

Next Week:
Socialism and Democracy
By Abram L. Harris

Workers Age

Weekly Paper of the Independent Labor League of America

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AT FIRST GLANCE

by Jay Lovestone

"REDDER" WORDS AND DIRTIER DEEDS

WATCH your step and heads, comrades! A new line is about to be thrown around your necks. More than ever, this one is going to be a honey! It's going to be a red hot "r-r-revolutionary" line straight from the Kremlin—headquarters of the two leading anti-Comintern powers.

The Sunday Worker of October 15 treats the world to a "new" thesis. Of course, it was "unanimously" adopted by the Political Committee of the American Communist Party. Of course, it opens with the usually bombastic assertion that "events since the outbreak of the present imperialist war have fully confirmed the correctness of the analysis and position of the National Committee of the C.P.U.S.A. . . ." The yellow thread running thru this masterpiece is "Heil Stalin"—plus. And this time, it's the plus that deserves comment. The plus is a return to the phrases and noise of the ultra-"revolutionary" days of some ten years ago. Here are but a few screeches from the much-abused needle on the old and chipped ultra-left record.

We are no longer told that Poland is a darling little "democracy". Instead, we are ordered to rejoice over the fact that "the fascist Polish government collapsed". The "mutual-assistance pact" perpetrated upon the mighty Baltic lands by Joe the Giant Killer are glorified in true Stalinist fashion. "At one blow," the mighty pens of Molotov and Ribbentrop have, by signing the Stalin-Hitler military-economic alliance, "wiped out the former division of the world between the camps of democracy and fascism." And "therefore, the slogans of anti-fascism no longer give the main direction to the struggle of the working class and its allies . . ." From now on, proclaims this new ukase, "the main slogans . . . must be directed against all forms of reactionary capitalist dictatorships, against capitalism, the source of all war, against capitalist exploitation and oppression . . ."

For saying this, for thinking such thoughts (not aloud, of course) many have been executed, "concentrated" or liquidated by the "Biggest Father" of all the Russians and the Russians, by none other than "our beloved leader and genius, Stalin" himself. So what now? Well, Browder decrees that henceforth the faithful must "pursue an independent policy". Woe unto any member or fellow-traveler who fails to see and to shout that "the old division . . . between the New Deal and anti-New Deal camps is losing its former significance." We hope our much under-appreciated First Lady of the Land hears about this new twist of "line" by the C.P. before she again sips tea with the "innocent" leaders of the American Youth Congress!

And here is trotted out another moth-eaten taboo: "United fronts are impossible with those tendencies and groups in the labor movement which follow the treacherous policy of social-democracy . . ." That another unholy ghost is conjured up and the skeleton of dual unionism is being dusted off for adoration and worship in the nearer future is evident from the volume of ink spilled by this newest turn dealing with the need to "strengthen the trade-union movement and help it to develop along the lines of the class struggle and by promoting trade-union unity ON THIS BASIS. . ." (our emphasis—J.L.) With Losovsky, former head of the Red International of Labor Unions, now Assistant Commissar of Foreign Affairs, the return to and reconstruction of the "class-struggle" unions of 1929 vintage should be achieved very speedily—since lots of Russian red-tape is thus cut out.

But here is the dirtiest cat of all let out from the Stalin-Hitler pact bag. Note the following keynote of the newest turn: "To fulfill these historic tasks, we resolve now more than ever to apply to American conditions the principles of Marxism-Leninism, ESPECIALLY THE EXPERIENCE AND LESSONS OF THE C.P.S.U. AS EMBODIED IN THE 'SHORT HISTORY OF THE C.P.S.U.'" (our emphasis—J.L.)

This volume is to Stalin what "Mein Kampf" is to Hitler. Therefore, more than ever will chicanery, frame-up, forgery, corruption, double-crossing, factional degeneracy, and the rankest outraging of the facts of life and history be the warp and woof of the new C.P. "line" in the United States. Nor should this latest disgusting contortion be viewed by American labor as if it were performed in a vacuum. All of these happenings must be viewed in the light of the flames of the raging imperialist war. The twists and turns of the C.P. in this country cannot be separated from, and are organically bound up with, such tragic events as the following announced and portrayed thruout the press of the world:

"Russia is sending seventeen tons of gold into Germany" (October 8), "Moscow asserts Soviet aid will offset blockade" (October 17), "Soviet writer lauds Nazi use of U-boats" (October 17). And it is no wonder that the Deutsche Zeitung of Mexico stresses in its September 30 number that "the life of Klim Voroshilov is at the same time a mirror of the history of the evolution of the Bolshevik party of Russia which, under the leadership of Stalin, developed from a Bolshevik party with world revolutionary aims into a national Russian party."

Against all of this we hasten to sound the alarm to all workers and labor organizations: Beware of "redder" words covering even dirtier deeds by the C.P. operating as the American agency of the Stalin-Hitler block. October 20, 1939.

Geo. Powers, C.P. Leader, Denounces Stalinism

Stalin-Hitler Alliance Leads to Break

(We publish below a declaration issued last week by George E. Powers, an outstanding functionary of the Communist Party—Editor.)

New York City.
As a charter member of the Communist Party with a record of twenty-five years of activity in the trade-union and unemployed workers movements, I wish to make the following statement in order that my friends and fellow-workers in the labor movement shall know without question where I stand in the present grave crisis caused in the labor and progressive movements by the Stalin-Hitler alliance and its consequences—the launching of the second imperialist world war, the Soviet-Nazi invasion and partition of Poland, etc. Beginning with years of activity as a member of the Sheet Metal Workers International Alliance, I have served the labor movement in leading capacities, in such unions as the Paper Box Makers Union of New York City and the Iron and Bronze Workers Union of New York City; as district secretary of the Trade Union Unity League of Michigan, and later of Minnesota; as national secretary of the Steel and Metal Workers Industrial Union in Pittsburgh; as New York secretary of the Building and Construction Workers Industrial Union; and, for three years from 1935 to 1938, as national vice-president of the International Workers Order. My activities also included participation in the leadership and organization of the unemployed workers movement during the early

Allies Win Turkey in Diplomatic Coup

CIO Plans 'Purge' Of Stalinists

Lewis Reported Issuing Strong Warning

San Francisco, Cal. John L. Lewis has launched a vigorous movement to "purge" the higher ranks of the C.I.O. of Stalinists and Stalinist agents, according to reliable reports of what happened at the first session of the new Executive Committee of the C.I.O. immediately following the adjournment of the convention of that organization here.

