By Abram L. Harris

Weekly Paper of the Independent Labor League of America

POLAND: REALITY BEHIND LEG-END-by Kalman ..... WRITERS, ARTISTS APPEAL AGAINST Page 4

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"REDDER" WORDS AND DIRTIER DEEDS

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

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

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

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

And here is trotted out another moth-eaten taboo: "United fronts are impossible with those tendencies and groups in the labor movement 20 out of 42, to the eight national which follow the treacherous policy of social-democracy . . . " That an- officers. These officers consist of other unholy ghost is conjured up and the skeleton of dual unionism is Mr. Lewis as president, James B. being dusted off for adoration and worship in the nearer future is evi- Carey as secretary, and six vicedent from the volume of ink spilled by this newest turn dealing with presidents-Sidney Hillman, Amalthe need to "strengthen the trade-union movement and help it to devel- gamated Clothing Workers; Philip op along the lines of the class struggle and by promoting trade-union unity ON THIS BASIS ... " (our emphasis.—J.L.) With Losovsky, former head of the Red International of Labor Unions, now Assistant Commissar of Foreign Affairs, the return to and reconstruction of the "class-struggle" unions of 1929 vintage should be achieved very speedily-since lots of and Reid Robinson, International Russian red-tape is thus cut out.

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

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

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

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

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

Stalin-Hitler Alliance Leads to Break

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

AS a charter member of the Communist Party with a record of twenty-five years of activity in the trade-union and unemployed workers movements, I wish to make the following statement in order that my friends and fellow-workers in the labor movement shall know without question where I stand in the present grave crisis caused in the labor and progressive movements by the Stalin-Hitler alliance and its consequences—the launching

of the second imperialist world war. I the Soviet-Nazi invasion and partition of Poland, etc. Beginning with nesota and New York State. years of activity as a member of trict secretary of the Trade Union Unity League of Michigan, and later of Minnesota; as national secretary of the Steel and Metal Workers Industrial Union in Pittsburgh; as New York secretary of the Building and Construction Workers Inpresident of the International Work-

depression days in Michigan, Min

I was a member of the left wing the Sheet Metal Workers Interna- of the Socialist Party from 1915 to tional Alliance, I have served the la- 1919, when I became a founder of the bor movement in leading capacities, Communist Party in Boston, Mass., in such unions as the Paper Box and was a member of the first Bos-Makers Union of New York City ton District Committee of the parand the Iron and Bronze Workers ty. I took this action because I was Union of New York City; as dis- profoundly opposed to the role of the Second International in the last World War.

In assisting the building of the Communist Party, it was my purpose to join in constructing a political party of the working class which would be instrumental in dustrial Union; and, for three years achieving a greater, not a less, defrom 1935 to 1938, as national vice- gree of democracy than we now have in the United States. Under ers Order. My activities also includ- Lenin's leadership, it appeared that ed participation in the leadership the "dictatorship of the proletariat" and organization of the unemployed in Russia was indeed developing in Hitler. workers movement during the early that direction, making due allow-

# AT FIRST GLANCE Allies Win Turkey in Diplomatic Coup

### CIO Plans 'Purge' Of Stalinists

Lewis Reported Issuing Strong Warning

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

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

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

One of Lewis's first moves was to transfer all real power from the Executive Board, on which the Stalinists are said to influence nearly Murray, Steel Workers Organizing Committee; R. J. Thomas, United Automobile Workers; Emil Rieve, Textile Workers of America; W. J. Dalrymple, United Rubber Workers; Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers. All

San Francisco, Cal.

against them had been framed, that the witnesses had perjured them-

selves, and that testimony favorable

to the defendants had been exclud-

Governor Olson granted a full par-

the same in Billings's case because

Court's approval, however, commu-

Many of us assumed that this pro-

some reality to Communist Party

democracy. Even the purges, tho

were insufficient to disillusion me.

Were they not carried thru in de-

fense, so it was said, against the

ing themselves with that arch-ene-

tation was possible.

of the Comintern.

serving life sentences.

Supreme Court.

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

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

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

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

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

#### Big Maryland Billings Is Delegation For Embargo Two Decades

Angela Bombace Presses Governor Commutes Life Appeal; Business Chary be very close. Sentence; Served Twenty Three Years with Mooney Of War Involvement

By FRANK HOWARD

Warren K. Billings, who with Washington, D. C. About four hundred Marylanders years in prison on a framed-up charge after a farcical trial, was freed last week when Governor Olson commuted his sentence to time served, following approval of this action by a majority of the State Mooney and Billings were convicted in 1916 in connection with the ber of farmers and farmers wives among those opposed to the pro-war Preparedness Day parade bombing. In the years that followed, it was measures of the Administration. Lilshown that these men were completely innocent, that the evidence

(Continued on page 3)

ance that I, as well as many others, ed. Nevertheless, all efforts to free accepted the line of postponing efthem failed until this year. Finally, forts to attain socialism in favor of building a People's Front. But don to Tom Mooney as the first ofwe were convinced that the danger ficial act in office. He could not do of encroaching fascism and war, these twins, was so imminent that here there had been a prior convicthere was nothing else to do. And, of course, since this line promised uated or how reached. tion. With the State Supreme a genuine carrying thru of democratic practises in the party and Both Mooney and Billings were ances for the semi-feudal conditions of the new line, there was no change bequeathed by the Czar's autocracy. for the better insofar as the practise of trade-union or any other kind of cess was being continued when Staldemocracy was concerned where the party had decisive influence. It was in took over the leadership of the communist movement. I, as well as "dictatorship", but not of the "proother party members, felt grave letariat". If one took genuine dedoubts at times. In 1929, such doubts mocracy seriously, as I did, he was were put to rest by our loyalty to very close to being dubbed a "rotthe Communist International. But ten liberal". This is a mild example as "centralized democracy" became of the catch-phrases with which the ever more "centralism" and less "demembers were bludgeoned in an efmocracy" in the party, in the unions fort to stop them from thinking, or and other organizations under its at least from giving expression to influence, it became more difficult to maintain faith in the leadership sanctioned and approved by the top leadership. I, however, still contin-In 1935, when the People's Front ued to express my opinions, conline was adopted, some of us were stantly emphasizing the need for persuaded that, after all, there was greater democracy.

When the Stalin-Hitler pact was first announced, I refused to believe they shook my faith a great deal, that it was anything but "capitalist propaganda". But, when the reality of the pact was established, I still hoped that there would be machinations of "traitors" to the forthcoming some logical explana-Soviet Union and communism, ally- tion for it. But when the Communist Party press at first stalled and my of labor and progress, Adolf then came out with one phoney explanation after another, I became It was with considerable reluct- fully convinced that the Communist

### HOW ABOUT STOPPING THIS WAR?



-- from the New York Post

### Democratic Chiefs Plan To Amend Pittman Bill

**Propose to Relax and Tighten Measure** 

were made by Administration Democrats last week in an effort to get a As the bill stands, the ban on loans quick vote on the measure and send or credits applies only to warring it to the House before the pro-em- governments or their agents. bargo elements there succeeded in tration circles as to the situation in uncertain and will in all probability

To satisfy the shipping lobby, neaded by Senator Bailey, the Administration Democrats on the Senate Foreign Relations Committee meeting in closed caucus, decided to recommend an amendment permitwere in Washington this week to at- ting American ships to carry passentend a hearing on the neutrality bill. | gers and all goods except arms, mu-The hearing was arranged by the nitions and implements of war to Maryland Senators for their own belligerent ports outside of the enlightenment. The pro-embargo North Atlantic, that is, outside of group seemed to have about three- Great Britain, France and Germany fourths of the delegation. It was es- proper. Under this amendment, pecially impressive to see the num- | American ships could continue going to belligerent ports in Australia, New Zealand, the Pacific coast of Canada, and South Africa thru the lie Brown, wife of a U.A.W.-A.F. | Pacific, and to all ports in the westof L. Executive Board member, and ern hemisphere south of Canada, Angela Bambace, of the I.L.G.W.U. without regard to nationality. The one restriction would be that the President would have the discretionary power to fix "combat areas" as he saw fit in or thru which Amer-

> ican ships could not go. The original Pittman bill flatly prohibits American ships from carrying passengers or goods to any belligerent ports outside the western hemisphere no matter where sit-

Spokesmen of the peace block pointed out that this concession to wherever it had influence, this fur- the shipping interests might open ther helped to convince us of the the door to the possibility of provocorrectness of this line. But, in spite | cative "incidents", such as the sinking of American ships, and might therefore seriously endanger American neutrality.

