

NEXT WEEK
TIME TO CALL A HALT
By BERTRAM D. WOLFE

Workers Age

Weekly Paper of the Independent Labor League of America

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In the Next Issue:

Beginning a series of three articles **"THE WAR AND SOCIALIST POLICY"**

By WILL HERBERG

- I: "It DOES Make A Difference Who Wins."
- II: "America Can and Must Stay Out of War."
- III: "The Problem of Defense."

These articles will discuss the problems raised in E.B.'s communication published in the May 23rd issue of the Workers Age. They will bring forward certain new approaches to socialist policy on the war and initiate a discussion on these questions in the columns of this paper.

Don't Miss Them!

War Preparations And Workers Rights

By ROSE M. STEIN

(These paragraphs are from the address of Rose M. Stein at the Workers Defense League convention last week.—Editor.)

THE present crucial state in the world as well as in the United States is the result of a chain of events for the understanding of which we must go back a while into history.

We learned a number of lessons from our World War experience: first, that in a society like ours war is a constant possibility; and second, that when war is a constant possibility, constant preparation for war is a constant necessity.

Our preparation for war began, therefore, not on May 16, 1940, but rather in 1920 when the nation was recovering from the war to end war.

This preparedness, begun in 1920, consisted of the mobilization of industry and man-power for a war emergency. To maintain industry as a part of the national defense, we helped industry sell its munitions abroad, thereby stimulating the world armament race. Since 1933, we have been preparing militarily, as witnessed by the expenditure of some eight billions of dollars.

We are now in the third phase, which is to prepare public morale for the maximum war effort if we get into war for the support of an armament economy even if we remain out of war. This necessitates the putting into effect of the major provisions of the Industrial Mobilization Plan.

The plan provides for control of material resources, but because the plan was drawn up largely with the assistance of industry, a number of safeguards for industry are provided. Labor has no such safeguards. It will, therefore, be subject to mobilization, assignment in accordance with priority, no exemptions (only deferments), fixing of wages, and probable abolition or anesthetization of labor legislation.

The Industrial Mobilization Plan is undoubtedly a totalitarian document. The tragedy is that in the event of war, or, as now seems more likely, of a plunge into war-time economy, it is entirely logical.

The only way to avoid the Industrial Mobilization Plan is to avoid war and a war economy. This will require clarification of the whole current scene, both here and abroad, in which labor must play a prominent role. What is happening in Europe is the collapse of a system. It is far too late for us to save it and it was too late even at the outset of the present war. A war is too high a price to pay either for the maintenance or the destruction of the system.

We still have a chance to effect necessary changes here within the democratic framework. This will require clear thinking, vigorous action, and a great deal of courage. Labor must play a leading role in this.

Dewey Committee Hits Anti-Alien Campaign

Cultural Freedom Committee Issues Appeal for Justice and Tolerance

(We publish below a statement recently issued by the Committee for Cultural Freedom, of which John Dewey is chairman.—Editor.)

IN his recent fireside chat, President Roosevelt said that he did not share the fears of those who believed that "only by abandoning our freedom, our ideals, our way of life, can we build our defenses adequately, can we match the strength of the aggressors." Yet Congress in the ensuing days, in haste and seeming panic, has instituted proposals far more stringent than those which civilized persons deplored during and after the last war. One may well ask: Is the United States at peace, or at war?

Congress, in an hysterical attempt to ward off the threat of totalitarian invasion, may be promoting the growth of totalitarianism in the United States. Democracy falls, and dictatorship rises, when antagonisms are whipped up among the people. Every totalitarian state has had its scapegoats: in Russia, property owners and religious adherents; in Italy, labor and anti-fascists; in Germany, the Jews.

Today in the United States, the same unreasoning measures are being invoked, but against aliens. In one state, business and professional licenses of aliens are to be cancelled; aliens may not be engaged on federal work projects; they may not be tenants in federal housing projects. Now Congress is demanding not only the registration and fingerprinting of aliens, but their deportation.

UNDERMINING OUR LIBERTIES

In the agitation to suppress "Fifth Column" activities, are we not in danger of suppressing the due pro-

cess of law which is the bulwark of our liberties? Our Constitution provides guarantees for aliens and citizens alike. Can we deprive aliens of judicial recourse without running the risk of losing our own judicial safeguards? Nowhere in these new restrictions on aliens is there adequate provision for legal process. The powers granted to administrative officers in this emergency are in complete violation of American principles and fundamental law.

If, by putting thru these anti-alien resolutions, we should succeed in exposing "Fifth Column" elements, Congress might conceivably be justified in passing them. But none of these proposals will accomplish that purpose. They will, on the contrary, only play into the hands of subversive elements already entrenched in this country, by arousing the very dissension and hatreds that Congress is seeking to suppress. Aliens who pay taxes that support business and federal employment, and who are denied any participation in their benefits are rendered easy prey to communist and Nazi agitators.

The belief that registering and fingerprinting aliens will uncover "Fifth Column" elements in the United States is without reason or warrant. Forcible registration and fingerprinting will cause needless embarrassment to countless thousands of loyal, law-abiding aliens and in no way guarantees the exposure of disloyal persons. The Federal Bureau of Investigation is adequately informed of the status of undesirable aliens and is thoroughly equipped to deal with those it knows to be in the service of a foreign government. No

Allies Face Crucial Fight in Nazi Drive

ILGWU Meet Acts To Rejoin AFL

Convention Hails Letter from Green; Nelson Presents Appeal Against War

New York City. In a surprise move that upset all predictions, the International Ladies Garment Workers Union convention, concluding its sessions here last week, voted to rejoin the A. F. of L. immediately and without delay. It had generally been expected that the convention would not decide finally on the matter but would refer it to the incoming General Executive Board with full powers to act.

The convention decision was adopted by a vote of 642 to 12, after a letter was read from William Green, president of the A. F. of L., stating that the Federation's Executive Council had already taken action to remedy two of the three grievances advanced by President Dubinsky the week before as obstacles to immediate reaffiliation.

Mr. Green informed the convention that the Executive Council of the Federation had decided at a meeting in Washington on May 13 to recommend abolition of the special assessment of one cent a member each month, which Mr. Dubinsky had characterized as a "war chest" to fight the C.I.O. and which he had said his union would refuse to pay.

Equally important, in the view of the I.L.G.W.U., was Mr. Green's disclosure that the Executive Council would also ask the New Orleans convention of the A. F. of L. next November to strip the Council of power to suspend affiliated unions and vest that right exclusively in the Federation's annual convention. Mr. Dubinsky had contended that the Executive Council was guilty of an "illegal usurpation" of power in suspending the ten original C.I.O. unions in the Summer of 1936 without waiting for convention action. The I.L.G.W.U. was one of the founders of the C.I.O. and one of the suspended unions.

Mr. Green in his letter was silent on the third point raised by Mr. Dubinsky in setting forth the obstacles to reaffiliation with the A. F. of L.—the necessity of purging A. F. of L. unions of corrupt leaders and racketeers. To permit effective action on this question, the convention delegates adopted a resolution for presentation at New Orleans under which the Federation's Executive Council would have summary power to remove any union officials found guilty of offenses involving moral turpitude or of using their labor posts for personal gain.

"The labor movement in America will grow in importance and prestige so long as it inspires public confidence and respect," the resolution on racketeering said. "It cannot

secret agent of a foreign power is going to be trapped by the mere act of registration, for either he will not register, or he will register falsely.

ALIENS MADE SCAPEGOATS

To penalize the innocent aliens for acts they have given no intention of committing, and to ignore men and movements in this country that are not alien and yet have openly flaunted their contempt for our form of government, is to invite disaster. To ignore those who are not aliens, but are stirring up racial hatreds in the interests of a foreign government is to blind ourselves to the real enemies of democracy in our midst. The "Fifth Column" traitors in Norway and The Netherlands were not aliens; they were citizens.

The men who are on trial in New York for conspiracy to overthrow the government are not aliens, and neither were the members of the National Guard who supplied them with stolen arms and ammunition. The officers and the bulk of the members of the Communist Party are not aliens; yet that party is the acknowledged agent of a foreign principal in this country. Members of the Silver Shirts and the Ku Klux Klan are natives, not aliens.

And when we have done with registering and fingerprinting aliens, we shall not only have taken the first step toward a domestic-passport system, but we may find that the real "Fifth Column" has slipped thru the net, and that we have created the distrust and hostility on which subversive propaganda thrives.

Not the appeal to reason, but the appeal to unreason is sweeping across the seas. Once we are caught up in that wave of unreason, the main prop that supports our democracy will have fallen, leaving demagogues who trade on emotions triumphant and ourselves in chains.

do so unless it is concerned with keeping the labor movement clean and free from the taint of racketeering. Officers of unions who administer its affairs occupy positions of public trust and responsibility, and in the discharge of their duties and in their every act they must be above suspicion."

In urging immediate reaffiliation, President Dubinsky stressed the role that the I.L.G.W.U. could play as a force for progressivism in the A. F. of L. He said that Mr. Green had assured him that the A. F. of L. was prepared to go "further than ever before" in its efforts to heal the breach with the C.I.O., and he expressed certainty that such C.I.O. affiliates as Sidney Hillman's Amalgamated Clothing Workers and Emil Rieve's Textile Workers Union were also intent on peace.

