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5 CENTS

## AT FIRST GLANCE

= by Jay Lovestone =

#### UNCENSORED BULLETIN

THE world war and the new world it is ushering in are but two weeks dold. Nowadays, this is a long time! Yet, any attempt, at this moment, to estimate or even indicate decisive trends or consequences would be puerile conjecture, vain speculation. Despite all that, quite a good deal is already clear-and tragic. A swift perusal of events on the social, economic, political and human fronts would give us an uncensored bulletin of the following sort:

In the United States, we can expect an increase of at least 30% in the cost of living by the time we reach the Roosevelt-decreed Thanksgiving Day. Here, none other than the "progressive" President and his "liberal" Attorney General are the spark-plugs of hysterical reaction. Murphy's Department of Justice is working day and night-sunset and dawn not excluded-to put all old World War laws into rigorous operation so as to speed up government by decree from Washington. Let no one think that this is mere pre-war and pro-war shouting. Let none forget that Roosevelt I (Theodore) more than once said: "Shoot the way

And the Army and Navy Journal of September 9 boasts that:

"What the President is doing is to develop for the nation something it has never had, something essential for the protection of American interests in these critical times, and for the successful prosecution of war should we become engaged. That something is a High Command. It is not an organization for developing and perfecting arrangements for the in ten cities from August 15 to Sept- for the Bronx, Andrew R. Armcontrol of our military and naval forces. Instead, it is a machine for the ember 7. The Buro's index of spot coordination of policy with military and naval strategy, in other words wholesale prices for thirty basic a Government for National Defense in the broadest possible sense."

"High Command"! These two words will symbolize the coordination of unmeasured and immeasurable misery, reaction, destruction and death in the coming months—in ever more lands.

England's Labor Party spokesman, Arthur Greenwood, has been compelled to admit, in the House of Commons, that rapacious profiteering has set in and that "at this moment (September 13), plundering is going on upon a large scale." That generally refreshingly liberal Economist of London hastens (on August 20, even before Hitler started to strangle Poland) to tell the world: "Not only must the unions recognize new principles to fit the new situation, but detailed plans of the wartime machinery must be drawn up with their positive cooperation. In fact, dilution of labor, that bitter pill whose very name produces wry faces among trade unionists, will have to be compounded ready for swallowing... In essence, dilution is a precise scientific process. In practise, it has centered around the 'suspension of trade-union practises'."

Within one week after this declaration saw the light of day, the British trade-union "High Command" ordered British labor to swallow this bitter pill-"voluntarily" and without the slightest sugar-coating.

In France, many militant socialists, especially members of the Socialist Workers and Peasants Party (P.S.O.P.), have been thrown into jails because of anti-militarist activities. Hours of labor in industry in general have been raised there to 65 per week; in the war industries, the minimum working week is 72 hours.

In Germany, many hundreds of militant socialists and former tradeunion spokesmen have been slugged savagely and thrust into prisons and spiracy against the will of the over-

And from "somewhere in southeastern Poland", Associated Press correspondent Elmer W. Paterson unwittingly lashes out the most savage of the United States, who after havindictment of the decaying and collapsing capitalist civilization of today. | ing proclaimed our military and eco-Painting a gruesome picture of the self-created ability of man to destroy man efficiently, this writer tells us: "Today you can see the bewild- intention of nullifying and forcing erment of separated families, the suffering of wives and mothers who do the repeal of the decisive part of that not know whether their soldiers husbands and sons are alive or not. In proclamation. The President may a war like this, it is impossible to keep track of individuals. The final list of missing and unaccounted for will be staggering."

Yes! The unknown soldiers of the present world cataclysm may run into millions. Yes-and there are so many who call us "utopians" and "dreamers" for opposing to the bitterest end the horror of war. What a nightmare such people help make of this world that is so rapidly becom-

September 14, 1939.

## FDR Move Against CPers Rumored in Capital

Frank Howard's Weekly Washington Letter

By FRANK HOWARD

Washington, D. C.

learn that the President has ficially, a committee of three from of the Dies committee in the very Britain. Incidentally, the ruling three different government departments to investigate connections of government officials who are rumor- VITAL SESSION ed to be pro-Stalinist. I cannot OF CONGRESS vouch for the accuracy of this report but I would not be surprised which will be opening just about the sons favoring the Soviet-German way New Dealers worked with Stalinists forgot that the collaboration was on the basis of a program dedicated to the preservation of capitalist "democracy". Now that Stalin is no longer interested in this kind of political and economic set-up, he has lost many of his recent friends. As gave to the press shortly after landing, these same friends are now turning on the Communist Party and turning on the Communist Party and anything that sounds like the Comtant Business Week, best of bor to come into its own. The exthey may, in their disillusionment, siders it likely that we will be in become militantly reactionary. They have burned their fingers and, like Heywood Broun, are bitter about the

whole experience. This reported attitude of the Pres-

know the inner workings of the Stalinist machine. He had a long drawnout love affair with them and he of a two-year conflict between the ROM a usually reliable source, I has dedicated his life to rooting Administration on one side, and the them out of American life. You may expect to see and hear some reappointed, off the record and unof- markable things from the hearings near future.

The special session of Congress, if it is true. The general atmosphere time that you read this letter, is gohere, which was very friendly to ing to be of great historical value. C.P.ers, has changed now and per- It will witness a full-dress discussion of foreign policy. I predict that pact are distinctly out in the cold. the Administration will win the re-Many people who commented on the peal of the embargo, which is what t wants. It will do so, however, only after a terrific battle. Now is the time for you to send that letter you have been failing to send your Congressman. Even if the Neutrality Act is weakened eventually, if Congress debates the matter for months and it is clear that a large section Pivert stated in the interview he of the American people do not favor changing it, there will be just that hope, from the perspective of Washmuch less chance of our getting into munist Party. The danger is that the weekly business magazines, con- act opposite is more likely to result war within six or eight months.

> NEW JAPANESE ORIENTATION

Japan was completely upset by ident on the Stalinists may explain the signing of the Soviet-German why there seems to be a more favor- pact and its orientation, in respect able reception to the activities of to foreign policy, has changed. Efthe Dies Committee. Since my last forts are now being made by Japanletter, J. B. Matthews has taken ese here to work out some arrangeover the questioning of witnesses ment with the United States, and and the job being done is a much similar efforts are being made in

Russia Invades Poland, Ready for Grab

### Prices Rise, War Spurs **Profiteering**

Government Does Nothing To Stem Skyrocketing Of Living Costs

Washington, D. C. Widespread protests against skyrocketing living costs mulmary foodstuffs rose rapidly in

Prices of sugar, flour, lard and neither of the old-line parties. pork chops were particularly affected. A survey conducted by the Buro W. Post and Frank Crosswaith for of Labor Statistics of the Department of Labor indicated that prices of these commodities rose sharply tore Ninfo and Charles Rubenstein commodities jumped from 55.6 on August 31 to 65.9 on September 8.

The percentage of change on nine foods was recorded for Cleveland, Portland, Me., New York, Denver, Washington, Scranton, Savannah, Detroit, Houston and Los Angeles.

(Continued on Page 2)

### A.L.P. Names City Council **Candidates**

Labor Party Ticket Entirely Independent, With No Old-Party Alliances

New York City. The American Labor Party last week announced its list of canditiplied last week as prices of pri- dates for the City Council elections many cities thruout the country as a in November. It was strictly an inrepercussion of the outbreak of war dependent ticket, every candidate being a member of the A.L.P. and of

The candidates include Langdon Manhattan, Michael J. Quill, Salvastrong and Harry W. Laidler for Brooklyn, and Charles Belous, A. Joseph Donnely and Frank Sciuto for Queens

Crosswaith and Laidler are well known figures in the New York socialist movement. Armstrong, Quill, Ninfo and Sciuto are prominent in the trade-union circles

# "This Is Not Our War!"

Address of B. D. Wolfe at K.A.O.W. Meet

(We publish below the address delivered by Bertram D. Wolfe at the Keep America Out of War rally in New York City last week .- Editor.)

By BERTRAM D. WOLFE WE are meeting here tonight for the nurpose of whelming majority of the American people. We are faced with the unprecedented spectacle of a President nomic neutrality, openly declares his sincerely believe, at any rate he wants us to believe, that we can enter into economic war on the side of one group of powers and not enter into military war. Let there be no mistake about it. If we supply arms and munitions of war to one side, if we throw our economic weight into the scales of battle, and that is not enough to secure victory for the side we have supported, then our military participation becomes inevitable. We are gathered tonight to give expression to our determination that that fatal step shall not be taken down the steep grade which leads to involvement in war.

A TEMPORARY VICTORY

The proclamation of neutrality was forced out of a reluctant President by the pressure of the American people. In sober fact, it is the result (Continued on Page 4)

the United States, Japan and Great group in Japan is confident that the United States will get into the European war. Out of it, they expect Japan, the United States and the Soviet Union to emerge as the dominant world powers. They consider the British empire is in a period of decay and decline. It would be interesting to know all that Japan is doing in India to stimulate the nationalist and anti-British movement.

There is a fight-to-the-death going on between the New Dealers (Corcoran crowd) and the business appeasers in the Democratic party. Now that war impends, the "national unity" amalgam is getting in a lot of dirty work against social and labor legislation enacted under the New Deal. There is little reason to ington, as some labor leaders do mendous resistance from united

Washington this month are Boris flames of intolerence, suffering and of War movement, was one of the Souvarine's "Stalin" and Hermann brutality in Europe, but will extend speakers. His stirring address was Rauschning's "The Revolution of them to the United States. We want received with great enthusiasm. Nihilism". Everyone seems to be to keep America out of war for the (Wolfe's address is printed in full quoting or recommending them. sake of 130,000,000 Americans and in this issue.—Editor.) Other speak-Perhaps the ideology of these two also for the sake of a world to which ers included A. J. Muste, Dorothy books helps explain many of the de- we can give a degree and quality of Detzer, Frank R. Crosswaith and

Here's What

YOU Can Do!

THE Congressional fight to keep America out of war is beginning this week. Here is what every reader of the Workers Age, every friend of peace, every opponent of war, can do immediately in this great cause:

1. Send a letter or a telegram IMMEDIATELY to your Senator and Representative in Washington appealing to him

to do his utmost to keep America out of war.

to oppose all attempts to repeal the arms-embargo law or otherwise weaken our present neutrality legislation, and

to support the proposal for a constitutional amendment to give the people the right to vote on the declaration of a foreign war.

2. Anyone who can possibly do so should be in Washington on September 29 to make a personal appeal to his Representative and Senator to retain the arms embargo and keep America out of war. Delegations from anti-war groups and peace societies all over the country will be there.

