

Next Week:  
REPORT & DOCUMENTS  
OF I.L.L.A. CONVENTION

# Workers Age

Weekly Paper of the Independent Labor League of America

REVISION OF LABOR LAWS AT  
NEXT CONGRESS . . . by Arthur  
Green . . . page 3.  
ON PEACE UTOPIAS . . . by Rosa Luxemburg . . . page 4.

Vol. 8, No. 36.

NEW YORK, N. Y., SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 9, 1939.

5 CENTS

## AT FIRST GLANCE

by Jay Lovestone

### IDEALS AND DOLLARS

FOREIGN assets in the United States total about \$9,500,000,000. European interests own outright and directly at least \$6,600,000,000. Foreign owners have title to about four billion dollars in stocks and bonds. Europeans have \$1,700,000,000 in short-term banking funds in this country. Less than \$100,000,000 of all these funds are owned by Italy and Germany.

To our readers these are astronomical figures. Nevertheless, it would be well to keep these figures in mind during the coming two months. We underscore this particularly in the light of the United States being the war warehouse of our war-stricken world. European governments will naturally begin their vast arms purchases by shelling out their \$1,300,000,000 of earmarked gold. But even if the miracle of miracles should occur and a world war should be postponed for some months, the financial preparations for war already made will have a profound effect on America's financial structure. The British pound reaching a six-year low during the last days of August is but a straw in the wind.

Britain and France are not counting on America's pouring billions of its own into financing their arming. England has already carefully surveyed its own resources available for arms purchases in the U.S.A. Lombard and Downing Streets realize that there has been a terrific increase in the cost of waging war. They are getting much comfort out of the fact that they will find it "possible to mobilize total investments at least equivalent in value to those raised during the last war." As a result of mounting war needs, Britain will be compelled to sell to American capitalists vast holdings in transport and mining enterprises in the Dominions.

Hence, let none be surprised if the sweat and blood of the workers in our munitions plants serves as the stream carrying ownership of Rhodesian copper shares and Rand mining shares to the kingpins of Wall Street. From this there will flow economic and political consequences of paramount import for the entire world. Already the London Economist (August 12, 1939) has been compelled to arrive at the following portentous conclusion: "But it is certain that, in war, it would be necessary to recruit all assets which could be employed for paying for war-time supplies. For practical purposes, that policy involves the use of the United States as a bank of hypothecation, which could provide accommodation against the collateral security of mobilized British assets, or as a market in which British holdings of eligible securities could be sold outright in order to furnish dollar exchange."

Those of us who are anxious to keep America out of imperialist war should paste the above quotation in their hats. It will come in handy on more than one occasion in the near future—as a guide to rantings in Washington and editorial ravings in the metropolitan press about "ideals" that we must defend with arms in our hand and bayonets in others' bellies.

### STUDIED IGNORANCE

INDEED, these are days when difficulties multiply all about us and when complexities defy all of us. I confess that there are too many things puzzling me and too many questions that I cannot answer. For instance, in the August 27 issue of the New York Times Review of the Week I found articles on the world crisis by such well-known correspondents as Edwin L. James, Harold Callender and G. E. R. Gedye containing such crude and clumsy inaccuracies that surely could not be attributed to ignorance. It is commonplace that Mussolini's government was among the first to recognize the U.S.S.R. Likewise, every one knows that Mussolini has for some time been working for a rapprochement between the Rome-Berlin Axis and Moscow. But Mr. James, commenting on the Stalin-Hitler pact, tells us: "It is possible Hitler told Ciano what he was up to, but whether he did or not, Mussolini, who has not even diplomatic relations with Russia, played no role in the new treaty."

Harold Callender tells us how the Fuehrer used Italy, Japan, France, Great Britain and the U.S.S.R. in turn, to win European hegemony. That's true. But why did Mr. Callender forget to mention Poland among the aiders and abettors of Hitler's drive? Surely he knows that Poland's non-aggression pact with Hitler in 1934 was the first aid to the Nazi in their imperialist campaign and that Poland joined Hitler in wiping Czechoslovakia off the map.

Mr. Gedye, in seeking to make a chicken-hearted defense of Stalin's switch to Hitler, discovers that "German communists—as distinct from the softer living Viennese communists—always found Russians eager to embrace them when they arrived as refugees." Almost unbelievable from the pen of so experienced an international correspondent! Surely Mr. Gedye knows that many scores of German refugee communists have been imprisoned or butchered by the Stalin regime. If Mr. Gedye wants some names, I should be glad to supply them.