In an attempt to win over some

support from the peace block and to hold their own ranks firm ih tne face of the overwhelming popular sentiment against embargo repeal the Administration managers of the Pittman bill also proposed to tighten the "cash" requirements of the "cash-and-carry" section by an

International, under Stalin's conanything that was not previously trol, could not longer serve the purpose for which it was originally organized, but that today it was merely an appendage of the Foreign Office of the government of the Soviet Union, and therefore had no claim upon the loyalty of class-conscious workers anywhere.

At no time did I ever believe that the workers and other oppressed groups of any country should foreto any so-called "international"

(Continued on Page 2)

fully mobilizing their forces. Great that he was ready to eliminate the anxiety was expressed in Adminis- ninety-day credit clause in the bill papers. Informed Nazi quarters intiand to put commerce between the the House where the final line-up is United States and belligerents might become "another Poland". The strictly on a "cash-on-the-barrel" basis. There was strong opposition to the ninety-day clause even in the ranks of the supporters of the Pittman bill.

As these manouvers to loosen the 'carry" provisions and make more stringent the "cash" sections of the Pittman debate bill were going on the debate on neutrality continued in the Senate, completing the fourth week of continuous discussion. It was thought that proceedings might reach the amendment stage soon.

### Russia Backs Nazi Threat To Turks

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

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

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

The same line was taken in Ger-Senator Pittman also declared many, where the Izvestia editorial was widely reprinted in all leading mated very strongly that Turkey Reich government announced special consultations were being held between Adolf Hitler and the German ambassadors to Turkey, Italy and

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

(Continued on page 2)

### **AFL Hits Naming Army** Man as Wage-Hour Head

Andrews Quits, Fleming Takes Post

Elmer T. Andrews resigned as Wages and Hours Administrator last week in a letter made public by Fleming of the Army Engineering Corps was immediately designated

95% of U.S. People seek le sition. **Against War** New York City.

Ninety-five percent of the Amercan people are opposed to the U.S.A. getting involved in the war and sending an army and navy across to fight Germany, the results of a survey announced last week by Dr. Gallup's American Institute of Public Opinion showed. Furthermore, those who would like to have this country involved in the war and send an army across have decreased considerably since war reply to the question: "Should we declare war and send our army and

navy abroad to fight Germany?", a

month ago, 16% answered yes and

84% no; today, 5% yes and 95%

Equally striking was the sharp decrease in sentiment in favor of velt asks Congress to change the the United States taking up arms against Germany if the Allies appear to be losing, Dr. Gallup's Instigo their own rights and deliver tute reported. Whereas at the outthemselves gagged and bound over set of the war, fully 40% of the representative cross-section questioned movement or body. At all times they felt America should go to war under should retain their own power of such circumstances, this proportion rescind the mandatory discharge of initiative and self-action, which is fell to 20% after a month of experience with the European war.

Washington, D. C. | to take over Mr. Andrew's duties. According to the law, Colonel Fleming, an army officer, cannot become Wages and Hours Adminis-President Roosevelt. Colonel Philip trator. For the time being, he is to serve as assistant to a non-existent administrator, but it is understood that President Roosevelt will seek legislation to regularize his po-

Wide protest against the appoint-

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

The A. F. of L. fight, it was said, law to allow Colonel Fleming to serve. The C.I.O. was expected to outlook was that it would be extended into an effort to revise the 1940 relief law so as to restore prevailing wage rates on W.P.A. and to those on W.P.A. over eighteen

would start when President Rooseioin into this fight, and the general

### Local 22 Hits Menace Of C.P. Disruption

Tells Stalinist Party to "Keep Out" of Union

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

### Allies Win Turkey in Big Coup

(Continued from Page 1) a half tons of gold to the Reicl Another trip by Ribbentrop to Mos cow to "discuss the new situation and devise "concerted measures

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

### Stalin-Hitler Pact and **American Labor**

Norman Thomas — Jay Lovestone George Powers

discuss this subject on Saturday, October 28, 1:00 P. M.

Hotel Diplomat, 108 West 43rd Street

Auspices: Dressmakers Branches Socialist Party, Independent Labor League

# **WESTAND BY OUR POSITION**

## Against War and Fascism!

THE workers have nothing to gain from this KEEP AMERICA OUT OF WAR!

present war. On both sides, it is a struggle for empire. Inevitably, as in all such gigantic conflicts, there are innocent victims. In this case it is Poland. Our sympathy is definitely with the Polish people in their heroic struggle to resist another partition. But let us not forget that the Polish government shares the responsibility of this disaster. Only a year ago she joined with Germany to dismember Czecho-Slovakia.

### IS RUSSIA HELPING HITLER?

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

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

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

THERE is danger that we will be drawn into this conflict in the same manner as in the last war. First, it will be sales on a "cash-andcarry" basis; then loans to make possible the dictional claim. In 1899, the Teamcontinuation of the sales; then war to guarantee our trade and loans. We must not permit our sters, including brewery teamsters economy to become part of the war economy of In 1900, the A. F. of L. voted itself Allied imperialism. We do not want to sacrifice the welfare and peace of our country to help ei- sters should have the right to enther the "democratic" imperialists or the fascist roll brewery teamsters. imperialists.

### GOODS FOR AMERICA-**NOT BULLETS FOR EUROPE!**

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

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

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

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

### Needle Trades Division - Labor's Anti-War Council **New York City** 19 West 27th Street

### Labor Calls for Fight To Keep Out of War

The Chicago

(These paragraphs are from the editorial columns of the October 7, 1939 issue of the Federation News, official publication of the Chicago Federation o

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

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

### Novelty Workers:

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

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

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

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

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

Whereas, a determined effort is now being made by our profiteers and war-mongers to involve the

that they may be able to coin a golden harvest of millions of dollars in profits at the cost of the blood and money of the workers; and

Whereas, native and foreign propaganda agencies are already working overtime with the aim of stampeding our nation into a war or one or the other side; and

Whereas, the mere talk of war has already resulted in the introduction of many and the passage of some bills in the halls of the national and state legislative bodies, impairing the freedom of action of organized labor and providing for its regimentation in the event of war; there fore be it

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

Resolved, that we do all in our power to keep America from becomdead and wounded, the destruction world war; and of wealth, new unpaid war debts,

poison gas;" and be it further

### The "Menace" Of Peace

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

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

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

Resolved, that the C.I.O. calls on President Roosevelt and on Congress rope; to bring aid and succor to the millions of unemployed and to the numerous and increasingly impoverished farmers of this country; to wipe out the crime-breeding slums and provide housing facilities as befits decent American workers; and

be it further on the entire body of organized la- | war: and bor to exercise the greatest vigilance against war-mongering propaganda fringe upon or curtail the constitutional rights of labor to organize for the purpose of improving its conditions or to strike in defense of conditions already won; and be it finally

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

### The Workmen's Benefit Fund:

Detroit, Mich. THE City Central Committee for L the Detroit metropolitan area of the Workmen's Benefit Fund, a labor mutual-aid society, adopted at its meeting on September 22 the following resolution in support of strict neutrality:

"Since major European countries find themselves at war against one another; and "Since this war represents the

same imperialist conflicts for terriing involved in this war from which tory, for markets, for spheres of inwe can expect many thousands of fluence and investment, of the last

"Since the slogans and propaganhigher taxes, greater unemployment da of this war are also not unlike and misery for our people and the the slogans and propaganda of the United States in this present war so possible loss or curtailment of our last world war ('Dictatorship vs.