DON'T DELAY — ACT AT

# Peace Rally War Policy

cy was sharply condemned and that will rule the United States once branded as a policy of war involve- the country is involved in war. He ment at a very well-attended rally urged his audience to write to their of the Keep America Out of War Representatives and Senators during Congress at Town Hall last week. the projected special session of About 2,000 were present at the Congress urging them to fight to meeting.

The Administration policy will ty legislation. lead us into war and will serve as a cover to hide failure to solve our own on finance and economics, called for economic problems by bringing about definition of the term "being at war" a false and suicidal war "prosper- and insisted that those who supply from developments during the next ity," Norman Thomas, socialist lead- the munitions in a war are as much twelve months, unless there is tre- er, declared. "Our position," he at war as those who fight in the stressed, "is based on our conviction, front lines.

supported by the history of the last war, that American participation in the Independent Labor League of The two most widely read books in Europe's wars will not put out the America in the Keep America Out more intelligent one. Whatever you London, to divide up the Far East welopments on which I touch in the help in finding the road to democrative was chairman.

| Fay Bennett. McAlister Coleman | Preceding paragraphs. | Coleman | Preceding paragraphs | Coleman | Preceding paragraphs | Coleman | Co

### The "Fourth New Deal"

66THE limited emergency (recently proclaimed by President Roosevelt) was devised in part to bring the country easily and gradually toward the total emergency psychology, since events abroad or even in this hemisphere may at any time require the issuance of an unrestricted emergency proclamation." -Arthur Krock, New York Times, September 14, 1939.

66THE armament industry is viewed (in Washington) as the most recent stimulant to business—one that is bound to grow. National-defense expenditures this year will be \$1,350 million. The auto industry last year sold only \$1,690 million worth of cars and trucks." - United States News, August 28, 1939.

**KEEP AMERICA OUT OF WAR!** 

**Congress Peace Block** 

To Defend Neutrality

Special Session Summoned for Sept. 21

called by President Roosevelt last block announced its determination

week to convene on September 21. to fight the President's kill-neutral-

The call did not specify the subjects ity program to the last ditch and to

sion but it was well understood that the entire issue of keeping America

islation would be recommended by ures, such as Jerry Voorhis of Cali

### Russo-German Partition of Poland Seen Looming: "Peace Offensive" Expected

treaty was signed some weeks ago, in the South. but before Russia could take active military steps, it was necessary for armistice might lead to a "nonaggression" pact, thus extending the new Berlin-Moscow Axis to Tokyo. The effects of the Soviet-Japanese rapprochement made themselves felt immediately. Japan, freed from fears for the Manchukuoan border, started a general offensive

Soviet Russia launched its inva-| in central China. And Russia, waitsion of Poland last Sunday as part ing, as military observers had preof the Russo-German plan to over- dicted, until the German forces whelm Poland and partition it be- reached the Bialystok-Brest-Lwow tween these two big powers. This line, launched its invasion along the plan was already worked out in all entire Polish frontier from Polozk essentials when the Soviet-Reich in the North to Kamenets-Podolski

News of the invasion came first from the Dr. Goebbels's Propaganda it to obtain a measure of security Ministry in Berlin, which announced on its Asiatic frontiers. Towards that Russian troops had marched the middle of last week, thru the into Poland Sunday morning 4:00 energetic efforts of German diplo- A. M., Moscow time (Saturday 11:00 macy, an armistice was concluded P.M., New York time), with Gerbetween Russia and Japan on the many's full approval. A few hours Manchukuoan front, where a great later, Premier Molotov made an ofdeal of fighting had been going on, ficial declaration, "explaining" the and there were indications that this Russian move. Using almost the identical phrases with which Hitler had justified the seizure of Czecho-Slovakia, he declared the Russian invasion was undertaken in order to "protect our brothers in the (Polish) Ukraine and White Russia." "Poland has ceased to exist," the Russian Premier proclaimed, and the 'collapse and incapability of the Polish government" made it necessary for Russia to intervene in order to "liberate the Polish peoole." Nevertheless, Premier Molotov declared. Russia was "maintaining its neutrality," the military action being in the nature of a "police neasure" rather than warlike intervention. Notes to this effect were sent to England, France and the neutrals, but it was not yet apparent what the Anglo-French attitude to the Russian action would

> The Russo-German plan for the partition of Poland, it was reliably stated, consisted in the division of that country into three or even four parts-one section going to Germany; another to Russia; a third remaining nominally "independent" but actually constituting a buffer puppet state; and a fourth, around Vilna, going to Lithuania. In addition, Moscow and Berlin apparently had some understanding as to the division of spheres of influence on the European continent, Russia getting a free hand in the Baltic "border states" and Germany in southeastern Europe, including the Balkans. Russia was understood to be nterested in the "return" of Bessaabia, now under Rumanian control.

From all indications, the German plans, seconded by Russia and Italy, ncluded a "peace offensive" once Poland was overrun and partitioned. A puppet government would be set up with which Berlin and Moscow would make peace, on their own terms, of course. Then Germany would declare the war over and would call upon England and France to cease hostilities since the Polish government no longer desired their assistance. Very likely, Mussolini would emerge as intermediary and peace-maker. There were even rumors in Berlin and Rome that the Italian Premier might call upon President Roosevelt, with whom he was said to have good relations, to convoke a peace conference. The attitude of the Allies to such a development could not be foretold with any confidence last week, despite the positiveness of the official "pledges" Washington, D. C. of the Allies be "injured." In Congiven in London and Paris. A special session of Congress was gress, however, the isolationist peace

The second week of the European war brought no surprises or unexpected developments. Germany continued to push thru Poland with litthe effective resistance except at Warsaw, where the Nazi forces were stopped for over a week. On the western front, the French continued their preliminary activities to establish contact with the German forces at the West-Wall. Fighting grew a little heavier but there were still no indications that large-scale warfare of decisive significance was in the offing. Nor were there yet any signs on either side of the use of the airforce as an independent arm to bomb key centers of political and economic importance, such as London, Berlin

Britain bent its energies mainly on perfecting measures for the "economic strangulation" of Germany. Germany had been declared blockaded the week before and now London issued stringent regulations to the smaller neutral states around Germany virtually ordering them to break all trade relations with the

#### Borah, Nye Pledge lest the impression of "national unity" be "marred" and the "morale" Finish Fight ourselves are not caught in the

madness of war." Mr. Thomas called attention to

to be considered by the special ses-

"revision" of existing neutrality leg-

the White House, probably in a spe-

President Roosevelt made no se-

cret of his desire that the special

question and that even on this ques-

ion there be no extended discussion

session limit itself to the neutrality gress last June.

cial message.

the influence of Wall Street in the President Roosevelt's foreign pol- selecting of men to form the boards save the arms embargo and neutrali-

John T. Flynn, well-known writer

Bertram D. Wolfe, representing

Washington, D. C. Senator William E. Borah, veteran isolationist leader, pledged himself last week to resist all efforts of the Administration to break down the present neutrality legislation. He charged that President Roose-

velt's proposals for repeal of the

arms embargo would involve the

United States in the European war.

secure adequate public attention for

out of war. Other Congressional fig-

fornia, declared that they would

take the opportunity of the special

session to push for revision of the

vicious relief law passed by Con-

Borah, dean of the Senate isolationists, who fought the Administration's kill-neutrality program at the last session of Congress, expressed unalterable opposition to elimination of the embargo clause. His statement followed a meeting with a number of Senators interested in the neutrality legislation.

Borah said he could not reconcile himself to "any kind of a compromise" on the embargo issue and served notice that he and other Senators would fight any attempt to invoke a cloture rule, or "gag" on the Senate when it considers the Roosevelt anti-neutrality recommendation.

"There is no time when fair and open and courageous consideration and discussion of public questions (Continued on Page 3)

### **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.

response to a report sent to the

president of the federation by the

N.A.A.C.P. thru Walter White, who

made a special trip to Florida to

nvestigate the situation. Green's

"I promise you that I will go into

letter said in part:

### Resolutions of I.L.L.A. Convention

# Socialism and Democracy

mocracy" adopted by the national convention of the I.L.A. will permit the direct participation of the producer held in New York City over the Labor Day week-end .- in the management and administration of the (so

the rise of fascist totalitarianism in many parts of form. the world, place upon the socialist movement the obligation of reviewing and reformulating as clearly as Socialist State possible its basic conceptions of the significance and place of democracy in the new society to which it looks forward. As a contribution towards this discussion, we make the following declaration of our point

#### Socialism Fights For Democracy

1. Socialism is fundamentally opposed to authori tarian or totalitarian dictatorship of every sort, whether it be fascist, military or Stalinist in character. So cialism 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.

#### Freedom Integral To Socialism

2. A socialist society is inconceivable without freedom and democracy, which are integral to the socialist goal. Without freedom and democracy, the great work of socialist construction, depending so much upon the initiative and collective resources of the masses, is impossible in the long run. 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, and the democratic administration of the social and economic affairs of society by the producing masses themselves.

### Socialist State And Democracy

3. In guaranteeing the broadest measure of de mocracy, the socialist state must provide, in reality and not merely in form:

a. Full personal, civil and political liberty, including the rights of free speech and press, of free assembly and association (economic, social and political), and the right to strike. The one-party system, whereby the ruling party arrogates to itself a monopoly of legal political existence, is inherently incompatible with political freedom.

b. Effective popular control over all government officials and institutions, thru a machinery of democratic election, responsibility and recall. Any tendency to irresponsible authoritarian rule, not subject to direct popular control and without concern for the guaranteed rights of the people, must prove fatal to all freedom and democracy.

c. Governmental institutions that permit the fullest freedom of political discussion, party controversy and democratic decision by the masses of the people of the policies to be followed. The regime of party dictatorship, emerging from the one-party system Labor Movement and vesting the ruling (and only legal) party with the effective power to decide all questions of any importance, makes genuine democracy utterly impossible.

d. Governmental institutions to reduce systematically the scope, functions, power and privileges of the professional officialdom (burocracy) by gradually replacing such professional officialdom by the direct participation of the masses of the people in the af-

fairs of governmental administration. e. Full freedom and encouragement of voluntary organization and activity in all spheres of social life, existing democratic traditions and institutions. As untrammeled by overhead governmental domination and control. Totalitarianism, which conceives of all the affairs of the socialist society of the future, the the activity of society as a state monopoly to be purlactive participation of the workers in the democratic sued thru and under the control of the state, is obviously hostile to freedom in any real sense of the tions (trade-union, social, political) is of especially

(We publish below the resolution on "Socialism and De- f. Economic democracy thru institutions that cialized) economic life. Without economic democracy -that is, under conditions of the authoritarian, bu-THE events of recent years, the fate of the Russian rocratic administration of economic life—political de-Revolution under the Stalin dictatorship and mocracy is soon reduced to a mere shadow, an empty

### A Workers State

4. The socialist state, because it is democratic, therefore no less a class state. It is a workers state first because it is constituted, controlled and run by workers (producers of all categories) and secondly because it operates so as to promote the interests of the producers and to build and consolidate the nev social order.