And to cap it all, let me cite tonight's broadcast from London by John Gunther attempting to shed light on Stalin's sweeping agreement with the Nazi hangmen. I expected some "inside" stuff from Gunther who had just flown in from Moscow. Instead, all I heard was a cheap, clumsy and anemic apology for the sordid and sinister game played by the dictator over the Russian people. Mr. Gunther could have done better even by reading Browder's confession.

## Marceau Pivert, French Socialist Leader, Discusses Russo-German Pact

New York City.

MARCEAU PIVERT, secretary of the French Socialist Workers and Peasants Party and one of Europe's outstanding anti-war fighters, gave his views on the meaning and consequences of the Russo-German pact to a press conference held here last week one day after his arrival in this country.

The questions and Pivert's answers follow in full:

QUESTION: What do you think of the Stalin-Hitler pact?

ANSWER: On the one hand, from the point of view of the rival imperialisms preparing to fight for a revision of the world, it marks the beginning of an imperialist realignment. Japan's sudden turn back towards the "democracies" proves once again that it is a question of spheres of influence, markets, customers, and not of ideology. On the other hand, from the point of view of labor, it is the last in a series of counter-revolutionary acts which are transforming the Russian workers state into a totalitarian bureaucratic machine, bent on saving itself by any means. The alliance between Hitler, the butcher of the German people, the champion of counter-revolution, and Stalin, hailed only yesterday in the world communist press, as the "beloved leader," "the father of peoples," and "the genial guide," brings an entire historic period to an end. Today, the Stalinists have become, in the eyes of class-conscious workers, the bulwark of Hitler's rule of blood. And workers will understand much better the real role played by Stalin in recent times: the decapitation of the Red Army, the execution of the Old Bolsheviks, the betrayal of the revolution in France in June 1936, and the Machiavellian assassination of the Spanish revolution. The pact with Hitler is the final and logical culmination of such a series of events.

QUESTION: What do you think will be the effect of the pact on the French popular masses?

ANSWER: The signing of the pact will be a signal for a general attack on the Communist Party. The duplicity with which it has carried on, for the last few years, a demagogic nationalist agitation will disgust the saner sections of public opinion. Indignation and disillusion will be all the more marked as the Communist Party has succeeded in winning a certain amount of influence among the small bourgeoisie and intellectuals, by advocating a policy of so-called "firmness," and by lining up opinion against all elements of compromise or friendship with Hitler and against any trust in the Fuehrer's word.

Today, they hear that Hitler and Stalin have been carrying on secret negotiations. As a result, the very same patriotic small bourgeoisie and intellectuals, seduced so recently by the chauvinistic language of the Communist Party, will become the most violent opponents of communism. Doubtless, the bourgeoisie will profit from this shift of opinion to intensify its measures of repression and perhaps to attack all minorities, whether revolutionary or merely liberal. Thus, even more than social-democracy, Stalin will have helped to build fascism.

## "The Enemy Is At Home"

IN a message delivered to the recent convention of the I.L.L.A., Marceau Pivert, secretary of the French Socialist Workers and Peasants Party (P.S.O.P.), made this appeal to the American working people:

"Others have crossed the Atlantic to ask the American workers to agree to sacrifice their lives for one or the other imperialist block. We, on the contrary, say to you: Fight your own exploiters! Stop them from preparing war and placing the burden on your shoulders! Stop them from lowering your standards of living! Do not surrender, under any pretext, at any price, your independence, your freedom of action, your trade-union rights. Neither of the two imperialist blocks now trying to redivide the world is worthy of the sacrifice of your lives, your bread, your liberties. Conserve all your strength in behalf of your own cause, for our common working-class aims.

"By carrying on your own class struggle against your chief enemy IN YOUR OWN COUNTRY, you will be extending the greatest help to the workers of the so-called 'democratic' countries, as well as to the workers of the fascist countries, to build their organizations for the overthrow of this regime of poverty, dictatorship, blood and filth!"

## President Calls For Neutrality

Promises to Keep Out Of War But Urges To Break Down Safeguards

Washington, D. C.

