

Next Week:  
I.L.P. EMERGENCY WAR  
PROGRAM

# Workers Age

Weekly Paper of the Independent Labor League of America

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## AT FIRST GLANCE

by Jay Lovestone

### AGENTS OF THE STALIN-HITLER BLOCK

TIME and again have we pointed out that the various Communist Parties of the world are not political parties in the sense one speaks of such organizations in western Europe and America! For some time, we have stressed that the Communist Parties have become mere agencies of the Russian foreign-affairs department and the G.P.U. We have repeatedly underscored that, without exception, all sections of the Communist International, have become, like the Russian Communist Party, police parties.

Only political agencies of this stripe can make sharp and sudden changes and turns in policy without debate or question. In such organizations, only orders count. Of course, these orders are only from on top. It is for this reason and this reason only that the Communist Parties have been able to make such sharp shifts. American workers, unaware of this peculiar nature of the Stalin parties, are amazed at the ease with which the Browners switch labels, swap positions, swing about, smear colors, hail today what they hissed yesterday, lambaste tomorrow what they laud today. Elementary honesty, moral decency, regard for principles, respect for opinions, capacity for convictions—none of these ingredients goes into the make-up of the police party.

After some years of membership in such an organization, the individual mind becomes warped, the dues-payer becomes politically sterile—devoid of all initiative and self-reliance. Under these circumstances, the individual members are not responsible for party policy or practice. They merely execute—or are expelled or even executed (Stalin "purge") upon rejection or refusal. Criticism is taboo here. This is the essence of totalitarianism.

In view of this, let no one be surprised at the newest distortions and contortions resorted to by Stalin's outfit in the United States—calling itself the Communist Party. Today, the Stalin parties are no longer merely agencies of the Russian Foreign Office. The joint Russo-German army communique proclaiming the common purpose of establishing "law and order" in Poland symbolizes the transformation of all Communist Parties into agencies of the Hitler-Stalin military alliance. The world has yet to grasp the sinister implications of such an international gang-up. None of us can at this moment begin to appraise the havoc and ruin that may be brought into the ranks of labor by the agencies of this unholy alliance.

In the interest of self-preservation, all workers organizations in our land must guard against these forces, operating under the banner of the Communist Party and actually under the thumb of the Stalin-Hitler block. The Communist Parties and all their auxiliaries owe loyalty to no one but this block, are concerned with nothing else but the welfare of this block, have no interests at heart but those of this block. No working-class organization can place the slightest trust in or collaborate with, or assume even the smallest responsibility for, the representatives, defenders or spokesmen of the Hitler-Stalin anti-labor crusade.

And let none harbor illusions as to the menace of the Stalin-Hitler entourage being short-lived or self-exposed. Far be it from us to deny the potential conflicts inherent in this partnership. But between the potential and the actual there is lots of costly time. Nor must one overlook the element of protective coloring to be taken on by the tools and toadies of this nefarious combination. The Browners and the Amters will "go back to first principles", return to "revolutionary" jargon, dabble in class-consciousness, rave against some imperialism—all in order to put on a false front, to camouflage their real role as agents of the Hitler-Stalin block. It is for this reason that we tell the New York workers that a vote for Amter is a vote for Hitler.

Immeasurable harm has been inflicted upon the labor movement by the Communist Parties when they were agencies of Stalin's Foreign Office. But only mortal injury can be brought to the ranks of labor and all socially progressive forces by these Communist Parties now that they have been transformed into agencies of the Stalin-Hitler military junta. We sound this alarm today. American labor still has time to ward off and extirpate this menace. The time is now—today—at once. We cannot begin too soon. And against this scourge we cannot fight too hard. Militant labor unity in defense of all that is clean, worthwhile and hopeful must be first on the order of the day!

September 22, 1939.

## What Is the New Stalinist "Party Line" Going to Be?

### Communist Party in Right-About-Face at Moscow's Orders

By WILL HERBERG

THE Communist Party of this country, and presumably of other countries as well, is now in the throes of another "change of line", probably more far-reaching in its implications and consequences than any thru which it has passed in its long and checkered career. In short, the Communist Party has come out with the slogan: "Keep America out of the imperialist war!" The Declaration of the National Committee of the C.P., published in the September 19 issue of the Daily Worker, is the document that signals this sudden right-about-face. Without getting lost in the maze of tangled verbiage that fills four columns of the paper, let us see what the main points of this pronouncement are.

#### OVERNIGHT AN "IMPERIALIST WAR"!

"The war that has broken out in Europe," the manifesto proclaims, "is the second imperialist war. The ruling capitalist and landlord classes of all the belligerent countries are equally guilty for this war. The war, therefore, cannot be supported by the workers. It is not a war against fascism, not a war to protect small nations from aggression, not a war with any of the character of a just war, not a war that the workers can or should support. It is a war between rival imperialisms for world domination. The workers must be against this war. . . . Communists in all belligerent countries are exposing the imperialist and predatory character of the war. They will vote against war credits. They go among the soldiers at the fronts and the masses at home explaining that this war will bring the people nothing but misery, burdens, destruction and death."

"The workers must be against this war. . . . Communists. . . . will vote against war credits. Why, then, did the leaders of the French Communist Party, as reported in the Daily Worker of September 2 and several days thereafter, vote to support Daladier's declaration of war, vote to

support his war measures and his demands for war credits? Hadn't the "line" hit them yet? Or is there a double "line"? But far more important, how is it that the war has turned out to be an "imperialist" and "predatory" war on both sides after all? Isn't it the very same war that the Stalinists have advocated for years as a crusade of "democracy against fascism"? Isn't this the war for "collective security against the fascist aggressor"? Of course, it is; but now that it has come, the Stalinists refuse to recognize it. Why? Because the Stalin government of Russia has made a sharp turn in its foreign policy!

#### ECHO OF SOVIET FOREIGN POLICY

Yesterday, Russian foreign policy looked to an alignment with "democratic" England and France against fascist Germany and Japan. Hence, the Stalinist parties all over the world preached the gospel of "concerted action of the democracies against fascism" and carried on an agitation for war unmatched in its hysterical blatancy. Today, Russia is an ally of Hitler Germany, a partner in the overrunning and partition of Poland. Hence, the Stalinists make their right-about-face and discover that the war they have been preaching all along is an outright imperialist war, "not a war that the workers can or should support." They suddenly discover that "the previous alignment into democratic and fascist camps loses its former meaning." Indeed, they even discover that "democracy in Britain and France" has been "long in eclipse" and that it now "suffers a 'blackout' which can be lifted only when the working class, leading the nation, defeats the predatory aims of their ruling classes." Shades of the "great democracies" and the Popular Front!

Things are a little different in the Far East. The Soviet "truce" with Japan is still very precarious and tentative, nor is the direction of Japandese foreign policy at all certain.

## F.D.R. Asks Repeal Of Arms Embargo

### Senate "Peace Block" Plans Hard Fight To Save and Strengthen Neutrality

Washington, D. C.

President Roosevelt in a special message delivered in person called upon Congress last week to repeal the arms-embargo provision of the present Neutrality Act and to return to the "age-old and time-honored doctrine of international law." He made his plea in the name of "keeping America out of war," which he said was the big objective of his policy.

At the very moment he was delivering his address, it was clear that his proposal would meet with strenuous resistance from the strong "peace block" in the Senate, whose leaders insisted that the President's program would open the way to involvement in war. The traditional "principles of international law" for which Mr. Roosevelt pleaded, they pointed out, were precisely those that facilitated America's entanglement in the World War in 1915-17.

The President declared that he regretted Congress had ever passed the neutrality law or that he had ever signed it. He gave what he regarded as historical parallels from the War of 1812 to prove that the absolute arms embargo would tend to involve the country in war. He made a direct bid to those interested in the profits of a war boom by stressing that there was no "advantage to us in sending all manner of articles across the ocean for final processing there, when we could give employment to thousands by doing it here." It was thruout obvious that the main motive behind the President's program was to throw the weight of the economic resources of the United States behind the Allies in the present European war.

Mr. Roosevelt said that in addition to a return to "international law" certain "positive safeguards", such as the cash-and-carry system and the restriction of war loans, might be necessary, but he did not recommend the adoption of any of these.

Within two hours after Mr. Roosevelt had delivered his message, a group of twenty-four Senators met in the office of Senator Johnson of

California and proposed to fight the President's kill-neutrality program "from hell to breakfast" in the words used by Senator LaFollette. Those attending the "peace block" conference, in addition to Johnson and LaFollette, included Senators Nye, Borah, Vandenberg, Capper, Frazier and Lodge, Republicans; McCarran, Downey, Overton, Walsh, Holt, Bulow, Clark of Missouri and Clark of Idaho, Democrats; and

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### The "Fourth New Deal"

"BUSINESS men find that their counsel is more welcomed in Washington today than at any time since N.R.A. Business advisers are bobbing up in every major department as so-called New Dealers tend to slip more into the background." — United States News, Sept. 11, 1939.

"ALTHO there has been no official confirmation from the White House, a story going the inside rounds relates that Wage-Hour Administrator Elmer Andrews will soon be replaced by Col. Philip Fleming, War Department, as head of the Wage-Hour Division."—United States News, Sept. 18, 1939.