### Labor and the Law

by Joseph Elwood

COURTS AND LABOR JURISDICTION

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

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

Union has claimed the right to enroll all workers of breweries. The A. F. of L. acknowledged this jurissters Union joined the A. F. of L. It claimed jurisdiction over all teamthe right to decide jurisdictional controversies. It decided that the Team-The Brewery Workers Union re-

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

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

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

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

#### A Significant Ruling

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

Democracy,' 'War to End War,' etc.); and

"Since the democratic nations, France and England, have lost their democracy since the proclamation of i war and have now become dictatorship nations not unlike Italy or Ger-

many; and "Since the United States government has adopted plans, such as the Industrial Mobilization Plan, to be put into effect immediately the United States enters war-which means that the United States will lose its democracy and become a dictatorship nation with the declaration of war:

"Therefore be it resolved that the United States safeguard democracy Resolved, that this convention calls at home by keeping America out of

"Be it further resolved that the Workmen's Benefit Fund in petitioning Congress further demand that the present neutrality law be not revoked, but rather that it be extended and strengthened by stopoing all commerce between the United States and all countries at war. Only by so doing can we keep America out of war and avoid the dictatorship that war will bring."

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### Anti-War Ranks United in Detroit

By S. MEFFAN

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

as all other organizations. We wish to thank those liberals who, thru their common sense, made bers of the Socialist Party who convinced their party of the soundness of proceeding along united

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

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

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

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

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

The relevant clause of the state

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

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

### Geo. Powers Quits C. P.

(Continued from page 1)

not only consistent with, but indispensable to, the effective practise of true international solidarity and joint action against common foes. This is not true of the American Communist Party which is neither American nor communist nor a party, by virtue of its relationship to the Stalin-controlled Comintern, and therefore no longer serves the cause of socialism, of labor or of progress, but is now the ally of Hitler and of reaction. Because of these reasons, I therefore publicly renounce my membership in the Communist Party and call upon all others who agree with what I have above set forth to do likewise. While this disillusionment has been a great blow, I count myself among those who do not lose heart when more than ever tefore, especially because of the heavy blow struck by the Stalin-Hitler alliance, it becomes most urgently necessary for all who really believe in the cause of democratic socialism to join hands against Nazism, fascism, and all other forms of capitalist reaction and all those who support or ally themselves therewith, and thus help to assure a future better America. GEORGE E. POWERS. October 18, 1939.

### **Special Combination Course** On War Offered by School

THE Independent Labor Institute

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

THE WORLD AT WAR (A Series of 10 Friday Night Lectures)

Nov. 3-Lewis Corev: The Econ-

Nov. 10-Jay Lovestone: Twenty-two Years of Soviet Russia.

Nov. 17-Jay Lovestone: American Labor Faces the War. Nov. 24.-Will Herberg: Fascism. Democracy and Stalinism.

Speakers and subjects of other lectures will be announced soon. The admission is 25 cents. Sessions are held at the Independent Labor Institute, 131 West 33rd Street, New York City, Telephone LAckawanna 4-5282.

### Towards A Better America:

## **Democracy Thru Education**

By GEORGE S. COUNTS

(Concluded from last issue)

#### Loyalty to Freedom of Thought

In the third place, the school would arouse in the coming generation a deep loyalty to the process of authoritarian pronouncements and encourage an in- will certainly perish. sistence on basing all decisions on rational foundations. Within the framework of democratic ideas and procedures, it would protect the right of every minority to be heard, of every opposition to oppose, even the most feeble and unpopular. From the life of the school, loyalty would be transferred to those priceless guarantees in the Bill of Rights, to those great liberties of thought, belief, speech, press, assemblage and petition whose changing fortunes record the rise and fall of the democratic spirit and way of life. And it would seek to reveal how precarious are the supports on which these liberties rest today.

#### Fair-Mindedness And Integrity

a mentality marked by fair-mindedness, integrity and man is morally entitled to ride on the backs of the scientific spirit—is indissolubly linked to the third. The history of democratic societies, particularly in recent times, demonstrates that the abuse of the process of discussion and criticism may undermine confidence in that process and ultimately lead to its overthrow. To employ discussion for the purpose of delaying and sabotaging action, to refuse to abide by the decisions of the majority, to engage in the methods of conspiracy under the cloak of democracy, or to nourish secretly the ideas of violence and dictatorship is to threaten the moral foundations of popular government. Such tendencies or behavior patterns the school would endeavor to remove from its life. Also, while encouraging criticism of institutions, practises, governments and public persons and officials, it would insist that all criticism be informed and honest. It would operate on the maxim that criticism founded on ignorance, gossip and malice is dangerous to the perpetuation of free institutions. It would teach the youth of the nation that the exercise of the great democratic liberties should always be attended by a sense of responsibility to the canons of truth and decency. Also it would inculcate a healthy skepticism toward all final and complete solutions to the social problem and generally cultivate a deep regard for the method and spirit of science in the realm of human affairs.

#### Appreciation of Ability And Character

ciation of ability, training and character constitutes ship. Everything possible, therefore, should be done a fifth responsibility of the school. The author of the in the school to moderate the egoistic tendencies and Declaration of Independence, of the affirmation "that strengthen the social and cooperative impulses of the all men are created equal," once wrote to John Adams rising generation. The thing needed is the teaching of "a natural aristocracy among men" based on "vir- of patriotism in its most enlightened and humane tue and talents." This aristocracy, he said, "I consider form—the rearing of a generation eager to serve as the most precious gift of nature, for the instruc- community, nation and mankind in times of peacetion, the trusts and government of society. . . . May lable, fearless and incorruptible.

we not even say that that form of government is the best which provides the most effectually for a pure selection of these natural aristoi into the offices of government?" If this principle was applicable to the simple society of Jefferson's time, how much more applicable is it to the "great society" of today, with its vast accumulation of precise knowledge and its extreme complication of the tasks and problems of free discussion, criticism and group decision—the life- life? Clearly, the school, while adhering to the conblood of every democratic society. It would provide ception of equality as here considered, should impress continuous opportunity for participating in this proc- upon the rising generation the imperative necessity ess, for acquiring the appropriate skills, knowledges of recognizing and placing in the appropriate posiand dispositions, not tolerating the appeal to prestige tions of trust and responsibility persons of talent, viror position, or the exercise of arbitrary power. It tue and training. If democracy fails to achieve this would endeavor to cultivate a mistrust of all purely objective as effectively as other forms of society, it

#### Obligation to Useful Labor

Sixth, the school should propagate systematically the idea that every person of sound mind and body is obliged to engage in some form of socially useful labor. In the absence of pedagogical considerations to the contrary, the individual pupil would be required to carry his share of the common load in every department of the program. Habits of loafing, of evading tasks, of shifting disagreeable burdens to others, would simply not be permitted. The necessity of labor in human society, from the most primitive to the most advanced, would be emphasized and demonstrated. The time-honored prejudice that education The fourth task of the school—the development of is an escape from the world of toil, that the educated untutored, that after all "only saps work," would be thoroly rooted out of the curriculum. As a sense of gratitude toward those who do the work of the world. and particularly the hard, unpleasant, dangerous and monotonous work, would be instilled into every youngster, so that the idea that social parasitism, whether of individuals or classes, is utterly repugnant to the spirit of democracy would be positively developed. At the same time, a vigorous effort would be made to attach a sense of worthiness to all forms of socially useful labor.