In a radio address to the nation delivered last week, President Roosevelt announced that the federal government would very soon issue a proclamation of American neutrality, to be followed immediately by another proclamation invoking and implementing the existing Neutrality Act. He also pledged that "every effort of your government" would be directed towards keeping the United States out of this war. He concluded with an appeal that "partisanship and selfishness" be "adjoined" to give way to "national unity."

But while thus pledging neutrality, President Roosevelt indicated clearly that he would continue his efforts to weaken and emasculate the present Neutrality Act so as to permit a cash-and-carry trade in arms and implements of war. "I trust that in the days to come," he stated in his address, "our neutrality can be made a true neutrality," which all observers interpreted to mean a threat of revision of the present neutrality legislation so as to allow England and France to buy American munitions.

Senators Nye, Borah and other spokesmen of the neutrality block in

## Wartime Dictatorship Plan Mapped

Revised Industrial Mobilization Plan Gives Army Full Control

Washington, D. C.

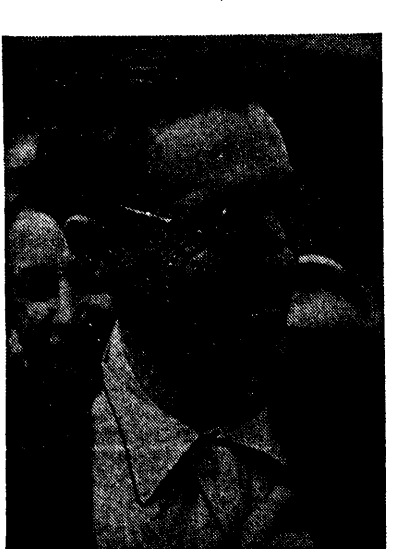
In the next war, American labor not in the trenches will be mobilized and regimented on the job, government plans revealed last week indicate.

Under the government's revised industrial-mobilization plan, there would be promulgated an emergency national labor policy establishing the economic relationship that should be maintained between management and labor for the duration of the war, and establishing the national policy to govern in the settlement.

(Continued on Page 3)

Congress immediately declared that they would fight to the last any effort to break down the embargo on arms shipments to belligerents. They stressed that permitting any sort of trade in munitions of war, even on a cash-and-carry basis, would tend to gear the American economic machine to the war needs of the belligerents and so create a powerful force making for American involvement in war.

No indication was forthcoming from the White House as to when or whether a special session of Congress would be called.



MARCEAU PIVERT

QUESTION: What do you think will happen to the French Communist Party?

ANSWER: I think that the working masses hitherto faithful to the Communist Party, and it has had widespread political influence, will drop out quickly. Only the bureaucracy composed mainly of appointed functionaries, those who have hitherto swallowed everything, will try to adapt themselves to the new situation. They may be allowed to "disavow" Stalin, more or less, for the pact signs the death warrant of what remains of the Third (Communist) International. But those sections of the Stalinist organization recruited on the basis of the defense of French imperialism will be the

first to break. This will mean a fall in membership, internal fights, perhaps even a split. And in any case, it marks the beginning of the end of the Communist Party's influence. The best elements will abandon this party which has been exposed to the whole world as the political agency of Stalin, which he manipulates this way and that, according to his political caprices.

QUESTION: What about other sections of public opinion?

ANSWER: It means an open crisis in the General Federation of Labor (C.G.T.), where independent trade unionism will now have the opportunity of beginning an effective offensive. But unfortunately, the reformists are hardly qualified to reproach the Stalinists with capitulation for they have hardly carried out an uncompromising policy of "independence" themselves, and their own connection with French imperialism is hardly hidden. It was this situation which was partly responsible for the "colonization" of the trade-union movement by the Stalinists, who were thus able to use this policy of class-collaboration to gain a foothold. But on the other hand, the revolutionary wing among the trade unionists will gain.

The Socialist Party of France (S.F.I.O.), now in the midst of an internal crisis, whose outcome is not yet decided and may still yield possible surprises, will also be affected by the pact. Those who yesterday were treated as "Trotskyites and agents of the Gestapo" by the friends of the Stalinists in the Socialist Party, will certainly fight back. And the Blumist wing of the S.F.I.O. will find it very difficult to

(Continued on Page 3)

## Keep America Out of War!

EUROPE is in flames! Another wholesale slaughter of mankind has begun. Imperialist antagonisms, engendered out of a decaying capitalism and aggravated by the last world war, have finally burst out into another orgy of homicidal fury. Again is the world being plunged into a sea of blood and filth—again are humanity and civilization to be trampled under the iron heel of military dictatorship.

