems, our civil liberties-which even ın their present modest form, it fend It is to conquer poverty and provide abundance for all. . . .

"While all Europe is darkened, ours is the task of keeping the torch of civilization alight and burning ever more brightly here. And when Europe is most desperately in need of its rays, then our people may

Writers Against War, For Socialist Unity

(Continued from Page 3) who refuse to enter may prove thwarted, perverted and destroyed. themselves. Spain and France show This attack upon culture is not forthe fatal consequences of Popular tuntous. It is a reflex of the decay Front policies; Spain, post-war of capitalist society and of the in-Germany, revolutionary Russia, the stability of the totalitarian regimes dangers inherent in any isolation or which have replaced it. Modern cul-

in the struggle for its achievement. war will be crippled. Unless the so- able under capitalism . cialist movement can regain its old unity, and turn its augumented firethe war with reminiscences, however glowing. Today, the responsibility rests on each one of us.

We hope that the socialist groups in America will be able to forge an effective unity, at least on the basis of specific issues, and we will do all we can to further it. If the now marticulate mass of unaffiliated socialists, workers and intellectuals would seriously rededicate themselves in action to the principles of Debs, the problem of socialist unity would solve itself.

CULTURAL FREEDOM, CIVIL LIBERTIES, WORKERS RIGHTS

the arts and sciences, which we had the United States government.

| thought characteristic of our time, persecution of the extreme left. | ture has outgrown the society which Scattered and demoralized by the produced it. In fact, as the world defeats of twenty years, most of rushes to war, it has outlived it. those who are in agreement with the The struggle for cultural freedom is principles of socialism have drifted but one aspect of the struggle away from organized participation against war, the struggle against capitalism. Only a free socialist so-Unless this latent force can be re- ciety can restore cultural freedom. vitalized, effective resistance to this Increasing barbarization is inevit-

Considering the nature of the emergency, the clarity of the issues, power against the class enemy, the the schism in the ranks of defendhope of a socialist world will be ers of cultural freedom is nothing postponed indefinitely. Last time, less than scandalous. We are willing the moral integrity of Eugene V. to enter into friendly relations with Debs served as a rallying point for the League for Cultural Freedom all principled opposition to war. We and Socialism and the Committee have no Debs today. We cannot stop, for Cultural Freedom. We will affiliate with neither until every effort has been made to heal this split.

In all questions of civil liberties, we will cooperate with any reputable liberal or working-class defense organization. We are unalterably opposed to the Stalinist hunt now going on thruout the country. If we are interested in our own civil liberties, we must defend the ordinary democratic rights of the members of the Communist Party, not for what they are, but for what we are. Likewise, we deplore the appear sice of certain misguided radicals before the Dies Committee. The American socialist movement can settle its ac-Today, we see the great movement | counts with the Comintern without of freedom, experiment, advance in recourse to the aid of agencies of

Talking It Over:

Letter from Sen. Capper

by Bertram D. Wolfe ==

NORMAN THOMAS and I have just received a letter from Senator Arthur Capper of Kansas, dealing with our jointly written book, which letter raises a number of interesting problems. Writes Senator

"I have read the book with great interest. While I do not go along with you in all your program, in the main I indorse it most heartily. I certainly agree with the statement on page 143, which I believe is a sound basis from which to start, altho you and myself may honestly differ as to the route to be taken from that start:

"But the main struggle against totalitarianism, like the struggle against war, begins at home. And the danger is not in the Kuhns and present social order. "War will not Browders and other agents of foreign powers. The danger lies in our unsolved economic problems, in the 10-year depression, in the 10 millions and more who are jobless, in their unsatisfied needs and fierce discontents.' "I am opposed to the May bill, but would not say I am opposed to a

mobilization plan worked out in advance in event of war. I do not want war, but if a war should be forced upon us, I want to win that war. Seems to me that is just being realistic.

"At any rate, your book is very informative and decidedly stimulating, we be driven catastrophically thru and I am glad I had the opportunity to read it."

EACH WITH HIS OWN PROGRAM

IN the first place, the letter is noteworthy in that it reveals the frank basis on which the widely inclusive Keep America Out of War Congress is functioning The KAOWC is a federated body. None of its affiliated groups gives up its own program on war or on any other question This is frankly stated and clearly understood by all its participating organizations.

After the systematic degradation of the whole concept of united action by the Stalinists, after the monstrosities like the "united front from below," after all the leagues of "innocents," after all the stooge and "transmission-belt" organizations, capture and splitting manouvers, it is refreshing to see labor, farm, youth and peace groups working together in a common federated body with a program of limited agreement, without any of them trying to capture, put something over on, or deceive the other affiliates, and without any of the organizations giving up its full program or abandoning the right to express it.