#### Devotion to the Common Good

Seventh and last, the school should seek to promote an enlightened devotion to the common good. Because of the conditions under which the American people gained their livelihood for generations, the individual has tended to neglect the general welfare and concentrate his energies on the improvement of his own economic position. Even the public school has been regarded primarily as a road to individual success. The rise of industrial civilization with its close integration and interdependence has made necessary and inevitable an increasing measure of col- the most significant documents of lective action—an increasing amount of social coordination and direction of the economy. There is every reason for believing that, if the needed coordiation and direction cannot be achieved thru th processes of cooperation of free men and women, it The development of a respect for and an appre- will come in the form of more or less harsh dictator-

### Poland, the Jews and Big Maryland The European War

### **Jews Cannot Stake Lot With "Democracies"**

By ZEV YARKONI

(Concluded from last issue) THE present defeat of Poland, es-**1** pecially its rapid tempo, is due not only to internal causes but also to external ones. And here we must

mention two of them. 1. History will prove that Britain and France attempted until the very last moment to appease Hitler. Britain was long prepared to give up on the Danzig issue. This stand made it a simpler task for Hitler to decide what steps to take. Hitler knew very well, too, that despite his role as a competitor to the French and British empire interests, plus the fact that the Nazi eagle was able to fly in victory after victory over the smaller countries, Britain and France would try until the last hour to preserve peace. He knew they would do so because their struggle was not directed against fascism and National Socialism, but against the definite imperialist expansion

#### BRITISH, FRENCH **NOURISH FASCISM**

Britain and France wanted to restrict the German advance but not make one remark: Those opponents an energetic corpse, I must say to break it. A broken Germany might have brought a social revo- not for one minute forget that in lution which would not have halted the last few years they were the Zon up on charges for making slam at the banks of the Rhine. This conviction on the part of Hitler was not a minor factor in the success he achieved in the last two years.

It seems that even the first days of the war in Europe were able to sure that the best they can do now prove this: Britain and France did is to fly back into their moth-eaten not exploit all their strength to mi- closets of reformistic socialism, tigate the pressure of the Nazi ar- clinging to the idea of "collectivemy on Poland. The war on the western front is still something which perhaps the General Staffs may know all about, but for the Polish people all the noise in the West means little more than preparation and not the actual battle. Only the coming weeks will decide whether

the war will reach further heights or whether it will peter out into a mere continuation of local and strategic warfare, somethig that has been going on all over the world THE WAR for almost a decade now and has served in actuality as the prelude of a coming world disaster.

2. The most important factor in Poland's defeat, however, can be labelled Stalinism. We know better country in the war. A majority of than to tell you now: "We told you so." For a long time, we outlined for our readers the present struggle and warned them of harboring two dangerous attitudes: one, support of "collective security"; the other, faith in Stalinism. The Hitler-Stalin pact, besides being the tragedy of the entire workers movement and all those elements, especially in the workers ranks, who believed implicitly in the policy of "collective security" and that Stalin could do no wrong, was above all the death-blow to Poland.

#### COMMUNISTS PLAY HIDE AND SEEK

moment the problem of the workers movement after the episode of the of revolutionary socialism should ones who supported the idea of a "collective security" with the participation of Soviet Russia. Now they have no right to wash their hands of the mess. We know for security," but now without the Soviet Union. And they will make every effort to throw all of their political opponents into one fancy heap and

The communists in America claimed (we are writing these lines on (Continued on page 4)

label them "Stalinists".

## **Delegation** For Embargo

(Continued from Page 1) ably represented labor at the meeting. Miss Bambace made the most stirring speech of the occasion.

### **BUSINESS AND**

There is increasing talk here among New Dealers and anti-New Dealers about the opposition of business groups to involvement of this business men favor repeal of the embargo and will accept a "cashand-carry" plan. But they don't want a declaration of war by the United States with the consequent totalitarian political set-up with New Dealers at the controls. They see a rich market in South America which they will be able to exploit while European countries are at each other's throats. The New Dealers think this shows "selfishness"sort of new "sit-down of capital"but they admit it is the case.

#### BEN STOLBERG IN WASHINGTON

Ben Stolberg was very much in We do not wish to discuss at this evidence here this week. He arrived along with the current issue of the New Masses containing Henry Zon's Hitler-Stalin pact. But we must article: "Here Lies Stolberg." He is Some of his friends in the National Press Club are planning to bring erous statements against a fellowjournalist. It is felt that there should be some ethics in the profession and that Zon broke all codes in this article.

Incidentally, Stolberg dissents from the Workers Age editoria? statement about himself. He is in favor of the "cash-and-carry" policy as less likely to involve us in war than the embargo without "cashand-carry". He is as anti-war as I am and to this extent the editorial misrepresented his viewpoint.

The stories which finally leaked out of San Francisco about Lewis's | paich elsewhere on this page. - Editor.) | States must be organized and gal-

### Beware-British Propaganda at Work!

In England, there was published some months ago a book called "Propaganda in the Next War." Its author is Sidney Rogerson, publicity director of Imperial Chemical Industries, Ltd., the gigantic British dye and explosives trust. Before taking his present post, Mr. Rogerson was counsel and adviser to the Federation of British Industries, a vast employing-class alliance embracing nearly 90% of British manufacturers.

Mr. Rogerson has a great deal to say about the United States in the "next war." He speaks with a frankness unusual among English publicists. What he has to say deserves the closest attention of every American, especially now that the "next war" has already broken out. We, therefore, reprint some paragraphs from this book altho we have already quoted them twice in the columns of this paper:

GATHERE remains the United States—the great neutral. In the next war, as in the last, the result will probably depend upon the way in which the United States acts, and her attitude will reflect the reaction of her public to propaganda properly applied. . . . It will be difficult to get the United States to participate in a war. It will need a definite threat to America, a threat, moreover, which will have to be brought home to every citizen before the Republic will again take arms in an external quarrel. This position will naturally be considered eased if Japan were involved. . . . At any rate, it would be a natural and obvious object of our propagandists to achieve this, just as during the great war they succeeded in embroiling the United States with Germany. . . .

"Fortunately, in America our propaganda is on firm ground. We can be entirely sincere as our main plank will be the old democratic one. We must clearly enunciate our belief in the democratic form of government. . . . Our minor propaganda will aim at attaching the support of important sections, such as the Jews, probably by the declaration of a clear-cut policy on Palestine.

"These should not be difficult to pursue, or to put over to the American public, . . . They are more susceptible to suggestion than most people. . . . They are at this moment the battle-ground of an active propaganda of labels. . . . We shall, as before, send over our leading literary lights and other men with names well known in

the United States. . . . "American newspapermen in London are of approved mettle and tho impervious to any obvious propaganda, nevertheless should represent a valuable propaganda force. We shall see that they are given every facility for observing and reporting and that their messages are censored sympathetically. Similarly with their newsreel men. They should be the first to be allowed to 'shoot' pictures of air raids, that a proper volume of pictorial 'horror' will be available in one of the few great countries where 'atrocity' propaganda will still be

### **Executive Burocracy Reaches One Million**

#### Passes Beyond High-Water Mark During War

Washington, D. C.

THE annual personnel report of the federal Civil Service Commission, recently issued, is one of the day. For it reveals that, in the executive branch of the federal government alone, the United States is employing nearly one million peo-

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

This figure tops by 2,550 the previous high-water mark of 917,760, which was the total on November 11, 1918, the day on which the signing of the armistice ended the World War. Since the high total reached in 1918 was almost double the total of 1916, before the United States entered the war, the question be even further stimulated by the events in Europe? Is it possible that the present total, which already is double the 1916 total, might be doubled again?

#### TOTAL CONTINUES TO MOVE UPWARD

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

An analysis of yearly pay-roll figures shows the relentless mushroom growth of government functions since World War days. After the rapid increase from 480,327 in 1916 to 917,760 in 1918, there was a general exodus of government employees when the war-time need for their services disappeared. By 1923, the total number of civil employees in the executive branch of the government had been brought almost back to the pre-war level.

During the "economy" years of the Harding and Coolidge administrations, the general trend was downward, the low point being reached on December 31, 1926, when 514,610 were on the rolls. Then, year by year, the number rose steadily again until 1931, after which, for two years, there was a slight reduction as a result of economy policies.