#### **Democracy Gives** Strength

5. The socialist state, particularly in its early stages and before it is thoroly consolidated, is bound to meet with many grave emergencies of a political and even military character resulting from efforts at counter-revolution and capitalist restoration. In meeting these dangers, it will, of course, have to resort to extraordinary measures, the character of which will depend on circumstances. But these measures must be taken within the framework of the democratic institutions of the socialist state. Particularly fatal is the conception that democracy is a luxury suitable in the labor movement and to labor only to "quiet times", to be instituted in the distant future after an authoritarian dictatorship has cleared the ground. That will never be. If socialist democracy is deemed incapable of working under stress and strain, it is a mere illusion and incapable of survival. Actually, however, in a society organized on the principle of collective welfare and not private profit and aggrandizement, democracy is fully capable of so arousing the inexhaustible energies of the masses of the people and so welding them into a militant unity as to enable it to meet and overcome any dangers far more effectively than authoritarian systems.

#### Towards a Stateless Society

6. The socialist state is transitional. It strives to render itself ultimately superfluous and to give way to a stateless, classless society where external restraint and coercion will normally be unnecessary. The possibility of this eventual "withering away" of the state is given in the gradual diminution under socialism of the fundamental necessity for political power (thru the elimination of irreconcilable socio-economic and national conflicts) and the consequent gradual displacement, in a conscious, planned manner, of political by social and economic institutions and functions. Here, too, freedom remains a primary element of the socialist goal, inseparable and indivisible from it.

### Democracy in the

7. Because democracy is so integral to its aims and goals, the socialist movement must itself, in its were forced to withdraw from the dates in the Furriers Union, were own structure and functioning, be thoroly democratic, rejecting the concept of "monolithic" organization. Socialism also strives to promote democracy in the general labor movement, combating all tendencies within it towards authoritarian control.

8. Within the framework of the capitalist system, the socialist movement must make full use of training in preparation for their part in administering direction and management of their own organizavital significance.

# I. L. P., Italian Socialists Greet I.L.L.A. Convention

the Socialist Party of Italy (Maximalists) and of the Independent Labor Party of Great Britain to the recent convention of the I.L.L.A. Greetings from other European socialist organizations will appear in coming issues.—Editor.)

Paris, August 1939

To the Convention of the Independent Labor League of America:

OUR best wishes as well as the expression of our deep solidarity! A quarter of a century ago, our party was pretty much in the same position as yours is today. We, members of the Italian Socialist Party, were almost the only ones in the big international socialist family who resisted the wave of jingoism, of calumny and persecution. The failure and treason of socialists of other countries made our situation-before and during the warparticularly difficult. However, our slogan was: "Whatever the other parties may do, our duty is to defend the banner of proletarian internationalism with the utmost tenacity." So we did. The terrific situation and the deep humiliations which the working class has to face today all over Europe are consequences of the isolation of the Italian socialist movement before, during and after the war. May this lesson warn the working class all over the world. May you, comrades of America, succeed in fulfilling your difficult task as we succeeded in ours; may the same feelings, tenacity and enthusiasm inspire the struggles which are awaiting you. May you be less isolated than we were in our struggle against war, the greatest strug-

From the dungeon which fascism has made of Italy, from the camps and prisons in which our comrades

of the class-conscious workers!

### From the British I.L.P.

London, England August 26, 1939 Dear Comrades:

THE Independent Labor Par-L ty extends the most cordial greetings of solidarity to the Independent Labor League of America. We have found in your organization an association not only of policy, but of fraternity, and feel that it is in the fullest sense of the word our brother party.

We write this message during the week-end which may decide the issue of war or peace in Europe. Whichever it be, you can count on our standing by our principles and it will be an encouragement to know of your support and help. FENNER BROCKWAY Political Secretary

expiate their participation in the de fense of Spain against fascism, from all of us exiled and dispersed, we send you fraternal greetings and the expression of our gratitude for your help and assistance in our difficult struggle for our common ideal. As a great thinker said, we feel

that "the light that now glimmers so dimly  $\dots$  must in the end prevail." EXECUTIVE OF THE SOCIALIST PARTY OF ITALY

GET YOUR TICKET FOR THE BIG OCT. 6 SYMPOSIUM

### From Jack Soderberg

John Soderberg, labor prisoner in Sing-Sing.—Editor.)

**VOU** meet at a moment when the L war clouds hang darkly over the horizon. Indeed, as you read this letter the holocaust may already have started. Never since the days of 1914 has the working class been diate problems than they are faced at the Eighth National Convention

To accomplish this, it was neces- ity and understanding those consary first to liquidate all opposition fused; to lead on the road of class to the reactionary and counter-revo- struggle; to build anew a class-conutionary schemes of Stalin. The very scious and revolutionary movement flower of the glorious Russian revo- in this country, utilizing the present lution were murdered, imprisoned or situation to an organizational adhounded to death. And with a cyn- vantage; to keep alive our movement tions of precisely the nature now of- | in the history of labor was internaficially accomplished by the accuser tional solidarity, international un-

His representatives in the various of greater immediate need than it is foreign sections of the Communist at present. International, such as Browder et al., obediently rant the hypocritical with you today to contribute in some phrases put in their mouths by the manner, small and insignificant tho Moscow cables, in the hope that this it may be, my share in this struggle, will soothe the surging revolt in the I send you my greetings of solidarity ranks. Honesty, sincerity, integrity, and I bid you carry on. character-empty, hollow words. A

(We publish below the greetings of

August 28, 1939

The Third International, the movement once the hope, inspiration and glory of the workers throut the the part of the leadership of the world, has run its course under the Comintern, and in particular at times leadership of a madman. From "col- as potent as these, your responsibillective security" and Popular Front- ity becomes so much greater. It is ism it has finally landed, body and left to you, comrades, to unmask the

### War Madness

By B. BARAZ

New York City.

Gold and his political henchmen in tution?

control they were using worse meth-

ods against the opposition than the

old clique-controlled manner.

We then addressed a letter to Al-

lan S. Haywood, telling him that we

and the manner in which they con-

ducted the elections. To this letter

to my attention. For your informa-

tion, this office had assigned one of

report to this office in which he

a proper manner; there was no in-

timidation or coercion, and that the

"With this information at hand

and knowing, as I do, the honesty

and integrity of this representative,

which is beyond reproach, there is no

more that we can do about the mat-

ter since everything points out that

the election was conducted in a clean

way and in accordance with the laws

"With this kind of an election, as

viding the members of the organiza-

To the belated reply of Mr. Hay-

vood and his advice that we drop

such as these that you meet today

such as these which present to you

the greatest problems, immediate

Comrades, I regret I cannot be

tion and thereby injuring them."

Mr. Haywood replied as follows:

riers on July 26 and 27.

count was an honest one.

of your organization.

party.

APPEAL TO

HAYWOOD

dressed a letter to over 200 leaders which I quote in part:

GOTHE loud little handful, as usual, will shout for the war. The pulpit ▲ will, warily and cautiously, object—at first; the great, big, dull bulk of the nation will rub its sleepy eyes and try to make out why there should be a war, and will say, earnestly and indignantly: 'It is unjust and dishonorable and there is no necessity for it.'

"Then the handful will shout louder. A few fair men on the other side will argue and reason against the war with speech and pen, and at first will have a hearing and be applauded, but it will not last long; those others will outshout them, and presently the anti-war audiences will thin

"Before long you will see a curious thing—the speakers stoned from the platform and free speech strangled by hordes of furious men who in their secret hearts are still at one with those stoned speakers—as earlier but do not dare to say so.

And now the whole nation-pulpit and all-will take up the war cry and shout itself hoarse and mob any honest man who ventures to open his mouth, and presently such mouths will cease to open.

"Next, the statesmen will invent cheap lies, putting the blame upon the nation that is attacked, and every man will be glad of those consciencesoothing fallacies and will diligently study them, and refuse to examine any refutations of them; and thus he will by and by convince himself that the war is just and will thank God for the better sleep he enjoys after this process of grotesque self-deception."-Mark Twain, "The Mysterious ship-building contracts, was con-

BOUT the middle of July, the preted as splitting the ranks of the

A United Progressive Furriers ad- workers, we in turn sent an answer

newspapers asking them to protest the chairman of the state parent

against the undemocratic methods of body, entirely disregarded our call

the communist-controlled Furriers of July 14, addressed to you and

Union. Copies of this letter were many other people in the labor move-

sent to John L. Lewis, head of the ment, to help us secure an honest

C.I.O., and to Allan S. Haywood, election. You, Brother Haywood,

C.I.O. and chairman of the State In- prevented many things from happen-

dustrial Union Council. Both the lat- ing, including our withdrawal from

ter remained silent to our appeal. the elections. All you had to do was

But among the first to answer was to advise the leaders of the Furriers

Norman' Thomas, chairman of the Union that, in accordance with dem-

Socialist Party. Norman Thomas re- ocratic procedure practised by the

minded Mr. Gold that in the good governing bodies of the United

old days when Gold was leading a States and also in religious and

dual union, he (Gold) had appealed trade-union organizations, the rights

against the burocratic methods of the minorities are protected by

which he claimed were then pursued the majority. This you have failed to

by the A. F. of L. Furriers Union. do. May I inform you that granting

Mr. Thomas pointed out to Gold that of watchers to opposing candidates

now when there was one union with does not interfere with our consti-

right wing had ever used in the past. file' organization of which Brothers

dence in the leadership of our union own election, was that our union

"Your letter of July 27 brought question the honesty and integrity

its trusted representatives to watch his observations and his report. But

over this election held by the fur- suppose I ask your representative the

"Our representative has made a say that he kept a watchful eye dur-

states that the election was held in If he did go out, even for a single

reported by our representative, there Does your representative know that

New York Regional Director of the above everybody else, could have

Fur Progressives Hit C.I.O.