The motion to rejoin the A. F. of L. evoked wild demonstrations of enthusiasm from the convention delegates. These demonstrations were renewed the next day when President Green appeared before the convention in person in order to restore the I.L.G.W.U.'s charter. In his address, Mr. Green denounced racketeers in labor unions but warned against giving a small group of Federation leaders on top the power to remove officers of affiliated unions. The A. F. of L. president extended an unconditional invitation to the C.I.O. to sit down with the Federation's negotiating committee "anywhere, any place and any time" to resume discussions on reuniting labor's divided ranks.

Observers stressed the immense importance of the reaffiliation of the I.L.G.W.U. not only because it brought a powerful union of 250,000 members into the Federation fold, but also because it opened the way for the return of the International Typographical Union, suspended some months ago for refusing to pay the one cent a month "war tax."

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U. S. People 93% Against War Entry

Slight Change Since Last
September; Big Rise Noted
In Support to War Credits

New York City. Despite the war hysteria and invasion panic set off by President Roosevelt in his "defense" message to Congress recently, despite Hitler's bloody outrages in Europe, 93% of the American people are still opposed to American involvement in the war in Europe, results of a public-opinion poll released by Dr. George Gallup's American Institute of Public Opinion last week showed.

In answer to the question, "Do you think the United States should declare war on Germany and send our army and navy abroad to fight?" 93% of the people questioned answered "no," and 7% "yes." This compares with 94% in September 1939, when the war started; with 95% last October; and with 96.3% in April of this year, after the invasion of Norway. From these figures, it can be seen that sentiment against involvement in war has remained remarkably firm and stable in the course of the last ten months, despite all provocations. There can not be the slightest doubt that the overwhelming majority of the American people have made up their minds that America must be kept out of the war.

There has been a considerable rise, however, in the proportion of people willing to extend credits to the Allies, according to Dr. Gallup. Whereas in April, only 34% of the people questioned were in favor of granting credit, two weeks ago the figure rose to 51%, so that sentiment is now divided about half and half on this issue.

It is apparently the strategy of the "interventionists" elements not only to play down the almost unanimous opposition of the people to war involvement—the New York Times ran the report of the poll showing 93% voting against war entry under the headline: "War Sentiment Seen Rising in U. S."—but also to use increasing sentiment for credits to the Allies as a lever with which to break down all neutrality safeguards against American embroilment in the war.

Anti-War Forces Mobilize in Capital Rally

Wheeler Warns War Would Kill Democracy in U. S. A.; Thomas Urges Refugee Aid

Washington, D. C. Opposition to American participation in the war in Europe and to the war trend in American foreign policy was registered here last week by more than 300 delegates from nineteen states to the anti-war mobilization meeting called by the Keep America Out of War Congress and six other peace organizations.

Addresses were delivered by Senator Wheeler, Representative Burdick, Norman Thomas, O. K. Armstrong, a member of the Foreign Relations Committee of the American Legion, John T. Flynn and others.

The delegate body and the speakers advocated a rational defense policy.

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Reich Strategy Plans Encircling Move With Paris as Goal; F.D.R. Rumored Raising Arms Budget to Six Billions

Having established control of the entire Channel coast down to Abbeville and consolidated their positions in the occupied areas of northern France, the German armies last week, the fortieth week of the war, launched a terrific offensive on a 120-mile front along the Somme-Aisne line from the Channel to Montenedy, beyond Soissons. Their objective was Paris. They used, according to French calculations, 1,500 dive bombers, 3,000 tanks, 15,000 motorized vehicles, 60 infantry divisions, and 7 armored divisions. Perhaps more than 2,500,000 men were thrown into this most gigantic battle in history, with the French outnumbered nearly 5 to 3. Despite the successful Flanders evacuation, British spokesmen said it would be months before the B.E.F. could be reorganized and sent back to France, although the Royal Air Force was extremely active.

Strategically, the Germans were aiming at the execution of another pincers movement, with the right

wing pushing down the Channel coast from Abbeville to Le Havre, while another column was to break thru near Soissons. The second column would then swing around thru the Paris region to join the first at the mouth of the Seine, thereby encircling most of the French field army and cutting off from their base of supplies the fortress troops of the Maginot Line. This plan was in accordance with time-tested German strategy—the strategy of encirclement. It was also possible that these operations would be combined with a drive thru the Basle gap in Switzerland—probably timed with Italy's entry into the war, which seemed imminent last week. If successful, such a move would trap all the French troops in the Maginot Line and take those fortifications in the flank.

Tactically, it appeared that this was an offensive of mass, considerably different from the Flanders Blitzkrieg. The bulk of the attack was being carried by the infantry and artillery, with the mechanized troops and planes merely cooperating. The French defense, too, was of a different type, a more flexible and more resilient type, in which loss of ground and prepared fortifications were less significant. The method did not hinge on attempting to hold a front against the enemy tanks but on letting them pass and then closing the gap before the enemy infantry could follow.

Indications towards the end of the week were that the French resistance was on the whole effective although the Germans had managed to make a partial breakthrough at the Channel and had forced withdrawal of the French forces at other points along a 60-mile front. German losses in men and materiel were said to be terrific.

Both sides engaged in air attacks on points in the interior, the Germans bombing Paris and towns in southern France, the Allies Hamburg, Munich and Berlin—but these moves were of relatively little significance.

France faced a critical situation not merely on the Weygand Line front but on the domestic front as well. From informed quarters came reports of the crystallization of a "separate-peace" block, said to be headed by Laval and Bonnet and to include Daladier and some socialist leaders of the Paul Faure wing. This group was said to be preparing a sharp political attack against the Reynaud government. The sudden removal of Daladier from the cabinet was an indication of how far the conflict had already gone behind the scenes.

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THE SONG OF DEATH



Lewis Again Slams Door On Unity at CIO Parley

But ACW Spokesmen Stress Need for Unity; Clash Reported on Third Term

Washington, D. C.

John L. Lewis again slammed the door on unity in the labor movement last week when he told the Executive Board of the C.I.O., in session here, that early resumption of peace negotiations was "very unlikely." The Board adopted a resolution approving and commending the report of the C.I.O.'s "peace committee" and authorizing the committee to "use its discretion in any future phase of negotiating a peace agreement with the American Federation of Labor."

This resolution was immediately interpreted in two different senses. Mr. Lewis told the press that he "didn't think" there were any chances for resuming negotiations with the A. F. of L. Others, particularly officers of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, felt that the resolution "kept the door open" for the resumption of peace parleys.

There was considerable tension at the sessions of the Executive Board because of the wide differences that had developed between Mr. Lewis, supported by the Stalinists, on the one side, and Mr. Hillman and his supporters, on the other.

The C.I.O. pledged cooperation with President Roosevelt's "national-

defense" program and expressed "unalterable opposition to any movement or activity of subversive character, Trojan Horses or Fifth Columns, which are aimed against our nation and government, or the basic free and democratic institutions upon which our republic has been founded." Although this denunciation was presumably aimed at the communists, as well as at Nazis and fascists, the Executive Board immediately proceeded to appoint Lee Pressman, along with Allan Hayward, to serve as contact between the C.I.O. and government departments, despite the fact that Mr. Pressman is notorious as a Stalinist stooge and "fellow-traveler."

Coupled with the declaration on "national defense" was a statement expressing opposition to American involvement in the European war and insistence that labor's organizational rights and civil liberties be preserved intact.

The Administration tax program was severely criticized by the legislative report as an attempt to make the masses of consumers pay the defense cost rather than assess that cost on high-income groups.

Although nothing was made public, it was said in informed quarters that sharp differences arose at the sessions on the third-term issue. Lewis was reported as determined to press his stand against a third term and Sidney Hillman, who arrived late in the sessions, was equally determined to support Pres. Roosevelt.

House Passes Drastic Labor Act Changes

Green Compromise Proposal Carries; A. F. L. Drives For Quick Senate Action

Washington, D. C.

Drastic amendments to the Wagner Act, including the abolition of the present National Labor Relations Board and its replacement by a new three-man agency, as well as other changes demanded by the A. F. of L., were adopted last week by the House of Representatives by 258 to 129.

The House adopted most of the proposals recommended by the Smith Committee investigating the N.L.R.B., after a number of the worst features of the Smith plan had been stricken out in a compromise with the A. F. of L.

The action of the House was everywhere interpreted as an important victory for the A. F. of L. over the C.I.O. Great pressure was being exerted upon the Senate for action immediately.

The most important changes adopted by the House included: Separation of the judicial and prosecuting functions of the Labor Board thru the creation of an independent administrator vested with the investigative and prosecuting functions.

Modification of the section on "coercion" or "intimidation" of workers by employers.

Granting permission to employers to petition for collective-bargaining elections.

Changes in procedural regulations and in the rules of evidence in hearings before the Board.

Subjecting the Board's decisions and findings of fact to review by the United States Court of Appeals.

Mandatory certification of craft unions as bargaining agents where a majority in the labor favored it. Abolition of the Craft Board's research and statistical division, of which David J. Saposs is director.

The ILGWU, the CIO and the AFL

(The reunification of the trade-union movement is today the most vital, most immediate problem facing organized labor, the key to the solution of all other problems. In the divided labor movement of this country, the powerful International Ladies Garment Workers Union occupies a position of peculiar significance not only because of its hitherto independent status but also because of its unremitting efforts on behalf of unity. The problem of unity and of relations to the A. F. of L. and C.I.O. was one of the major issues brought before the I.L.G.W.U. convention that concluded its sessions last week. Because of the wide interest and importance of the issues involved to the labor movement as a whole, we have decided to publish the relevant material at some length in these columns. In this issue, we begin publication of certain sections of the report submitted by the General Executive Board of the I.L.G.W.U. to the convention. Then will follow portions of President Dubinsky's key-note speech, Matthew Wolf's address, and President Dubinsky's remarks in rejoinder.—Editor.)