There was a sudden climb between 1933 and 1934, another between 1935 and 1936, and still another between 1938 and 1939, until now the Armistice Day peak is exceeded. At no time since the beginning of the World War has the

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

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

total dropped below the half-million mark, and at no time after the end of the war did the total approach the 1918 peak until the Roosevelt ministration.

The figures for 1939, based on the June 30 pay roll, do not cover the likewise, does not include people on relief, farmers or private contracfrom the federal government.

The Post Office Department is the of the time.

TYOW profound the economic crisis

By FLORENCE B. BOECKEL

Washington D. C. 1929 has really been, can be judged from the fact that in 1938 the value of private production per person in the United States was back to the the current neutrality debate in the level of 1899, almost 40 years before. The National Industrial Conference Board arrives at this conclusion after making allowances for changes in the price level and the increase in population.

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

Partial recovery culminating in 1937 raised the production volume per person to only 10% above the 1899 level. Then, in 1938, the index fell down to the 1899 level again. For eight years since 1930, an

average of ten million have been jobless. That means that even at the pitifully low wage of \$50 a month. the United States has lost at least 48 billion dollars that could have been earned if all workers had been employed. Add to that the cost of in response to a Congressional rerelief and you get 70 billion dollars quest, has said that it cannot furnish as the cost of unemployment since

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

But since 1935, two million more Americans have entered the market for jobs. Our working force grows 600,000 persons larger every year. Our job is not only to restore employment to the level of 1929, but

dropped. Yet workers are producing more in the shorter work-week than they once did in the longer. For every ten hours that a man had to work in 1899, only four and one-half hours have to be worked today to produce the equivalent. In 1933, a worker was able to accomplish within 30 hours as much as he could within 52 hours in 1919.

executive agency having the largest total of employees. Almost one-third of all those working for Uncle Sam -288,979, to be exact-are employed in handling the mails. The War Department ranks next with 109,886, and the Department of Agriculture is third with 107,712. At the bottom of the list is the State Department, which has only 5,750 on its pay roll. Almost 100,000 persons are now

employed by government agencies which were non-existent before the New Deal. For example, the Tenjudicial or legislative branches of nessee Valley Authority has 12,149

This monstrous swelling of the permanent, professional officialdon tors, all of whom receive payments at the command of the Executive is one of the most portentous trends

scattered, haphazard, chaotic. Com

mittees, groups, organizations, par-

opposition and give it definite

coherent, and dynamic character

But they must do it now. If they

wait until the war-mongers become active and precipitate their propa-

ganda upon the nation, it will be too

America has nothing to gain from

entering the European conflict, but

it has everything to lose. Nothing

will hasten the growth of fascism as

primitivisms from which we have

never disencumbered ourselves, and

convert us from a democratic into a

totalitarian people. It will multiply

differences, aggravate antagonisms,

first to suffer: Negroes, Jews,

We can retain what democracy we

have by protecting it from the ter-

intesify hates.

great destroyer.

Catholics.

### This Is an Old War ...

(These paragraphs are from an edi- | vanized into action. It must not retorial in the Summer 1939 issue of the main, as it did in the previous war Modern Quarterly, edited by V. F. is now raised: Will this year's trend | Calverton. We are particularly gratified at Mr. Calverton's courageous at- ties must get together, solidify their titude in view of the backsliding of so many radical intellectuals, to which we referred in our editorial columns some weeks ago.—Editor.)

> THE conflict between Germany A and Russia on the one side, and England and France on the other is therefore on old one. This is an old war, a repetition of so many previous ones and it behooves us as radicals to keep that fact constantly in mind, "Death is an old joke," to each one of us." and so it is with wars. Their motivations are old, but each one is heralded as having a new purpose.

Each war is viewed by those who do not understand its causes as different, strange. The first world war was waged in behalf of democracy -"Save the world for democracy." -but what it brought us was a deterioration and demolition of democracy. This war, it is contended, is being waged against totalitarianism. against the madness of a Fuehrer: the last war was directed against a madman called the Kaiser; the underlying motivations of both wars are the same: the struggle for imperialist domination.

In short, war is being waged for, but not by, the imperialist ruling cliques in the respective countries involved. It is being waged by the poor, hopeless, bewildered populace of the belligerent powers. Those who lose every war are those who fight it, regardless of the side they defend. Those who win the war are those who direct it but never fight it: the politicians, the bankers, the industrialists, the merchants. . . .

Fortunately, at the present time at least, most of the American people are convinced that they should keep out of this second world war. The Roosevelt Administration is unequivocally pro-war but the election next year may force it, like that of Wilson's in 1916, to hold its hand until the election is over. Of course. there is the chance, if Roosevelt thinks he can swing the populace that he may try to embark on a war before the nominating conventions are called.

To frustrate such a possibility (Read Frank Howard's special dis- anti-war sentiment in the United

# Crisis Wipes Realities Out Gains of Behind Clash Thirty Years On Embargo

Washington, D. C. T seems unlikely that the real reasons motivating the two sides of Senate will continue very much longer to be ignored and suppressed. The arms embargo "repealers" have only two logical reasons for wanting repeal. The first is to help England and France. The second is to take advantage of the opportunity for profits.

Back of the opposition to embargo repeal is the same distrust of oneman control of issues that mean peace or war that was back of the original enactment of the neutrality

Distrust of the President's policy at the present time is based not alone on fear of how far he will go in committing this country to war, but on how far he will go in using a war situation to extend executive control in this country. Every day produces some statement or event justifying distrust on these two points. The Department of Justice, any complete statement of the President's powers in a war or emergency situation. To discover them all, the Department says, would require "long study." There is, however, a feeling in Congress that these powers will be discovered as needed.

Four acts of the President in particular have increased alarm. The declaration of the limited emergency, the first necessary step in exerto give jobs to the five million more cising abnormal power; the effort to persons who are seeking jobs today. persuade Congress to go home as One gain has been made: with soon as possible; the announced deproduction per person at the 1899 termination of the President to make level, working hours have greatly expenditures for the Army and Navy unauthorized by Congress; the astounding step taken in haste and purely by executive decree of extending our territorial waters from the three-mile-limit accepted in international law to as much as seven hundred miles out to sea. The grave danger of war in attempting to dictate the activities of other nations far from our own shores and includng regions in which there are foreign territories was frankly admitted by many officials in Washingtion. Even before England called attention to this danger.

Washington correspondents are also disturbed by the apparent relish with which the White House gives out reports calculated to alarm the people and create a war spirit, such as the report that submarines were off our coast altho information as to what nationality these submarines were or where the report came from was not divulged. The statement that warnings had been received the government, nor do they include employees; the Social Security Board that the Gulf Flight might be torthe military or naval forces under the executive branch. This pay roll, the P.W.A. has 10,305.

| Dedoed was, because of the way in which it was made, another case in the property of the pro

The attempt to create the belief that letters coming into Congress to hold the embargo on arms were inspired by Germany was thoroly blasted last week by a Washington correspondent, Bruce Catton, in the Scripps-Howard papers. The result of a study he made of one Congressman's mail, eliminating all letters which contained similar, set phrases. was that many more than half were "clearly spontaneous," less than onefifth were obviously inspired by some organization. The proportion of letters demanding that the arms embargo be kept to those demanding its repeal was more than 14 to 1.

Europe, the peace that follows will be nothing more than an interlude between an old and a new war. We are most likely at the beginning of another Thirty Years War, of which the present struggle is but a starting point. So long as capitalism and nationalism are in the sadrapidly in this country as our en- | dle, wars are inevitable. If Germany trance into war. It will unleash, as | should win and strip the Allies of it did in the last war, those frontier, their colonies and markets, the Allies will bide their time, gird their loins, and, as soon as they are able, begin a new war to recover their losses. If the Allies should win, Germany will bide its time, and if there is a second Versailles treaty, pro-All minority groups will be the duce another Hitler, and the war will go on. There is no end to this vicious struggle of blood and ironnone until the masses of the world. weary with terror and travail, gird rifying effects of war which is its their loins, dethrone those in the high places and succeed in democra-No matter who wins the war in tizing industry, wealth, and power.