Mr. Lewis's pronouncements came after considerable effort in recent months on the part of Philip Murray, Sidney Hillman and others to get him to take action against the infiltration of Stalinist agents into a number of C.I.O. affiliates and even the top councils of the C.I.O. itself. Among the organizations mentioned were the United Automobile Union, the Transport Workers Union, The National Maritime Union and the United Office and Professional Workers Union.

It was the Stalin-Hitler pact and the resulting "change of line" of the Communist Party that deprived the Stalinists in the labor movement of their "protective coloration" of anti-fascism and democracy and thus precipitated the drive against them.

One of Lewis's first moves was to transfer all real power from the Executive Board, on which the Stalinists are said to influence nearly 20 out of 42, to the eight national officers. These officers consist of Mr. Lewis as president, James B. Carey as secretary, and six vice-presidents—Sidney Hillman, Amalgamated Clothing Workers; Philip Murray, Steel Workers Organizing Committee; R. J. Thomas, United Automobile Workers; Emil Rieve, Textile Workers of America; W. J. Dalrymple, United Rubber Workers; and Reid Robinson, International Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers. All

of the vice-presidents are active anti-Stalinists. It was noted as particularly significant that Harry Bridges, Joseph Curran and Michael Quill, Stalinist leaders of important C.I.O. affiliates, were all barred from a vice presidency, altho the number of vice-presidents was increased from two to six.

Lewis began the "purge" at the Executive Board session not only by making a sweeping declaration that Stalinist policies and Stalinist agents would not be tolerated in the organization but also by reading a list of transfers designed to weaken whatever Stalinist influence there was in the C.I.O. Harry Bridges was restricted to California instead of being allowed to control the entire West Coast as regional director. Allan Haywood, a strong anti-Stalinist, was transferred to Washington, where he will be second in command of the C.I.O. as director of organization, responsible only to Mr. Lewis. John Brophy, formerly national director, was assigned to take care of the local industrial unions directly affiliated with the C.I.O.

Mr. Lewis also warned regional directors and other C.I.O. officials not to hire Stalinists as secretaries or assistants as there was evidence to show that these people served as spies for the Communist Party.

The assignment of Allan Haywood to Washington as director of organization is regarded as of special importance because the Washington office of the C.I.O. has for a long time been a hotbed of Stalinist intrigue and infiltration, all centering in and protected by Leo Pressman, general counsel of the C.I.O., and John Brophy.

It was understood that Sidney Hillman and Philip Murray made (Continued on Page 4)

HOW ABOUT STOPPING THIS WAR?



—from the New York Post

Democratic Chiefs Plan To Amend Pittman Bill

Propose to Relax and Tighten Measure

Washington, D. C. Proposals both to tighten and to relax the Pittman neutrality bill were made by Administration Democrats last week in an effort to get a quick vote on the measure and send it to the House before the pro-embargo elements here succeeded in fully mobilizing their forces. Great anxiety was expressed in Administration circles as to the situation in the House where the final line-up is uncertain and will in all probability be very close.

To satisfy the shipping lobby, headed by Senator Bailey, the Administration Democrats on the Senate Foreign Relations Committee meeting in closed caucus, decided to recommend an amendment permitting American ships to carry passengers and all goods except arms, munitions and implements of war to belligerent ports outside of the North Atlantic, that is, outside of Great Britain, France and Germany proper. Under this amendment, American ships could continue going to belligerent ports in Australia, New Zealand, the Pacific coast of Canada, and South Africa thru the Pacific, and to all ports in the western hemisphere south of Canada, without regard to nationality. The one restriction would be that the President would have the discretionary power to fix "combat areas" as he saw fit in or thru which American ships could not go.

The original Pittman bill flatly prohibits American ships from carrying passengers or goods to any belligerent ports outside the western hemisphere no matter where situated or how reached. Spokesmen of the peace block pointed out that this concession to the shipping interests might open the door to the possibility of provocative "incidents", such as the sinking of American ships, and might therefore seriously endanger American neutrality.

In an attempt to win over some support from the peace block and to hold their own ranks firm in the face of the overwhelming popular sentiment against embargo repeal, the Administration managers of the Pittman bill also proposed to tighten the "cash" requirements of the "cash-and-carry" section by an

International, under Stalin's control, could no longer serve the purpose for which it was originally organized, but that today it was merely an appendage of the Foreign Office of the government of the Soviet Union, and therefore had no claim upon the loyalty of class-conscious workers anywhere.

At no time did I ever believe that the workers and other oppressed groups of any country should deliver their own rights and deliver themselves gagged and bound over to any so-called "international" movement or body. At all times they should retain their own power of initiative and self-action, which is

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Russia Backs Nazi Threat To Turks

The German-Soviet war front suffered a severe setback last week when Turkey, after prolonged diplomatic discussions, definitely broke off negotiations with Russia and signed a "mutual-assistance" pact with the Allies. The next day an Allied loan of \$60,000,000 to Turkey was announced.

Under the treaty's terms Turkey agreed not indeed to join the Allies in the present war but to give them "aid and assistance" in the event of hostilities in the Mediterranean or if the Allies become embroiled in a conflict resulting from their "guarantees" to Greece and Rumania. Turkey would, of course, be similarly "aided" in case of necessity. But the treaty included the express reservation that Turkey would not be obliged to take any action under the terms of the compact that might bring it into armed conflict with Russia.