Let us not allow ourselves to be blinded by the glittering phrases and lying slogans propagated by those who are intent on drawing this country into the war. This is no war for democracy or national self-determination; this is no crusade against totalitarianism. Who represents democracy and freedom in this bloody conflict? The Poland of Colonel Beck, dominated by a dictatorship as brutal and ruthless as any fascist regime, whose political repressions and anti-Semitic outrages have shocked the world? The England of Chamberlain and the France of Daladier, already converted into authoritarian states under the rule of military-imperialist dictatorships, holding in virtual slavery hundreds of millions of people in their colonial empires? Or perhaps it is Hitler Germany that is championing the right of national self-determination, Hitler Germany whose bloody yoke has been forced on the unwilling peoples of Czecho-Slovakia? No; these are all cynical lies, gross deceptions practised on the masses sent to the slaughter. This war is on both sides as imperialistic, as predatory a war, as ever was fought on the face of the earth. Reborn German imperialism is out to regain the losses of the last war, to revise the verdict of Versailles, to force a redistribution of the loot of imperialism. The Anglo-French allies are determined to keep the loot, the spoils of the victory of 1918, and to prevent Germany from making a grab for it. Poland is only the pretext of this war, just as Serbia and Belgium were of the last. In reality, it is a war over markets, natural resources, colonies, spheres of influence, imperialist control. It is a continuation of the World War of 1918!

So far from being a crusade for democracy in any sense of the word, the outbreak of this war has already brought authoritarian military dictatorship to those of the belligerents that call themselves "democracies," has already buried all democratic liberties everywhere among the belligerent powers. The war to "make the world safe for democracy" of twenty-five years ago gave us Hitler, Mussolini and the war of 1939; the war of 1939 will drive the world to a universal all-engulfing totalitarian slavery and a fresh series of imperialist slaughters—unless the workers of the world rise to their duty and responsibility and build a new socialist order on the ruins of imperialism!

It is sheer folly to believe that emancipation can be brought to the German people at the point of the bayonets of Anglo-French imperialism. Only the German people, thru their own organized revolutionary action, can free themselves and overthrow their oppressors. That is why the underground anti-fascist movements in Germany and other dictator-ridden countries of Europe deserve the full support of all anti-war and democratic forces of this country.

Workers of America! This is not our war. Wall Street financiers and big-business imperialists may have their stake in the war, the stake of investments and loans and opportunities for coining billions out of the blood and misery of the European masses. But we, the people of America, have no stake in this war. Our vital interests are not tied up with one or the other imperialist block; there is no cause for us to spill our blood to help England and France hold on to their loot or to aid Germany to force a general redivision. There is no call for us to become involved in the bloody conflict of predatory European power-politics!

Our great and paramount task is to keep America out of war. Involvement in war will mean for us not merely the sacrifice of hundreds of thousands of lives and billions in treasure for a cause that is not our own; it will mean the establishment of an iron-clad military dictatorship under the "industrial-mobilization" plan and similar war-time legislation and the extinction of our rights, liberties and hard-won gains for years to come. For the American people to permit involvement in the European war would be nothing short of mass suicide!

And we can keep out of war! There is no reason for any fatalism. Of course, there are powerful forces dragging us, driving us, to involvement in war—financiers and business men out for their bloody profits, lying apostles of another crusade for "democracy," false preachers trying to convince us that this war is our war. But if we, the American people, want to, if we are able to translate our determination into action, we can beat back these forces of destruction and keep America out of war.

More than ever today is eternal vigilance the price of peace. The President tells us he is going to do everything in his power to keep us out of the war in Europe. But in the same breath he talks of emasculating the Neutrality Act and destroying all existing barriers to involvement in war. And the whole record of his foreign policy in the last two years has been one of incessant effort to line up the United States on the side of Anglo-French imperialism. Do not trust the pledges or promises of the Administration to keep us out of war. Remember that in 1916 Wilson was reelected on the slogan "He kept us out of war," and then within six months, America was thrown into the World War by President Wilson himself!

We must act now and independently thru a powerful Keep America Out of War movement if we are to escape the awful disaster of war. Now, without losing a moment of time, we must exert all our efforts to:

Brush aside the paralyzing fatalism that involvement in war is inevitable. We can keep out of war if only we really want to.