THE rift in American labor, which began late in 1935 as a movement to promote organization of the mass-production industries along industrial-union lines, has grown deeper and wider since we met in Atlantic City in 1937, and its effects on labor itself and the larger sphere of the general American community have correspondingly expanded. From a committee organized to spread the urgent need of adopting certain policies for strengthening the organized body of labor in this country, the C.I.O. has developed into a rival national trade-union organization set up practically on the same lines as the American Federation of Labor.

This new national body, as you doubtless know, was formed officially at a "constitutional" convention in Pittsburgh in November 1938. To accentuate its complete severance from its former objectives as a "committee," the C.I.O. changed its name at that convention to Congress of Industrial Organizations, framed a constitution, elected a national executive board, and set out to function as a full-fledged rival organization to the A. F. of L. Our International Union, which until that time had been affiliated with the Committee for Industrial Organization, refused to take part in the Pittsburgh convention. The motives and reasons which caused the General Executive Board of our union not to become a party to the formation of that dual national labor organization will become clear in the light of the following developments and facts which have taken place at and since our last convention.

EARLY STEPS TOWARDS UNITY

The year 1937 saw a burst of activity by the C.I.O. which carried it with outstanding success into the automobile, steel, rubber and several other mass-production industries, organizing large bodies of men after spectacular strikes. These successes strengthened the C.I.O. greatly; yet the formation of these new unions, functioning with complete independence from the older bodies in the labor movement, foreshadowed the inevitability of a permanent split unless practical steps were quickly taken to mend the widening breach. The Fall of 1937 also saw the first move in the direction of a reconciliation, a move which our union heartily supported and worked for, when a conference of C.I.O. organizations, meeting at Atlantic City in October of that year, sent a message to the A. F. of L. then meeting in annual convention in Denver, suggesting that a committee of 100 from the C.I.O. meet with a similar committee from the A. F. of L. to consider the "methods and means whereby a united labor movement can be brought about in America."

The A. F. of L. officers rejected the suggestion of a mass committee as impractical and useless, but made a counter-offer of negotiations through smaller committees and declared that a special committee of A. F. of L. Executive Council members, clothed with full authority "stands ready and willing and anxious to meet a like committee" from the C.I.O. "for the purpose of attaining the desired objectives of peace and unity in the ranks of organized labor." Subsequently, it was agreed that committees of both parties meet on October 25 in Washington, D. C. . . .

The negotiations which followed lasted nearly two months. They brought no results, however, as both sides could not unite on basic proposals. The C.I.O. demanded that all its unions, the original twelve which belonged prior to the split to the A. F. of L. together with the other twenty unions formed since then, be admitted into the A. F. of L. and that all differences and disputes be adjusted subsequent to the admission, while the A. F. of L. proposed that a joint conference committee equally representative of the A. F. of L. and C.I.O. unions be established for each of the twenty new C.I.O. unions to resolve the conflict or to work out a mutually acceptable understanding and that, after these conflicts were adjusted, the membership of the C.I.O. unions would be admitted into the A. F. of L. concurrently with the twelve original A. F. of L. unions. A special convention of the A. F. of L. would then be called within a reasonable time after all matters were adjusted, at which all affiliated organizations would be entitled to full representation and rights. That convention would also pass legislation, it was agreed, to curb the powers of the Executive Council to suspend international unions between conventions.

ILGWU POSITION ON UNITY

While these negotiations were going on, the General Executive Board of our union, meeting in Boston in November 1937, in a resolution commended the efforts of President Dubinsky in behalf of peace in the labor movement, urging on the participants in the peace parleys to bring about a "reconciliation in a spirit of good will and equity. . . . The restoration of peace between the C.I.O. and the A. F. of L. is possible on the recognition of the basic principle of the industrial-union form of organization for the mass-production industries. . . ."

In an editorial in Justice, our official organ, of January 1, 1938, in commenting on the failure of this attempt to bring about peace in the labor ranks, the following thought was expressed: "The question of readmission of the C.I.O. unions into the A. F. of L., to all practically minded people appeared only as a matter involving technique and method rather than principle. Given the will and an unbiased handling, these problems, it seemed, could be settled by diligent application within a reasonable time. Unfortunately, such a will to peace and a determination to settle the tragic and costly controversy appear to have been lacking. . . ."

In October 1938, President Roosevelt addressed communications to the A. F. of L. which met during that month in convention at Houston and to the convention of the C.I.O., in Pittsburgh, in which he expressed the hope that the conventions "would leave open every possible door of access to peace and progress in the affairs of organized labor in the United States." In a restatement of position on this matter, which served as a reply to the President's plea, the A. F. of L. convention declared: "While we always have been and are now ready to enter into negotiations towards peace, we have seen how, fulminating as usual, the autocrat of the C.I.O. rejected every suggestion of peace, including that just put forth by President Roosevelt. . . . We, therefore, recommend that this convention authorize the Executive Council to continue to carry on the battle and at the same time stand ready to respond to any genuine appeal for peace or any honorable and sincere opportunity to reunite the labor movement."

Fortune Poll Shows Mass of U.S. Workers Still Backward

Henry Ford Tops List of Men "Helpful" to Labor in Survey

By ROBERT WALTERS

THE June issue of Fortune reports the results of a survey of labor public opinion on some very interesting questions relating to the trade-union movement. Here are some of the more significant figures:

FORD HEADS THE LIST!

In answer to the question, "Which of these people do you feel have been on the whole helpful to labor and which harmful?" 73.6% of the workers polled—organized and unorganized, members of the A. F. of L. and the C.I.O.—named HENRY FORD as most helpful! Senator Wagner received 51.8% of the vote, William Green 49.7%, Secretary of Labor Perkins 43.4% and John L. Lewis 32.6%.

John L. Lewis led the list of those regarded as harmful to labor with 44.6% of the votes. William Green was called harmful by 18.2%, and Henry Ford by only 12.3%.

The segregated vote of members of the C.I.O. gave Henry Ford a vote of 51.5% as helpful to labor.

On the question of which of the two leaders, John L. Lewis or William Green, was more to blame for the present conflict in the labor movement, 39.4% answered Lewis, 21.6% accused both equally, 11% held Green more responsible, 3.8% believed neither at fault, and 24.2% said they didn't know.

On the attitude to unionism, Fortune offered four general statements for endorsement, with the following results:

"The principle of unionism is good and we ought to have unions under any circumstances" . . . 29.1%.

"It would be better if we didn't need unions, but we certainly need them to protect the working man." . . . 30.5%.

Total in favor of unions today . . . 59.6%.

"Unions are needed in some situations but certainly not in the majority of them." . . . 25.4%.

"Unions do more harm than good and should be abolished" . . . 9.2%.

Total hostile to unions . . . 34.6%.

The rest, 5.8%, didn't know.

LABOR'S ATTITUDE TO POLITICS

On what should be the attitude of trade unions to politics, the answers divided as follows:

keep out of politics altogether . . . 56.6%.

Support one or the other of the two old-line parties. . . 18%.

LET'S END THIS WAR NOW!



—from the New York Post

On the basis of [a report submitted by a special committee], the General Executive Board adopted and made public the following resolution:

BREAK WITH THE C.I.O.

The I.L.G.W.U. on October 14 received a call from the C.I.O. inviting it to send delegates to a convention in the city of . . . (Continued on Page 4)

irresponsible opposition to labor unity along with the tolerance and hospitality he has shown to Stalinist infiltration into the C.I.O.? Can there be any doubt also that this hostile attitude to Lewis is carried over to some extent into hostility to trade unionism and labor organization generally? Or can there be any doubt that the grotesque antics of Labor's Non-Partisan League, under Lewis's tutelage, have disgusted many thousands of workers to the point of turning them against any participation of labor in politics whatsoever?

Fortune Poll Shows Mass of U.S. Workers Still Backward

Henry Ford Tops List of Men "Helpful" to Labor in Survey

By ROBERT WALTERS

Form a national labor party . . . 11.4%.

Don't know . . . 14%.

Remember that only workers were polled. Without any excessive faith in the precise accuracy of any one of these figures, we can safely take them as representative of the state of mind of the workers of this country—the workers as they are in reality, not as they are pictured in the radical press.

WHAT THESE FIGURES SHOW

Less than two-thirds of the American workers are in favor of unions. Since only about a quarter at most of the workers of this country are organized, this figure is somewhat more impressive than it seems at first sight. Yet the fact remains that over one worker in three is either against or indifferent to unionism, even when it's simply a matter of answering a question.

The great majority of the workers are against unions participating in politics in any form or manner. Only just over one worker in ten is in favor of a national labor party.

The great mass of American workers are so little aware of the realities of the situation in which they live and work that they can put Henry Ford at the head of the list of men helpful to labor—Ford with his inhuman speed-up, his autocratic paternalism, his servicemen and his espionage!

However unpalatable they may be, these are facts. They are facts that show that, despite the tremendous upsurge of the last seven years, the great mass of American workers still remain backward, even in comparison with the most backward trade unionist; still have only the faintest glimmering, if any, of their position in modern society, not to speak of class consciousness in the socialist sense; still think and act in the conventional lower-middle-class pattern that lost all meaning and reality decades ago.

EFFECTS OF THE SPLIT

But even that does not tell the whole story. There seems to be little doubt that the devastating civil war raging in labor's ranks for the past three years has undone a good part of the advance registered in previous years. When an outstanding labor leader like John L. Lewis is regarded by 44% of the workers polled as harmful to the interests of labor, can there be any doubt that this is due primarily to Lewis's bitter,

No Future for Farm Children, Survey Shows

Washington, D. C.