The Anglo-French-Turkish treaty caused considerable stir in the capitals of Europe. In London and Paris, there was much satisfaction at this diplomatic coup. It was looked upon as a possible entering wedge in breaking Russia from Germany and as a strong factor in keeping Italy from coming to the assistance of Germany. So intent was the British government on splitting the Soviet Union away that it allowed rumors to circulate, officially repudiated by the emigre Polish Cabinet, that in the event of an Allied victory, Russia might be permitted to keep its share of the Polish spoils. But these manouvers proved of little avail. The very day after the conclusion of the Turkish pact, the Moscow government paper, Izvestia, came out with an editorial denouncing the Allies for trying to "draw the Soviet Union into a combination chiefly against Germany" and declaring that the Russo-German alliance would not be broken. On the contrary, the Izvestia stressed, the net effect of the Allied-Turkish pact would be to "draw Turkey into the orbit of war" and seriously strain Russo-Turkish relations.

The same line was taken in Germany, where the Izvestia editorial was widely reprinted in all leading papers. Informed Nazi quarters intimated very strongly that Turkey might become "another Poland". The Reich government announced special consultations were being held between Adolf Hitler and the German ambassadors to Turkey, Italy and Russia.

If anything, Russo-German relations were closer last week than ever before. Evidence of growing cooperation was seen in a well-founded report current in Moscow official circles that Soviet Russia had recently shipped seventeen and

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Billings Is Freed After Two Decades

Governor Commutes Life Sentence; Served Twenty Three Years with Mooney

San Francisco, Cal. Warren K. Billings, who with Tom Mooney served over twenty years in prison on a framed-up charge last week when Governor Olson commuted his sentence to time served, following approval of this action by a majority of the State Supreme Court.

Mooney and Billings were convicted in 1916 in connection with the Preparedness Day parade bombing. In the years that followed, it was shown that these men were completely innocent, that the evidence against them had been framed, that the witnesses had perjured themselves, and that testimony favorable to the defendants had been excluded. Nevertheless, all efforts to free them failed until this year. Finally, Governor Olson granted a full pardon to Tom Mooney as the first official act in office. He could not do the same in Billings's case because here there had been a prior conviction. With the State Supreme Court's approval, however, commutation was possible.

Both Mooney and Billings were serving life sentences.

ances for the semi-feudal conditions bequeathed by the Czar's autocracy.

Many of us assumed that this process was being continued when Stalin took over the leadership of the communist movement. I, as well as other party members, felt grave doubts at times. In 1929, such doubts were put to rest by our loyalty to the Communist International. But as "centralized democracy" became ever more "centralism" and less "democracy" in the party, in the unions and other organizations under its influence, it became more difficult to maintain faith in the leadership of the Comintern.

In 1935, when the People's Front line was adopted, some of us were persuaded that, after all, there was some reality to Communist Party democracy. Even the purges, that they shook my faith a great deal, were insufficient to disillusion me. Were they not carried thru in defense, so it was said, against the machinations of "traitors" to the Soviet Union and communism, allying themselves with that arch-enemy of labor and progress, Adolf Hitler.

It was with considerable reluct-

Big Maryland Delegation For Embargo

Angela Bombace Presses Appeal; Business Chary Of War Involvement

By FRANK HOWARD

Washington, D. C. About four hundred Marylanders were in Washington this week to attend a hearing on the neutrality bill. The hearing was arranged by the Maryland Senators for their own enlightenment. The pro-embargo group seemed to have about three-fourths of the delegation. It was especially impressive to see the number of farmers and farmers wives among those opposed to the pro-war measures of the Administration. Lillie Brown, wife of a U.A.W.-A.F. of L. Executive Board member, and Angela Bombace, of the I.L.G.W.U. (Continued on page 3)

ance that I, as well as many others, accepted the line of postponing efforts to attain socialism in favor of building a People's Front. But we were convinced that the danger of encroaching fascism and war, these twins, was so imminent that there was nothing else to do. And, of course, since this line promised a genuine carrying thru of democratic practices in the party and wherever it had influence, this further helped to convince us of the correctness of this line. But, in spite of the new line, there was no change for the better insofar as the practice of trade-union or any other kind of democracy was concerned where the party had decisive influence. It was "dictatorship", but not of the "proletariat". If one took genuine democracy seriously, as I did, he was very close to being dubbed a "rotten liberal". This is a mild example of the catch-phrases with which the members were bludgeoned in an effort to stop them from thinking, or at least from giving expression to anything that was not previously sanctioned and approved by the top leadership. I, however, still continued to express my opinions, constantly emphasizing the need for greater democracy.

When the Stalin-Hitler pact was first announced, I refused to believe that it was anything but "capitalist propaganda". But, when the reality of the pact was established, I still hoped that there would be forthcoming some logical explanation for it. But when the Communist Party press at first stalled and then came out with one phoney explanation after another, I became fully convinced that I became

AFL Hits Naming Army Man as Wage-Hour Head

Andrews Quits, Fleming Takes Post

Washington, D. C. Elmer T. Andrews resigned as Wages and Hours Administrator last week in a letter made public by President Roosevelt. Colonel Philip Fleming of the Army Engineering Corps was immediately designated

95% of U.S. People Against War

New York City.

Ninety-five percent of the American people are opposed to the U.S.A. getting involved in the war and sending an army and navy across to fight Germany, the results of a survey announced last week by Dr. Gallup's American Institute of Public Opinion showed. Furthermore, those who would like to have this country involved in the war and send an army across have decreased considerably since war broke out in Europe, it appeared. In reply to the question: "Should we declare war and send our army and navy abroad to fight Germany?", a month ago, 16% answered yes and 84% no; today, 5% yes and 95% no.