Score Haywood's Refusal to Help Secure Honest Election

cause otherwise it might be inter-

"I regret very much that you, as

"The demand of watchers is most

Gold's reply to Mr. Thomas was a Gold and Potash are strong support- and in our union. Our aim is not to

statement full of lies, attempting to ers. This demand, however, they divide but to unite and to build a

put the blame on the opposition. make only in unions which are not much stronger organization. We are

change. The opposition candidates 10, 117 and 155 of the I.L.G.W.U., we believe that they are dishonest

were not even permitted to have which held elections this year, Gold's when it concerns the protection of watchers in the elections. The elections who call themselves 'rank the interests of the workers. We be-

tions were carried on in the same and file in opposition to the admin-lieve that their political party domi-

ers and other workers, the only

burocracy fears an honest election..

"Let me also state on this occasion

that I do not for a single moment

of your representative. I earnestly

believe that he was very sincere in

following questions: Can he truly

ing all the 48 hours of the elections?

hour, does he know what took place

during that hour? Did he remain

overnight from Wednesday to Thurs-

day to really watch what went on

with the ballot boxes at night? We

who have had some very sad ex-

past, do not trust them any more,

"Does your representative know

sure that all of them were furriers?

is no justification for propaganda the counting and tally-making was tude toward the opposition. It is my

which would leave any other impres- done by paid officials of the union opinion that here Mr. Haywood over-

sion, except for the purpose of di- who were themselves candidates for looked and turned away from real

of a whole night.

even for a single hour, not to speak tions."

the people who came to vote? Is he THE STALINISTS

Gold's attitude, however, did not under their domination. In Locals fighting this leadership because

our fight and strive for "peace" be-, ballots? When an independent can-

popular with the so-called 'rank-and- distract the minds of the workers

istration' were given the privilege nation over the union is ruination to

ginning to end. In my opinion, and to our union in particular. We be-

periences with this leadership in the |we should continue the struggle for

reelection? Does he know that at one American democratic procedure,

## Green to Probe Jim-Crowism in A.F.L.

### Promises to Investigate Tampa Case

New York City. Isociation from Atlantic City, where TILLIAM GREEN, president of the A. F. of L. Executive Council the American Federation of was in session. The letter came in Labor, will undertake an investigation of two lily-white A. F. of L. construction unions in Tampa, Florida, whos jim-crow tactics enabled them to "freeze" more than 500 Negro pioneer union members out of their jobs, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored

People announced last week. Green's promise to investigate the Tampa situation, which involves more than \$9,000,000 in government tained in a letter sent to the As-

didate called it to the attention of

Vice-President Mindel, Mr. Potash

interfered and told the independent

candidates: 'So what? You can add

one more complaint.' If this is hon-

"I presume that your representa-

tive did not know all these things.

He did not know it because the op-

posing candidates were not there to

acquaint him with all possible irreg-

ularities. He did not know the mis-

counting of votes of opposing can-

didates practised by the same ad-

"May I also state that the chief

reason why no coercion or intimida-

tion was used in this election was

because we did not take part in the

the administration to use terroristic

methods against their own followers.

As to your claim that there is no

justification for our propaganda since

it may give the impression of divi-

ion in the ranks, I wish to advise

you that this cry of division is raised

by the union leadership in order to

from the real issues in our trade

sands of dollars of the union treas-

building of a stronger and better

Furriers Union, free from Commu-

nist Party or other political party

domination, and to no other pur-

pose. It is, therefore, natural that

genuine democracy and honest elec-

It is useless for me to comment

on Mr. Haywood's unfriendly atti-

HAYWOOD DEFENDS

sons for our fight.

elections. There was no necessity for

est, then what is fraud?

ministration in the past.

he complaint you make. I will take t up with the officers of the Building and Construction Trades Department and will endeavor to have it investigated and adjusted if it is possible to do so.'

The unions involved are Local ,207 of the International Hod Carriers, Building and Common Laborers Union of America, which was formed after twelve Negro and one white worker went out on strike at the Tampa Shipbuilding Company prior to June 1, 1938; and a Support of C.P. Union Regime local of the International Brother-hood of Boilermakers, Iron Shipbuilders and Helpers of America. The latter union, formed after jimcrow tactics were inaugurated in the nod-carriers local, refuses to admit Negroes at all.

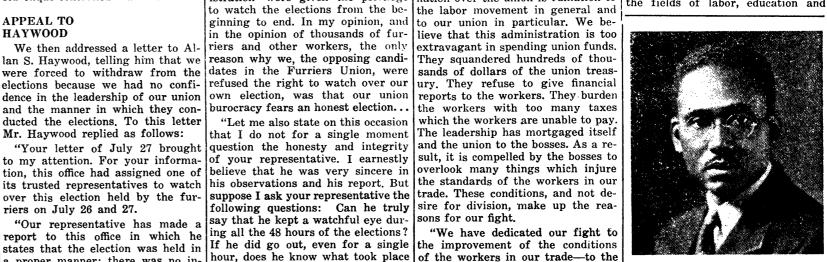
Negro workers at the Tampa Shipbuilding Company, who did the bulk of the spade work in organizing these formerly unorganized workers, found themselves shunted into a jim-crow unit of the union, under the lead of a white business agent, as soon as the union had secured a closed-shop agreement with the shipbuilding company.

As a result of this they are now employed in only two skilled jobs and 116 unskilled jobs. Before the signing of the closed-shop agreement, Negroes occupied half of the 1,200 skilled and unskilled jobs at the shipbuilding plant.

### Harris to Take Part in **Symposium**

New York City BRAM L. HARRIS, professor of Economics at Howard University and an outstanding student of Marx and Veblen, will be one of the speakers at the symposium, "To-wards a Better America", to be held on Friday, October 6, at Hotel Center, 108 West 43rd Street, under the auspices of the Independent Labor Together with Mr. Harris, a num-

per of other well-known leaders in the fields of labor, education and



ABRAM L. HARRIS

politics will participate. They include Luigi Antonini, chairman of the American Labor Party and first vice-president of the I.L.G.W.U.: Norman Thomas, chairman of the Socialist Party; Louis Waldman, well-known social-democrat and labor attorney; George S. Counts, president of the American Federation of Teachers; Lewis Corey and Scott Nearing, labor economists; and Bertram D. Wolfe, educator and author. Jay Lovestone, secretary of the I.L.L.A., will be chairman.

The discussion will center around an estimate of American social life today and an analysis of ways and means of achieving a "better America." The symposium promises to be one of the most significant educational affairs of the season.

Tickets are 75 cents and may be obtained at the Independent Labor Institute, 131 West 33rd Street, New

was the result, it appeared, of a combination of profiteering by wholesalers and dealers and a frantic run on retail stores by consumers in a panic lest the war situation cause shortages of foodstuffs with the consequent effect on living costs. President Roosevelt's pronouncements indicating a program of economic aid to the Allies and possible involvement in war on their side, those of August 15. The average did a great deal to stimulate the seasonal rise at this period is about fears that led to the run on retail shops.

A consumers movement to keep prices down and check profiteering of the country, with the formation of committees, housewives leagues, "Portland, Me., New York and and the like. The Administration in Washington, while pledging action against profiteers, did not seem greatly excited about the prospect of rising prices. In fact, Secretary pleased by price increases" since its whole policy has been to raise agri-"Los Angeles and Houston showed | cultural prices to "parity" or "nor-|mal" levels by restriction of output

#### great game of political chess-the pawns, the worker mombers of the Comrades, it is under conditions

table in particular, Business Agents namely, the safeguarding of the Maurice H. Cohen, Julius Fleiss and rights of the minority by the ma-Gus Hopman were counting, marking jority. (Tho I may say that the and tallying the sheets, that not a majority claimed by the leadership single watcher was present at this of the furriers union is a very doubttable, and that all three of them ful one.) Instead, Mr. Haywood were candidates for reelection, which rushed to give aid and comfort to means they were registering their the dictatorial regime. I think also own votes? Does your represental that it is useless to take issue tive know that the committee in with Mr. Haywood on the quescharge of the women's voting place tion of splits and splitters in

themselves marked women voters Prices Rise As War Spurs

**Profiteering Practises** soul, into the very arms of fascism. guilty; to endeavor to return to san-(Continued from page 1) icism possible only in a Stalin, these and keep closely knitted the threads Lard men were murdered, imprisoned or which bind us to organizations and Pork chops. otherwise destroyed under accusa- groupings in other nations, for never Butter Navy beans ...... +10 Chuck roast ..... +14 Coffee derstanding, international fraternity,

"Sugar prices advanced from August 15 in various cities by from 15% Department analysis declared. "Flour increases about 60% were

reported in Portland, Me., and Cleveland. In six other cities, the increase

"Lard prices were higher in all For New York and Washington the cities by from 4% to 40% above

(Continued on Page 4)

"Pork chops advanced from August 15 by about 15% to 30%. The average seasonal rise at this time of already begun in a number of parts

"Among the various cities: Cleveland reported average price increases for the nine foods of about

15% to 20%. "Scranton, Detroit, Washington, to 45% except Houston, where the increase was about 6%," the Labor bigher prices than on August 15 on "the Administration was not disall but one or two items and averaged about 10% increase.

> price advances on most items. This skyrocketing of food prices and other devices.

## **Evasion of Ban on War Loans Planned**

### Strengthening of Johnson Act Necessary

tance than any new provisions for

loans is the store of gold and Amer-

ican securities owned by Great Bri-

these two powers with about \$7,500,-

000,000-\$9,500,000,000 in loans,

A boom in war trade brought

about by accelerated purchases with

now possessed by belligerent powers

With American industries greatly

economic crisis or to maintain for-

eign purchases by extending loans to

There is a practical way to reduce

this danger and that is to retain

stringent arms embargo and to estab-

lish a system of peace-time quotas

on a cash-and-carry basis for such

helligerents and thus open the way

to certain involvement in war.

By ARTHUR GREEN

WILL America again lend vast tain and France or their nationals. sums abroad to finance pur- Gold and American investments chases of war materials and thus which readily could be used to buy again open the way to involvement war goods are estimated to provide in war?

Congress, in passing the Johnson 000, 000 in purchasing power. In the Act, wrote a definite "no" into the last war they spent almost \$14,000,law so far as loans by private individuals or institutions to European \$1,500,000,000 in gold, and \$3,000,governments in default to this coun- 000,000 in securities. try are concerned and similarly as to direct governmental loans by this country to other governments in de- the gold and American securities fault to the United States.

But in the Export-Import Bank, would be fraught with great danger. subsidiary agency to the Reconstruction Finance Corporation, is to expanded to meet foreign war needs, be found a governmental institution | we would be confronted with a terrible dilemma once the gold and securwhich in a roundabout way may enable government funds to be used to ity resources of the belligerents were exhausted: either to face a disastrous finance exports to European nations at war.