AN excess of children on the poorest farms with no other prospects for them than the open road when they grow up is the future held out by Frank Lorimer, professor of Population Studies at American University.

Professor Lorimer gave his evidence to the LaFollette Civil Liberties Committee probing labor conditions on the farms.

There are more people on the farms today than can be supported "at a decent level of living without perpetual subsidy," the witness said. Yet every year 400,000 farm youths come of age and only half of them are required to replace those who die or pass the age of 65.

In ten years, Professor Lorimer declared, there will be 2,000,000 grown-up workers not wanted on the farms. Their choice will be between primitive subsistence in farming or

Heavy Cut of WPA Rolls Is Ordered

Washington, D. C.

COLONEL Harrington, Work Projects Commissioner, last week ordered W.P.A. rolls reduced to 1,761,000 persons during June, the last month of the current fiscal year.

The total represented a cut of 158,100 from the May employment quota of 1,920,000.

The reduction was the third ordered by Colonel Harrington since March to bring W.P.A. expenditures within budget limitations. The March quota of 2,348,000 persons had been reduced to 2,120,000 for April.

turning to the open road in search of opportunities which do not exist."

Education was one of the solutions offered by the witness. But how bringing this education to farmers living on the poorest land where educational facilities are the scantiest was not answered.

200,000 Truck, Bus Workers Win Wage Law Rights

Washington, D. C.

JURISDICTION over the hours of work of more than 200,000 non-operating employees of truck and bus companies was held by the Supreme Court last week in a five-to-four decision to be controlled by the Wage and Hour Division of the Department of Labor instead of by the Interstate Commerce Commission.

Thru this opinion, said Colonel Philip B. Fleming, Wage and Hour Division Administrator, 200,000 workers will now be under a forty-two-hour week, with forty hours after October 24, and will receive time and one-half for overtime.

The controversy arose from that part of the wage-hour law exempting employees under I.C.C. jurisdiction from the maximum hour and overtime provisions. Authority over "qualifications and maximum hours" is given to the Commission under the Federal Motor Carrier Act, but the Commission construed this to apply only to drivers and others whose work affects the safety of truck and bus operations.

When the I.C.C. declined to change its position, the American Trucking Association sued in an effort to force extension of the I.C.C. jurisdiction. The Commission and the Wage-Hour Division contended that control fell to the latter, but the District of Columbia Federal District Court disagreed, only to be reversed by the Supreme Court. Under this decision, only drivers remain under I.C.C. jurisdiction. Those coming under the new ruling comprise clerks, stenographers, bookkeepers, accountants and warehousemen.

Welfare of Masses Is First Line of Defense

(These paragraphs are from an editorial in the May 17, 1940 issue of the Minneapolis Labor Review, published by the Minneapolis Central Labor Union of the A. F. of L.—Editor.)

BUT in defense of democracy let our government remember that part of the best defense is for people to so love democracy, to have been so benefited by it, that they will defend it unstintingly.

Our first work of defense should be to see to it that the great industrialists now wallowing in princely profits reduce hours and increase wages so that there is employment for all.

Organized labor should refuse to be satisfied with hours and wages and conditions until there is a job for everyone. In this, it should have the aid and assistance of the forces of government. The young workers, the unemployed workers, the aged workers, have waited too long for real jobs.

When wealth can be so easily produced as it can in this country, there should be no waiting in affording to all the opportunity to make a livelihood, a livelihood in which they have a voice.

Give everyone the opportunity to make for themselves and families a decent income and to live happy lives and no tyrant or dictatorship, no Hitler Fifth Column, will be able to scratch democracy. Democracy is plenty for all and a voice in its making, management and direction for all.

Dictatorship as a means to democracy or dictatorship as a means to preserve democracy does not work out.

Let us make every effort to banish hate from our minds and hearts. Let us not forget that before this last mad slaughter commenced, every fifth person in Germany was declared to be armed to watch the other four. Let us hope that millions under Hitler are prisoners of his system of slavery rather than enthusiastic defenders and advocates of their slavery.

Under the cloak of democracy, industrial dictatorship has done many detestable things. It is this industrial and financial dictatorship within the folds of democracy that has tended to cause hatred of democracy in too many places.

Democracy now faces its greatest crisis and its finest opportunity for service.

Let us send not only messages of encouragement to the democracies. Let the United States give an example of true democracy that the whole world can understand and appreciate. An example that will make the down-trodden and oppressed everywhere love the United States again as they did in the days of Washington and Lincoln.

ILGWU Meet Acts To Rejoin AFL

Convention Hails Letter from Green; Nelson Presents Appeal Against War

(Continued from Page 1)

The convention overwhelmingly adopted a resolution assailing Nazi Germany, fascism and communism, urging that all "short of war" be given to the Allies, and supporting the President's "national defense" program. A minority report, also denouncing Hitlerism and Nazi aggression in Europe and condemning the Stalin-Hitler alliance, but stressing the vital necessity of keeping America out of war, was presented by Louis Nelson, progressive manager of Knitgoods Workers Union Local 155 of New York. A San Francisco delegate put forward the Stalinist viewpoint.

(A full account of the discussion on the war question will be given in an early issue of this paper.—Editor.)

The convention also went on record by overwhelming vote in favor of a third term for President Roosevelt.

Resolutions barring communists from holding office in the Canadian

locals of the union and calling for the establishment of a joint Congressional committee to investigate the Communist Party, the German-American Bund and all other anti-democratic groups in this country were adopted with little opposition.

Another important resolution adopted by the convention denounced the Stalin government of Russia for imprisonment and persecution of socialist and trade-union leaders, especially in the Polish occupied areas.

A resolution pledging the moral and financial support of the I.L.G.W.U. to political candidates who run in the Fall campaign on platforms of "allegiance to New Deal principles" was adopted at the convention. It promised that the union would support an independent farmer-labor party on a national scale when the country was "ripe" for organization of such a party.

David Dubinsky and Luigi Antonini were re-elected president and first vice-president by acclamation.

Anti-War Forces Mobilize in Capital Rally

(Continued from page 1)

icy for the United States and, in behalf of the Allies, assumption of responsibility for the care of refugees and victims of the war, especially the children.

Senator Wheeler, declaring that "a mad hysteria today grips many of our people," warned that the cause of democracy would be lost, not served, if the United States entered the war.

"We are told that Europe is on fire—that we should help put out this fire before the wind shifts and the fire reaches us," he said. "I want to do everything possible to help put out that fire."

"I want to do everything to help the Allies stamp out the brutal forces which seek to dominate Europe and perhaps the world. But by setting the United States on fire we will not help put out the fire in Europe."

"In view of the European situation it is necessary for us to modernize our national defense and take precautions against any eventuality. But I emphatically disapprove of using the present emergency as an excuse for shaping a war machine beyond our defensive necessities in the western hemisphere."

Mr. Thomas urged a program of action which included assumption of responsibility for care of refugees and protection at home of our civil liberties, "which already have suffered from war hysteria."

Messages were read from both A. F. of L. and C.I.O. union officials, Bishop W. Appleton Lawrence of Massachusetts, the Rev. Dr. Harry Emerson Fosdick of New York, and others.

The meeting was sponsored by the following seven national peace organizations: National Council for Prevention of War, Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, World Peaceways, Keep America Out of War Congress, Fellowship of Reconciliation, War Resisters League, Youth Committee Against War.

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By Norman Thomas and Bertram D. Wolfe

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What's the Sense of That Big Gold Hoard?

American, Foreign Capital Is Chief Gainer

THE almost \$19,000,000,000 in gold held here in the United States is becoming more and more of a worry as the days go by and as new millions of the "precious metal" come flooding to these shores. Only recently, Emanuel A. Goldenweiser, Federal Reserve Board economist, was compelled to declare: "Gold is an asset which is of little value now and whose value in the future is unpredictable." And yet our gold hoard is growing at the rate of \$300,000,000 a month.

Where does all this gold come from? Why is it flowing to this country? What significance does it have for our economic life and our future welfare?

It is all a sign of the essential insanity of capitalism. Capitalism has always been a little crazy in its workings. But now, tormented by an unsolvable economic crisis and by decline and decay, capitalism becomes positively insane. And the strange practice of the American government in purchasing practically all the gold and silver that is offered by the world is by no means the least important indication of this unbalanced condition of our entire economic system.

In the five years 1934-39, the government bought \$1,136,000,000 of silver at inflated prices. It bought tons of gold, until gold in the United States Treasury has risen from \$7,856,000,000 to the present figure, all in the past six years. Some of that gold is being hoarded here by foreigners, but most of it has been bought directly. The Treasury has, in other words, bought roughly upward of \$11,000,000,000 of gold and silver (allowing for gold hoarded here by foreigners)—an immense pile of precious metals which is being stored away and completely unused.

OF WHAT USE ARE THE GOLD AND SILVER?

For what use is all that gold and silver? It is not needed to "back up" the currency, for the currency has long cut practically all its connections with the precious metals; and while currency is issued for every dollar of silver bought by the government, that additional currency is not needed. And all the tinkering with the gold content of the dollar, in order to raise prices, has failed miserably—because, for one thing, raising the price of gold without issuing correspondingly larger amounts of paper money can have no effect on prices. And even if the precious metals were still necessary to back up the currency, although our money for years has been unconvertible into gold, the Treasury still has more gold and silver than is necessary for the purpose.