Equally striking was the sharp decrease in sentiment in favor of the United States taking up arms against Germany if the Allies appear to be losing. Dr. Gallup's Institute reported. Whereas at the outset of the war, fully 40% of the representative cross-section questioned felt America should go to war under such circumstances, this proportion fell to 20% after a month of experience with the European war.

to take over Mr. Andrews's duties. According to the law, Colonel Fleming, an army officer, cannot become Wages and Hours Administrator. For the time being, he is to serve as assistant to a non-existent administrator, but it is understood that President Roosevelt will seek legislation to regularize his position.

Wide protest against the appointment of an army man to a post of such strategic importance to labor was voiced by the A. F. of L. A Federation spokesman stressed organized labor's opposition to the idea of military men being appointed to administer civil positions. It was recalled that Matthew Woll made a sharp attack against this tendency of "militarizing the civil administration" at the convention of the New York State Federation of Labor some months ago. A resolution along similar lines was adopted recently at the A. F. of L. convention at Cincinnati. The appointment of another army engineer, Colonel F. C. Harrington, as Works Project Administrator came under criticism on that occasion.

The A. F. of L. fight, it was said, would start when President Roosevelt asks Congress to change the law to allow Colonel Fleming to serve. The C.I.O. was expected to join into this fight, and the general outlook was that it would be extended into an effort to revise the 1940 relief law so as to restore prevailing wage rates on W.P.A. and to rescind the mandatory discharge of those on W.P.A. over eighteen months.

Local 22 Hits Menace Of C. P. Disruption

Tells Stalinist Party to "Keep Out" of Union

(We publish below a declaration issued last week by Dressmakers Union Local 22, I.L.G.W.U., under the title: "To the Dressmakers of Local 22—A Message and a Warning."—Editor.)

FOR years, the administration of our union has pursued a policy of unity and cooperation in the conduct of its internal affairs. We have long advocated this policy because we believed it to be sound and healthy for the union.

It asked all members to set aside personal differences in the interest of the common economic good. It subordinated conflicting political viewpoints to the economic unity of the entire membership and to the attainment of the ultimate progressive aims of the American labor movement.

At no time was it our wish or intention that members should abandon their personal convictions or suppress their political views. No dictation of thought or action was sought or implied. We did seek solidarity on the economic front so that all workers could be united in the daily struggle for the maintenance of our standards in the shops and for the preservation of the union.

This has been our organizational philosophy which we have followed consistently.

It has enabled us to weather one of the most critical periods in our industrial history. Conditions in the industry remain no less critical today. Concerted and vigilant action by all dressmakers is necessary to maintain and improve our work standards.

The unity in our ranks is now being menaced. The threat comes from a source that has no connection with our industry.

The Communist Party has started a campaign against our Local which threatens to create chaos and confusion in the ranks of the dressmakers and to undermine the strength of our union at a time when economic conditions are very bad.

The Communist Party is beginning to interfere directly in the affairs of our union. This interference comes not as a result of the understanding of the problems of our industry or the problems of our union. It comes as a result of forces entirely outside the ranks of the dressmakers.

The attack comes in the form of a statement issued by the 10th A.D. of the Communist Party of America. They charge our union with trying to develop "a war hysteria." They charge our manager, Brother Zimmerman, with attempts at "spreading confusion in order to evade the serious economic problems of the dressmakers."

Anyone who has followed the activities of our union will know that there isn't one word of truth in these accusations.

First, it is well known that we have pursued a consistent policy of keeping our ranks united.

Second, at all our membership meetings, Brother Zimmerman submitted, in the name of the Executive Board, the most detailed trade reports. Our meetings have, at all times, been devoted to the discussion of the solution of the industrial problems facing us.

Third, it is well-known that Brother Zimmerman has been a supporter of the Keep America Out of War Congress, which was carrying on a campaign against war at the time when the 10th A.D. of the Communist Party was still for "collective security." We were against war then and we are against war now.

Fourth, there have been no attacks against any member of our union whether they be militants, communists, or anyone else.

The only reason why the Communist Party launched its attack at this time is because our manager, Brother Zimmerman, expressed himself against the recently consummated alliance between the Soviet and Nazi governments. He vigorously disapproves of any cooperation with Hitler.

The 10th Assembly District of the Communist Party approves of that policy of collaboration and mutual assistance. They disapprove of the stand taken by Brother Zimmerman.

It is, therefore, not because the 10th Assembly District of the Communist Party is so much concerned over the interests of the dressmakers or with the solution of the aggravated economic conditions in our industry and the serious problems that are facing us that they launch this attack upon us. It is an attempt to browbeat our union and our union leaders: you accept the alliance with Hitler, OR ELSE . . .

We have always advocated the need for unity in our ranks. It has always been our ambition and our hope to keep all elements in our union united, to work in the interests of the entire membership.

We shall not abandon our belief in unity but we will not tolerate any assaults by irresponsible political factions on our united ranks.

Dressmakers! Fellow-workers! Be on guard against any move directed at the unity and solidarity of our ranks. React vigorously and intelligently to every threat by masked "friends" and unmasked enemies. Constant vigilance is the price of a powerful and effective union.

We therefore tell the 10th Assembly District of the Communist Party: "You have no business in our union! Our ranks are intact. Your intrusion spells disunity and chaos! KEEP OUT!"

Allies Win Turkey in Big Coup

(Continued from Page 1)

a half tons of gold to the Reich. Another trip by Ribbentrop to Moscow to "discuss the new situation" and devise "concerted measures" was also hinted.

A new departure in German war policy was expected at the end of this week as Hitler suddenly summoned important Nazi leaders summoned to Berlin for a "very important conference" dealing with the state of affairs resulting from the rejection of the Nazi "peace" offer by the Allies.

Another major diplomatic development of the week, the seventh week of the war, was the conferring of the Scandinavian kings and the President of Finland. They concluded their deliberations with advice to the Finns to make a "compromise" with Russia and with a reaffirmation of their strict neutrality. They also suggested that they would be prepared to serve as mediators should they be invited by the belligerents to do so.