This was made clear August 31 when Jesse Jones, Federal Lending Administrator, explained that loans made by the Export-Import Bank to promote export trade do not come within the Johnson Act because such loans are made to private companies or private individuals.

At the same time, he explained indirect war materials as oil, steel that the R.F.C. has ample unused etc. credit facilities which might be used, if the need arose, to finance American industries engaged in filling European war contracts.

It is considered significant by obso that if any deals to "facilitate" the flow of commerce are in the making, he is in a favorable position to at least prepare the way.

When Congress completed action June 30, 1941, the tocsin of alarm | 1 against the employment of Newas sounded by different members of Congress that activities of the Bank ual and unskilled jobs is a matter of might lead to foreign entanglements which eventually might draw the

United States into war. It is true that no large-scale lending program would be possible under present operating restrictions of the last February. The commission Bank, which limit its maximum extension of loans and other obligations to not more than \$100,000,000 at any one time. But it has been quickly provide additional lending powers should it give way to the pressure exerted upon it.

war orders.

following a conference with Pres- fifty years. If these workers are able dient Roosevelt.

making loans is for the Export-Im- work, or transportation, it is only port Bank to underwrite, in part, after great effort. Insurance comthe shipments of private exporters. | panies, banks, and public utilities The foreign importer involved in the have definite policies barring or retransaction must receive approval of stricting them from employment. the country to which American pro- The largest insurance company in ducts are exported. This arrange- the world, which writes more insurment is insisted upon so that dollar ance among the colored people than exchange is assured on the due date all the Negro insurance companies of Export-Import Bank loans.

Under conditions thus far, the Bank generally has put up from 40% to 75% of the credit extensions needed to enable the export of which employs a greater number of merchandise while the business be- persons than all of the departments nefiting from the credit or private of the state combined, reported "perbanks put up the rest.

Altho a large proportion of the its employees. Bank's transactions have been made to facilitate export of agricultural PRESENT commodities, there is no limitation TENDENCIES as to the type of exports and its lending program has been of importance in pushing exports of industrial goods as well.

Latin America has been considered the major field of activity in the past but there is no geographical restric-

tion on the bank's activities. After the outbreak of war in 1914 and the growth of the Allied demands for war materials, loans made by private bankers played an important role in stimulating war trade. These loans and the war trade in general operated to tie American industry to the war needs of the belligerents and thus ultimately to draw this country into the war. Today, because of the Johnson Act. loans cannot be made directly to the governments of France and Great Britain or other European powers in

## How to Escape War

THE STEPS THAT LED TO OUR INVOLVEMENT IN WAR IN 1917 WERE:

- 1. We sold arms to the Allies and built up a war boom. 2. We sold them war materials also "strictly for cash."
- 3. To keep up our war boom, we loaned money to the Allies to enable them to keep on buying arms and munitions.
- American ships transported these contraband goods. 5. American citizens travelled on ships belonging to belligerents. American ships were sunk and American citizens killed, thus arousing strong war sentiment.
- 7. Then we went to war to safeguard "our" loans and avenge
- our dead. Out of the war came: scores of thousands of dead and wounded,

war debts, depression, unemployment, heavy taxation, new wars. TO AVOID INVOLVEMENT IN WAR TODAY:

- We must keep the mandatory arms embargo to all belligerents and prevent a war boom in munitions.
- We must keep American ships from trading with belligerents. We must forbid American citizens to travel on belligerent ships. We must establish peace-time quotas on all materials that may
- a cash-and-carry basis. We must strengthen the Johnson Act to prevent loans and credits to belligerents.

be used even indirectly for war purposes, such trade to be on

President Wilson talked peace, but took the road to war.

The Roosevelt Administration has announced that loans are ready for European powers. The President says he wants to sell arms to Great Britain and France, repeal our neutrality law, and yet avoid war. Bitter experience teaches us that this CANNOT be

THIS IS THE SAME ROAD WE TOOK BEFORE-THE ROAD TO WAR.

# Gross Anti-Negro Job Bias servers that Warren Lee Pierson, president of the Export-Import Bank, is in Europe just at this time Revealed in Survey

### **Study Shows Discrimination Rampant Thruout State**

Import Bank's charter of life until growing discrimination shift into contracting fields of emplayed share for Negroes, especially groes in New York in any but manserious concern, according to the second report of the New York State Temporary Commission on the Condition of the Colored Urban Population to the Legislature of the state enterprises employing hundreds of ers. "It would seem, therefore, to be enterprises employing hundreds of thousands of white-collar workers thruout the state do not hire Network work. With the expointed out that Congress could groes for such work. With the ex- state's employment fields. Negro laception of the garment and fur trades and related industries in the trades and related industries in the equitably in all employment opporcity of New York, the factories for No such restrictions rest on the the most part afford no openings for This has been, the commission reness which might be in need of ad-ditional conital in and the constant purpose of Neness which might be in need of ad-ditional capital in order to fulfill 6,000 workers on its pay rolls, hires frustrated by community forces acno Negroes and is reported as never tuated by various motives. One of ed 3,000 employees—no Negroes; elect him and give him full Mr. Jones made his statements having employed any in more than the outstanding factors in this oppoto secure any foothold at all in the The general technique followed in fields of engineering, laboratory lustrate strikingly this attitude of employers. combined stated that no Negroes were employed in its force of 20,000odd in New York State alone. The largest public utility in the state,

"These conditions are themselves enough," declares the report, "but certain present tendencies, if not checked, point the way to even more serious employment problems for the colored population in the near future. During the last decade, there maids, attendants, night cleaners, has been a marked decrease in the proportion of all workers engaged in production occupations, a decrease caused by shifts in manufacturing activities and technological developments. Domestic and personal service showed a similar proportional decrease. On the other hand, during the same period workers engaged in trade, clerical, and professional service occupations, which have been usually closed to Negroes, showed a proportional increase.'

haps a dozen" colored persons among

Altho the need for manpower in default. But thru the Export-Import industrial production declined during Bank and the R.F.C., the Adminis- the last ten years, a shift of Negro tration, it seems, is planning to cir- labor into industrial occupations in cumvent the meaning and intent of marginal capacities took place. In brief, such laborers during these ten Perhaps of even greater impor- years "have shown a tendency to

ployment, with the ironic probabil- in view of the fact that over 70 under pressure to move to more the fair." fruitful areas." The report under re view emphasizes, however, that this has not been a voluntary movement but the inevitable result of the fact that expanding employment fields are usually closed to Negro workbor must be allowed to share more tunities of our industrial economy." to hire Negroes for any but menial establishments thruout the State il- tion'."

One of the largest department stores in New York City, altho typical of retail houses in its employment policy is, in fact, much more liberal than many other firms. This establishment, which has at different periods of the year between 10,000 and 19.000 on its staff, includes only 175 Negro men on its pay roll. All of these are elevator operators or cafeteria or kitchen workers. According to the commission, Negroes are completely barred from employment as stock clerks, shipping clerks, sales or office employees, chauffeurs, or mechanics, altho many of the applicants have college degrees and better references than the average

white employees in such occupations. Only about 65 colored persons were reported among the New York World's Fair administrative staff of 1,200 and construction crews of 700. Included in the 65 are receptionists, one policeman, one draftsman, several mail-room workers and two artists. In the opinion of the commission, "this small number of jobs, mainly menial, is indeed an inequit-

'we Americans revelled in a feast of profits from trade with warring

"It was not long before we were prevailed upon to provide Europe with the credits and the money they needed if they were to continue buying from us. Step by step, we let Europe use this love of ours for war trade as a club that came ultimately to rule out American course in foreign affairs. It ultimately destroyed our neutrality and dragged us to

"It was this experience that dictated the enactment of our present neutrality laws, including the provision prohibiting the sale of munitions to nations at war. These laws had not only the signature of the President but his hearty approval. He spoke of them in 1936 as safeguards against our being drawn into other people's wars. Now he asks

and must stay out of Europe's wars, but many of these same people are saying that we ought to sell England and France whatever they need of war supplies. Such contradictions cannot possibly live together. We cannot hope to be both in and out of

"That is why those who are seeking repeal of the arms embargo are running into a real war in the legislative feld. The arms embargo is without a last-ditch fight."

ity that by the time they have en- | million dollars of New York City's trenched themselves, they will be | public moneys have been invested in

NEW YORK

"In up-state New York," the comphotographic equipment and supplies, employing 16,351 persons, reported one Negro porter and 19 construction workers engaged by a subsition is the employers disinclination 4,000 employees and not one Negro because they 'are supplied with or casual labor. Important retail workers by the union upon requisi-

> The commission's survey of Syracuse included 10,288 employees among whom were 15 Negro workers occupied as cleaners and labor-

> Only four colored workers among 28,932 employees were reported in large and small factories and mercantile establishments in the "Triple Cities" of Binghamton, Endicott, and Johnson City. The largest enterprise in that district dealing in leather products, had but two Negroes in its average force of 15,000. Another important manufacturer, making mathematical apparatus reported none of this race in his personnel of

A cigar factory in Poughkeepsie was employing 12 semi-skilled Negroes, but among the other 5,252 employees covered by the commission's survey in the same city only lieved by Negro red-caps, who reseven colored workers in the unskilled groups were reported.

The commission "was at a loss to understand how Negroes in these and other communities in the upstate region managed to make a living and survive starvation. Certainit is the duty of the state to lend

BOYCOTT

Some very active campaigns, including threatened boycott, have been launched in colored neighborhoods with a view to securing jobs in local offices and stores. Occasion ally, these efforts have met with Harry Winitsky some little success. In general, however, the concessions have been temporary and have involved only a few new employment opportunities. According to the commission, the most L cialist leader, died suddenly effective of these campaigns was of heart disease last week. carried out in the Harlem area in New York City, where several hundred Negro clerks were estimated to have secured positions in 1934 and

Several of the persons who originally sponsored this movement, ist principles. however, now take the attitude that the results did not justify the community effort expended in this crufrom entering many employment fields, but they frequently face the loss of jobs long held by laborers of employers have in recent years de- active until the time of his death. liberately dismissed them and given their jobs to white workers. In this group of employers "would seem to be one of the largest bus companies, the death of this courageous fighter a subsidiary of a major eastern rail-for socialism and a wreath to place out of the European war," he added. all attempts to repeal or soften the too great a safeguard to the Amer- road." In 1937, this company had ican people to permit its surrender employed 97 Negroes as "bus-service stewards" to accompany busses on

### Have You **Counted the** Cost of War?

By DOROTHY D. BROMLEY

few people with a sense of real-A ity are beginning to think of the wrench in their personal lives if we get into war. Not one in a any war whatever. thousand, I wager, has stopped to think what life in this country will NO WORKERS QUARREL be like after the next armistice. The dead will be under ground and the good as buried.