## Russia, Reich Split Conquered Poland

### Close Cooperation Between Nazis and Soviet Forces; "Peace" Drive Goes On

The third week of the European war ended with the occupation and partition of Poland by Nazi Germany and Soviet Russia. There was still some fighting in Warsaw, which held out against the conquerors, and at some isolated spots, but the German High Command officially declared the Polish war to be over. Chief military attention, it seemed, would now be directed towards the western front.

In the partition of Poland, Russia

got far more than was expected, altho Germany got the more valuable portion. The Russian half, approximately 150,000 square miles with about 15,000,000 inhabitants, is marked off by a line running from the East Prussian border at Kolno along the Pissa River to the Vistula, along the Vistula thru the suburbs of Warsaw to Sandomierz and then along the San River to the Uzkok Pass in the Carpathian Mountains. But it contains mostly farming land and swamps, while the German half includes the far greater part of Poland's coal and chief industries.

In this partition, no provision was made for a buffer state or for a portion to Lithuania. It was hinted, however, that a new disposition might be made in these respects later on.

The joint Russo-German partition of Poland was preceded and prepared for by close military cooperation between the two invading powers. On September 18, a joint Soviet-Reich communique was issued in which the aim of both was laid down as the "restoration of law and order" in Poland. The same day, at Brest-Litovsk, military authorities of the two states concluded a six-point agreement as to the fate of the conquered land.

The carving up of Poland by Germany and Russia, observers pointed out, is of far-reaching political significance. It creates a "partnership in crime" between them, and makes Russia directly interested in supporting Germany in order to guarantee the Polish partition. But it also brings Russia and Germany together on a common frontier, and that may have serious consequences.

Along with the division of Poland, some agreement was apparently reached by Berlin and Moscow as to spheres of influence in the Baltic and in central Europe and the Balkans. Russia seemed about to extend a "protectorate" over Latvia, while the assassination of Premier Calinescu of Rumania by pro-Nazi Iron Guardsists appeared to presage some move in that quarter. Great significance was also attached to the special visit of the Turkish Foreign Minister to Moscow. In the Far East, Russia was reported pressing for Chinese-Japanese peace negotiations with a Soviet mediator.

The German "peace offensive" gathered some momentum last week. In addresses by Hitler in Danzig and Mussolini at Rome as well as in the six-point agreement adopted by Russia and Germany at Brest-Litovsk, great stress was laid on the assertion that, since the "Polish question" had already been "settled," there was now no need whatever for the war to continue any longer. These advances met with little response, however, from the Allies.

## Hosiery Meet Takes Anti-War Stand

New York City  
Delegates to the twenty-eighth annual convention of the American Federation of Hosiery Workers, an autonomous part of the Textile Workers Union, a C.I.O. affiliate, recorded last week their "unequivocal opposition" to American involvement in the European war.

In a resolution adopted at the convention, the union, which has 55,000 members, urged workers in this country to "promote and extend the principles of democracy (in the United States) and to strive at all times to improve the social and economic conditions of the American people."

The anti-war declaration was approved after the delegates had rejected a resolution endorsing President Roosevelt's program for repealing the arms embargo provision of the Neutrality Act and another calling for complete suspension of commercial relations with belligerent nations.

The resolution that won the convention's favor set forth that labor in the United States had a "deep, abiding aversion for war" and that any intervention by this nation in the conflict abroad might encompass the destruction of democracy and of civil rights here.

### "KEEP AMERICA OUT OF WAR"



—from Justice

## Lindbergh Speech Has Big Effect

### Frank Howard's Weekly Letter

By FRANK HOWARD

Washington, D. C.

THIS is being written as Congress meets to discuss the neutrality question. The surprise of this pre-Congressional period was the speech of Charles Lindbergh, national hero. I can report that many new Dealers as well as isolationists expected Lindy to support the President. One leader of the peace party assured me, the afternoon of the day the radio carried his appeal, that "they have even lined up Lindbergh for the war." His speech, therefore, enraged the New Dealers who are behind the President's war program and elated the people who want to keep America out of war. Now many Rooseveltians are joining Dorothy Thompson in charging Lindy with being pro-fascist. Dorothy says he is connected with Doriot of the French fascists, thru Alexis Carrel of the Rockefeller Foundation. Jay Franklin has him inspired by Castle, the foreign expert of the Hoover regime. It sounds a little weird. The best guess is that Lindbergh is expressing the spirit of his father in the words of his charming and able wife. It is as simple as that. Whatever question there may be as to his inspiration, it is clear that he has eloquently and effectively expressed the will of the masses of the United States.

Even the American Legion is anti-war at the present time. I quote from an important statement by Stephen J. Chadwick, until the other day National Commander: "We once attempted to take our ideals to Europe, but the twenty years have shown us that they were not acceptable. Any change in the form of government of a county is brought about by forces within, not outside elements. The only hope we have of imposing our ideals and systems of government on the rest of the world is by setting a successful example for them. We still face the job of performing this demonstration and we are not doing so good a job of it when 10,000,000 of our workers remain unemployed."

#### WHAT, ANOTHER DOUBLE-CROSS?

Lawrence Todd, Tass representative in Washington, told a group of us the other night (he didn't know me, so I judge it is what he is saying privately to any one) that Rus-

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# The Labor Spy Racket Menaces Unionism

### LaFollette Uncovers Many Vicious Practises

Washington, D. C. WHAT labor espionage really means in the hard day-to-day struggle of trade unionism to assure a measure of security and decent livelihood to the workers of this country, was made startlingly clear recently in the testimony of a number of ex-industrial spies before the LaFollette Civil Liberties Committee of the Senate, in the course of hearings on the bill to ban "oppressive labor practises" introduced by Senators LaFollette and Thomas as a result of their three-year civil-liberties investigation. The bill is aimed at putting an end to the abuses bared by that investigation—industrial espionage, strike-breaking agencies, private armies and employer arsenals.

Particularly revealing was the testimony of C.M. ("Red") Kuhl, as ably reported in the August issue of the Machinists Journal. Senator LaFollette, who presided at the hearings, simply said to him: "Proceed in your own way."

"I have had sixteen years of practical experience in strike-breaking, undercover operative and detective work in labor situations," Kuhl began. He explained that one of the spy agencies he formerly worked for was "E. E. MacGuffin and his National Corporation Service Bureau," and he gave some examples of its methods.

#### OPERATIVES AT WORK

"When the machinists union started organizing among the member firms of the Youngstown Automobile Dealers Association in 1915," Kuhl recalled, "Margaret Byers, Mary Javorsky, and some other women street operatives went around to the workers houses pretending to be demonstrators of face cream and furniture polish.

"While giving free samples to the workers wives, they also gave out propaganda. They would bring the conversation around to the union. One of their favorite gags was to tell how their husband or brother or father joined a union a year or two before in some other town, was pulled off the job by the union, and had never been able to get a job since—this woman had to take up demonstrating work in order to support her family.

"These women operatives worked up a lot of heat against the unions that 'busted up their happy homes' and gave a lot of advice against letting any of the men-folk listen to union 'propaganda.' They were also very good at spreading scandal against union organizers. Nothing travels so fast as scandal, and nothing grows so fast as it travels."

Kuhl also said that he, with a "bunch of men street operators, visited all the business men and showed them how bad it would be for the town if there was a strike, and got them to talk against the union among his customers. Of course, these business men never knew who we were working for."

As a result of these and other tricks, Kuhl reported, "it took only about three weeks to have the union on the ropes, with all kinds of rumors and suspicions going around among the members. They were blocked long before they got to the stage where they could have called a strike if they had wanted to."

All these methods were used when a union tried to organize employees of the Commercial Shearing Co., at Youngstown, in 1933, Kuhl said, plus this other scheme:

"I put out propaganda in Sharon, New Castle, Niles, Warren and Hubbard, Ohio, and Farrell, Pa., that jobs were available at the Youngstown plant. People came from all over the country to look for work, and stood in front of the employment office at opening times. They were competent men, too, and must have spent a lot of time and money trying for those jobs.

"None of this expense cost MacGuffin or his employer client anything.

"This crowd of men looking for jobs demoralized the union, and, along with the propaganda, weakened it so they got nowhere.

#### PROMOTION OF COMPANY UNIONS

"Another kind of operative work is the promotion of company unions. When organization started in December 1933, at the Taylor-Winfield plant at Warren, Ohio, MacGuffin put Wallace Kipp and some other men inside the plant as workmen, and hooked Reverend Bunch, of Leavittsburg, Ohio, who worked in the plant. All of them started to promote a company union against the Mechanics Educational Society.

"This kind of agitation at that time was easy. The operatives just argued and put out anti-union stories and scandal, and soon had a majority of the workers ready to sign up in the company union. Then they called a meeting with the management, and by March 1934, the union was licked and the company union had no opposition.

"Street operatives produce results in strike situations also. During the Johnson Bronze strike at New Castle, Pa., in 1934, our men Fiske, Flynn, and Kipp were there with union credentials, posing as good union men. They were on the picket line right along.