Russian expansion in the Baltic continued last week along previous lines. The Finnish plenipotentiary was on his way back to Moscow with the answer of his government to the Russian demands. Meanwhile, Soviet troops took over Estonia, completely cutting off its communications with other nations.

In the Far East, renewed efforts to line up Japan with Germany and Russia were under way. Pressure in this direction was discerned in the arrival in China of a large Soviet military mission, reportedly to negotiate a military alliance. There was a great uncertainty in Tokyo as to what course to take but hostility to Russia and resentment against Germany continued strong.

In the strictly military sphere of the war, activities picked up last week. Germany greatly increased its efforts on land, sea and air. A series of sharp counter-attacks were initiated on the western front which succeeded in ejecting the French troops from the German soil they had seized in earlier weeks. The launching of a vigorous submarine campaign "in all seas" was announced from the Reich capital. Nazi planes were reported attacking British convoys in various parts of the Atlantic. All indications were that German offensive action would be concentrated largely on submarine and air attacks, with land activities on the western front limited to defense and occasional counter-attacks.

Another step was taken last week in foreshadowing the fate that Berlin held in store for conquered Poland. By a special decree, the Polish territory lost to Germany after the World War was to be reannexed to the Reich. But the final form of another large part of Poland now under German control and serving as a buffer against Russia was not yet settled. Talk was revived of the eventual establishment of a German-controlled Polish puppet state.

Large-scale measures were rushed thru last week to evacuate about 150,000 inhabitants of German descent from the Baltic states, especially Estonia, and to resettle them in the German-held sections of Poland. These measures were taken in accordance with an agreement between Germany and Russia.

WE STAND BY OUR POSITION

Against War and Fascism!

THE workers have nothing to gain from this present war. On both sides, it is a struggle for empire. Inevitably, as in all such gigantic conflicts, there are innocent victims. In this case it is Poland. Our sympathy is definitely with the Polish people in their heroic struggle to resist another partition. But let us not forget that the Polish government shares the responsibility of this disaster. Only a year ago she joined with Germany to dismember Czecho-Slovakia.

IS RUSSIA HELPING HITLER?

SOVIET Russia, by providing food and raw materials to Hitler thru a "non-aggression" pact, swiftly transformed into a joint military attack on Poland, has dealt a blow to international labor solidarity. It has made a mockery of a labor boycott against Hitler.

Despite all apologies and "explanations" of Stalin's agents in America, this stands out clearly: RUSSIA IS HELPING HITLER! Russia has gone in for imperialist power-politics.

The position of the Communist Party and its satellites, including the League for Peace and Democracy, no longer counts. Yesterday, they initiated a drive for "collective security" and American participation in war against Hitler. Stalin himself has delivered the death-blow to "collective security." Today, the Communist Party and the League for Peace and Democracy come out with phrases about keeping America out of war. Tomorrow, it will be something else. No one can take their position seriously or have any confidence in it. It is determined simply and solely by the needs of Russian power-politics.

Needle Trades Division - Labor's Anti-War Council

19 West 27th Street

New York City

Labor Calls for Fight To Keep Out of War

The Chicago Federation of Labor:

(These paragraphs are from the editorial columns of the October 7, 1939 issue of the *Federation News*, official publication of the Chicago Federation of Labor.—Editor.)

THE confusing welter of personal prejudice, international propaganda and political hypocrisy, disclosed by the prevailing discussion of the neutrality problem, emphasizes the fact that most of the people's alleged representatives apparently seek their office with no real concept of the duties imposed by their representative capacity, since they pose as masters rather than servants, assuming the people incapable of intelligent reasoning, hence the necessity of treating them as dumb driven cattle, which, as a recognized commodity in a mercantile age, can and should be disposed of with profit to self-interest. This inescapable conclusion enhances not only the fundamental wisdom of the Ludlow War-Referendum Bill as a practical check on ambitious politicians ready and willing to serve the beast of America's Dollar Nobility, under the pretext of patriotic motives, which ignore existent devastating domestic economic problems equally as serious and disturbing in character as war, in favor of consideration of the needs and wants of perfidious foreign governments, whose alleged friendship, is, has, and always will be, a poorly disguised effort to insure self-aggrandizement and enrichment at the expense of a credulous people, whose acceptance of professed reform ignores all the knowledge acquired by the past bitter experience of European duplicity. . . .

As for the peril of democracy, first answer the question: "Where is simon-pure democracy actually existent in this world of ours?" Surely not in European nations or any of the eastern continents. As for the western hemisphere, yes, even including the U.S.A., they cannot claim to be truly democratic until the democratic privilege of self-determination is evidenced by statute law that allows every human being exercising the voting franchise the right to decide for himself, by his vote, whether he is willing to make the sacrifices involved in war, including that of dying for the aggrandizement and enrichment of a selfish caste, rightfully named the Dollar Nobility, which thrives on war, and the commercialization of human misery.

The Playthings and Novelty Workers:

(We publish below the resolution adopted by the General Executive Board of the International Union, Playthings and Novelty Workers of America, on September 9, 1939, for presentation to the C.I.O. convention. The resolution appeared in the October 1939 issue of the *Playthings and Novelty Worker*, official publication of the union.—Ed.)

WHEREAS, the continent of Europe is once again embroiled in a war which threatens to engulf the entire world; and

Whereas, this war is the result of a continuation of the "feverish intrigues and ancient political quarrels" which have once before bathed Europe in a sea of blood; and

Whereas, this war is being waged for economic revision of the world and for world economic hegemony; and

Whereas, we came out of the last world war only to find that the ensuing peace ultimately brought neither peace nor democracy to the world, but laid the foundation for the present European conflict; and

Whereas, a determined effort is now being made by our profiteers and war-mongers to involve the United States in this present war so

KEEP AMERICA OUT OF WAR!