But the living will be just beginning to pay the bill. The size of that bill is something to worry about. A book by six newspaper men, edited by Larry Nixon, has just been published. Its title is "When War to read it now before it is too late The last chapter, by Malcolm Logan, SLOGANS ARE SHAMS will curl your hair.

There'll be a job for every ablebodied person so long as the war have at least ten times the number of mills, factories and farms that we need. As they shut down, unemployment will set in and be a lot worse than it was in the last aftermath because war-time production in this high-tension age will have been stepped up much faster.

"You will be lucky," Mr. Logan gloomily prophesies, "if you don't lose your job in that deflation of our war babies. If you do lose it, long time looking for another. If you are a soldier, you will find that you won't be a hero very long; you will be a nuisance to employers who can't hire you and an enemy to every man who is still working."

1938, it cost you more than four exploiters. hundred million dollars to maintain 836.953 veterans of the last war and their dependents. Add to these the hundreds of thousands of disabled veterans from the next war, plus insurance that will be paid to war widows and mothers, and get a cold

But you may say: "We are a rich country; we can afford it." Can we? Are you so sure the next batch of mission continues "employment of Liberty Bonds you buy won't become Negroes in the large factories and scraps of paper? When a governwholesale and retail establishments ment finds its credit gone it can is also practically non-existent. In either repudiate its debts or start Rochester, for example, one survey printing paper money. Let that showed that of 35,120 employees in happen and we may be in for such private firms, only 70 were Negroes. a crazy inflation as wrecked post-The largest firm, manufacturer of war Germany and prepared the way for Hitler.

Then the stage will be set, Mr. do all your thinking for you and aries is that of Hindu-Muslem unity. British imperialism, immune from authority. have alread learned the habit of obedience." And where, my friends, will democracy be then?

(These paragraphs are from the September 4, 1939 issue of the New York Post, where Mrs. Bromlev conducts a daily column, "Strike a

Balance."--Editor.)

long trips, to handle baggage, and to perform other duties. In January 1938, all but six of these colored men were summarily discharged, altho their superiors stated their work was satisfactory. The places of 86 of these dismissed stewards who had received \$35 per month were filled by creating positions for "baggage checkers" who were all white and who were selected from former drivers out of work at the close of the baggage checkers are paid \$90 per month to load and unload baggage. For two-hour periods, they are relabor.

These conditions, constantly growing worse, as the committee report points out, demand prompt remedial of all from the labor movement ly, where they have been unable thru which for the sake of its own ortheir own efforts to cope with this ganizational interests, if for no other serious problem of no employment reason, must take up the fight self a Hindu, has been the outstandagainst racial discrimination in indone by the State Legislature to asof employment and economic oppor-

TARRY WINITSKY, veteran so-

New York City.

Winitsky was very active in leftwing socialist circles in the days following the World War. He was one of the founders of the Communist Party and served time in prison for his defense of revolutionary social-

In 1929, in the split of the Communist Party, Winitsky refused to bow to Stalinist dictation and went sade. Negroes are not only blocked along with the Communist Party (Majority Group), now the Independent Labor League of America. A few years later, he joined the Sotheir race. It has been reported that cialist Party in whose ranks he was

Norman Thomas was chief speaker at Winitsky's funeral. The I.L. L.A. sent a message of sorrow at upon his grave.

## I. L. P. Against War

(We publish below a stirring appeal of the Independent Labor Party of Great Britain issued on September 1, the day Hitler launched his invasion of Poland. We greet this courageous assertion of genuine socialist internationalism in the face of immense difficulties.-Editor.)

THERE is a danger that the conflicting interests of British imperialism and aggressive Nazism may provoke a second world war. The Independent Labor Party refuses to support any capitalist government in

The quarrel between two capitalist states is not a workers quarrel wounded will be in the hospitals, as We support neither British imperialism nor German fascism.

> We are irreconcilably opposed to fascism, its aims, methods and vales. We loathe Hitlerism and hope to see it overthrown by the German orkers, to whom we will give all the assistance possible.

We are equally opposed to British imperialism, which in the ruthless uppression of native peoples has practised the same methods as the Nazis. In Britain itself, the capitalist class has repeatedly resorted to the most Comes" and every American ought extreme measures to crush working-class resistance to oppression.

The slogans of the "rights of small nations" and the "defense of democracy" now used are precisely the same as those used in 1914. They lasts. But the peace won't be so have been proved to be shams and deceits by all that has happened subjoyful as you might think. We will sequently, and are as false now as they were then.

> Further, in view of the Russo-German pact, it can no longer be maintained that it is necessary for the British workers to fight against Germany in order to defend Russia.

> The I.L.P. therefore urges the members of the labor movement, and especially the workers in their trades unions and and Trades Councils, to oppose the present government (and any other government maintaining capitalism and imperialism) both before and during any war which may

Equally, we urge the workers to reject all proposals for an industrial truce with their employers. Trade-union rights and civil liberties should you will pound the pavements for a not be tamely surrendered in the cause of "national unity."

As socialists, we do not desire national unity between the workers and their exploiters. Our object is international working-class solidarity leading to the true unity of a classless society.

If war comes, we shall strive to keep alive the spirit and organization of international working-class solidarity and to use the first opportunity The national debt will make to- to end the capitalist system which breeds war and drives the workers of day's debt a pleasant memory. In the different countries to slaughter each other in the interests of their

Down with war and the system of capitalist imperialism which

No unity with the capitalist class in peace or war! Maintain the struggle for working-class solidarity and working-class

Forward to the classless and warless world of socialism!

## Hindu-Moslem Unity **Problem Grows Acute**

**Gandhi's Policy Hampers Indian Revolution** 

By JIM CORK

England. Continuous riots and bloodshed between these two major ele- the part of the rights. ments of the Indian population testify to the difficulty of the situ-

The Moslems, who before the British came were rulers of the and, constitute roughly about one fourth of the population. Today, the Hindu majority tries to keep the Moslems in a position of general economic, political and cultural inferiority. Tension between the two factions is kept at a constant boiling point by the exploitation of religious differences by fanatics in both camps. British imperialism, naturally, has known how to utilize the differences for its own benefit.

The inept handling of the problem by the Indian National Congress has helped to push the Moslems into travel season. Twenty of the white the arms of the British masters. Dominated as it is by Hindus, the Congress has reflected a narrow almost caste attitude towards the Moslems. Ghandi himself has greatceive no remuneration for this extra ly prejudiced the cause of unity by introducing religion into politics. So long as he keeps his leadership of the Indian National Congress so long will the Moslems stay away, action. Such action must come first for they regard the "Gandhian" Congress as one saturated with Hindu culture, sentiment and religion. Among the lefts, M. N. Roy, him-

ing champion of Hindu-Moslem dustry. But a great deal can also be unity and has worked out a sober and realistic approach to achieve it. sure a measure of fair and equal He has carried out an unceasing treatment for Negroes in the fields educational campaign against religious fanaticism on both sides. He has urged Congress to pay more at- ROY AGAINST tention to the problem, to overcome BOSE its narrow Hindu prejudices, and to function as a national organization, to become the champion of equality between the two groups, to struggle for the alleviation of the economic and cultural misery of the Moslem masses, which after all, are the same for them as for the Hindus. He is the one revolutionary in India to whom the Moslems listen with

> RIGHT WING CONSOLIDATES ITS POSITION

The right-wing leadership of the Congress continues its attempt to emasculate the program of the Indian National Congress and to tighten its centralized and authoritarian control. One resolution the All India Congress Committee (the central executive, under rightwing control) practically debars mass struggle as a form of activity dividual Congressmen. Another resolution subordinates the provincial Congress organizations to the Congress ministries (i.e., provincial governments controlled by Congress). Congressmen are prohibited from ly and publicly dissociated himself indulging in any public criticism of from Bose and his Forward Block.

the actions and policies of Congress ministries. This resolution will tend Logan predicts, "for some political confidence man who will promise to lems facing Indian revolution many cases have played ball with Without solving this problem, India rank-and-file control. The left wing can hardly achieve its freedom from is vigorously fighting this vicious move toward totalitarian control on

> LEAGUE OF RADICAL CONGRESSMEN

The League of Radical Congressmen held its first national conference at Poona on June 27 and 28 under the chairmanship of M. N. Roy. Almost three hundred regular delegates attended the conference. Over 15,000 people attended the sessions each day. In his opening ad-

dress, Roy stressed the following: "As against the unwarranted belief in the possibility of a gradual and peaceful transfer of power from imperialism to the Indian people, the perspective of a struggle for the capture of power by the Indian people must be opened up as a condition for further development of the movement for freedom. . . . The imperialists will never give in unless they are forced to. . . . The present policy of the Congress is the logical outcome of the subordination of a

subversive end to reformist means. ... The capture of power cannot be reconciled with the creed of nonviolence. . . . The struggle for national freedom is a political struggle. In order to capture political power, the Indian people must have a political organization. A political party alone can lead political struggle. The League of Radical Congressmen is not a mere wing of the Congress. It is the vanguard of the revolutionary party of the Indian people which is bound to rise before long to lead the Indian struggle for freedom. . . .

The conference of Bose's newly organized "Forward Block" has come and gone. The League of Radical Congressmen was represented at the conference held in Bombay on June 22 and 23 by Roy and some other delegates. Roy, for the League, proposed that the Forward Block be organized as the rallying center for all left wingers in the Congress and that toward this end it should work out a revolutionary program adequate to attract all left wingers. He indicated what such a program must include. This proposal was rejected, and the Forward Block is now organized as another left-wing group, thus further complicating an already confused situation on the left. In addition, it is now evident passed by the recent conference of that Bose's recent conflict with Gandhi has certainly not led to the former's rejection of Gandhism. In a recent speech. Bose said: "The method that the Forward Block will for Congress organizations and in- pursue will be the method that has already proved effective—the method of non-violent non-cooperation. Roy, after his vain attempt to further unify the forces of the left on a revolutionary basis, has now open-

## Congress Peace Block to **Defend Neutrality**

(Continued from page 1) are more essential for the protection | the war." of the public interests than when we are under the sway of emergency

things these days, altho we are sup- trality. He would like to have the posed to be neutral and not yet personnel and functions of the allopenly participating in the war. Nevertheless, there is a constant suggestion about the censorship of the press, of the radio, curtailing public discussion and shutting off tion by Senator Gerald P. Nye, prindebate."