The gold and silver, which still has a value in foreign trade transactions, might be used for American purchases abroad, where that is still possible today. But if we buy abroad with gold, we lower our exports, and that would still further demoralize production and business. But perhaps we need the gold in case of war? No; it's inconceivable that, in the event of war, the economic position of this country would force it to buy goods abroad and pay with gold exports.

But is there no use at all for the gold and silver hoard? It might be used to increase the currency, to inflate the money supply. But if that is done to any great extent, it means inflation and all the tragedy of inflation. But even for purposes of inflation we don't need that enormous hoard of gold and silver; for paper money to inflate the currency can be issued in amounts sufficient to wreck the price system without a single penny of gold being necessary—just print the paper.

About the only use left for the gold and silver is to employ it for commercial purposes—in the arts, for jewelry, to decorate buildings. But to release the hoard for commercial use would destroy its value and lower its price, and then it would no longer be "precious" enough to use in jewelry or for decorative purposes.

It's all crazy, isn't it? Yes, but crazy like a fox. For gold-and-silver buying and hoarding by the government does perform an economic function, albeit an insane one.

HOW THE PROFIT IS MADE

A considerable, although relatively small, part of the American gold hoard represents the "flight of capital" from other countries, money put in safekeeping in this country by foreign capitalists who do not trust their own countries or have no faith in their future. Some of it is used to buy American property, especially securities, and some of it just lies in the vaults. That is of no earthly use to the American people; but it helps the foreign capitalist. Naturally, with the war in Europe, this "flight of capital" has gained a new significance, despite stringent war-time prohibitions. Most of the inflow now comes thru Switzerland.

But still more important is the function performed by gold-and-silver buying and hoarding in relation to the American economic crisis. When the American government buys foreign gold and silver, the transaction gives the foreigners that much purchasing power with which to buy American goods. They get the goods, which are useful; we get the precious metals, which are com-

paratively useless. From the American angle, it seems a crazy transaction. And it is crazy, from the angle of the masses of the people, but not from the angle of the capitalist interests.

The economic crisis lowers production and sales. By buying foreign gold and silver, the foreign purchases of American goods are increased. Hence American output and sales are larger than they might be—or, in more apt terms, the output and sales are not shrunken as much as might be by the economic crisis. The fact that the precious metals are useless means nothing to capitalism: the sales are still made and the profits are useful to the receivers of profits.

It may be argued that the workers gain something too, since the larger output and sales mean more employment (or, more aptly, less unemployment). That is true, but the increased employment and production might be in the form of goods used by our own people. But doing that would mean higher wages and lower profits. If the additional goods are sold to the American people thru higher wages, the capitalist does not profit by it; by selling the goods abroad and receiving payments in gold and silver, the capitalist certainly does profit.

RAISING BUYING POWER ABROAD—NOT AT HOME

Or put it this way: There is a deficiency of purchasing power in the United States, which means that industry cannot dispose of all the goods it can produce. Hence the crisis. Instead of increasing American purchasing power to the point where it matches full production, our insane economic system increases the purchasing power of foreigners who pay for our useful goods with gold and silver that the American people cannot use.

That is how the immense gold

Has Pacifism Become a Crime?

THE following news report appeared in the New York Times of June 3, 1940: "WAXAHACHIE, Texas, June 2—Ninety members of a religious sect were jailed today by sheriff's deputies after attempting to distribute literature described as of a pacifist nature."

"Hundreds of citizens blocked streets and milled around the jail as officers brought the prisoners in."

"Sheriff Roy said possible filing of charges would await the return of District Attorney Forrester Hancock."

Has it already become a crime in Texas to "distribute literature of a pacifist nature"?

hoard came into being. Today, there is an added incentive for the gold-buying policy, for today it constitutes an immense financial aid to the Allies by increasing their purchasing power here.

There is still another and more important angle to the situation.

All thru the years of the economic crisis, profits and savings, or potential capital, have been greater than investment; the lag of investment was especially great in the years 1934-37, and was primarily responsible for the new depression. Surplus idle capital must find some income-yielding opportunity. The American gold-and-silver hoard represents, essentially, the "freezing" of idle surplus capital. The capital is realized for the owners, albeit in wholly parasitical form. The owners have their capital and income which is of use to them; the government owns the gold and silver hoard, which is of no use to the American people, and is, in fact, an additional burden upon them. And there you are!

Rise of Cartel Marks Growth of Monopoly

Economic Super-States Have Vast Powers

Washington, D. C.

WHAT is a cartel? Ask the average American that question, and he will probably shrug his shoulders and reply vaguely that it is "something in Europe." That is true, but it is also something in the United States, and something so powerful that it may decide the struggle between democracy and dictatorship everywhere.

The nature and meaning of cartels were thoroughly described at recent hearings before the T.N.E.C., better known as Senator O'Mahoney's Monopoly Committee.

The hearings opened with a statement by T. J. Kreps, the committee's economic consultant. He defined both national and international cartels.

NATIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL CARTELS

A national cartel, Kreps said, is an association of corporations in one country. They get together for "monopolistic" purposes, such as control of production, price-fixing, parceling out of markets, setting up "quotas" for the member companies, and even dividing profits.

These are also the purposes of international cartels, but they are associations of companies in more than one country, Kreps explained. Often national cartels, as well as individual companies, are members of international cartels.

In the United States, cartels are called "trade associations," the committee was told by Clair Wilcox, an economics professor who has served on the N.R.A. and other government agencies.

He said that associations of companies in many American industries have long been fixing prices and doing all the other things characteristic of cartels. They have not been able to go quite so far in this country because of the anti-trust laws, but the government agencies created to enforce those laws "have barely been able to scratch the surface."

"Yes," commented Leon Henderson, a member of O'Mahoney's committee, "this country does not know the extent to which we are creeping from free competition to cartels."

The Federal Trade Commission has found "cartel-like" associations in all except two of the 13 major industrial groups in the United States. Wilcox said they fix prices, allot markets and quotas and carry on other cartel activities in the steel, oil, electric-lamp, investment-banking, anthracite-coal, meat-packing, glass-bottle, and too many other industries to list here.

Some of these American cartels are members of international cartels, Kreps said. As an example, he described "the international cartel which apportions the world market for electric lamps."

The most powerful corporation in this cartel is the General Electric Company of the United States. It and the light-bulb manufacturers of other countries "have agreed not to compete."

To carry out this agreement, Kreps continued, "the electric-lamp cartel has set up an administrative agency at Geneva, Switzerland. In addition, the cartel has an Arbitral

Tribunal, a General Assembly meeting twice a year, an Administrative Board, and various committees. Under the international Administrative Board are national economic governments called national assemblies."

ECONOMIC SUPER-GOVERNMENTS

Kreps said that other industries have similar "international economic parliaments," which are super-governments which pay little attention to national boundaries.

These giant cartels inevitably acquire more and more economic power, he declared, and they constantly gather into their hands more and more political power, in both national and international affairs.

Now, how did all this come about, both in the United States and the world as a whole?

Kreps said that the birthday of European cartels was "the black day of the famous crash of 1873," when hard times caught European industries with "overproduction and cut-throat competition."

To protect their profits, the corporations began to get together in cartels to fix prices and limit production and competition.

In other words, Kreps pointed out, "cartels are children of necessity." When there is over-production and cut-throat competition in any industry in any country, cartels are almost sure to arise, despite any gov-

Labor Group for Spanish Refugee Aid Formed

New York City.

ISRAEL FINEBERG, general manager of the Joint Board of the Cloak and Suit Unions of the I.L.G.W.U., announced last week that a Provisional Labor Committee of the New World Resettlement Fund was working actively to help settle Spanish refugee farmers in Ecuador.

Mr. Fineberg said that the Provisional Labor Committee, of which he is president and Harry Esposito of the Plaything and Novelty Workers Union secretary, was enthusiastically supporting this resettlement project for Spanish refugees because it was the only plan which offered these refugees a permanent home and the opportunity to make their own living.

John Dos Passos, who negotiated and signed the contract with the government of Ecuador in Quito, said that Ecuador offered favorable opportunities for various types of agricultural enterprises and felt confident that the Spanish farmers would be self-supporting within a year.

"We have decided to give the New World Resettlement Fund our wholehearted support," said Mr. Fineberg, "because we know that there is no political maneuvering in this organization. Funds collected to set up Spanish farmers in Ecuador will be

Mass Buying Power Is "Untapped Resource"

Reemployment, Higher Wages Key Problems

By ARTHUR GREEN

ONE of the favorite arguments of the outright imperialists as well as of the pseudo-"internationalists" of the Woodrow Wilson school is that without large-scale economic involvements in Europe, Asia and other far-flung regions of the earth, American economy would have no opportunity for expanding activity and would therefore be doomed to stagnation and decay. Foreign markets, "developed" thru high-pressure diplomacy backed by a super-navy, we are told, are absolutely necessary in order to take up the "surpluses" produced in the United States for which there is no domestic market.

'GREAT UNDEVELOPED RESOURCES'

But if we examine our economic situation with unprejudiced eyes, a very different picture emerges. We find that this country still has more than one "economic frontier" to conquer, still has more than one "undeveloped resource" to tap. Perhaps the greatest of these "undeveloped resources" offering vast promise of expansion for American economy is the "submerged third" of the population of our country.

In 1935-36, according to a report of the National Resources Committee, one-third of all income recipients had less than \$780 a year. Almost 42% of all American families had in-

come attempts to forbid them.