### 'Mr. Smith Goes to Washington'

Washington, D. C

was not going to write about Capra's "Mr. Smith Goes To Washington" which had its premiere here in the Constitution Hall on October 17, altho I enjoyed it immensely. But, I'm mad, I just saw it again and am doubly impressed. I have heard all day the most outrageous criticisms of it by the "national-unity" boys among the press and the Congressmen. Frederic William Wile says it is what the dictators would like to have appear in our theaters. Harlan Miller makes fun of it in a cheap way. Both have been beating the tom-toms of war.

I thought "Mr. Smith" was a good picture; now I think it is a great picture—because of the enemies it is making. See it and have your friends see it. It is not an appeal for socialism but it is for honest democracy, freedom of speech and of the press. It makes a blistering attack on corruption and dishonesty. It made a lot of the star reporters and critics of the country laugh cynically on Tuesday night and say: "Hollywood hokum". But, I have a hunch the movie-goers, the plain people, are taking it more seriously! The audience did tonight. They stood in the aisles. They laughed, but they were almost reverent and they applauded a number of times. As a result, this picture has become dangerous, subversive propaganda in certain influential quarters here. So is the Bill of Rights. That's why I'm mad and write this special plug for the movie. Has the war done this

FRANK HOWARD

### Workers Age

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SATURDAY, OCTOBER 28, 1939 VOL. 8.

#### OUR OWN "FORGOTTEN" CRISIS

IN all the excitement of the European war and the international crisis, we are likely to forget, encouraged not a little in our forgetfulness by the Administration in Washington, that we still have a very serious crisis at home—the crisis of ten million unemployed, the crisis of scores of thousands being thrown off workrelief, the crisis of repeated savage slashes of wage rates on

In the past two months, a series of three such wage slashes have taken place on the white-collar projects of the W.P.A. In New York City, the latest pay cuts range from \$5.20 to \$20.80 a month, and they were imposed on top of the reduction of \$2.60 which became effective September 1, itself following another reduction two weeks before. But all this has received almost no publicity in the press, which is full of cooked-up "war news" from Europe.

"Yes, our press is free," a New York Post reader, Martin Christianson writes to that paper, "and uses its freedom to feather its own nest mainly. Try to get something into the press these days about our more than ten million unemployed and see where you land! Not to mention the cowed, unhappy crowds who wait outside the various relief offices, as miserable as any group of Polish

In his Labor Day address, John L. Lewis tore into our "statesmen and national leaders" who were so busy solving Europe's troubles that they just couldn't give a thought to our own miseries. We have no better way of putting it than by repeating

"In the face of the economic debacle in America, many of our statesmen are more concerned and agitated over the political quarrels of Europe. The country is being told of the statesmen and national leaders who are spending sleepless nights in worry over the situation in Europe. In every way, how much better it would be if the same statesmen would spend a few sleepless nights in devising a way for one-fourth of America's workers to get at a wage that would keep them alive!"

#### A PROTEST IS IN ORDER

READERS of this paper are well aware that we regard Stalinism as one of the most pernicious influences in this country, an influence that must be rooted out of the labor movement if organized labor is to prove capable of tackling and solving the big problems confronting it in the present very difficult situation. Nevertheless, we protest most vigorously against the action of New York City Board of Elections in ruling off the ballot natural boundaries to serve as dethe four Communist Party candidates for the City Council.

We protest because we do not think it is the business of the Board of Elections to set itself up as a judge of who does and who does not "deserve" to be allowed to run in an election. Of course, the Board ruling was on a technicality but everybody knows that behind it all is the sudden unpopularity into which the Communist Party has very deservedly fallen thru its justification of the Hitler-Stalin pact. Such justification is, in our opinion, to be condemned without reserve, but it is quite within the constitutional rights of the local Stalinists, and we certainly resent the presump- while fully realizing the military tion of a Board of Elections to turn itself into a court of public | reasons for the collapse of Polandopinion, as it were, and arbitrarily deny so fundamental a right as to run for office to anyone. It is too dangerous a precedent to tary machine over the Polish, the be tolerated in silence.

We protest because we are opposed to political persecution | plan for digging into the forests and and the restriction of democratic rights in any case, no matter whom it may hit. Stalinism is poison, it is true, but if the body of shadow of events to come could have American labor is to be cleansed of this poison, it will have to be by the conscious efforts of the American workers themselves. Certainly, it cannot be done by the Board of Elections thru the violation of fundamental democratic rights. Such persecution will, furthermore, not hurt but help the Stalinists in the long run for it will win for them the sympathies of many who reject the "party line" but who are aroused over the infringement of constitutional liberties involved in the action of the Board of Elections.

If we protest against such political persecution in the case of the Stalinists, we certainly protest all the more against the dropping from the ballot, again on a technicality, of George L. Paine, City Council candidate of the Trotskyist Socialist Workers Party. The gross injustice in both cases must be undone and undone immediately. All those who prize freedom and realize the full menace of the wave of reaction and authoritarianism spreading in many parts of the country, will do what they can to see that it is undone. We are glad to note that Langdon Post, outstanding A.L.P. standard-bearer, has already spoken up; others should

### NATIONALISTIC IDOLATRY

66 FOR the second time," the press reports, "Vivian Hering, 10, of Secaucus, N. J., has been refused public schooling because she refused to salute the American flag. . . . With her sister, Alma, 16, she was expelled from school in 1935 because she refused to salute Old Glory, denying reverence to any symbol except that of the Deity and professing the faith of Jehovah's Wit-

Vivian and Alma may not seem so important in these days of international catastrophes, but important they are for the fate of all of us. For the persecution of which they are the helpless victims is a particularly gross and disgusting form of that nationalistic idolatry that is the worst menace to cultural freedom in this country. It is mocking irony, indeed, that the self-righteous, "patriotic" persecutors of the two little girls in New Jersey undoubtedly call themselves Christians, the "spiritual descendants" of that sect that nearly two thousands years ago were harried and slaughtered for their refusal to salute the insignia of the Roman Empire on the ground that such reverence was due only to their God!

Here is an issue for the Committee for Cultural Freedom and the League for Cultural Freedom and Socialism to take up. Cultural freedom is under fire in this land of "democracy" as well!

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# Writers, Artists Issue Call Against War

(We publish below an appeal issued recently by the League for Cultural Freedom and Socialism.-Editor.)

SEVERAL months ago the League for Cultural Freedom and Socialism addressed its founding statement "to all artists Socialism addressed its founding statement "to all artists and writers concerned about the present drift of the United States real democracy, all social progress. to reaction and war."

'Cultural circles, formerly progressive," we wrote then, "are now capitulating to the spirit of fascism while ostensibly combating its letter. . . To the war drive of the fascist powers, they reply with a war drive of their own . . . Inspired by Stalinist and

they advocate a new war for 'democracy'. Yet this war must give birth to military dictatorship and to forms of intellectual repression far more violent than those evoked by the last war."

Since this was written, the Stal-

inist regime has joined hands with Hitler, and Poland has been partitioned between Nazi Germany and Stalinist Russia. The thunder of the second world war is now shaking Europe. These great historical events have shattered old alignments over here and are creating new groupings. Less than a week before the Berlin-Moscow pact was announced, for example, four hundred American writers, artists, educators and intellectuals signed their names to a statement of faith in the Soviet Union as a bulwark of "democracy." Clearly worried by the formation of the L.C.F.S. and simi-

social-reformistic propaganda, as friends of fascism. This document has now become a historical curiosity.