"My sole objective in regard to "I feel that the repeal of the arms arms embargo. embargo and the program of the op-

position will inevitably bring us into

Borah said that when a special session of Congress is called by the sentiments," Senator Borah declared. President, he will challenge any ef-"We hear and read rather strange fort to restrict its business to neu-

Senator Borah's pronouncement was followed by a vigorous declara- Europe's war at the same time. cipal author of the Neutrality Act, who stated his purpose to wage a this matter is to keep this country "last-ditch fight" against any and

"Starting in 1914," Mr. Nye said,

their repeal. "Why? I can only surmise. "We are all saying that we want powerful War Resources Board investigated, he said.

### **CAMPAIGNS**

## Workers Age

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#### "NATIONAL UNITY" FOR WAR

DRESIDENT ROOSEVELT has just made another appeal for a moratorium on "partisanship" and "politics." In the present critical situation of world affairs, he wrote to the head of the Women's Division of the Democratic party, "it becomes our duty as Americans to bend all our efforts to promote national unity." This is not the first time he has made a plea of this character his call on the occasion of the launching of his campaign for "continental security" comes to mind-and it would be well to probe a little below the surface and uncover the real meaning of this glittering phrase.

What President Roosevelt is really out for with all his talk about a moratorium on "partisanship" is a moratorium on public discussion and criticism of his foreign policy. He would like to be permitted to drag this country straight into the jaws of war without a voice being raised in protest. What he wants is a sort of "voluntary" self-gagging and self-suppression in the name of "national unity." What he wants is a "painless" transition to authoritarian control.

To Roosevelt, "national unity" quite naturally means the unity of the entire people behind his policy. And what is this policy of his? It consists in the first place in a brazen campaign to destroy our present neutrality safeguards against involvement in war. I consists in a persistent, half-avowed effort to line the United States up behind Anglo-French imperialism. It consists in incessant activities to foment panic and war hysteria in the public mind and to create the impression thruout the country that our involvement in the European conflict is imminent and inevitable. It consists in "states of emergency," less "limited" as time goes on. In a word, it consists in war-mongering, war scares, jingoistic frenzy, spreading dictatorial control, war preparations. This is the Administration policy, the policy that "national unity" is intended to serve.

In the name of "national unity," President Roosevelt threatens to choke off discussion in the Senate of the proposal he will make to the special session of Congress to cripple or kill the present neutrality legislation. Such discussion, he has the gall to say, might "injure the morale" of the Allied powers! So we are to conduct public discussion in this country within the limits of the military exigencies of Anglo-French imperialism! Has it become a violation of "national unity" to say things that may inconvenience or displease the military dictatorships in London and Paris?

We do not think that President Roosevelt will get very far with his demand of "national unity" for war. We do not believe, for instance, that he will scare a Robert M. LaFollette, whose father faced with undaunted courage more than one war-mad- of socialism; it can also be dened mob for what he knew was true and right, or a William E. Borah, who dared to stand up against the almighty Woodrow Wilson when the latter was hell-bent on getting America to underwrite the monstrous abortion of the Versailles Treaty and the petition of the United States of League of Nations. Certainly, he will not scare the hundreds of thousands of ordinary men and women thruout the country who are profoundly convinced that involvement in war would be a disaster of inconceivable proportions for the American people and who are determined to do their utmost while there is still time to save this country from such a fate. The struggle against war will go on.

### NO CENSORSHIP!

NOW Dorothy Thompson, has come out in favor of some sort of radio censorship in the United States. "Do we want a freefor-all expression of the opinion of individuals every time we turn the dial?" she demands. "Do we want to hear General Johnson . . make remarkable (and most inaccurate) statements about why we entered the war?"

Notice how easily this voluble champion of "liberalism" and "freedom" lapses into the totalitarian state of mind! She doesn't Were this to succeed, then a like General Johnson's statements on why we entered the war, tremendous forward step would be she even thinks they are "most inaccurate." So-rule him off the taken. Such a 'United States of air! Set up a radio censorship!

"Do we want a free-for-all expression of individuals every time we turn the dial?" she asks. What other kind of expression, and of whom, would you like, Miss Thompson? Perhaps a "regulated" expression of "responsible authorities"? You have that in Ber- give up their fleets. But, in that lin, Rome and Moscow—and in Paris and London, too, for that case, all necessity for armaments

Dorothy Thompson hates Hitler and all he stands for-yet she doesn't see that what she is urging is nothing but a form of

We, too, hate Hitler and all he stands for-but we hate him so much that we are determined never to tolerate any form of Hitlerism here at home!

66THE five great powers-Germany, Italy, Russia, Japan and Spain-Are undivided in their ideology. . . . Full of life and walking in the sunlight with the creation of social order and justice. . . . "-Editorial in the Popolo di Roma, Italian fascist paper, August 22, 1939.

Outstanding Symposium of the Year

### TOWARDS A BETTER AMERICA

SPEAKERS:

LUIGI ANTONINI. Chairman of the American Labor Party and First Vice-President of the I.L.G.W.U. GEORGE S. COUNTS, President of the American Federation of

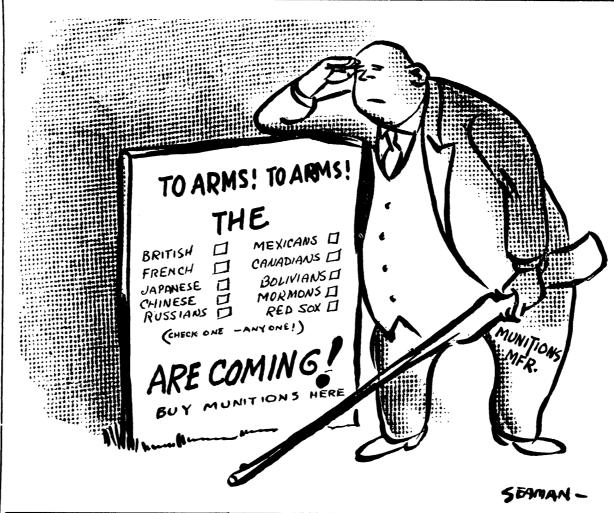
Teachers NORMAN THOMAS, Chairman of the Socialist Party LOUIS WALDMAN, Leading Social-Democrat and Labor Lawyer SCOTT NEARING, Economist and Author LEWIS COREY, Economist and Author

ABRAM L. HARRIS, Professor at Howard University BERTRAM D. WOLFE, Educator and Author JAY LOVESTONE, Chairman

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## Socialist Conception of the **Problem of Peace**

### Rosa Luxemburg Exposes Folly of Utopian Schemes

By ROSA LUXEMBURG

(Concluded from last week)

KY/E support all efforts," said Comrade Ledebour in his speech in the Reichstag on April 3, which aim at getting rid of the threadbare pretexts for mounting armaments. We demand the economic and political union of the European states. I am firmly convinced that, while the 'United States of Europe is certain to come during the period

vinced that we will live to see the United States of Europe, confronted, as at present, by the business com-America. At least, we demand that capitalist society, that capitalist

And, in the Neue Zeit of April 28, Comrade Kautsky writes:

.... For a lasting peace, which banishes the ghost of war forever, there is only one way today: the union of the states of civilized Europe into a league with a common commercial policy, a league parliament, a league government and a league army-the formation of the 'United States of Europe. Europe' would possess such nations refusing to join it voluntarily to liquidate their armies and for this new United States would not only to relinquish all further armaments, give up the standing army and all aggressive weapons on the sea, but even to give up all means of defense, the militia system itself. Thus the era of permament

peace would surely begin.' Plausible as the idea of the

tures, are not artificial products of Ben Gold and Irving Potash? a creative phantasy—such as was. for instance, the Duchy of Warsaw

#### WHAT ECONOMIC FOUNDATION?

But what economic foundation lies at the bottom of the idea of a "federation of states"? Europe, it is true, is a geographical conception and, within certain limits, a culturehistorical conception. But the idea of European economic unity contradicts capitalist development in two ways. First of all, there exist within Europe among the capitalist states-and will continue to exist the problems that we face in the tion by Mr. Potash should convince as long as these exist-competitive trade. On the eve of the elections, conflicts of the greatest violence, the treacherous union leadership and, secondly, the European states came before the workers as the 'real' can no longer get along economically fighters for their interests. They dewithout the non-European countries. As suppliers of food-stuffs, raw materials and goods, and also as consumers, the other parts of the world are linked with Europe in a thousand ways. At the present

market and of world economy, the

conception of Europe as an isolated

economic unit is a sterile concoction

of the brain; Europe no more forms

a special unit within world economy, politically, to the course of developthan does Asia or America.

And, if the idea of a European union in the economic sense has long been outgrown, this is equally the case in the political sense. The times when the center of

gravity of political development and gressive solution despite all of its the precipitation agent of capitalist contradictions lay on the European continent, are long past. Today, Europe is only a link in the tangled cians have championed the idea of chain of international connections and contradictions. And what is of decisive significance-European antagonisms themselves no longer play their role on the European continent but in all parts of the world and on all the seas.

Only were one suddenly to lose statesmen, in the interests of sight of all these events and capitalist development in Europe manouvers and to transfer oneself itself, in order that Europe may not back to the blissful days of the be completely submerged in world European concert of powers, could of Europe into the 'United States years, we have had uninterrupted siders only events on the European continent, does not notice that the very reason why we have had no international antagonisms have Europe.

ment and which takes absolutely no account of the events of the last quarter of a century.

That an idea so little in accord with the tendency of development cannot fundamentally offer any pro radical disguises, is confirmed by the fate of the slogan when it was raised. Whenever bourgeois politi-Europeanism, of the union of European states, it has always been openly or covertly directed against the "yellow peril," the Dark Continent or the "inferior races"; in short, it has always been an imperialist abortion.

And now if we, as social-democrats, were to try to fill this old bottle with fresh and apparently revolutionary wine, then surely the advantages would not be on our competition, prepare for this union one say, for instance, that, for forty side but on the side of the bourgeoisie. Things have their own peace. This conception, which con- objective logic. And the solution of the European union within capitalist social order can objectively, in the economic sense, mean war in Europe for decades is that only a tariff war with America and in the political sense, only a colonial grown infinitely beyond the narrow race war. The Chinese campaign of confines of the European continent the united European armies, with and that European problems and in- the World Field Marshal Waldersee terests are now fought out on the at their head, and the gospel of the world seas and in the by-corners of | Hun as the standard-that is the actual and not the imaginary ex-Hence that "United States of Eu- pression, the only possible expresrope" is an idea which runs directly sion of the "European State Federacounter, both economically and tion" under present social order.