It scarcely needs to be pointed out that conditions favorable to the growth of cartels exist now in the United States, have existed throughout the depression, and even before.

"Germany is the traditional land of cartels," Kreps said. Beginning in the 1870's, German cartels multiplied until they numbered about 12,000 in the 1920's and covered the coal-mining, iron and steel, chemical and most other industries.

Some of these German cartels spread over many industries, and into many countries. One example described by Kreps is "the colossal structure and ramifications of the great German chemical combine."

At its center is the German super-trust known as the I.G. From it, on a chart displayed by Kreps, reach out a network of lines representing cartel connections with scores of companies in various countries.

In Germany, alone, these include companies in the chemical, dye, nitrogen, photographic, textile, petroleum, explosives, mining, and other industries, as well as commercial, agricultural, and banking concerns.

INTERNATIONAL CONNECTIONS

Other charts showed the international connections of this German cartel with corporations in France, Britain, Italy, Switzerland, Spain, the United States, and other countries.

Among the American companies on these charts are duPont, Standard Oil, Ansco Photoproducts and the General Aniline Works.

In France, Kreps said, cartels are called "comptoirs," and "have assumed just as complex forms as in Germany."

"In England, the cartel movement has swept thru a large part of industrial enterprise. Today, the typical British industrialist is allotted a specific percentage of the total business which his industry has decided to handle during the year."

"He will pay into a 'pool' if he exceeds his quota, and will be compensated if he is short." He will consult the industry schedule before pricing his goods, and will not deviate therefrom without permission.

"He will submit his sales contracts to the officials of his industrial asso-

ciation for advance approval. He will pay a levy to be used by the industry to purchase and destroy 'excess capacity'."

The price and production control of this British cartel system are authorized and made possible by the British government and British law. Kreps pointed out.

"The growing tendency is toward compulsory cartelization, not only in Germany and Italy, but also in France and England," he said.

Moreover, "national cartels almost irresistibly grow into international cartels, because economic forces in modern times cannot be held within the confines of political frontiers."

Both international cartels and "cartel-like organizations in the domestic market" are increasing their grip on American industries, Kreps declared. "They are being developed successfully in forms which avoid prosecution by the government boards enforcing the anti-trust laws."

However, Wilcox said, no trade association or cartel has so far been able to establish complete control of prices and production in this country. They all ultimately ran up against the same obstacle.

That obstacle is this:

When an association succeeds in creating conditions where all its members get high prices and a profit, new companies rush into the industry to get a share of the "gravy." This new competition destroys, or at least limits, the cartel monopoly and price control.

The association cannot keep the newcomers out without government help.

That is what the German, British and other governments have done, but, so far, the American government has refused to do.

If we ever pass a law authorizing American cartels and empowering them to bar competitors, Wilcox said, the government will have to enforce that law. Then the government will become part of the cartel.

And then we will have a situation like in Europe, where the cartels are practically part of the government.

(This article by Albert H. Jenkins is from the May 1940 issue of the *Machinists Monthly Journal*.—Ed.)

The New World Resettlement Fund is located at 2 West 43 St., New York City.

Plans are progressing for a Trade Union Conference, at which the Provisional Labor Committee will be enlarged and officially constituted into a permanent body.

America Can Serve Cause Of Democracy Thru Peace

By BURTON K. WHEELER

WE must remain at peace. We must remain neutral in act tho we are all unneutral in our deep sympathies for the Allied cause.

During critical times—during periods of war—troops will follow us. This is neither a maxim nor a theory; it is a fact. It would be cheaper and would cost the nation less in the long run to make outright gifts of food, commodities, and supplies to the Allies than to lend them money so that we buy an interest in the great European conflict, an interest that eventually would be protected with the blood and lives of American boys.

For our own enlightenment, particularly for those who presently advocate loans to any belligerent, let us briefly and dispassionately review the facts that led to our entry into the last World War. We all know the cost of suffering and death, the cost in dollars and cents, and we all know that the we fought the war "to make the world safe for democracy," the world has since enjoyed less democracy. But we do not all know or not all recognize the signs and guideposts that take us down the road to war.

OLD ROAD TO WAR
After the elections of 1912, until war began in Europe, American business was slumping. Many informed observers felt that we were headed for a severe economic depression in 1914. Any such depression was averted by war. In 1914, in Europe men fought and killed. They could not produce necessary food, clothing and supplies.

Today, in 1940, America is at the crossroads of war and peace. How sharp and how clear is the parallel between the events of 1914 to 1917, and those of 1939 and 1940? It is true that the Neutrality Act has defeated the old freedom-of-the-seas war cry, and it likewise true that its cash-and-carry provisions have in large measure prevented the extension of certain credits to belligerents. But everywhere we hear the demand that loans be made to the Allies.

Lend to a belligerent and you travel the road to war. The Allies have assets of billions in the United States. They actually need no loans, tho they may need the vigor of our youth.

Investment of dollars in this war will mean the investment of lives—the investment of democratic government and our American institutions—in a war not of American creation.

Security and the preservation of our American democracy are not dependent upon the present conflict in Europe. Employment of the ten million workers—who, thru no fault of their own, are without jobs—and fair prices for the farmers will do more to preserve the democratic United States than any solution of European or Asiatic problems. A solution of our domestic problems is the first line of our defense.

NO MENACE OF INVASION
We need not fear the invasion of our shores by any foreign power. A nation cannot be subdued except by armed force. Military and naval experts are agreed that it is impossible to conduct effective warfare at 3,000 miles on unfriendly shores.

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Senator Wheeler of Montana supported Norris. During the last World War, Wheeler was United States District Attorney in his home state and had an opportunity to witness war hysteria at its worst. He is afraid something like that will happen this time.

"It is much easier to work up a war hysteria than it was from 1914 to 1916," said Wheeler. "The reason is that the people of this country are overwhelmingly against Hitler, whereas up to the time we got into the last war, there was not the prejudice against the German government that exists now."

"I am wholeheartedly in favor of building airplanes or anything else which is necessary for the defense of this nation, but I think it is a serious mistake to whip this country into a hysteria, when no one can control the direction it may take, once it gets started."

"Let us ferret out the spies, if they exist, but in doing so, let's not ruin the reputation of innocent people by calling them 'Nazi agents' because they disagree with us."

The great military lesson of the last war was England's futile attempt to land troops at Gallipoli. Full utilization of all the Allied naval strength was required to transport American troops to Europe during the last war, and they crossed a carefully patrolled sea, protected by destroyers and landed on friendly shores of France. Yet the world proclaimed it a miracle when, during the closing days of the World War, we transported in groups of 5,000, 6,000 and 7,000 the amazing total of 300,000 soldiers in a single month.

Picture if you will a "Blitzkrieg" on the United States by any foreign power with an army whose numbers could not total a half million after a month of invasion!

Thus the United States, by reason of its geographical location and by reason of its military and naval defenses, is really free to serve the cause of democracy, the world and the Allies by remaining out of war.

One nation must keep its head, its authority and its strength. A strong, sane nation could insure peace from the next armistice.

(These paragraphs are from an article by Senator Burton K. Wheeler in the *New York Post* of May 25, 1940.—Editor.)

Norris Warns War Hysteria Grave Danger

Washington, D. C.

DEEP concern that war hysteria on democracy and civil liberties in this country was expressed last week by Senator George W. Norris, veteran liberal.

"If there ever was a time when we should be calm and certain that the rights of our people, vital to a democracy, are preserved, it is now," Norris said.

The House of Representatives had just unanimously approved the President's reorganization proposal to transfer the Bureau of Immigration and Naturalization from the Department of Labor to the Department of Justice. That made a vote in the Senate unnecessary, but Norris was determined to go on record in opposition to it despite his admiration for the President.

"I don't believe it should be done," he said. "The Department of Justice is not equipped to handle this job as is the Department of Labor. And, while it is not announced, it is accepted that the reason for the transfer is that the Federal Bureau of Investigation is in the Department of Justice and J. Edgar Hoover, the man who was in charge of the 'Red raids' after the war, is head of the F. B. I."

"We don't want anything like the 'Red raids' to happen again. It fills every man with fear that he will be sniped upon and every organization which he might belong might be investigated. That will produce hysteria and we must not be hysterical now. Our civil liberties must be protected if this is to continue to be a democratic government."

Norris pointed to a report made by the late Senator Thomas J. Walsh of Montana in which Walsh denounced the "Red raids" ordered by Attorney General A. Mitchell Palmer of the Wilson administration. Federal judges condemned the raids as a "blot" on American justice and government. Labor unions and farm cooperatives were among the victims.

Senator Wheeler of Montana supported Norris. During the last World War, Wheeler was United States District Attorney in his home state and had an opportunity to witness war hysteria at its worst. He is afraid something like that will happen this time.

"It is much easier to work up a war hysteria than it was from 1914 to 1916," said Wheeler. "The reason is that the people of this country are overwhelmingly against Hitler, whereas up to the time we got into the last war, there was not the prejudice against the German government that exists now."

"I am wholeheartedly in favor of building airplanes or anything else which is necessary for the defense of this nation, but I think it is a serious mistake to whip this country into a hysteria, when no one can control the direction it may take, once it gets started."

"Let us ferret out the spies, if they exist, but in doing so, let's not ruin the reputation of innocent people by calling them 'Nazi agents' because they disagree with us."

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Towards A War Basis . . .

(These paragraphs are from an analysis of Administration trends in the June 7, 1940 issue of the United States News.—Editor.)

THE trend now taking shape is towards a war basis for the U. S.: towards armament spending on a vastly expanded scale; towards war-time attitudes and controls. . . .