THERE is danger that we will be drawn into this conflict in the same manner as in the last war. First, it will be sales on a "cash-and-carry" basis; then loans to make possible the continuation of the sales; then war to guarantee our trade and loans. We must not permit our economy to become part of the war economy of Allied imperialism. We do not want to sacrifice the welfare and peace of our country to help either the "democratic" imperialists or the fascist imperialists.

GOODS FOR AMERICA—NOT BULLETS FOR EUROPE!

WE do not want to build our prosperity on the blood of the European people. We must instead build our prosperity on producing more goods and distributing them among the people here. Let us provide a decent livelihood of all American people. More food, more clothing, better housing for the American masses!

Such an economy will be a constructive peace economy. It will give the people a stake in democracy and in the safeguarding of peace.

Cloakmakers, Dressmakers, Millinery Workers, Knitgoods Workers, Fur Workers, Men's Clothing Workers, —all Needle Trades Workers:

Build for peace!
Join Labor's Anti-War Council!

The "Menace" Of Peace

EUROPE'S recurrent "peace scares" have government economic experts jittery. They predict a serious economic setback if the war stops soon, but are making their bets on continued hostilities.—United States News, Oct. 9, 1939.

God save us from the disaster of peace, is the prayer in Washington.

democratic rights of free speech, free press, and free assemblies, which are so precious to us and on which our great democracy is founded; and be it further

Resolved, that the C.I.O. calls on President Roosevelt and on Congress to give full attention to the solution of our own problems before turning their eyes to the horror that is Europe; to bring aid and succor to the millions of unemployed and to the numerous and increasingly impoverished farmers of this country; to wipe out the crime-breeding slums and provide housing facilities as benefits decent American workers; and be it further

Resolved, that this convention calls on the entire body of organized labor to exercise the greatest vigilance against war-mongering propaganda be it of native or foreign origin; against the development of anti-democratic movements; against any attempts from any direction to infringe upon or curtail the constitutional rights of labor to organize for the purpose of improving its conditions or to strike in defense of conditions already won; and be it finally

Resolved, that this convention, which has pioneered so valiantly and successfully in the field of labor organization, now take the lead in a movement to keep the United States from becoming entangled in the European war, that this convention initiate a movement of organized labor and farmers and all right-thinking citizens of the country to guarantee the lives and well-being and liberties of our people by keeping the United States out of war.

The Workmen's Benefit Fund:

Resolved, that we fully and wholeheartedly endorse the stirring declaration made by the president of the C.I.O., John L. Lewis, in his Labor Day address, in which he declared: "Labor in America wants no war nor any part of war. Labor wants the right to work and live—not the privilege of dying by gunshot or poison gas;" and be it further

Resolved, that we do all in our power to keep America from becoming involved in this war from which we can expect many thousands of dead and wounded, the destruction of wealth, new unpaid war debts, higher taxes, greater unemployment and misery for our people and the possible loss or curtailment of our

Labor and the Law

by Joseph Elwood

COURTS AND LABOR JURISDICTION

TWO weeks ago, the oldest jurisdictional dispute within the American labor movement took a new turn when the federal district court of the District of Columbia issued an injunction against the A. F. of L. and its largest affiliate, the Teamsters Union, to prevent them from interfering with the jurisdiction of the Brewery Workers Union, also an A. F. of L. affiliate.

The elements of the dispute are as follows: Since it joined the A. F. of L. in 1887, the Brewery Workers

Union has claimed the right to enroll all workers of breweries. The A. F. of L. acknowledged this jurisdictional claim. In 1899, the Teamsters Union joined the A. F. of L. It claimed jurisdiction over all teamsters, including brewery teamsters. In 1900, the A. F. of L. voted itself the right to decide jurisdictional controversies. It decided that the Teamsters should have the right to enroll brewery teamsters.

The Brewery Workers Union resisted the A. F. of L. decision and was expelled in 1906. In 1907, the union was restored to affiliation without settlement of the dispute. In 1933, the A. F. of L. convention reiterated its ruling on jurisdiction over brewery teamsters. The Brewery Workers Union refused compliance and eventually went to the courts, primarily due to the fact that the Teamsters sought to enforce their jurisdiction by picketing breweries which would not employ their members as truck drivers and by picketing customers handling beer manufactured by breweries which refused to have truck drivers who were members of the Teamsters Union.

The first court case in 1937 was unsuccessful; the court dismissed the complaint after declaring that no property right was involved. An amended complaint was then brought by the Brewery Workers and in May 1939 the Brewery Workers won a decision in the district court of the District of Columbia, which declared that a property right inheres in the possession of jurisdiction and that the A. F. of L. exceeded its power in overriding the Brewery Workers claims.

The present decision arising out of the same complaint reiterates that there is a property right in the charter granted by the A. F. of L. and that the A. F. of L. claim to take it away is, according to the court, "assumed authority."

This decision is entirely unprecedented in the history of labor law. Hitherto, the courts have usually assumed a laissez-faire policy towards internal problems of trade unions. Should the courts generally assume the authority to decide jurisdictional dispute, a new and most dangerous chapter will be opened in the American labor movement.

A Significant Ruling

In a novel decision which may be of nationwide importance, the Maryland Unemployment Compensation Board has ruled recently that, while a strike constitutes "a stop-

page of work because of a labor dispute," a lockout does not. The significance of the distinction lies in the fact that persons who engage in a labor dispute are ineligible for unemployment compensation in Maryland.

The occasion for the Maryland Board's decision arose out of a work stoppage at the Anacostia plant of the Celanese Corporation of America, near Cumberland, Md., involving over 8,000 workers. The controversy was due to the inability of the employer and the Textile Workers Union of America (C.I.O.) to agree on terms of a contract. Claims for unemployment compensation were subsequently filed by 6,000 workers.

The workers involved in the case were found by the Board to be ineligible on the ground that the work stoppage was due not to a lockout but to a strike.

This decision was made the occasion for the above distinction between a labor dispute and a lockout in an interpretation of the Maryland Unemployment Compensation Act, which has been certified by the Social Security Board as conforming to the Federal Social Security Act.