"In addition to putting out propa-

ganda and circulating stories and scandal, the street operatives were with the pickets to start things if a fight was wanted.

"I was with the strike-breakers, a lot of whom had been sent in from Cleveland. The strike-breaking set-up was one where we took the flunks thru the picket line mornings and evenings to a hotel. I told MacGuffin this would cause a fight, and he said everything was fixed so the law would move in on the strikers if there was a fight.

"The flunks were ready for a fight and one started. The street operatives were with the pickets and were heaving bricks at the flunks.

"So some of the men hired by MacGuffin were throwing bricks at other men hired by MacGuffin, and the latter were doing their end of the fighting by shooting gas at MacGuffin's operatives on the picket line.

"Wire-tapping and dictaphone recordings are part of the operations of some street operatives.

"Another stunt that ties in with a lively scandal campaign by street operatives is the old badger game. During the Johnson Bronze strike, MacGuffin was told that Roebuck, the union organizer, would probably fall for a woman. I saw one of the street operatives trying to get Roebuck's attention around his hotel, but heard she couldn't interest him.

"Nevertheless, the scandal was put out that Roebuck was 'hell with the women,' and I heard that this story was the cause of his being let out by his international union."

Kuhl then told of a strike in which "MacGuffin's street operatives shot the glass out of some greenhouses in Ashtabula, and the union got blamed for that."

#### PERMEATING UNIONS

"Another kind of operation," he continued, "is that carried on by operatives who get to be important officials in labor unions.

"Take, for instance, Earl Trombley, who, as secretary of the Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel and Tin Workers, at Newton Falls for a number of years, was also one of MacGuffin's general operatives. Trombley was an old-timer in the labor spy business. As secretary, he got union cards and credentials for other operatives MacGuffin used in the steel and other unions.

"Also, he promoted policies in the union so that no real organizing was ever successful. He was just a sort of insurance investment against the union.

"Another union official who did work for MacGuffin as a big-shot man on union policy was Frank Timlin, who for years was an officer of the molders union in Youngstown, and in the Youngstown Central Labor Union. He was an old-time operative and worked for MacGuffin as far back as 1922. Where the flunks failed, Timlin brought home the bacon for MacGuffin. (Kuhl gave specific examples.)

"Another union official who worked for MacGuffin and promoted union-busting policies was Roy Taylor, who was secretary of the electrical-workers union in the powerhouse at Bellevue, Ohio. While he was there from 1934 to 1936, the policemen and maintenance men at Lake Erie Power and Light Co. had a lot of trouble getting organized.

"Still another such policy operative was George Camm, who was financial secretary of the machinists union in Youngstown, while working for MacGuffin in 1933 to 1935. Up to the time Camm was expelled after being exposed by the LaFollette committee, the machinists there suffered from a lot of jealousy and backbiting. Camm got around to machinists locals all over the area to get in his work."

After naming other union officials on MacGuffin's payroll, and describing (Continued on Page 4)

## Green Hits War-Makers, Urges Peace

Springfield, Ill. William Green, president of the American Federation of Labor, told delegates to the Illinois State Federation of Labor's annual convention last week that "we must look to Congress to save us and protect us from participating in European war." He said the A. F. of L. would be active at the special session of Congress to urge "strict neutrality" and prevention of war profiteering in the United States.

"Congressmen who vote to send our young men to war across the sea will hear from us when they come up for reelection," Mr. Green said. "It is our purpose to enter the 1940 campaign. I predict that the membership of the A. F. of L. and their friends will be the decisive factor in that campaign."

He added that this organization would "demand" that a ceiling be put upon commodity prices and that the war profiteer be designated a criminal.

He said that he expected the Federation's national convention, scheduled to start October 2 in Cincinnati, to "make a strong declaration" on the question of United States neutrality.

## How to Keep Out of War

IN 1914-1917, WE—

- 1—Sold guns, ammunition and other "lethal weapons" to the Allies and built up a war boom for American munition makers.
- 2—Sold them oil, steel, and other "war materials"—all strictly for cash.
- 3—Loaned them the money to pay us when their cash gave out—kept up our war boom.
- 4—Carried these war goods in U.S. ships.
- 5—Let U.S. citizens travel on belligerents ships and in war zones.

#### WHAT HAPPENED?

American ships were sunk . . .  
American citizens were killed . . .  
American national emotion was aroused . . .  
American youth were conscripted . . .  
America was at war!

To keep America out of war this time, we must—

- 1—Refuse to sell "arms, ammunition, and implements of war" to all belligerents—Keep the MANDATORY ARMS EMBARGO, prevent the war boom in munitions.
- 2—Put all other trade with belligerents on "cash-and-carry" basis and limit sales, thus controlling the boom.
- 3—Keep U. S. ships from trading with belligerents and from war areas.
- 4—Forbid U. S. citizens to travel on belligerents ships.
- 5—Prohibit loans and credits to belligerents.

## What Is the New Stalinist "Party Line"?

### New Right-About-Face at Moscow Order

(Continued from Page 1)  
that anyone expressing such sentiments was denounced in the Stalinist press as a paid agent of Hitler?

The present Stalinist attitude towards the Neutrality Act and the fight over its revision just beginning in Congress, is revealing. Only yesterday, as can be seen by examining the files of the Daily Worker for June, the Communist Party was the most violent, frantic advocate of the outright repeal of the Neutrality Act or at least its modification so as to permit the export of arms and munitions of war to England and France. Today, they make another sudden discovery:

"The Neutrality Act . . . is now, with the destruction of the Peace Front 'collective-security'—W. H.) possibility, and the outbreak of the imperialist war, no longer an important or decisive issue. It serves only to distort the real issues . . ." With one fell swoop, both the supporters and the opponents of neutrality are thrown indiscriminately into the same heap as "war-makers." The former are somewhat arbitrarily described as "Coughlin, Hearst and Lindbergh"; the latter are characterized as "those spokesmen of the same camp who demand the repeal or revision of the act for the purpose of U.S. help to British and French imperialism, and thereby drawing America into the war." It is hardly necessary to point out that in this "camp" were to be found, until very recently, the Stalinists and their fellow-travelers, themselves in person.

The most interesting aspect of this "turn" may easily be overlooked for it is only indirectly implied in the C.P. declaration. Nowhere in the entire document is there a good word said for President Roosevelt or his Administration. On the contrary, we are told that "the people must demand (my emphasis—W.H.) that the President's promise . . . be kept inviolate . . ." Is any more needed to indicate that the time will not be long in coming when President Roosevelt will be thrown into the same "camp" as Chamberlain and Daladier and will become the "main enemy" in Stalinist agitation?

It is not necessary to waste much time over the rest of the manifesto. A good third of it is, of course, devoted to hysterical justification of Soviet Russia's "peace policy" (Nazi pact and Polish invasion), pronounced in the same high-pitched, strident tone of official enthusiasm that marked the ecstatic praise of Stalin's flirtation with the "democracies" the day before. And naturally, too, there is the usual reference to the "social-democrats, Trotskyites and Lovestonites," who are accused—of all things!—of "war propaganda" and of being "among the most dangerous enemies of American peace, among the most vicious and insidious [of those] who would drag our country into the imperialist war." But, of course, there is nothing particularly original or interesting in all this.

Two questions emerge from this sudden, tho' not unexpected, "change of line" of the Communist Party.

Now that the Stalinists are shouting "Keep America out of the imperialist war!", can they be regarded as a potential reinforcement or as potential recruits to the anti-war movement? I think the slightest reflection will dictate an emphatic "no" and this answer will be confirmed by every consideration of experience, policy or principle. What the "line" or slogans of the Stalinists happen to be at any particular

moment is of only secondary importance in determining our attitude towards them or their potentialities as a progressive force in American political and social life. For their "line" and slogans are a mere front for their real objectives as an "American" agency of the ruling clique in the Kremlin, of the Soviet Foreign Office. Yesterday, they were for war; today, they are ostensibly against it. But one or the other, it's Stalin's dirty work they are doing, as I suggested above, Russia is forced to drop its ludicrous "neutrality" and is declared at war with Britain and France? What will the "party line" be then? Nobody knows, least of all the Stalinist puppets on Thirteenth St. They will do whatever they are told to do by Moscow, whether it means peace or war. The Stalinists are no more fit allies for the anti-war movement than are Kuhn's or Coughlin's fascists, who, for comparable reasons, also pretend to be devoted to the cause of keeping America out of war.

The anti-war movement would do well to be on its guard to prevent any contamination from these corrupt and tainted elements.

The second question is: What does it all mean in larger terms, in terms of the "general line" of the Communist International, the G.P.U.-nominated foreign agency of the Stalin dictatorship?

Writing in the Moscow Pravda of September 9, D. Z. Manuilsky, one of Stalin's overseers in the Communist International, the G.P.U.-nominated foreign agency of the Stalin dictatorship?