(Continued on Page 4)

## Nazis Invade Poland, Clash In Corridor

War broke out in Europe last week on Friday morning, September 1, as Adolf Hitler, Nazi Chancellor of Germany, began the invasion of the Polish Corridor with the purpose of annexing it to the Reich. Danzig had already been taken over and declared part of Germany the day before. Two days later, on Sunday morning, September 3, Great Britain and France, having received no reply to their ultimatum to Germany to cease hostilities and withdraw from Polish soil, declared a state of war to exist between themselves and Germany. Thus, almost exactly twenty-five years after the outbreak of the World War of 1914, began another great war which, before it is over, may engulf all Europe and the whole world in another universal slaughter.

The outbreak of war followed the collapse of frenzied negotiations between England and Germany for a peaceful adjustment of the conflict precipitated by Germany's demand for the return of Danzig and the Polish Corridor. Charges and counter-charges of duplicity and war provocation were hurled in abundance in Berlin, London and Paris last week but no light was cast on the real course of the diplomatic events of the few fateful days preceding September 3. It was clear, however, that the war was in essence a clash of two giant imperialist combinations, one side (Germany) striving to effect a redivision of the spoils of the last world war, and the other (England and France) fighting to keep and enlarge their gains.

### ITALY AND RUSSIA STILL OUT

Italy took no step to join its Axis partner in the conflict last week, whether in line with a German plan to restrict the war to the East or as a result of Mussolini's own reluctance, was not clear. It was known, however, that Britain and France were doing everything in their power to win Italy to their side as they had done in the last war. But there seemed to be little prospect of success.

Russia's intentions had also not become fully clear. For the time being, Moscow declared it would remain neutral but in the Russian press Germany received much more favorable publicity than the Allies. Furthermore, along with the new ambassador to Berlin, the Kremlin also sent a military mission headed by a commanding general, both of whom were immediately received by Hitler in person. Rumors that some sort of military alliance was under discussion were plentiful in authoritative quarters. Drew Pearson and Robert S. Allen declared in their "Washington Merry-Go-Round" column of September 4 that "United States army and navy observers have persistent reports that part of the Soviet-Nazi deal is the sending of twenty Russian divisions against Poland to help Germany if necessary." Reports also multiplied that England was making every effort to "appease" Japan in the Far East in view of the latter's intense irritation at the Russo-German pact. In fact, it seemed that Japan was being wooed by both sides, the German-Russian front offering Japan a free hand in China in return for allowing Russia to concentrate on Poland, if necessary.

According to well-informed quarters in Berlin, Moscow informed Paris and London that in case of a general war, Russia would "find itself compelled to revise its western frontiers," that is, participate in the partition of Poland.

The declaration of war by the Chamberlain and Daladier govern-

(Continued on page 3)

## The Voice of True Socialism

London, England.

JOHN McGovern, Independent Labor Party member of Parliament, made the following statement upon Prime Minister Chamberlain's declaration proclaiming a state of war with Germany:

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



# Teachers Union Meet Lays Basis for Big Progress

## Election of Dr. Counts Is Great Victory for Union

By D. BENJAMIN

APPROXIMATELY 500 delegates representing 40,000 organized union teachers, of whom 33,000 are in good-standing, met in Buffalo from August 21 to August 25 in the annual convention of the American Federation of Teachers, and elected the well-known progressive educator, Dr. George S. Counts, president of the organization for the coming year. In doing so, the convention not only showed approval of Dr. Counts' positive program submitted by him to the delegates, but by implication administered a definite rebuke to the Stalinist attempt to capture control of the organization, as well as to the vicious campaign carried on by them and allied forces against Dr. Counts before and during the convention.

### LINE-UP AT CONVENTION

The fight that developed around the question of Dr. Counts' candidacy symbolized the struggle between forces eager to have the A. F. T. adopt a program and work on a basis that would make possible rapid growth of the A. F. T., more effective tackling of teachers' problems, better relations with organized labor, and a broader social outlook for the troubled times ahead, as against those essentially interested only in power-politics, domination of the A. F. T., and tying up the A. F. T. with a definite "party line." In spite of the rather loose functioning of the various progressive and trade-union forces opposed to the administration of New York Local 5, spearhead in the attack against Dr. Counts; in spite of the mistake made by the leadership of these forces in falling for the maneuver and trap of the New York administration's proposal for a compromise, that both Dr. Counts and Jerome Davis be withdrawn as presidential candidates, thus resulting in the paralysis of the campaign for Dr. Counts, while the New York administration and its allies drove ahead for power and control; in spite of the irresponsible and unfounded attacks upon the progressive and constructive record of Dr. Counts—the convention showed its approval of Dr. Counts and his program by electing him as president of the A. F. T. for the critical period ahead for teachers.