> But this is no time for crying "We told you so!" The actual outbreak of war in Europe has reduced even the Stalin-Hitler pact to a second-rate question. The great question now is: What is the attitude of American intellectuals, regardless of past illusions, towards American participation in the war

War has become the issue. It took almost three years to swing the United States into the last war. Already, the Roosevelt Administration has served notice that it will attempt to do in months what the Wilson Administration took years to achieve. Already, it is devoting its chief energies not to domestic reform but to foreign policy. So far as it lies in the power

pended to help France and England crush once more their ancient imper-

We loathe and abominate fascism as the chief enemy of all culture, all But the last war showed only too clearly that we can have no faith in imperialist crusades to bring freedom to any people. Our entry into the war, under the slogan of 'Stop Hitler!", would actually result in the immediate introduction of totalitarianism over here. Only the German people can free themselves of the fascist yoke. The American masses can best help them by fighting at home to keep their

The war issue most intimately concerns American intellectuals. Parrington summarizes the effects of the last war on our culture: "With the entry of America into the war came a sharp change in literary development. Regimentation due to war psychology destroyed the movement of social criticism. . . The liberal movement in economics and politics came to an abrupt end." Nor can we have any illusions about the effect on our cultural life of American entry into this war. It will mean corruption for those who accept it spiritual if not physical imprisonment for those who refuse to conlar groups, the four hundred sharp- of the New Deal, American blood form. Every branch of our culture ly rebuked all critics of Stalinism and treasure will be lavishly ex- will be set back for decades.

writers do at this time?

In a practical, immediate sense, they can help make articulate the strong opposition which the great another war, are far from endorsing the President's foreign policy. But this sentiment can again be cheated, deceived, propagandized out of existence, as it was in the last war, unless it is made conscious and given organized expression. Here the intellectuals can be of the greatest service.

In a more general sense, American writers and artists must put themselves on record against the war as a symbol of their acceptance of the responsibilities of their profession. In the last war, a whole generation of writers committed spiritual suicide by taking part in the orgy. If only for the sake of their own integrity, American intellectuals must now signalize their opposition not only to war in the abstract but specifically to American entry into the war. It would be them to keep silent at this time.

What can American artists and opposition to this dance of war in which Wall Street joins with the Roosevelt Administration.

(Signed) Lionel Abel, Kay Boyle, James Burnham, V. F. Calverton, majority of the American people Eleanor Clark, James Peter Cooney, still feel to our entry into the war. James A. Decker, David C. DeJong, The masses, who have nothing to Paul Dobbs, F. W. Dupee, James T. gain and everything to lose from Farrell, Charles Henri Ford, Philip H. Gray, Jr., Clement Greenberg, William Gruen, Esther D. Hamill, Robert Hivnor, Melvin J. Lasky, James Laughlin IV, Dwight Macdonald, John McDonald, Sherry Mangan, Ralph Manheim, Alan Mather, Clark Mills, Norman Mini, George L. K. Morris, Culbertson Myers, Gilbert Neiman, Helen Neville, George Novack, Lyman Paine, Kenneth Pachen, Carl Peterson, William Phillips, Arthur Pincus, Fairfield Porter, Philip Rahv, Kenneth Rexroth, T. C. Robinson, James Rorty, Harold Rosenberg, Harry Roskolenko, Meyer Shapiro, Delmore Schwartz, Winfield T. Scott, Gordon Sylander, John Wheelwright, William Carlos Williams, Bertram D. Wolfe-for the League for Cultural Freedom and Socialism.

The following non-members of the League have also signed this a betrayal of the human spirit for statement: Louise Bogan, Anita Brenner, Joseph Cornell, Richard War is the great issue today. We Eberhart, Robert Fitzgerald, Malcall upon all American artists, writ- comb Greene, Weldon Kees, Victor ers and professional workers to join Lawson, Gorham B. Munson, Kathus in this statement of implacable arine Anne Porter.

## The Polish Tragedy: Reality I.L.P. on Hitler-Stalin Pact **Behind the Legend**

### Reactionary Regime Refused to Face Real Tasks

By KALMAN

THE short-lived resistance, the flight of the government and the complete collapse of the Polish state may seem baffling to those not acquainted with the post-Versailles Polish Republic. True, the boundaries of Poland were almost impossible to defend. With practically no fense lines, except for the quite easily accessible Carpathian Mountains, with Germany surrounding Poland on the North, West, and South, and Russia along the extensive eastern border, with the western part of Poland stretching like a smooth billiard table and offering no resistance to any invader, the task of defending the country would have been a formidable one indeed. But the superiority of the German mili undoubted effect of the Russian invasion, which nullified the Polish swamps of eastern Poland-the been seen in the very social and political structure of the country.

For a hundred and thirty years Germany and Austria. This left a marked impress on the country. With the conquerors fitting their part of the loot into their own economies, each part acquired an economic and political set-up of its own. It required years and years to unify the country. This task was far from completed the day Hitler marched into Poland.

#### THE POLISH MINORITY PROBLEM

national liberation.

Infinitely worse from the point of view of a homogeneous country was the national minority problem It was the most important problem Poland failed to solve in over twenty years of independent existence. Out of a population of close to 35 million, there were only about 22 million Poles; the rest was made up of over 6 million Ukrainians, 2 million White Russians, 3 million Jews, and about a million Germans. The government had hardly any plan to deal with the minorities except complete denial of their rights of cultural autonomy and brutal suppression of any attempts towards

The most numerous and most vociferous group were the Ukrainians. Cherishing a long tradition of anti-Polish sentiments dating back to the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the Ukrainians unwillingly submitted to Polish rule. Under the of the Ukrainian village. Ukrainian cooperatives, schools and societies were continually closed and their leaders and supporters thrown into jail. Some weeks before the outbreak of hostilities, they were granted by the government several hours just because Poland was not on good over the Lvov radio station-this terms with Germany, it had not forbeing considered an "appeasement'

The Ukrainians retaliated, on the one hand, with an economic boycott of the Polish state monopoliesthey refused to buy salt, matches, cigarettes and liquor, organizing their purchasing system thru their own cooperatives; and on the other hand, they resisted with acts of ter-

could often find news items in the Polish press of Ukrainians barri- Catholicism seemingly offered cading themselves in barns and putting up armed resistance to the police and military.

The "pacification" of Eastern Galicia and Wolynia, which took place several years ago, was noted for its brutality on the part of Polish authorities. Even airplanes were then employed to bring "peace and order" into the country.

#### FATE OF THE JEWS

But, whereas the Ukrainians could not be easily pacified, the governoverwhelming majority townsmen, ploited and then gotten rid of. the Jews could hardly be expected to resist the anti-Semitic attacks of the government. Anti-Semitism became the ideological stock of practically every Polish political party, with the exception of the socialist and radical peasant parties. The practical implications and aims of that policy were to gradually eliminate the Jews from the economic life Poland was divided among Russia, of the country and to offer their positions and businesses to the young Polish generation of town and village. The campaign against the Jewish ruthless mass character. The taxcollecting machine weighed down heavily on the Jewish business men. The latest manifestation of this policy was the \$80,000,000 internal loan floated in the country about four months ago, 80% of which was collected in the form of a forced contribution from Jewish business men.

#### POLITICAL CONDITIONS AND PARTIES

The government party, the "Ozon", made the "solution" of the Jewish problem one of the main planks of its program. In its struggle against the traditional right wing (anti-Semitic National Democratic Party), it stole their anti-Semitic thunder, promising, however, to "solve" the Jewish problem in a "peaceful" and "civilized" manner. (The political godfather of this program was Colonel Koc, now Minister of Finance in the emigre Polish government in Paris.) In spite of all 'peaceful" intentions, excesses against Jews were tolerated and not a day passed without Jews being

molested or maltreated. The following can illuminate the position of the Jews in Poland. An editorial appeared in July in the official government organ, Gazeta influence of both Russian (pro-Sov- Polska, dealing with the "Jewish iet Ukraine) and German (pro-In- question". The editorial was an andependent Greater Ukraine) agents, swer to Berlin propaganda that Hit-Eastern Galicia was in constant fer- ler's objective was to rid Poland of ment. The Polish government failed the Jews and Jewish influence. The to win the Ukrainians, failed to tenor of the editorial was in genergrant them the free development of al mildly sympathetic to the Jews. their own schools and language, and It came as a welcome surprise to did nothing to alleviate the poverty the Jewish community and was immediately hailed by the whole Jewish press as the dawn of a new era.