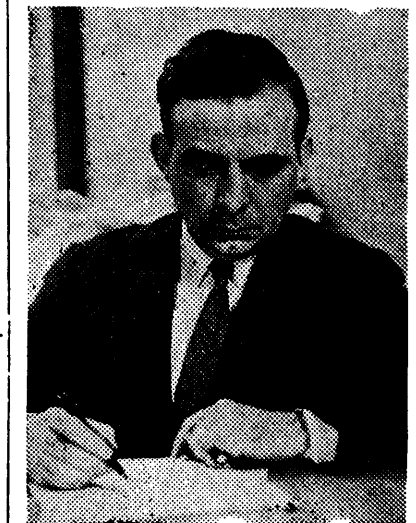
For, at least in its phraseology, it may prove to be no new gospel after all. Should the hints in Manuilsky's article and the Daily Worker manifesto turn out to be any indication at all, we would witness a resurgence of sham "revolutionism," a systematic effort to trick out the power-politics of the Stalin regime—the alliance with Hitler, the invasion and partition of Poland, and the rest—in the much tarnished finery of the late-lamented "third period." Many of the old formulas would be revived sooner or later, "class against class," "social-fascism" (perhaps a more tactful term would be found), and so on. The same old mouthing of "revolutionary" phrases would be resorted to in order to justify the most reactionary abominations. And behind everything, dominating everything, motivating everything, would be the needs and interests of the Kremlin dictatorship.

But why does Stalin, now that he has taken the road of predatory

## Corey Will Speak at Symposium

New York City. LEWIS COREY, outstanding economist and author of "The House of Morgan," "The Decline of American Capitalism" and "The Crisis of the Middle Class," will present his views on how we can build a "better America" at the symposium arranged by the Independent Labor Institute for Friday evening October 6, at Hotel Center, 108 West 43rd Street.

Along with Mr. Corey, a number of other eminent leaders in the fields of labor, education and politics will take part in the discussion of the



LEWIS COREY

subject, "Towards a Better America." They include Luigi Antonini, chairman of the American Labor Party and first vice-president of the I.L.G.W.U.; Dr. George S. Counts, president of the American Federation of Teachers; Norman Thomas, chairman of the Socialist Party; Louis Waldman, social-democratic leader and labor attorney; Scott Nearing, well-known economist and author; Abram L. Harris, professor at Howard University; and Bertram D. Wolfe, educator and author. Jay Lovestone will be chairman.

These men, each of whom has something worth while to say on the basis of his study, experience and activity in the labor movement, will discuss the trends of American social development and the outlook for a better future for the great mass of the American people. From every viewpoint, this symposium promises to be one of the most significant educational affairs of the year.

Tickets are 75 and 50 cents and are to be had at the Independent Labor Institute, 131 West 33rd Street.

## Dressmakers W.C. Branch Hits Stalinists

### Adopt Strong Resolution on Hitler Pact

New York City. A strong resolution condemning Stalinism and the Stalinists for their alliance with Hitler was adopted last week by Progressive Dressmakers Branch 122 of the Workmen's Circle. Branch 122 is made up of members of Dressmakers Union Local 22, I.L.G.W.U.

The resolution, signed by Harry Roth, chairman, Jack Broder, recording secretary, and Ben Gladstone, financial secretary, follows: "WHEREAS, the Workmen's Circle is a workers fraternal organization, interested and participating in all the struggles of the working class; and

"WHEREAS, the Workmen's Circle, in common with the labor movement, has during the past years conducted anti-Nazi and anti-fascist campaigns, and has been an integral part of all anti-Nazi activities and participated actively in the boycott movements against the Nazi and fascist countries; and

"WHEREAS, the Stalinist-controlled Communist International, which has hitherto claimed to be part of the labor movement and presumably active against Nazism and fascism, has now exposed itself as an ally of fascism by concluding (1) a trade pact agreeing to exchange goods between Soviet Russia and Nazi Germany, and (2) a non-aggression treaty giving Nazi Germany the benevolent neutrality of Stalinist Russia, which allows the Nazis to freely continue the destruction of civilization; and

"WHEREAS, as a direct result of the above pacts Nazi Germany has let loose a war of devastation on Poland which is bound to destroy this country of 35 million people and most likely will result in completely wiping out a Jewish population of about three and a half million, now completely at the mercy of Hitler, and

## Labor and the Law

by Joseph Elwood

### GEARING LABOR TO WAR

WITH the second world war in full swing, preparations have already begun in this country for gearing labor relations to the new industrial situation created by the war in Europe.

The immediate effect of war in Europe may be expected, on the basis of experience from 1914 to 1917, to result in conditions which normally accompany increased industrial activity and an increased cost of living. This means that, as in any industrial boom, unions will attempt to extend organization in the active industries. Demands for increased wages will follow hard upon current price rises.

The drive for American participation in the war, however, will most likely bring changes of an entirely different character. Upon Presidential proclamation, the government might then exercise war-time control over industry.

The Industrial Mobilization Plan, drafted in 1936 for submission to Congress in the event of war, calls for drastic control of labor relations thru suspension of the right to organize and modification of the work-hour standards. In short, the plan proposes that the necessity for maintenance of maximum production in all essentials shall govern all labor relations.

A 1939 draft of this plan calls for classification of industry into two categories, war industries and non-war industries. Labor requirements would then be determined for each of these classes, with primary attention directed towards furnishing adequate supplies of labor for more important industries.

Difficult days are ahead for the labor movement. The trade unions can still do something, before it is too late.

### A. F. L. and Labor Relations Board

Coincidental with the C.I.O.'s first action under its new policy of public criticism of the National Labor Relations Board, A. F. of L. sources disclosed that the Federation's Executive Council sees in the recent decisions of the Labor Board a vindication of the A. F. of L. campaign to amend the Wagner Act.

The Council's report to the forthcoming A. F. of L. convention at Cincinnati may be expected to justify the Council's drive to amend the act on this ground. A. F. of L. leaders take the position that by changing its policies the Labor Board admits the error of some of its earlier decisions against which the A. F. of L. protested. A. F. of L. officials also see in recent decisions an attempt to follow the "real intent" of the act. The "unfair advantage" heretofore alleged to have been given the C.I.O. has been withdrawn.

## Do Women Have to Go To Work?

Washington, D. C. WHY do women work, particularly married women? Additional light on this question, about which there is so much contention, is thrown by a survey just completed by the Women's Bureau of the Department of Labor. In a report giving the results of the investigation, the Bureau says:

"Women get scant credit for the heavy load of family support they carry. Too seldom is it realized that the weekly pay envelope of many thousands of women—single and married, white and Negro, native and foreign-born—are used to the last penny for family needs."

To get the most accurate line possible on this much-mooted question, the Bureau conducted house-to-house investigations in Fort Wayne, Ind., Bridgeport, Conn., and Richmond, Va. Women workers were asked why they worked and what they did with their wages.

Of more than 58,000 women questioned, more than a third replied that they combined the job of breadwinner with the many tasks and responsibilities of home-maker. The percentage differed only slightly in the three cities.

While the burden of support for dependents fell heaviest on the widowed and divorced women, in many cases married women, especially the Negro women, were the sole support of families of considerable size, which very often included children. In a large number of cases, single women supported dependent parents and small children.

As a rule, the report emphasized, when a woman leaves her home to enter a factory or domestic service, it is because hard necessity drives her.

## F. D. R. Asks Arms Repeal

(Continued from page 1)  
Lundeen and Shipstead, Farmer-Laborites.

Spokesmen for the "peace block" stated that their program included retention of the arms embargo and a cash-and-carry system on all other trade with belligerents. A rigid ban on loans to belligerents, without possibility of circumvention thru the R.F.C. or the Export-Import Bank, was also stressed.

Congressmen here are already being deluged with huge masses of letters and telegrams from all parts of the country demanding that the arms embargo be retained and that the neutrality law be strengthened rather than weakened so as to keep America out of war. The trend of these letters of constituents is overwhelmingly in support of the program of the "peace block."

Opinion here is by no means so certain as it was a few days ago that the President would succeed in his efforts to abolish the arms embargo despite his secret "bi-partisan" conference with Congressional leaders. A long and hard fight is expected.

Get Your Tickets for the  
**Symposium "Towards a Better America"**  
Friday, October 6 — Hotel Center  
SEE AD ON PAGE 4



Resolutions of I.L.L.A. Convention

For Socialist Unity

(We publish below the resolution on "Socialist Unity and United Action" adopted by the national convention of the I.L.L.A. held in New York City over the Labor Day week-end.—Editor.)