Government, to get more action, will be forced to pay more attention to the business viewpoint. Emphasis must be first on getting results, not on promoting reforms. The new Defense Committee is a first evidence of a shifting White House attitude; it is to be followed by others. Roosevelt wants to reestablish a liaison with industry; he wants to back Knudsen and Stettinius in decisions they make in seeking results; he wants to keep New Dealers as window dressing—if possible. . . .

BARBARISM IN NAME OF ANTI-FASCISM

MORE than once in these columns have we had occasion to note that among the most pitiful victims of fascism are those anti-fascist intellectuals who, distracted and disoriented by the utter horror of fascist barbarism, have become apostles of an anti-fascist barbarism of their own. And in proof we have cited the recent pronouncements of men like Lewis Mumford. Now we must add to this sad list the name of Archibald MacLeish, one-time "fellow-traveler," the present Librarian of Congress.

Speaking before the annual meeting of the American Association for Adult Education recently, Mr. MacLeish, according to the press, denounced writers of his own generation—Dos Passos, Remarque, Hemingway and others—for having rendered that generation "morally unprepared" to fight for democracy against fascism.

"Consider, for example," said MacLeish, "the books upon which this generation has been brought up—books like Letzko's 'Men in War,' Dos Passos's 'Three Soldiers,' Millis's 'Road to War,' Remarque's 'All Quiet on the Western Front,' and Hemingway's 'Farewell to Arms.'"

"These and many like them were books written not only against the hateful and cruelty and filthiness of war, but written also against the fine phrases and rhetorical formulas by which the war was made."

These writers, Mr. MacLeish continued, were men of "great skill, integrity and devotion," but their writings bore "bitter and dangerous fruits. . . . What they wrote, however noble it may be as literature, however true as a summary of experience, was disastrous as education for a generation."

"If all words are suspect," he concluded, "if all judgment phoney, then there is nothing real and permanent for which men are willing to fight and the moral and spiritual unpreparedness of the country is worse than its unpreparedness in arms."

It is impossible to believe that Mr. MacLeish did not realize as he was uttering these words, that they were identical not merely in sentiment but even in phraseology with the Nazi denunciations of all honest and realistic books on war as "Kultur Bolschewismus" demoralizing and damaging to the "national soul." Mr. MacLeish's words, aside from the few empty compliments to the authors condemned, would not have been out of place in the mouth of Dr. Goebbels himself!

Of what worth are morale and "national spirit" that must be fed on falsehood and cannot stand the light of disillusioning truth?

NATIONALISTIC IDOLATRY

THE decision of the Supreme Court upholding the constitutionality of school-board regulations compelling children to salute the flag, even tho it may violate their own and their parents religious belief, is a blow to civil liberty that should not be ignored just because it affects only a few persons belonging to some obscure sect. To force people to participate in a ritual which to them is outright idol-worship is a gross violation of their natural and constitutional right of freedom of conscience. It simply means that the cult of patriotic flag-worship is proclaimed by the Supreme Court as superior in legal sanctity to all other religions.

It is hard to believe that such a decision was approved by eight of the nine members of the court and delivered by Justice Frankfurter. In this case, Justice Stone was entirely right when, in his minority opinion, he said:

"History teaches us that there have been but few infringements of personal liberty by the state which have not been justified, as they are here, in the name of righteousness and the public good, and few which have not been directed, as they are now, at helpless political minorities."

Armed with the decision of the Supreme Court, school boards and municipal authorities all over the country will now intensify their persecution of helpless children belonging to Jehovah's Witnesses and other sects that deny reverence to any symbol except that of the Deity. They will be hounded from the schools; their parents will be arrested and fined, perhaps imprisoned; their lives will be turned into a hell—and all in the name of the nationalistic idolatry that is the official "religion" of this country.

But the crowning irony is that the self-righteous "patriotic" persecutors undoubtedly regard themselves as pious Christians, the spiritual descendants of the wretched sect that nearly two thousand 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.

WHAT'S nice now and then to hear a man speak his mind, and we are therefore grateful to Mr. Jules Bache, the banker and director of the Bache Collection. According to a United Press dispatch, Mr. Bache, who is seventy-eight and sonless, in a recent address at the annual meeting of a Canadian mining company of which he is president, denounced "professional isolationists" in this country for being "simply after the votes of parents who do not want their sons to go to war," and stated that we should back the Allies "if for no other reason than that of good business." This is a forthright remark, and should be widely broadcast. Mothers reluctant to take a chance on having their sons killed or maimed for some remote ideological or spiritual reason will surely change their tune when they realize that the boys are really fighting for the Ann Arbor Railroad Company, the American Indemnity Company, the Cuba Distilling Company, the Empire Trust Company, the New Amsterdam Casualty Company, the New River Collieries Company, the U. S. Industrial Alcohol Company, the Tennessee Corporation, the Manhattan Elevated Railroad Company, the Chrysler Corporation, the Dome Mines Company, the Motor Products Corporation, Julius Kayser and Co., the Tennessee Copper and Chemical Corporation, and the Interborough Rapid Transit Company, of all of which Mr. Bache is a director or trustee. If this doesn't bring the obstructionist parents of America to their senses, and their boys to attention, they might bear in mind that in the absence of "good business" it may prove difficult for Mr. Bache to keep up his dues in the New York, Lotos, Bankers, Century Country, Pilgrims, Economic, City Midway, Hudson River Country, Oakland Golf, Sands Point, Bath and Tennis, and Seminole Golf Clubs in this state and Florida. It will be an ugly day for the peace-mongers when Mr. Bache gets posted at Sands Point.—From the New Yorker.

Socialist Fundamentals Reexamined:

Basic Dilemma of Socialism

By WILL HERBERG

(Continued from last issue)

Let me give you an example, a most basic example. In order to make real freedom possible under modern conditions, some sort of economic collectivism is absolutely indispensable. But economic collectivism of any sort, however limited and safeguarded, possesses, as Corey has so well shown, not simply a positive libertarian potential but also a negative totalitarian potential. In other words, economic collectivism inevitably releases two sets of forces, those making for freedom on the basis of socialism and those making for totalitarian slavery on the basis of a caricature "socialism" that we had better call "statism." And yet economic collectivism is necessary for freedom under modern conditions. There lies the crux of the problem, the fundamental dilemma.

The great defect of traditional socialist theory is its failure to grasp this dialectical, this two-valued character of the means, political and economic, necessary to realize the socialist goal. It cannot therefore adequately grasp the danger inherent in this intrinsically contradictory situation, and take measures, if such are possible, to meet it. Worse, it often tends to ignore, minimize, or conjure away this danger with empty formulas. No one is more guilty of this dogmatic blindness than Leon Trotsky.

Marx often, almost always, argues as if once appropriate means have been set in motion to achieve a goal, that is the end of it. If properly applied, under no unfavorable external conditions, the goal will be reached and no untoward "by-products" need be feared, except incidentally and accidentally. This is obvious in his doctrine of revolutionary dictatorship as the transition regime. And yet these untoward "by-products" are frequently as intrinsic to the situation and as important and far-reaching in their consequences, as the main products themselves, that is, those that are desired and intended.

The chief shortcoming of the viewpoint developed by Corey in his articles, it seems to me, is a sort of inverse tendency, a tendency to reject the means in toto or almost in toto out of aversion, and quite justified aversion, to their negative consequences. But frequently the means, for all their negative consequences, cannot be rejected if you really want to achieve the end. To do so is simply to deceive yourself, to imagine that you have solved the problem when you have merely suppressed one of its terms, one of its aspects.

Force and Socialist Revolution

Let me illustrate this by means of another example taken from Corey's articles. Traditional Marxism believes, with Marx, that in some form or manner, "force is the midwife of every old society pregnant with the new," and because some degree of "force" is regarded as generally inescapable in political transitions of this sort, traditional Marxism accepts it without allowing itself to be too much disturbed about welcome and unlooked for consequences. But Corey is very much disturbed. He shows quite convincingly that a transition marked by violence, a "catastrophic" transition, as he calls it, would not only increase economic chaos but would give a powerful impetus to the forces making for dictatorship and totalitarianism and thus open the way to disaster. But having shown this, what does Corey do? He suppresses the difficulty

simply by ignoring it. A proper attitude to the middle classes, a proper conception of socialism as a people's socialism of all functional groups—he convinces himself—will enable us to escape the "pinchers of totalitarianism," because it will rally the vast majority of the population on the side of the new order. But to argue thus is to show an amazingly naive attitude to history. However overwhelming the popular support for the new regime may be, is it at all probable that the old vested interests of property and power, still having vast resources at their command, will take their threatened expropriation and extinction lying down, without a struggle? In another place, Corey himself writes: "Such a program of transitional reconstruction limits the number of interests that must be destroyed, while it promotes the interests of all useful functional groups, and so creates a popular movement that may beat down reactionary opposition." "Beat down" seems to imply some form or degree of violence, and yet Corey's whole point is that his program of transition enables society to escape it.

There is a real dilemma in all this, as I have already suggested: Violence in the transition is well-nigh inevitable, especially under present-day world conditions; yet, violence in this sense—that is, civil war on a larger or smaller scale—necessarily implies an "emergency" regime, a dictatorial regime, commanding a certain degree of arbitrary force applied ruthlessly. And we know to what that may lead. But this dilemma is a real one and it cannot be solved simply by ignoring one of its aspects, as I think Corey tends too much to do.