The relevant clause of the state act reads: "An individual shall be disqualified for benefits . . . for any week with respect to which the Board finds that his unemployment is due to a stoppage of work which exists because of a labor dispute at the factory, establishment or other premises at which he is or was last employed."

When it is remembered that 32 other states have approximately this identical disqualification in their unemployment-compensation laws, one can better appreciate the significance of the above ruling.

Anti-War Ranks United in Detroit

By S. MEFFAN

Detroit, Mich.

THE constant and repeated efforts of the Independent Labor League for unity in the fight against war has resulted in complete success in the early attempts to form a Keep America Out of War Committee here, has now taken its place as a part of the K.A.O.W. locally with the same rights and responsibilities as all other organizations.

We wish to thank those liberals who, thru their common sense, made this possible, and also those members of the Socialist Party who convinced their party of the soundness of proceeding along united lines.

Let us build a powerful, united anti-war movement in Detroit!

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Geo. Powers Quits C. P.

(Continued from page 1)

not only consistent with, but indispensable to, the effective practice of true international solidarity and joint action against common foes.

This is not true of the American Communist Party which is neither American nor communist nor a party, by virtue of its relationship to the Stalin-controlled Comintern, and therefore no longer serves the cause of socialism, of labor or of progress, but is now the ally of Hitler and of reaction. Because of these reasons, I therefore publicly renounce my membership in the Communist Party and call upon all others who agree with what I have above set forth to do likewise. While this disillusionment has been a great blow, I count myself among those who do not lose heart when more than ever before, especially because of the heavy blow struck by the Stalin-Hitler alliance, it becomes most urgently necessary for all who really believe in the cause of democratic socialism to join hands against Nazism, fascism, and all other forms of capitalist reaction and all those who support or ally themselves therewith, and thus help to assure a future better America.

GEORGE E. POWERS.
October 18, 1939.

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131 W. 33 St., New York City

Special Combination Course On War Offered by School

THE Independent Labor Institute announced last week that it had combined two special series of lectures previously announced into one. All the announced speakers will participate and the subject treated will be the same as that indicated in the previous issues of this paper.

THE WORLD AT WAR
(A Series of 10 Friday Night Lectures)
Nov. 3—Lewis Corey: The Econ-

omics of War and Peace.
Nov. 10—Jay Lovestone: Twenty-two Years of Soviet Russia.
Nov. 17—Jay Lovestone: American Labor Faces the War.
Nov. 24—Will Herberg: Fascism, Democracy and Stalinism.
Speakers and subjects of other lectures will be announced soon. The admission is 25 cents. Sessions are held at the Independent Labor Institute, 131 West 33rd Street, New York City, Telephone LAckawanna 4-5282.

Stalin-Hitler Pact and American Labor

Hear

Norman Thomas — Jay Lovestone
George Powers

discuss this subject on

Saturday, October 28, 1:00 P. M.

at

Hotel Diplomat, 108 West 43rd Street

Auspices:

Dressmakers Branches Socialist Party, Independent Labor League

Towards A Better America:

Democracy Thru Education

By GEORGE S. COUNTS (Concluded from last issue)

Loyalty to Freedom of Thought

In the third place, the school would arouse in the coming generation a deep loyalty to the process of free discussion, criticism and group decision—the life-blood of every democratic society.

Fair-Mindedness And Integrity

The fourth task of the school—the development of a mentality marked by fair-mindedness, integrity and scientific spirit—is indissolubly linked to the third.

Appreciation of Ability And Character

The development of a respect for and an appreciation of ability, training and character constitutes a fifth responsibility of the school.

we not even say that that form of government is the best which provides the most effectually for a pure selection of these natural aristoi into the offices of government?

Obligation to Useful Labor

Sixth, the school should propagate systematically the idea that every person of sound mind and body is obliged to engage in some form of socially useful labor.

Devotion to the Common Good

Seventh and last, the school should seek to promote an enlightened devotion to the common good.

Beware—British Propaganda at Work!

In England, there was published some months ago a book called "Propaganda in the Next War." Its author is Sidney Rogerson, publicity director of Imperial Chemical Industries, Ltd., the gigantic British dye and explosives trust.

Mr. Rogerson has a great deal to say about the United States in the "next war." He speaks with a frankness unusual among English publicists.

THERE remains the United States—the great neutral. In the next war, as in the last, the result will probably depend upon the way in which the United States acts, and her attitude will reflect the reaction of her public to propaganda properly applied.

Fortunately, in America our propaganda is on firm ground. We can be entirely sincere as our main plank will be the old democratic one.

These should not be difficult to pursue, or to put over to the American public. . . . They are more susceptible to suggestion than most people.

American newspapermen in London are of approved mettle and the impervious to any obvious propaganda, nevertheless should represent a valuable propaganda force.

Executive Bureaucracy Reaches One Million

Passes Beyond High-Water Mark During War

Washington, D. C.

THE annual personnel report of the federal Civil Service Commission, recently issued, is one of the most significant documents of the day.

On June 30 of this year, there were 920,310 employees on executive department pay rolls, the highest number in the country's history.

This figure tops by 2,550 the previous high-water mark of 917,760, which was the total on November 11, 1918, the day on which the signing of the armistice ended the World War.

TOTAL CONTINUES TO MOVE UPWARD

Altho a two-million figure is clearly out of the question for the moment, still later statistics issued by the Civil Service Commission indicate that the tendency is ever upward, with the passing of the million mark by the end of the year very probable.

An analysis of yearly payroll figures shows the relentless mushroom growth of government functions since World War days. After the rapid increase from 480,327 in 1916 to 917,760 in 1918, there was a general exodus of government employees when the war-time need for their services disappeared.

During the "economy" years of the Harding and Coolidge administrations, the general trend was downward, the low point being reached on December 31, 1926, when 514,610 were on the rolls.

attack on the Communist Party have interested many people here. The attitude of one New Deal Congressman was: "It's about time."