Two days later, as if regretting the tone of this editorial, another one appeared in the same daily. In it, the editor reminded the Jews that gotten the "Jewish problem." Poland could not allow more than half of its industrial and commercial life to be controlled by 10% of the population, it said. A "solution" would have to be found regardless of Poland's relations with Nazi Germany. This was only about a month before Poland was invaded by Germany.

The position of the Jew in Po-

ror and sabotage, High Polish state | land was hopeless indeed. Emigraofficials were assassinated, and one tion loomed as the only hope for most of them, while conversion to way out for professionals and the wealthy classes. With special Ghetto benches for Jewish university students, with new Jewish lawyers completely refused admission to the bar for the next five years, with professional associations banning Jews from membership (the last one to do so, about four weeks before the invasion, was the Association of Polish Engineers), with hardly a Jew on the government payroll in the whole of Poland, with a ruth less economic boycott and discriminative taxation policy, the Jews, who had struck roots in Poland alment had a free hand in relation to most a thousand years before, were the over three million Jews. Dis- treated not on a basis of equality persed all over the country, in their but as a foreign element to be ex-

Mistreatment of the Jews is

always an indication of an unhealthy

#### **AGRARIAN** CONDITIONS

situation in a country. If any proof was required of this in Poland, one had merely to look at the agrarian problem. Poland was essentially an agrarian country, with a majority of the population living off the land. But there were 80 million peasants without land or hardly any land at peddlers and pushcarts took on a all. The liberal agrarian reforms initiated when Poland was at war with the Soviet Union in 1920 were hardly realized during the twenty years of independent existence. What parcelling of land there was, took place at the expense of German, Russian or Jewish landowners. The huge latifundia of the Radziwils. Lubomirskis, Branickis, and Potockis were hardly touched. The Polish peasant, especially in eastern and southern Poland, lived in dire poverty. Disease, superstition and illiteracy were prevalent. In probably no other European country was there a deeper chasm between the intellectuals, between the wealthier classes, and the peasantry. The peasant led an altogether different life, spoke a different language, could not understand the intellectual. The popularity of the peasant leader Witos, himself a wealthy peasant, could be explained only by the fact that he was of the village and could speak to the village the language it understood.

The whole peasantry was opposed to the government and the ruling clique. The strikes and mass demonstrations of the Polish village shook the country a few years ago. Troops were used to "pacify" them. But the peasant wanted land, the peasant was affected by the world-wide crisis in agricultural prices, and the government wanted to "pacify him and win him by driving out the Jewish "pushcart" and the small Jewish middleman from the village and offering these "lucrative" economic positions to the peasant youth. Of course, this policy was bound to fail; it practically undermined the whole defense system of the country, es pecially in relation to Russia. (Concluded in next issue)

### **'STALIN**"

By Boris Souvarine (A Critical Survey of Bolshevism)

\$3.75 WORKERS AGE BOOKSHOP

131 W. 33 St., New York City

(We publish below an official statement of the Independent Labor Party of Great Britain on the Russian invasion of Poland. This statement appeared in the September 22, 1939 issue of the London New Leader, official publication of the

THE Russian invasion of Poland makes no difference to the imperialist character of the war and international socialists, including the I.L.P., will not alter their attitude in any way.

Russia's present move marks the final stage in the departure by the Stalin regime from the principles of international social-

ism and its adoption of purely imperialistic power-politics. This development shows that the whole international socialist and communist movement must be rebuilt.

With a full understanding of all the difficulties that must be faced, the I.L.P. pledges itself to this task and expresses its willingness to cooperate with socialists of all lands who still answer in their hearts the call which founded the socialist movement: 'Workers of the world, unite!"

In these dark days of a war which threatens to engulf the whole world, the I.L.P. reaffirms its undiminished faith in international socialism and its determination to work with undiminished zeal for its realization, because only thus can the world be saved from both the horror of war and the poverty and insecurity of peace.

NATIONAL COUNCIL OF THE I.L.P. September 17, 1939.

### Poland, the Jews and The European War

### Jews Cannot Stake Lot With "Democracies"

(Continued from Page 3)

first news of Poland's fourth partition) that the treaty between Staiin and Hitler in effect would break up the Tokio-Rome-Berlin axis. In their Jewish Daily Freiheit, they claimed this treaty brought "salvation" to the Jews and peace to Eu-

We want to limit our arguments only to these claims and will not sion of the spoils and another Verdelve into the treacherous zig-zag sailles Treaty, then our bloodshed of Stalinist politics.

Stalin, in reality, is appeasing not only Hitler but also Japan. The anti-Comintern axis is not broken but has gained new life. Just as the appeasement of Hitler resulted a few al minority, can develon only under hours later in the invasion of Poland, the strengthening of Hitler in the smaller countries, the weakening of the underground forces in Germany, Austria, and Czecho-Slovakia, the shattering of the workers movement in all lands, and the bolstering of world reaction-so the appeasement with Japan put the hundreds of millions of Chinese in an entirely new situation. Japan is now free to launch a new attack Where is the "peace"? The communists brag about say

ing a million Jews. Let us concede to them this moot point. But did they forget that the pact, simultaneously with its signing, delivered into the Nazi grip the remaining two and a half million Polish Jews and accentuated the Hitler pressure on C. I. O. Plans other European countries which contain an additional million, and possibly more Jews? Stalin rescued ter million White Russians and Ukrainians from Polish oppression (let us assume here that Stalin's foreign politics are positive in nature-w know well enough that actually the opposite is true), but at the same or more Polish citizens to Hitler. What does the balance-sheet divulge? Millions of Chinese, Jewish, of the butchers, increased might to Hitler, the grave doubt as to whether Soviet Russia is still a workers state only the Communist Party believes), the deflated power of the international working class, which was the only natural ally of the Soviet Union-on one side of the sheet And on the other side—Stalin now licking his chops, still wonder ing whether the foreign policy he

has conducted in an effort to divert

sentiment against his internal dic-

tatorship into other spheres will suf-

the Russian masses.

the war. Already the first days of the war proved how correct we were. And now we merely want to add a few new points.

views on the position of Jews in

As long as this war remains purely one of conflicting interests, we cannot expect a solution or alleviation of the Jewish problem. If the war will result only in a new diviwas in vain, for the rotten roots which gave birth to fascism will not have been eradicated.

It is a truth that our Jewish life, as the life of every class and nationconditions of freedom; consequently, political democracy can give us the possibility only of a breathingspell. But let us not forget for one moment that, in case of a new Versailles Treaty, the ensuing period of "alleviation" for Jews (the period leading up to the third world war or the second establishment of fascism) will be much shorter than the period from the 1918 Versailles to the 1933 victory of Hitler, because of the dynamic development of capitalism in the present era. To hail such a future world is folly. To stake the Jewish lot with the "democracies" is blindness.

# **Stalinists**

(Continued from Page 1)

strong representations to John L. Lewis against Pressman, charging time he handed over fifteen million him with having protected Stalinists and advanced the Communist Party "line" during the painful and protracted internal dispute that ulti-Polish masses deposited in the laps mately split the United Automobile Workers. Progressives in the U.A. W. have repeatedly stressed that had it not been for the aid and prostate (that the U.S.S.R. is a socialist | tection that the Stalinists in the U.A.W. received from C.I.O. headquarters, particularly from Lee Pressman and John Brophy, the crisis in the U.A.W. would never have reached the point of a split and the union would have overcome its inner difficulties in a healthy man-

Under fire along with Lee Pressman was Len De Caux, editor of the C.I.O. News. De Caux was charged fice to satisfy the Red Army and with running the C.I.O. publication in a thoroly biased, factional, pro-More than once we expressed our Stalinist manner.