## superiority of forces that, without any war, it could compel all the Fur Progressives Hit Clo Support of Gold Regime

(Continued from page 2)

This policy, however, was not Ben reasons. Gold's creation. It was the policy United States of Europe" as a laid down by the Communist Party fight. It is our duty to fight against peace arrangement may seem to of this country. It was the blueprint the inhuman speed-up system. It is a some at first glance, it has, on closer that came from Moscow. Does Mr. fact that workers who are comparaexamination, nothing at all in com- Haywood agree with this policy? Is tively young or of middle age are mon with the method of thought and he prepared to say that the changes being pushed by the bosses, with the the standpoint of social-democracy. in the Soviet foreign policy that aid of the union leaders, into the As adherents of the materialist brought about the pact with Nazi category of old age. The purpose of conception of history, we have Germany will not change the trade- this is to degrade them and to force always adopted the standpoint that union policy of the blind instruments them to accept lower wages. The the modern states, as political struc- of the Communist Party, such as division of the workers into "privi-

But for the present, Mr. Haywood system of "temporary" and "emergupholds Gold's leadership and methof Napoleonic memory—but his- ods. He not only disregards our plea torical products of economic develop- for genuine democracy but he even takes the liberty of warning us of a to fight. possible split. I think that we were correct in informing Mr. Haywood that he addressed himself to the wrong party. He should have put eral and in the furriers union in parthe blame of disunity at the door of ticular. Mr. Potash, manager of the Mr. Gold, where it really belongs.

### SOME TRADE

PROBLEMS As far as our future policy is concontinue the fight for the issues and tell him to do. This outrageous ac- More, there is something alarming clared strikes against an unlimited number of small manufacturers. The always determined not by the needs small manufacturers, in turn, answered with daily attacks thru leaf- changes in the foreign policy of the lets in the fur market. Now, when the elections are over, a truce similar stage of development of the world to the Stalin-Hitler "non-aggression" pact has been reached. The little "chiselers" are not issuing any more leaflets against the union. The union,

against them. Non-union conditions disappear. It would be in a position the trade union movement. The continue as before. Overtime work tragic splitting tactics of the is practically legalized thru a syscommunist-controlled T.U.U.L. and tem of permits for long-stretched-out the building up of new dual unions work-offs on Saturdays. One time it are still fresh in everybody's mem- is for a so-called unemployment ory. Ben Gold was the strongest fund, another time for Jewish holisupporter of the dual-union policy. days, and again for various other

> These evils we will continue to leged" and "under-privileged," the ency" employed workers, all these are evils against which the United Progressive Furriers must continue Now, with the Stalin-Hitler pact

we are entering a new stage of the fight in the labor movement in gen-Furriers Union, was the only tradeunion official who gave his O.K. to this pact in an official resolution signed by him. This is another proof that Mr. Potash does not care in the cerned, I am of the opinion that the least how the furriers feel about it. United Progressive Furriers must | He does what his political masters our union and in others that Stalinism is a menace to the labor movement, since the "line" the Stalinists carry out in labor organizations is of these organizations but by the Stalin government.

#### PROGRESSIVES WILL FIGHT ON

Our tasks in the Furriers Union on its part, has called off the strikes combat a well-oiled, well-entrenched unions.

Talking It Over:

### "This Is Not Our War!"

= by Bertram D. Wolfe =\_\_\_\_

(Continued from Page 1) meeting would not have been possible tonight. We would be under a military dictatorship at this moment.

identic notes, the building up of an discussion are impermissible. army and navy so large that they have no meaning except for overseas war, the launching of reckless slog- icy. We are convinced that we and ans such as "Our frontier is the not you represent the interests of Rhine," the spy scare, the M-Day the majority of our people, and we plans, the President's willful fight will continue to give expression to against the desire of the American those interests so long as a hall or people for the right to vote on a declaration of war, the plans to cirlong as we can secure type and rolls cumvent the Johnson Act thru of paper, so long as there is breath R.F.C. loans to the warring powers, in our lungs, reason in our heads, the attacks upon the arms embargo, a voice in our throats, and an ear the proclamation of a state of "limited emergency", and countless other public words and private deeds, all WAR MEANS together constitute a criminal con- TOTALITARIANISM spiracy against the repeatedly expressed will of our people, a criminal conspiracy against the interests of the great mass of Americans and against the great mass of mankind.

In the name of the peoples of all countries, in the name of the great majority of working men and farmers, in the name of all the millions who are called to make up the armies and slaughter other men like themselves with whom they have no quarrel, in the name of the teeming millions of the great cities, of the old men and women and children to whom war spells suffering and naught but suffering, in the name of all but a little handful who seek to achieve power or retain office or coin profits out of human blood, in the name of all the mass of mankind in all lands of the earth, we declare: THIS IS NOT OUR WAR!

What kind of a war is this in which the President is trying to involve us economically at this moment, with the stock-market betting that he will win?

The second world war is neither more nor less than the continuation of the first. It represents the same imperialist conflicts for the possession of the same territories, the same markets, spheres of investment and influence—the same war, after a brief breathing spell, continued anew.

tempt on the part of the victors in 'war to end war" can do anything American people. but sow the seeds of further wars, We of the Keep America Out of flict, that so long as profits are set war. above human life, the world will conger wars, from bloodshed to greater bloodshed, from ruin to more uni- effective force. versal ruin, until civilization even in the imperfect forms in which we know it, will give way to universal but less. brutality and chaos. Nothing is new in this war ex-

cept that it represents a more advanced stage of decay than the last one. That war, ironically fought in the name of safeguarding democracy, created the authoritarian regime in Europe. Another such war would not put an end to authoritarian capitalism. All governments, as soon as they prepare to enter into war, set up brutal, ruthless, totalitarian military dictatorships, to suppress discussion, to frame, jail and duction and every man has a right slaughter all who oppose the senseless participation in mass butchery. All governments, without exception must make war upon their own people in order to drive them into the trenches. And already the President of the United States, while the country is still neutral, talks of "states of emergency", censorship of radio, cloture of debate in the Senate, and

world an appearance of "unity". He wants to gag the opponents of economic participation in war—I quote now his own words-"lest the impression get abroad among nations that do not understand the democratic process, that the United States was divided on the foreign policy of the Administration."

#### WE WILL FIGHT TO THE LAST DITCH!

Mr. President, the United States is divided on that foreign policy.

even the most backward workers in party machine. We know that the group of corrupted job-holders will fail, if the war conspirators sucnot give in so easily. We must therefore be prepared for any eventuality. We must strive to overcome our shortcomings of the past. We must broaden our movement and give leadership to the dissatisfied workers in our trade. We must join forces with all progressives in the labor movement in order to consolidate the ranks of progressive trade unionism against the Stalinist totalitarian are most difficult. Here we have to system of domination of trade

in your very effort to bulldoze your anti-war forces and anti-war senti- opponents into yielding to you. The ment of the people. Had the Keep democratic process is one that lives America Out of War movement not and thrives on difference and free been organized, had the President exchange of conflicting opinions. I not been fought every step of the would hate to give the impression way, we would be in the war now. abroad that the creeping paralysis Indeed had we not made that fight, of totalitarianism has so far inand scored a temporary victory, this vaded this country that differences can be gagged or terrorized or silenced. The totalitarian process is rooted in the myth of "national uni-The Administration has been tire- ty", in the extorted appearance of less in its open and secret efforts at monolithic unanimity, in the brandinvolvement. The Chicago speech of ing of honest differences as aid to two years ago, the secret naval mis- the enemy, in the psychology of the sion to England, the secret French state of siege or "limited emergenmilitary mission in America, the cy", in the view that difference and

Mr. President, we in this organization differ with your foreign polor a street corner is open to us, so within earshot!

Modern war is total war. It embraces, and must embrace, the total economy and the total population. It makes war and must make war. on the total economy and total population of the "enemy" country. It prescribes what must be said and what not, it prescribes who must go to the front, who work at this and that, what must be produced, what sold, what eaten, what said, what thought, what done. Every life, every word, every deed, is directed to the single aim of mass slaughter. To those who tell us that we must end totalitarianism in the world,

The struggle against totalitarianism is first of all the struggle against war

The struggle against totalitarianism and the struggle against war, must begin at home.

We say what John McGovern said as Independent Labor Party representative in the British Parliament in response to Chamberlain's declaration of war:

"I cannot follow our Prime Minister. I have no faith in him or his system as an instrument for fighting Hitler. I put my faith in the German people as the only instrument for putting an end to Hitler and Hitlerism."

Yes, Mr. President, we cannot give It represents an attempt by the you our confidence either, as an indefeated powers to revise the ruth- strument to end totalitarianism and 'peace" treaty of 1919 and war. Too clearly have you demonwrite their own treaty in yet more strated that you serve rather as an ruthless terms. It represents an at- instrument of extending both of them to America. We put our faith that war to hold on to their blood- in the British people, in the French gains. It shows beyond a shadow of people, in the German people, and a doubt that no "preventive war" here at home, in the mass of the ever prevents the next war, that no people of our own country, the

that no ruthless peace can ever be War Congress are convinced that ruthless enough to do more than the majority of our people do not embitter and prepare the next con- want America to enter the European

We believe that the will to keep tinue to stagger from wars to big- America out of war can be clarified as to methods and organized as an We propose to put not more pow-

er into the hands of the Executive

We propose not to weaken the neutrality laws but to strengthen them. We propose not to weaken democracy in America but to extend it. We propose to put into the hands of the American people the right to vote on peace and war. We propose to strengthen our political democracy by extending its shaky foundations, by developing a more democratic economic system in which the mass of producers own and control the instruments of proto a job and a decent and dignified life.

#### INTERNATIONAL SOLIDARITY

We extend the hand of brotherhood to the masses of the people in Germany and Poland, in England and France, in Japan and Italy and the Soviet Union, across all frontiers demands that we present to the to all lands.

> We will seek-aye, and find-ways of aiding them to settle with their war-makers and take their destinies into their own hands. We have no faith in any of the ruling cliques that started the last war and this one, not in any of them. If we aid the peoples of all lands to dictate the peace, we will have done a great service to the cause of ending all wars. And our first task to that end, is to keep totalitarianism out of America and America out of war.

> Tonight, we rededicate all our energies to the task of keeping America out of it. If we do our work well, we believe we can win. If we ceed in circumventing the will of the American people and dragging us into the conflict, then we must take council together to find ways and means of enabling the people to dictate the terms of a just peace, of putting an end to the war and the power of the war conspirators. Come what may, now and henceforward, with all our strength we

proclaim: We will have none of it! THIS IS NOT OUR WAR!