Many panel discussions at the convention showed that the teachers of the country are facing a series of attacks: cuts in educational budgets, interference with educational freedom, attempts to drive married women teachers out of the profession, diminution of W.P.A. educational projects, etc. It was felt that Dr. Counts, who has influenced in a progressive direction scores of thousands of teachers thru his books and in his classes, could best symbolize to the country's teaching staff the A. F. T., what it stands for and what it means. In his acceptance speech, he called for the unification of ranks behind the A. F. T., pledged to devote time and energy to the work of the organization, pointed out real opportunities for growth, and accepted the responsibility of being the leader and president of the A. F. T. He called attention to the character of the period in which we are living and the necessity for a progressive social outlook.

### A.F.L. AND TEACHERS

George Googe, representative of the A. F. of L., demonstrated in a most vivid fashion what affiliation with organized labor means to the teachers. He indicated how the A. F. of L. was helping in the organizing of teachers, how it was aiding the struggle for educational freedom and tenure and how it was throwing the weight of its influence behind the campaign for federal aid to education. He also related how the A. F. of L. was working for labor unity, how it had made important concessions in the last negotiations, and that it stood ready to resume negotiations once again. The convention voted to recommend to the incoming Executive Council the publication of Mr. Googe's speech as a pamphlet for organizational and recruiting purposes.

### ATTITUDE TO NEW DEAL

On the floor of the convention, the most important discussion revolved around the question of the New Deal. The New York administration forces stood for unreserved support to the New Deal and for its victory in the 1940 elections. Another viewpoint was presented that called for a more critical attitude, proposing that each measure of the New Deal be considered on its own merits; that the organization not commit itself on 1940 questions that are still to arise; that it was inadvisable to have a tie-up with either of the old-line parties, as such a step would make more difficult the organization of the teachers of the country; that the question of political policy be left to the local unions for consideration and action. The speaker stated his own personal preference for a broad farmer-labor party. As a result of the debate, which was marked by the most vindictive methods on the part of Bella Dodd, spokesman of the New York administration forces, a substitute

resolution was adopted that indicated support only for the "progressive labor and educational policies of the national administration."

Some other resolutions adopted were: protest against the cut in relief appropriations, demand for federal aid for education, equalization of opportunity in education (with special emphasis on the conditions of the Negroes), against militarism in the school (in New York City, the administration opposed this stand), reaffirmation of the need for labor unity with commendation to the A. F. of L. for its spirit of cooperation on this matter in the last negotiations.

### NEW EXECUTIVE COUNCIL

A new Executive Council was elected, composed in the main of individuals not heretofore on the leading body of the A. F. T. There are also on the Executive Council representatives of the various viewpoints and tendencies that clashed on the convention floor. It is to be hoped

that with Dr. Counts as president there will be consolidated an effective leadership on the part of the Executive Council, one that will enable the A. F. T. to give real guidance to teachers and make rapid strides forward in organizational strength. Certainly, there is plenty of talent and ability and devotion in the ranks of the unionized teachers, as evidenced in the many discussions carried on by the delegates on the convention floor where experiences were exchanged, conclusions drawn. Certainly, Dr. Counts' progressive program (published in the last issue of Workers Age—Editor) offers a real basis for growth. The teachers of America, in cooperation with organized labor, have a real job to perform, as educational workers and as educators of children, and there is no time to be lost in the doing of it. With fascist trends on the increase within the country as well as abroad, with war definitely threatening the world, with mounting attacks upon labor and upon teachers, speed and concentrated action are of the essence.

# Dictatorship in the Furriers Union

## Progressives Determined to Fight On

By B. BARAZ

NO one can deny that the fur workers have been hit very hard by the economic crisis in this country but it is not the industry as such that has been really hit. As a matter of fact, more fur garments were produced in the last few years than in the previous years of prosperity. Nor were there any bankruptcies of any importance in the last few years. The manufacturers are still making good money and plenty of profit. It is only the worker that has become worse off from year to year. A small percentage of the workers who are employed in the mink and jap-mink lines are fortunate because of their highly skilled craft and are able to make a more or less decent living. The great majority of the workers however, are doomed to meager earnings and shortlived seasons. The introduction into the trade of an inhuman speed-up system almost triples production. As a result of the speed-up the seasons are shortened. There is always a great army of unemployed. Many workers find employment only for six, eight or ten weeks during the entire year.