No one seems to know yet what really happened on the question of labor unity. It is hoped that because Hillman seems to have won so many other concessions from Lewis that he also has an understanding with him which will give him (Hillman) a free hand in negotiating with the A. F. of L. for unity.

The stories which finally leaked out of San Francisco about Lewis's

Crisis Wipes Out Gains of Thirty Years

HOW profound the economic crisis that began towards the end of 1929 has really been, can be judged from the fact that in 1938 the value of private production per person in the United States was back to the level of 1899, almost 40 years before.

In the 30 years from 1899 to 1929, per-capita volume of production rose by one-third. Came the depression, and the gains were more than wiped out.

Partial recovery culminating in 1937 raised the production volume per person to only 10% above the 1899 level. Then, in 1938, the index fell down to the 1899 level again.

For eight years since 1930, an average of ten million have been jobless. That means that even at the pitifully low wage of \$50 a month, the United States has lost at least 48 billion dollars that could have been earned if all workers had been employed.

In 1938 employment averaged about 43 million persons, one million more than had jobs in 1935.

But since 1935, two million more Americans have entered the market for jobs. Our working force grows 600,000 persons larger every year.

One gain has been made: with production per person at the 1899 level, working hours have greatly dropped. Yet workers are producing more in the shorter work-week than they once did in the longer.

executive agency having the largest total of employees. Almost one-third of all those working for Uncle Sam—288,979, to be exact—are employed in handling the mails. The War Department ranks next with 109,886, and the Department of Agriculture is third with 107,712.

Almost 100,000 persons are now employed by government agencies which were non-existent before the New Deal. For example, the Tennessee Valley Authority has 12,149 employees; the Social Security Board has 9,661; the W.P.A. has 33,972; the P.W.A. has 10,305.

This monstrous swelling of the permanent, professional officialdom at the command of the Executive is one of the most portentous trends of the time.

This Is an Old War ...

(These paragraphs are from an editorial in the Summer 1939 issue of the Modern Quarterly, edited by V. F. Calverton. We are particularly gratified at Mr. Calverton's courageous attitude in view of the backsliding of so many radical intellectuals, to which we referred in our editorial columns some weeks ago.—Editor.)

THE conflict between Germany and Russia on the one side, and England and France on the other is therefore on old one. This is an old war, a repetition of so many previous ones and it behooves us as radicals to keep that fact constantly in mind.

Each war is viewed by those who do not understand its causes as different, strange. The first world war was waged in behalf of democracy—"Save the world for democracy."

In short, war is being waged for, but not by, the imperialist ruling cliques in the respective countries involved. It is being waged by the poor, hopeless, bewildered populace of the belligerent powers.

Fortunately, at the present time at least, most of the American people are convinced that they should keep out of this second world war. The Roosevelt Administration is unequivocally pro-war but the election next year may force it, like that of Wilson's in 1916, to hold its hand until the election is over.

To frustrate such a possibility, anti-war sentiment in the United States must be organized and gal-

By FLORENCE B. BOECKEL Washington, D. C.

IT seems unlikely that the real reasons motivating the two sides of the current neutrality debate in the Senate will continue very much longer to be ignored and suppressed.

Back of the opposition to embargo repeal is the same distrust of one-man control of issues that mean peace or war that was back of the original enactment of the neutrality law.

Distrust of the President's policy at the present time is based not alone on fear of how far he will go in committing this country to war, but on how far he will go in using a war situation to extend executive control in this country. Every day produces some statement or event justifying distrust on these two points.

Four acts of the President in particular have increased alarm. The declaration of the limited emergency, the first necessary step in exercising abnormal power; the effort to persuade Congress to go home as soon as possible; the announced determination of the President to make expenditures for the Army and Navy unauthorized by Congress; the astounding step taken in haste and purely by executive decree of extending our territorial waters from the three-mile limit accepted in international law to as much as seven hundred miles out to sea.

Washington correspondents are also disturbed by the apparent relish with which the White House gives out reports calculated to alarm the people and create a war spirit, such as the report that submarines were off our coast although information as to what nationality these submarines were or where the report came from was not divulged.

The attempt to create the belief that letters coming into Congress to hold the embargo on arms were inspired by Germany was thoroughly blasted last week by a Washington correspondent, Bruce Catton, in the Scripps-Howard papers. The result of a study he made of one Congressman's mail, eliminating all letters which contained similar, set phrases, was that many more than half were "clearly spontaneous," less than one-fifth were obviously inspired by some organization.

Europe, the peace that follows will be nothing more than an interlude between an old and a new war. We are most likely at the beginning of another Thirty Years War, of which the present struggle is but a starting point.

America has nothing to gain from entering the European conflict, but it has everything to lose. Nothing will hasten the growth of fascism as rapidly in this country as our entrance into war. It will unleash, as it did in the last war, those frontier primitivisms from which we have never disencumbered ourselves, and convert us from a democratic into a totalitarian people.

All minority groups will be the first to suffer: Negroes, Jews, Catholics.

We can retain what democracy we have by protecting it from the terrifying effects of war which is its great destroyer.

No matter who wins the war in

"Mr. Smith Goes to Washington"

Washington, D. C.

I was not going to write about Capra's "Mr. Smith Goes To Washington" which had its premiere here in the Constitution Hall on October 17, altho I enjoyed it immensely. But, I'm mad, I just saw it again and am doubly impressed. I have heard all day the most outrageous criticisms of it by the "national-unity" boys among the press and the Congressmen.

I thought "Mr. Smith" was a good picture; now I think it is a great picture—because of the enemies it is making. See it and have your friends see it. It is not an appeal for socialism but it is for honest democracy, freedom of speech and of the press. It makes a blistering attack on corruption and dishonesty. It made a lot of the star reporters and critics of the country laugh cynically on Tuesday night and say: "Hollywood hokum!"

FRANK HOWARD