Or take the problem of the class character of socialism. Traditional Marxism lays great stress on socialism as a working-class movement not only because it sees socialism emerging from the basic needs and circumstances of the proletariat in modern society, but also because it desires to implement the socialist ideal by embodying it in a powerful and strategically-placed social force to serve as its bearer. In short, not only does the proletariat need socialism but even more so does socialism need the proletariat.

This effort to give practical force to the socialist ideal by making the working-class movement its bearer and vehicle, is a striking expression of that clear-headed social realism of which traditional Marxism has every reason to be proud. But thus stressing the proletarian character of socialism has its negative consequences, as Corey has shown. It may alienate the middle classes, isolate the socialist proletariat. What, then, does Corey do? Again he tends to suppress one side of the dilemma simply by ignoring it. Let us free socialism of its one-sided proletarian prepossession, he says. Let us make it equally the affair of the middle classes and all useful functional groups in society. Very good; but then is not socialism again left without a firm social base or driving force? Let me ask this question: Who is to bring together, to unite, to consolidate all the functional groups of society for socialism? Not labor, as traditional Marxism, with its strategy of class alliances, would have it; for labor is simply one of the functional groups. Who else if not some sort of super-class group of professional socialists—not professional revolutionaries, God forbid—in actual fact, a super-class group of socialist intellectuals? Aren't we back, then, with some modifications, it is true, to the traditional Bolshevik organizational scheme, with all its consequences?

Here, again, the dilemma is a real one, rooted in the nature of the case, and it cannot be solved simply by turning your head away and refusing to see one of its elements.

(Concluded in the next issue)

Letters from Our Readers:

Says Gitlow Tries to Shift Responsibility on Others

New York City Editor, Workers Age: In making an honest confession, a man accepts responsibility for the wrongs he has committed. Benjamin Gitlow, in his "confession," shifts that responsibility on to his former comrades and the movement itself. In his very confessing, he is a Stalinist still, a Stalinist out of favor, instead of in favor, with the big boy.

Nevertheless, between the lines can be read the confession of a careerist, and there is no movement, from the highest to the lowest, that is not full of them. His whole picture of the movement is that of an unscrupulous scrambling for power. That is a part of the picture, a very sad part of it, the careerist part of it. It is a part of the picture of every movement, political or religious, that I have ever studied or associated with which I have ever been associated. But it is only the very superficial student or the self-interested participant who confuses this sordid part with the whole. There is another part of the picture, that representing the selfless devotion of the body of a movement to its ideal, and that is the real life-giving part of it.

Of this ideal, and of this selfless devotion, I find not a word in Gitlow's recantation rather than confession. Of the terrible injustices that brought men and women to this ideal, I find not a word. If his confession were read by some future generation, as those of St. Augustine are read today (with apologies for bracketing the ridiculous with the sublime), the reader would probably think it much ado about nothing, that is, about Mr. Gitlow himself. But confessions like Gitlow's are short-lived. They do not belong to those immortal confessions of sincerely repentant men who have attempted to draw no veil over their sins, least of all hide their iniquities behind charges against others. These were men who confessed not to clear themselves but to clear the ideal they served of the stain their own sins had brought upon it. F.D.S.

in by Gitlow's fake "frankness," but really hypocritically sanctimonious attitude. Herman certainly takes the book apart and shows what it's really made of. Gitlow attacks many people in his book but his own worst victim is himself. S. A. FREED

Brooklyn, N. Y. Editor, Workers Age: CONGRATULATIONS on B. Herberman's review of Gitlow's "I Confess." It's easily the best review of the book I've seen so far. Most other reviewers were certainly taken

He Doesn't Like Gitlow Book Either

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More of Stalin's "Democracy"

The progress of "true democracy" in Stalin's "Fatherland of the Workers" is well illustrated in the following dispatch to the New York Times:

MOSCOW, May 6.—"Familiarity and false democratization" between officers and men of the Red Navy drew a rebuke today in an editorial in the navy newspaper, Red Fleet.

It condemned commanders who tried to placate the backward sentiments of individual sailors by "false democratization that is foreign to the spirit of our navy." The article gives, as a "typical example of familiarity," commanders who, instead of being exacting officers, overlooked breaches of discipline and addressed ratings in the second person singular instead of in the plural, or patted them on the shoulders.

A "merciless" struggle was urged against such an attitude which, it was said, would weaken the fleet's fighting powers.

in by Gitlow's fake "frankness," but really hypocritically sanctimonious attitude. Herman certainly takes the book apart and shows what it's really made of. Gitlow attacks many people in his book but his own worst victim is himself. S. A. FREED

Praises Editorials In Workers Age

Bloomfield, N. J. Editor, Workers Age: IN the May 25th issue, the article, "Labor Must Unite and Clean House Before It's Too Late," was one of the best articles published on unity in the ranks of labor. The article, "Let's Not Commit Suicide Out of Hatred for Hitler," in the May 18th issue was excellent also. S. A.

More Questions On the War

Detroit, Mich. Editor, Workers Age: I HOPE the next issue of the Workers Age answers E. B.'s letter concerning the merits of having the Allies defeat Hitler as being better than vice-versa. I have a question also. Wouldn't a quick victory for Hitler remove any possibility of social upheaval in Europe for a long time to come? And secondly, which probably answers the first, would

War Opens the Way To Dictatorship

NOW that the Administration is talking in terms of an American standing army of a million men, it would be well to recall the warning words of Woodrow Wilson, who certainly was in a position to know.

"We can stand that so far as the expense is concerned," he said in an address at St. Louis on September 5, 1917. "But what is much more serious, we have got to have the sort of organization which is the only kind of organization that can handle arms of that sort. We may say what we please of the German government that has been destroyed, but it was the only sort of government that could handle an armed nation. You cannot handle an armed nation if it is democratic, because democracies do not go to war that way. You have got to have a concentrated, militaristic organization of government to run a nation of that sort. You have got to think of the President not as the chief counsellor elected for a little while, but as the man meant constantly and every day to be the Commander-in-Chief of the Army and Navy, ready to order them to any part of the world."

The ILGWU, the CIO and the AFL

(Continued from page 2) Pittsburgh. In this call, the convention is designated as "the first constitutional convention for the purpose of forming a permanent organization." This call for a national convention obviously creates a new situation.

The I.L.G.W.U. is one of the original founders of the C.I.O. Our union has always realized the vital need for an industrial-union basis for the mass-production industries. It hailed the formation of the C.I.O. as a driving force in this great organizing movement and has contributed unstintingly and ungrudgingly of effort and money to its progress.

The C.I.O., from the day of its formation, has been viewed by our union as an organizing committee which has undertaken a definite task to organize the workers in the mass-production industries. Neither in its early formative period, nor during its period of growth and expansion did our union countenance the thought or proposal of the C.I.O. as a dual organization. It is well to recall, at this point, that immediately after we launched the C.I.O. together with several other unions, our General Executive Board, in commenting on the original objectives of the Committee in December 1935, declared as follows:

"Favoring as we do a change in the method of organization in mass-production industries and realizing that greater and more effective results could be achieved only by joint action, we have joined the Committee for Industrial Organization and our union will give this Committee every assistance in its efforts to adhere to the purpose originally outlined by it."

To this basic policy our union has clung throughout its affiliation with the C.I.O. and this policy has been time and again upheld by the deliberative bodies of our union. The traditional attitude of the I.L.G.W.U. has always been against a divided labor movement and against dual unionism.

We have held and hold today that there should be room in the American labor movement for both industrial and craft unions to meet every form of legitimate evolution of labor organization in American industry without dualism and with a minimum of easily adjustable jurisdictional claims. It was because of this conviction that our union has from the earliest days of its participation in the C.I.O. sought to bring about a reconciliation of the conflicting interests in the labor movement, exploring every possible opening and opportunity for peace.

It is unnecessary, we believe, at this moment to reiterate in detail the reasons why peace has not up to this time been achieved within the labor movement. We are, however, faced at this moment with the concrete problem of a constitutional convention of the C.I.O., called for the purpose of establishing a permanent national federation in avowed competition with the existing A. F. of L. and with all its affiliated unions.

Mindful of the direct mandate of our Atlantic City convention in May 1937 instructing us "to seek by every means in our power to compose the rift in the ranks of organized labor to the end that the American working class shall not be confronted with dual traditions and loyalties," and acting with the authority of the resolution passed by that convention which vested "full power in the General Executive Board to guide the course and the destiny of our union until the next convention with regard to this contest," we are of the opinion that the best interests of our international be safeguarded, we adopt the following decision:

I. The formation of a permanent national union to supersede the C.I.O. would, in our judgment, sharpen the conflict in the labor movement, create greater obstacles for ultimate reconciliation. Traditionally opposed to dualism, we

Allies Face Crucial Fight In Nazi Drive

(Continued from Page 1) scenes. There were even rumors that a political trial of the "capitulators," along the lines of the Dreyfus trial in the World War, was in the offing. The whole situation caused great uneasiness in London.

Russia's position grew still more ambiguous last week as friendly references to the Allies and violent attacks on Italy multiplied in the controlled press. It was clear that Stalin was not only very uneasy in his alliance with Hitler in view of the latter's stunning success in the West, but also stood in very sharp conflict with Mussolini over the Balkans. The Moscow paper, Trud, openly declared that the real reason for the Italian verbal attacks and demonstrations against the Allies

the result be a war between the U.S.A. and Hitler and Company for a grab of the tremendous colonial empires of France and England, not to mention the not inconsiderable possessions of Holland and Belgium? I believe these questions must be answered. Congratulations to the Age for a splendid job of war prophecy. S. M.

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