OUR general objective is all-inclusive socialist unity embracing all those who can accept the following basic "minimum program" of democratic socialism (our own program as a political organization goes far beyond these minimum points):

Principles of Socialism

a. The capitalist system of private property is the means of production and production for profit is thoroughly outlived historically. The persistence of this system is at bottom responsible for the crisis of present-day society, including economic chaos and distress, social and cultural decay, imperialist conflicts and political reaction. The welfare of mankind demands the replacement of capitalism by a socialist system of the collective ownership and democratic administration of the forces of production and production for use.

b. The only social group that can effectively and consistently lead in this great social advance towards socialism is the working class in town and country, supported by the great masses of the other sections of the population that are exploited and oppressed by capitalism.

c. While a great deal of preliminary work can be accomplished within the framework of capitalism, the fundamental socialist transformation is possible only after the working class has attained political power and is in a position to use its governmental power as the lever in this transformation.

d. In the effort to attain political power, the working class must depend primarily upon its independent organization and action grounded in its class consciousness. It must take advantage of every possibility of peaceful, democratic change, as long as such possibilities continue to exist. In the long run, it must be prepared to use any means that may prove necessary and effective in the achievement of its democratic and socialist goal.

e. Socialism is fundamentally opposed to authoritarian or totalitarian dictatorship of every sort, whether it be fascist, military or Stalinist in character. Socialism fights to preserve every vestige of democratic rights and liberties under capitalism, always looking forward to the broader, deeper, and infinitely more adequate democracy under socialism.

f. A socialist society is inconceivable without democracy. A socialist society implies, at the very least, the collective ownership of the means of production and their operation according to a unified plan, unrestricted political democracy (which excludes the one-party system and the regime of party dictatorship), and the democratic administration of the economic and social affairs of society by the producing masses themselves.

g. In its own structure and functioning, the socialist movement must be thoroughly democratic, rejecting the concept of "monolithic" organization and all that it implies.

h. Socialism strives for peace—for the maintenance of peace, to the degree that this is possible, under capitalism; and for the creation of the foundations of lasting peace in a socialist society. Socialism is fundamentally opposed to militarism, chauvinistic nationalism, imperialism and the imperialist colonial system.

All-Inclusive Unity

2. These principles, while expressing the essence of the socialist position, are broad enough to make

possible the inclusion of all socialist elements in this country—the Independent Labor League of America, the Socialist Party, the Socialist Workers Party and the Social-Democratic Federation.

But on a New Basis

3. Such all-inclusive socialist unity, however, cannot be merely a reconstitution of the pre-war socialist movement, for then it would merely repeat the sterile and fruitless development of that movement. Socialist unity today must aim at creating a basis for a new departure, at building a socialist movement with a new outlook and a new approach, based on the following two fundamental ideas:

a. American socialism must primarily be rooted and draw its inspiration from the conditions, possibilities, needs and traditions of the American people and not be a mere American reflection of European socialism, whether it be Russian, German or English.

b. American socialism must strive to help build up a great mass labor movement in this country—on the economic field, in the form of a single united trade-union movement; on the political field, in the form of a nation-wide labor party. In this general mass labor movement, socialism must strive to serve as an energizing, inspiring leavening force.

Obstacles To Unity

4. However much we may desire it as a general objective, all-inclusive socialist unity is not a practical possibility today from the standpoint of the actual political situation. The primary political obstacles to such all-inclusive unity at the present moment are:

a. Sharp, deep-going differences on the war question, since a predominant section of the S.W.P. takes a "collective-security" position while all other socialist elements are following an anti-war policy directed towards keeping America out of war.

b. The sectarian hostility of the S.W.P. to any form of socialist unity that does not accept the Trotskyist program as its point of departure.

For a Socialist Block

In view of this situation, the most practical move towards unity at this time seems to be the formation of a Socialist Block of all socialist organizations in this country along the following lines:

a. Collaboration on all issues and in all fields where a general agreement can be reached.

b. Complete political and organizational independence and freedom of action for the cooperating organizations within the limits of fraternal relations.

c. Joint discussion of all important programmatic, political and organizational questions with a view towards reaching a general understanding and thus paving the way to a more complete unity.

In this Socialist Block ways must be found for the cooperation of unattached socialists in this country.

Should War Come

6. Should America become involved in war, an entirely new situation would, of course, arise—with new problems and tasks, all centering around the struggle against war; with new divisions and alignments in the socialist movement under the impact and stress of war. But while keeping this perspective in mind and never permitting any weakening, curtailment or restriction of our anti-war struggle under any circumstances, we must frame our present policy on socialist unity on the basis of the present conditions and political relations.

THE NEW LEADER

THE PAPER OF THE INDEPENDENT LABOUR PARTY Vol. XXXI. New Series, No. 295 FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER 8, 1939 [Published at the Office of the General Office as a Tri-weekly] ONE PENNY

I.L.P. TAKES HISTORIC STAND

THE I.L.P. Group in the House of Commons, under circumstances of great difficulty, has maintained the attitude of International Socialism which the I.L.P. maintained in the war of 1914-18 and which Karl Liebknecht and other International Socialists then maintained in Germany.

He also asked for a Bill to conscript wealth. "The Government will not be doing the right thing by the people of this country as a whole," he said, "unless some corresponding measure is very speedily introduced which will deal with property along parallel lines to the way in which this measure deals with human life."

J. Maxton hoped that the following day the Prime Minister would be able to make a definite statement that there was a possibility of saving the peace of Europe. Do not let them about across the floor of the House terms about honour and bravery and all the rest. Millions of ordinary working folk would get neither honour nor anything else out of a general European war, and if the bombs could be stopped tomorrow in Poland and if they could be prevented from raining over the other cities of Europe, then it would be one of the greatest achievements that the world had ever seen.

We recorded last week how the I.L.P. divided the House against the introduction of the Emergency Powers Bill. We report below the subsequent action taken.

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POUM Greets Convention Of the ILLA

(We publish below the greetings of the Spanish Workers Party (P.O.U.M.) to the recent convention of the I.L.L.A. Further greetings from other European socialist organizations will appear in the next issue.—Editor.)

Paris, August 1939

To the Convention of the Independent Labor League of America:

THE Executive Committee of the P.O.U.M. send you fraternal and revolutionary greetings.

We want to take advantage of the fact that you are in convention assembled to express to you our fraternal gratitude. From the very first day of the Spanish civil war, the I.L.L.A. was on our side. When the criminal repression of Stalinism broke over us, which cost us the life of Andres Nin and of so many other comrades, your party hastened to show us its solidarity, to defend our honor and the life of revolutionaries against the calumnies and criminal plots of the Stalinites. If we are alive today, we owe it to the international working class. After the fall of Catalonia, as emigres, we once more feel your solidarity with us.

Between the I.L.L.A. and the P.O.U.M., there exist bonds of international fraternity that we should like to strengthen. Both parties have the same origin and have followed parallel roads. Both knew how to break in good time from the Communist International—already fully degenerated and bureaucratized—in order to remain faithful to revolutionary Marxism. It is natural and logical that we should now find ourselves brother parties in the same international organization—the International Revolutionary Marxist Center—to the foundation of which we have both contributed.

We are both faced with tasks of historic importance. The banner of revolutionary socialism must remain unfurled, despite all obstacles, against imperialism, against fascism, against war, against the opportunism and permanent betrayal of social-democracy, against the immorality and the methods of corruption introduced into the working-class movement by gangrenous Stalinism. All this we can do thru discussion and ideological and tactical clarification, always bearing in mind the precious experiences of the entire history of the revolutionary movement; thru the revaluation of the principles of revolutionary Marxism; thru proletarian solidarity and socialist morality and thru democracy and liberty in the working-class movement; thru the new International, truly revolutionary, towards the building of which our International Revolutionary Marxist Center is a decisive step. Such is our historic task. Be the obstacles what they may, we shall know how to conquer them with energy and determination.

On our part, we still have many difficulties to overcome. In spite of all our efforts and the solidarity of the international proletariat, we have not yet been able to solve our problem of emigration. We have 2,000 militants in concentration camps. We are victims of the same persecution which we suffered in Spain. We are denied the privileges granted to other refugees, but our comrades are not intimidated by that. They are accustomed to fighting as an opposition and to suffer persecution.

In the midst of the Spanish defeat we were the only ones to save the banner of revolutionary socialism. We shall not easily let anyone snatch it from us. The most conscious and the best elements of the Socialist Party and of the Socialist Youth, of the C.N.T., of the F.A.I., come closer to us each day. There is the possibility and we have the firm will to build the great Spanish revolutionary party of the future.

This revolution is much closer than many may think. The Franco regime is being undermined by the most profound contradictions. It is incapable of solving a single problem. We receive daily testimony of the discontent and hate of the Spanish peoples towards Franco and his steers—Hitler and Mussolini, who insist on payment for the victory. We do not feel the pessimism of defeat, but the optimism and conviction of victory.

We send you our best wishes for wisdom in your deliberations and decisions. We have confidence in you. Long live the Independent Labor League of America! Long live the P.O.U.M.! Long live the International Revolutionary Marxist Center!

JULIAN GORKIN Political Secretary of the P.O.U.M.

insofar as and in such forms as they reflect themselves in the ideas and wills and actions of human beings. Man makes history, not conditions. True, he cannot make it out of the whole cloth. He must use the conditions ready to his hand. But those conditions always permit of more than one solution of the problems he faces. Always there is more than one possibility, always a more desirable and a less, often many rival possibilities of varying worth.

For two years, the President has desired to line up this country with one imperialist block against the other. He has had great power, and has been tireless in the secret and open exercise of it. How easy it would have been to "prove scientifically" that he would have won his fight for the repeal of the arms embargo at the last session. In fact,

(Continued on Page 4)

Military Dictatorship Faces America During War

Rigid Control Machinery Already Prepared for Use

By ARTHUR GREEN

Washington, D. C.

SHOULD the United States get into the war, the first result will be the establishment of a full-fledged dictatorship exercising overhead control over every aspect and phase of American life.