This limited agreement goes beyond the Keep America Out of War Congress extending to individuals and organizations that are not even part of the Congress. Thus, Senator Capper is by no stretch of the imagination a member of the K A.O.W.C nor of any of its affiliated organizations. But he has spoken from its platform during the fight to retain the arms embargo and to pass the cash-and-carry measure, and made effective and forthright presentation of the arguments for those measures and others on the K.AOWC. program, without any deceptive pretense of greater agreement than really existed The same is true in varying measure of many other members of the "peace block" in the Senate and House of Representatives.

WEAKNESSES OF THE PEACE BLOCK

THE "peace block" in Congress, none of whose members are part of the K.A.O.W.C. nor in full agreement with its program, has put up a good fight for such measures as we do sponsor or favor in common: the arms embargo, cash-and-carry, and, with the exception I think of Senator Borah, the need for a war-referendum amendment to the Constitution. Most of them also agree with us in a common desire to curb the power of the Executive in foreign affairs, to defeat-for the time being at least -any plans for industrial conscription and war-time dictatorship, to and national intolerance which mars prevent any public or private credits to belligerents, to hinder the government's taking sides or showing partiality in the European war, and a

But, even while we work for those things which we favor in common, we have clearly defined differences on any number of other matters. Some of these same differences exist inside the K A O.W.C.; some are differences between the K.A O.W C. as a whole and most of the Congressional members of the "peace block."

Senator Capper has clearly defined one of his differences with the K A O.W.C. He is opposed as we are to industrial conscription and other dictatorship measures at present. But if he should change his mind on the necessity of America's entrance into war, or if America should be driven into war despite our efforts, he would doubtless favor a good part if not should be our pride jealously to de- all of the War Department's plans for such military dictatorship. Some of the affiliated peace societies might conceivably change their minds on these matters also Others would not. Both the Socialist Party and the Independent Labor League are publicly pledged to continue their opposition to war and war measures in war time. Obviously, somewhere along that road, we would have parted company.

Another difference which we of the Keep America Out of War Congress as a whole have with most of the "peace block" will loom very large indeed have a proud contribution to in the January session of Congress: the question of the military budget

In "Keep America Out of War," Norman Thomas and I wrote the following

"REDUCTION OF THE MILITARY-NAVAL BUDGET

"In this field, there is much cowardice and loose thinking. It is high time Congress ceased the automatic approval of fantastic and excessive arms budgets just because the Administration calls them appropriations for 'defense of our shores.' . . . The greatest weakness of the 'peace block' in Congress is that it has not had the civic valor, or else the vision, to set its face against the dangers of super-armaments, with their attendant strain upon our economy, damage to our social legislation, increase in our deficits, and contribution to an atmosphere of dictatorship and reaction. . . . How can we talk so self-righteously of the need of armament reduction in perpetually warring Europe while we continue to pile up armaments in this fashion?"

It remains to be seen how many members of the "peace block" in Congress will have the courage to take this, at present rather unpopular stand, and how many have the understanding or even the desire to oppose the fantastic piling up of armaments. Some of them actively favor it, and since the next step in the Administration war drive is to build up a force for overseas war while reiterating the pledge to keep America out of it, many members of the "peace block" will thereby, regardless of intention, become supporters of the war drive and the war party.

Again, many members of the "peace block" are active or passive advocates of the theory of dominance by the United States of an exclusive sphere of influence or economic empire embracing the two continents of North and South America, not unlike the Japanese theory of "exclusive interests" in Asia or the German theory of Lebensraum in continental

On such matters as armament and imperialism, where differences are fundamental, the K.A O.W.C. will become a critic of much of the "peace block" as well as of the Administration.

Obviously, on the long-range struggle against war, which Norman Thomas and I believe can only be ended by the abolition of the profit system and the establishment of socialism; on the continuation of the struggle against war in war time, if our efforts to keep out should be defeated; and even on the specific program for fighting against totalitarianism in America (as Senator Capper has indicated), we would differ not only with the Congressional "peace block" but with many of our colleagues and

federated organizations in the Keep America Out of War Congress. But since this is clearly understood and frankly stated by all the parties concerned, and since each of us continues to advocate his own full program on this and other questions, we can travel together as far as our road runs in common, mutually supporting each other in the joint struggle for the things we agree on, awakening the great mass of the American people to a greater consciousness of the problems facing them and a greater determination to take into their own hands the control of their destinies, and preparing them thereby the better to judge between us and between our respective programs where we differ.

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