Labor, working conditions, wages, prices, trade, industrial operations, finance, communications and transport, "public information"—all will be subject to almost absolute control of a special machinery of war-time boards responsible only to the President.

LIBERAL REFORMS WIPE OUT

Most of the liberal reforms of the New Deal will be wiped out with hardly a trace. It will, for example, almost certainly be the finish of the legal protection of the right of collective bargaining as embodied in the Wagner Act and of the legal prescription of minimum wages and maximum work-week as embodied in the Fair Labor Standards Act. But,

lutionary cynicism, fatalism, passivity and hopelessness, the same paralyzing belief in the inevitability of our entrance into war because of "sixty families" or "the nature of capitalism" or "economic forces" afflicts all sections of the radical movement in varying degrees, not excluding our own. I have merely picked upon this issue of the Socialist Appeal because it is the crassest and crudest expression of this dangerous theory, because it serves as a sort of microscope to enlarge and throw upon a giant screen the most deadly germ that threatens the mass movement against the war with infantile, or better, senile, paralysis.

I have heard similar views from the lips of socialists. I have heard them expressed in diluted form on the floor of our national convention, held the day the war began. I have heard this paralyzing super-veil despair expressed by the man on the street, who has said wearily: "What's the use?" I have even heard radicals declare: "We must be realists; we must have no illusions. If not in New York, then surely in the West there is a dangerous illusion that America will have no difficulty keeping out."

Fortunately or unfortunately, there is no such general illusion among grown men and women anywhere in America. Basing themselves on the experience of the last war, they are against our entrance into this one. But also, basing themselves on the experience of the last war, they are, in large measure, afflicted with the hopeless conviction that there is nothing that they can do about it. This is the biggest weapon in the hands of the war-makers. And they are doing their best to spread the paralyzing belief, aided and abetted on a petty scale by this moth-eaten, mechanical pseudo-Marxism.

NOT ONLY THE TROTSKYITES

I do not write this to score a point against the Trotskyites. I make no question of the sincerity of their opposition to imperialism and war, if hope to serve in (even to monopolize the leadership of) the struggle against it. I hope and believe that, if we lose this first phase of the struggle which they have already so "scientifically" given up as lost, they will be found sincerely carrying on a struggle against war in wartime. The number of those who will be found doing so at the beginning will be precious few, and those few will be precious.

NEVER my primary aim to try to persuade the Trotskyites to reconsider their "revolutionary" or "blanket" tactics, tho it is to be hoped that they will reconsider and revise those tactics.

Frankly, the same stupid caricature-Marxism, the same super-revo-

on the other hand, many of the mechanisms established under the New Deal primarily or ostensibly for social-welfare and reform purposes will be converted into mechanisms of authoritarian control over labor and the people as a whole.

All this will happen under the Industrial Mobilization Plan prepared by the War Department and ready for enactment by Congress the moment war is declared.

The Industrial Mobilization Plan, it is interesting to note, was drawn up during the Hoover Administration by Patrick J. Hurley's War Department in 1931. Congress passed a resolution authorizing such a plan at the time.

ALTHO modified and amended since then, the essential structure remains the same under Roosevelt.

EIGHT ALL-POWERFUL WAR AGENCIES

An examination of the basic features of the Industrial Mobilization Plan shows clearly that every important activity of the American people is to be subjected to rigid governmental control. The heart of the war dictatorship is to be eight mighty emergency agencies which will be the real rulers of the country. The Cabinet will merely sit on the sidelines. It will function only as the President's "advisory body" for "normal" activities. "His Cabinet officers... cooperate with the war agencies." In other words, the Cabinet will give way to an "Advisory Defense Council" which will dominate the Administration. This is stated clearly and specifically:

"The Advisory Defense Council is the President's special war ministry. Its functions are to aid and advise the President in all matters pertaining to the prosecution of the war. It cooperates under the general supervision of the President to control and direct the combatant, economic, and moral forces of the nation in waging the war."

Under this Advisory Defense Council come eight potent agencies: WAR RESOURCES ADMINISTRATION, which will direct the productive machinery of the country. The present War Resources Board, headed by Edward R. Stettinius, Jr., of the U. S. Steel Corp., is a training school for the War Resources Administration. In the event of war, the W.R.A. would absorb the W.R.B. and become the No. 1 control agency of the government, next to the President in power.

WAR TRADE ADMINISTRATION, which will control all exports and imports, negotiate trade agreements and do everything necessary to "further the economic isolation of the enemy."

WAR LABOR ADMINISTRATION, which will control labor relations and take measures to provide the essential war industries

in a capitalist democracy to let their fate be decided for them by elected representatives and still more by the President. Also on the other side is the lack of belief in the possibility of blocking our entrance into war. All there is on our side is the will of the overwhelming majority to stay out, and the consciousness that in the last war they were hoodwinked. All so little, and yet, potentially, how much! If the caricature-Marxists can convince the masses that all that is nothing, and our entrance is inevitable, then they will have contributed by much to the making of history and will be able to say: "I told you so!"

A FALSE PICTURE

YET the theory of inevitability of historical events involving the will and interests of millions, is an utterly false picture. Let any one produce a single argument about the inevitability of America's entrance that could not be used to prove Italy's entrance or the Soviet Union's. Let any one, even with the

with "adequate" and "peaceful" labor supplies. It will supersede the National Labor Relations Board, the Wage-Hour Administration, the Conciliation Service, the Women's and Children's Bureaus, and set up a new Conciliation and Adjustment Service with the power to "prevent" and "settle" strikes and to set aside existing labor and child labor laws.

PUBLIC RELATIONS ADMINISTRATION (in other words, censorship), will "coordinate and direct the national publicity activities so as to insure that the purposes, views and progress of the government in prosecution of the war are properly and adequately presented to the people and that the aid of public opinion is enlisted to the fullest possible extent in behalf thereof." This will be the Propaganda Ministry of the federal government.

SELECTIVE SERVICE ADMINISTRATION will direct conscription of man-power for the army forces. PRICE CONTROL COMMISSION will be a quasi-judicial body with power to fix prices, regulate profits, and establish wage scales. Its decisions will be issued in the name of the President and will have the effect of law.

WAR FINANCE CONTROL COMMISSION will have power to control stock and bond issues and other forms of private investments. The other key agency will control fuel, coal, power, transportation and other industries not covered by the above agencies.

Under such a set-up, it is clear, nothing will be left of the democratic rights of the American people, of the gains of the labor movement or of the freedom of action of trade-union organization. Everything will be in the hands of a military dictatorship, operating along authoritarian lines familiar in totalitarian states.

Is it likely that this dictatorship would be voluntarily dismantled once war was over? It would be foolhardy to believe any such thing—dictatorship, once established, is only too likely to perpetuate itself.

aid of hindsight, give a single argument which could not be made to prove that Italy had to enter the last war! Or any argument showing why Italy had to enter, which would not have applied also to Spain or Scandinavia. Yet they stayed out!

I could prove by this super-logic that Argentina had to enter the last war on the side of the Allies. Argentina was tied economically to Great Britain, more than any other country in South America. Yet Chile, largely tied to Germany and Brazil, joined the Allies, and Argentina, thanks principally to the determination of the Radical party, led by President Irigoyen, stayed out!

Ireland is tied to England by economic ties that are overwhelming, and by political force, yet other political forces, the mass will, the long struggle against British rule, have compelled England so far to concede Irish neutrality.

In short, history is not made by diagrams of abstract economic forces. Those forces have effect only

KEEP AMERICA OUT OF WAR!

Anti-War Meeting

Friday Evening, Sept. 29

LABOR INSTITUTE

810 Locust Street

Philadelphia, Pa.

Speaker: Bertram D. Wolfe

Auspices: Philadelphia Branch, I.L.L.A.

German Anti-War Radicals In Appeal

(We publish below a declaration of the New York Committee of German Communists and Socialists.—Editor.)

New York City

GERMAN communists and socialists, who for many years were active in the German labor movement and who at present are residing in the United States, in agreement with many friends inside and outside of Germany who are unable to express their opinion under present conditions in Europe, have agreed to declare:

After having terrorized the German working class for years, after having created further economic ruin for the middle classes, the fascist regime in Germany did not see any other way out from its desperate situation but to start another world war. The overwhelming majority of the German people are against this war. They have been driven into it by the fascist regime, represented by a clique of "leaders" who exploit a whole people and who utilize a gigantic industrial machine for the purpose of destruction because the system they represent cannot utilize the immense productive forces for peaceful aims.

The German Bund and other Nazi agencies here advocate American neutrality for their own political purposes. We oppose participation in this war on diametrically opposed grounds. We also oppose the moral and material aid which Stalin has given to the Nazi war-makers. We decline any association with the representatives of imperialist powers which do not fight for democratic principles but merely for their own imperialist interests. We refuse to become the instrument of any imperialist power. Therefore we are against the policy of those social-democratic and Stalinist groups which support this war in France or England.

Freedom and liberty for the German people cannot be brought to them by victorious generals of for-

Fatalism Is Danger In Anti-War Fight

We Can Stay Out of War Despite the Pressure

By BERTRAM D. WOLFE



# Workers Age

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WILL HERBERG, Editor

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

VOL. 8. SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 30, 1939 No. 39

## A DANGER THAT MUST BE FACED

A few months ago, we had occasion in these columns to warn against the danger of a growth of anti-Semitism in this country as a consequence of the unfortunate tendency in many parts of the land to look upon the Jews as war-mongers, who, for the sake of settling scores with Hitler, are ready and eager to plunge the United States into another bloody slaughter. We pointed out then that this charge was a gross injustice to the great masses of Jewish people but that a certain number of Jewish "spokesmen" were apparently doing everything in their power to lend it the color of truth by their reckless and irresponsible outbursts. And we also stressed that such anti-Semitism in the name of peace, as it were, carefully fostered and cultivated by the fascist demagogues of all stripes, was a standing menace to any sound anti-war movement in this country.

Now that the war is raging in Europe, our warning naturally applies in tenfold measure. Competent observers already report signs of a spread and intensification of anti-Jewish sentiment in many parts of the country where anti-war feeling is strong. A serious effort is being made, it is true, by many groups of Jews to dispel the false impression that is widespread as to their attitude to war; the strong peace declaration of the recent conference of orthodox rabbis and the impressive peace appeals of many Jewish religious and community leaders, such as Rabbi Israel of Baltimore, are evidence of this. But obviously these efforts are not enough, nor can the Jews alone meet the menace of a rising anti-Semitism.

It is for the organized anti-war movement to meet this insidious menace precisely because so much of anti-Semitism in America covers itself with the mantle of opposition to involvement in war. It is necessary for the anti-war movement to help make clear to all that the Jewish masses everywhere are really the victims and not the instigators of war. It is necessary, above all, to stress that racial prejudice and bigotry can have no place in a genuine anti-war movement, which is based, if anything, on the fraternal solidarity of races and peoples.

That is why it is so important that the anti-war movement of this country should find its basis and leadership in the organized labor movement. For the leadership of organized labor in the anti-war struggle is in itself an evidence and a guarantee that such dark and sinister forces as anti-Semitism will find no foothold in the ranks of the great movement that is battling to save America from the dreadful catastrophe of involvement in war.

## THE NEGRO AND THE WAR

(We publish below a very significant editorial from the September 9 issue of the New York Amsterdam News, one of the most influential Negro paper in the country.—Editor.)

COLORED people the world over are playing a very important part in the European war. For the stake of the colored people in the now perennial European imbroglio is their labor and buying power. And insofar as the desire and scheming of the white nations are concerned, the democratic, fascist and communist governments are alike as peas in a pod.

There is, in fact, no difference at all between British imperialism in South Africa, India and the West Indies and Italian aggrandizement in Ethiopia. Germans have robbed and are trying to rob again the Africans the same as the English and Belgians have always done. Russian oil sold to Italy during the Italo-Ethiopian war did as much to cause the rape of Ethiopia as bombs dropped on Ethiopian troops and civilians by Mussolini's son. Black men slaving in coal mines and steel mills in Birmingham and Pittsburgh to make machinery and gadgets to be sold by Americans in Africa, China and India are indeed playing a vital part in the present day drive by the imperialist nations for power and wealth—gained at the expense of black labor in Africa as well as the United States.

Democracy in Europe and in the United States has never meant democracy for colored people anywhere in the world. For colored people have always been accepted only as drawers of water and hewers of wood. Proving that insofar as democracy is concerned there is no humanity in it when colored folk are involved.

Therefore, no colored person anywhere in the world can afford to stand aside and take what is happening in Europe passively. They must realize that democracy as now practised in London, Paris and Washington, Capetown, Calcutta and Hongkong means little to them—it means something only to white men.

Freedom, liberty, opportunities to work and share in the profits of their labor will come to colored people, however, only thru their own efforts to fight against all kinds of imperialism, be it British, American, French, German, Italian or Russian. Moreover, the fight for these things, which are generally accepted as the foundations of democracy, must be the same the world over. For whatever affects a colored man in Africa also affects one in New York.

## THE "ARMY OF LIBERATION"



## How the United States Got Into the World War

### Beard Describes Trap of War-Trade Entanglements

By CHAS. A. BEARD

(These paragraphs are from Charles A. Beard's book, "The Devil Theory of War," reprinted with permission of the publisher, Vanguard Press.—Editor.)

IN the Summer of 1914, the American people were busy as ever making and trying to sell goods, at an advantage. But things were not going at top-notch speed. Business had slowed down in the preceding Winter, notwithstanding the New Freedom. There was a great deal of unemployment in the cities. Manufacturers were not moving swiftly enough to suit the makers. The prices of farm produce did not satisfy farmers.

In other words, Americans could do a lot more business than they were doing—peaceful business of making and selling goods, at an advantage. . . .

### PEACEFULLY SELLING GOODS

Then the big war broke with a bang. The American people got excited about it and evolved all kinds of passions, sentiments and theories pertaining thereunto. But, in general, they were peaceful and wanted to go on making and selling goods, at an advantage. They had been doing that before the war came, and to continue the performance seemed as natural as sunrise.

Very soon, the Allies, for whom the seas were open, began to buy steel, manufactures and farm produce rather heavily. Industrialists and farmers were pleased to sell. Workers were pleased to have jobs. Merchants and bankers were pleased to facilitate the transactions of purchase and payment. The Wilson Administration was not displeased to have business looking up. A Congressional election was approaching and the sign of the full dinner-pail would help keep Democrats in power. Keeping Democrats in power was deemed for the good of the country, by Democrats. . . .

After the first confusions were over, the peaceful business of making and selling goods spurred forward. It just so happened, perhaps unfortunately, that the best of the new customers were the Allied governments engaged in an unpeaceful enterprise. But they were good customers. They were in a hurry. They needed goods, in fact, very badly, and were not inclined to haggle too much over prices, commissions and fees.

At first, also they could pay for their purchases. They had gold to send over. They could muster American, Canadian and other foreign securities, and sell them to raise cash. Despite the war, some British, French and Russian goods were imported into the United States, and these imports provided credits for paying export bills. But there was a limit to the gold, securities and imports available to pay for American goods and keep Americans busy at peace-time pursuits.

### HOW ABOUT A LOAN?

Apparently, a pinch was felt very early in the rush, for the French government soon sounded out the National City Bank on the possibility of a loan or credit. That would help. It would make American money available to pay American business men and farmers, engaged in peace-time pursuits. Bigger sales, bigger profits, bigger wages, bigger prices and bigger prosperity. It looked good to everybody—manufacturers, farmers, bankers, wage-earners and politicians who wanted to stay in office. Perhaps some tears were shed, but they were not as big as millstones and did not get in the way of making and selling at an advantage.

To those Americans who, for one

reason or another, sympathized with the Entente Allies, the boom in business was doubly sweet. It piled up profits and commissions; it meant strength for the Allies cause; it helped "to save civilization." But very few Americans engaged in the peaceful pursuit of making and selling had any thought at first of getting into the war. They were all for more and better business. It was nearly as simple as that, apart from the uproar of propagandists, sentimentalists and the intelligentsia. The Democrats knew the country when, in 1916, they flung up the slogan: "He kept us out of war." The great majority of the American people doubtless wanted to continue their peaceful pursuit, making and selling goods.

### SIMPLE AND NATURAL

It was simple and natural. But few realized how fateful in outcome their peaceful pursuit was to be. Few realized that war is not made up of deus ex machina, but comes out of ideas, interests and activities cherished and followed in the preceding months and years of peace. The notion that peace might make war did not enter busy heads. The big question was: How could the Allies continue to "pay" for more and more

goods, and enable Americans to follow peaceful pursuits happily? New York bankers found the answer. They communicated it to Robert Lansing, Secretary of State, to William G. McAdoo, Secretary of the Treasury, to Colonel House, confidential adviser to the President of the United States. The question reached Woodrow Wilson. The answer reached him. Finding the solution agreeable, he approved it. The bankers solution worked—for a time. Americans bought bonds to pay themselves for goods sold to the Allies. It was wonderful, the way it worked—for a time. Americans could keep on with their peaceful pursuits, with bigger and better prospects—for a time, for a time.

### INTO THE WAR

But in time, the Allies were in another jam. They were in danger of losing the war or entering a stalemate that would defeat their ambitions. As Ambassador Page informed President Wilson in March, 1917, defeat for the Allies meant an economic smash for the United States. The following month, President Wilson called on Congress to declare war on the German Empire. So the United States entered the war and was at war.

## The Labor Spy Racket Is Menace to Unionism

(Continued from page 2)

ing their dirty work and its results, Kuhl said: "MacGuffin was just a piker in the detective-agency business. Other agencies know far better how to push their men forward in unions, and they put out some real money for the work these union officials do."

Kuhl described the "extra pay," "bonuses, overtime and subsistence allowances," which make strike-breakers jobs profitable, and added that:

"There is still another 'take' that is a regular part of the employer's cost. That is the take which the finks get away with themselves. They take just about everything of value that isn't nailed down. Any corporation which has had experience knows that and must figure it as part of the payments to the finks.

"I never heard of any finks being prosecuted by the companies for what they stole."

### MAIN PARTS OF BILL

Kuhl told LaFollette that "one of the main parts of this bill is the part that aims to stop finks with criminal records. If the G-men step in and check every strike job (by

## Frank Howard's Weekly Letter

(Continued from page 1)

sia is expecting to doublecross Hitler at the first opportunity. In the meanwhile, however, Stalin hopes to weaken the British and French empires. It is unfortunate, he says, that all this "revolutionary activity" has to take place on what seems to be a non-revolutionary line. His only fear, and this is probably Stalin's too, is that Great Britain may get too mad at Russia for invading Poland and declared war on her. He says that, if this happens, the United States should not enter the war. In addition, to the significance of this off-the-record statement of this official newsmen for the Soviet Union, about which you may draw your own conclusions, I can report that New Dealers who heard the

fingerprinting the finks and looking up their records, a lot of strike jobs are going to be hard up for men.

"But the main thing in the bill is the part that provides for investigation. When there is investigation and publicity, labor spying and strike-breaking are a boomerang. No agency can do spy work or strike work and get away with it if its tricks are being exposed.

"When the LaFollette committee gave MacGuffin's work publicity, his agency was on the ropes for a while. Of course, he was ready to get going again whenever the investigation stopped.

"If there is enough investigation and publicity, labor spying and strike-breaking by agencies will be a thing of the past. Maybe some new schemes will be worked out, like these 'citizens committees' or vigilantes, but, if they can be given investigation and publicity also, they won't last."

statement were not only sceptical but cynically amused at this rationalization of the doublecrossing which the Soviet Union is doing.

The "International League for Truth in Germany" seems to be at work again, at least thru channels of publicity. Bruce Catton sent out a story last week claiming that they were carrying on a lot of short-wave broadcasting to Germany, predicting that Mussolini would not join Germany in the fight, declaring that Hitler would be overthrown by January 1, and generally taking credit in advance for a lot that may or may not happen in Europe. This is the group I wrote about in the Spring and on which Bert Wolfe commented. It is made up of some New Dealers and newspapermen who are anti-fascist. The ones I know, interestingly enough, don't want war but want to see Hitler overthrown. They say this will stop the war immediately. Sounds like Winchell, too.

GET YOUR TICKET FOR THE BIG OCT. 6 SYMPOSIUM

## Behind the Neutrality Fight

By RAYMOND CLAPPER

(These paragraphs are from the New York World Telegram of September 13, 1939. Mr. Clapper is a supporter of the Administration position on neutrality "revision," which makes his remarks all the more significant.—Editor.)

Washington, D. C. PREVAILING judgment here is that President Roosevelt probably can get the arms embargo repealed but only after going thru a struggle.

His opposition centers in a small but formidable group of Senators—Borah of Idaho, aging but determined savior of lost causes; Bennett Clark of Missouri, bold, tough, and a resourceful parliamentarian; La Follette of Wisconsin, tenacious, impervious to pressure and able; Nye of North Dakota, a human arsenal of munitions-investigation data as to how we got into the last war; and Vandenberg of Michigan, a leading prospect for the next Republican Presidential nomination who has burned his bridges, heedless of the war profits which his big Michigan manufacturers anticipate out of belligerent orders and of his heavy Polish population.

This group, which already has drawn the issue, is prepared to carry on. Remembering the League of Nations fight, when such a group turned the sentiment of the country, the Supreme Court fight, and other historic struggles in the Senate, these Senators are convinced that no cause is lost until the Senate takes its final vote, and that Senate debate does sometimes change the course of events.

Nominally, the issue is whether to ship arms, ammunition and implements of war to Great Britain and France. But the real issue is how to stay out of war. Secondary to that is the distrust of Mr. Roosevelt, the fear that he is maneuvering to get us into the war and to assume unwarranted executive powers in the process.

Germany and other foreign governments will, however, be deluding themselves if they interpret the opposition in Congress as any index of sympathy for Hitler. I would be surprised if there is a member left in Congress who would rise and express hope for a German victory. If there was conviction that we could repeal the embargo and be sure of staying out of the war, the embargo wouldn't stand for twenty-four hours after Congress met. This fight has no pro-Hitler content.

Opponents of the Administration have one task—to convince Congress and the country that repeal of the embargo is apt to draw us in. They are pointing up that issue now—by saying that we can't stay half in and half out of the war, that we can't sell arms and stop there. They will thresh over the history of the road to war in 1914-17, to demonstrate that we are repeating those steps.

More difficult is the Administration's case. Originally it advocated repeal of the arms embargo to prevent war by discouraging Hitler, saying that we probably couldn't keep out of a general war and therefore the only course was to prevent war from starting. But the war has started and the argument turns back on the Administration, for, unless it has changed its story, it must still think that we are likely to be drawn in. Opponents will press that argument, insisting that repeal of the arms embargo will hasten the process, whereas it should be resisted every step of the way.

Ironically, a mighty force in Mr. Roosevelt's favor is that same appetite for war profits, that lure of fool's gold, which he deplored in his Chautauqua peace speech just three years ago. The war boom will be Mr. Roosevelt's strong ally in the fight, one seldom mentioned but always present. We shall hear much fine talk, but the mail, the long-distance telephone, the trips to Washington, will all impress Senators and Representatives with reasons other than those noble ones which will be set forth for the Congressional Record.

## How Cordell Hull Armed Germany

(These paragraphs are from Pearson and Allen's "Washington Merry-Go-Round" column of September 13, 1939. They throw a curious light on the genuineness of the "anti-Hitlerism" with which Secretary Hull and his supporters are trying to cover up their conspiracy to destroy the existing neutrality legislation for the benefit of Allied imperialism.—Editor.)

Washington, D. C.

CORDELL HULL did not shout it from the housetops, but until the last hour before the neutrality embargo went into effect, he was permitting the shipment of arms to Germany, despite the U. S. treaty with Berlin which states that "the importation into Germany of arms, ammunition and war materials of every kind shall be strictly prohibited."

Several members of the Cabinet had vigorously protested Mr. Hull's stand, while various members of Congress also had opposed him. However, Mr. Hull contended that since the treaty only prohibited the "importation" of arms, he was not

violating the treaty, tho Germany was.

Senator Nye, one of the authors of the Neutrality Act, countered that the act specifically stated that no arms should be shipped "in violation of any treaty." Nye claimed that it made no difference which side violated the treaty, but only that the treaty was violated.

At one time, Mr. Hull's cabinet colleagues got so aroused that they asked the Justice Department for an opinion on whether he was violating the treaty. Thereupon, the Secretary of State telephoned Attorney General Frank Murphy urging that the Justice Department uphold him. He explained that this was a very personal issue and said he would be greatly embarrassed if the opinions were against him.

In other words, the Secretary of State put a personal issue ahead of a national issue, and continued to ship arms to Germany even tho it was obvious to all, and must have been obvious to him, that Hitler was preparing to use these arms to destroy the peace of the world.

## Talking It Over:

### Fatalism Is the Danger

by Bertram D. Wolfe

(Continued from Page 3)

a little less mass pressure and he would have!

In South Africa, a difference of a few votes determined her entrance into the war. A change of one man in the cabinet, or five in the legislature, would have given South Africa a chance to follow Ireland's example, or at least might have precipitated a referendum which would have greatly altered the course of South African history.

History is full of these little push-one way or the other which upset an unstable equilibrium and determine the whole course of events. Marxism has nothing in common with fatalism. It is an attempt to judge the rival possibilities in a given situation, to decide which is the better for mankind, and to help by our activity to secure the more desirable and not the less desirable result. But is there any one of these self-styled Marxists who really believes America's entrance is more desirable? We permit ourselves to doubt it.

### "AND THE GREATEST OF THESE . . ."

Two weeks ago, I wrote:

"In this dangerous hour, there are three perils which beset us: (1) false confidence—in the Atlantic Ocean, in the words of the President at this moment, in our ability to keep out without eternal vigilance and effort; (2) failure to organize the desire of the American people into an effective, conscious, overwhelmingly powerful force—without such organization, on the widest scale, all the intentions and

desires of the great mass of Americans can be circumvented, short-circuited, poisoned and defeated; (3) fatalism, the stupid belief that no matter what we do, our entrance into the war is inevitable. And the greatest of these is fatalism."

The intervening weeks have convinced me that the first of those dangers, as I listed it, is a myth. Everywhere in America the common man is alarmed by the danger of our being dragged into war. Every report of the Keep America Out of War Congress and the great national peace organizations, every Gallup poll, every statement in the press and on the streets throat the land convinces one that few people need to be convinced of that danger.

"False confidence" was the chief danger in 1914. Today, "false confidence" is a false issue. The real dangers are the second and the third. "And the greatest of these," I repeat, "is fatalism." In the hands of the reaction, it is a powerful poison to paralyze the mass will. In the hands of the super-revolutionists, it is a soothing opiate which lulls to sleep. Only in proportion as we overcome it, and at high speed, do we increase our chances of meeting the problem of effective and conscious organization of the masses to keep America out of war.

And win or lose, in proportion as we have undertaken and succeeded in that job, do we increase the number whose will to stay out is convertible into a conscious opposition to those who have sought to circumvent that will.

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