### TEMPORARY JOBS

After the fifteen-week strike and lockout in 1938, the Stalinist-controlled administration of the furriers union talked the workers into the "victory" of temporary jobs. When the workers returned to the shops and tasted the fruit of this so-called "victory," they could not find words strong enough to condemn the leadership. The administration was well aware of the dissatisfaction. In order to make sure of the election last year they resorted to all kinds of schemes and maneuvers. First, they rejected the demands of the opposing candidates for a one-day election, voting by machines and the right to have watchers in the polling places. Then they forced the employed workers to pay advance dues and handed out a few dollars to the unemployed. This was done only a couple of weeks before elections, obviously to bribe the unemployed. Ben Gold mobilized his entire paid staff to campaign for the administration. He himself was actively engaged in helping the reelection of his henchmen. The opposing candidates were unscrupulously besmirched by the paid organizers. Opposition slates were torn up. Voting went on the open table. The opposing candidates raised objections and Gold, the president, paid no attention whatever. Or, at best, the manager, Potash, would say: "So what?"

Equipped with the sad experiences of last year, the United Progressive Furriers started out very early this year. A few weeks before the elections, we issued a programmatic statement raising the various trade issues. In the same statement, we included the demands for watchers in the coming elections, for elections to be held on one day by machines, and for a competent committee of the labor movement acceptable to both sides to supervise the elections.

### ADMINISTRATION REFUSES SAFEGUARDS

The administration paid no attention to our just demands. We then proceeded with a committee to the Joint Council placing our demands before that body. The Joint Council referred the matter to the Election and Objection Committee. This committee flatly rejected our demands. We issued an official challenge to the leadership, thru the press and in a leaflet, in which we again demanded that we be granted watchers, one-day elections and a committee of the labor movement to supervise the elections. If these

demands would be met and an honest election held, we agreed if defeated to give up our opposition to the leadership and abide by the decision of an honest majority.

The administration was deaf and dumb to our challenge. We then spared no time and our committee got in touch with the president of the International Fur Workers Union. So vital was the question of our participation in the elections that we left no stone unturned to secure an honest election. However, we found Gold acting like a Tammany politician. He marked time, postponing the answer for a couple of days and then he told me that we would not be allowed to have watchers. We were also informed that most of our candidates would not be allowed to be on the ballot, under a flimsy constitutional pretext that some time during the year they owed more than thirteen weeks dues, though they were in good standing now. It is a matter of fact and I am ready to prove it that a good many of the Stalinists were actually not in good standing. Yet they were on the ballot and were reelected to serve in the council. On Monday evening, July 25, a day before the elections, the administration refused to give us the numbers of our candidates to make up our slate. The United Progressive Furriers had to make a quick decision, whether under these circumstances to take part in the elections or not. There were altogether twenty-four hours left before voting started. The progressives felt that this administration could not be trusted an inch. They therefore made a hasty decision not to participate in the elections.

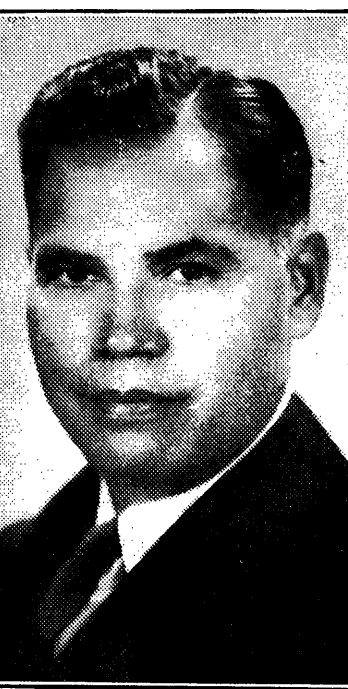
### WITHDRAWAL FROM THE ELECTIONS

In general, withdrawing from an election is a wrong policy. The progressives knew this. Yet they felt that it would not be possible for the opposition to participate until an honest election was secured. Another argument presented was that our participation in the elections without watchers would give the administration an opportunity to swell the vote to unlimited figures. They would then declare themselves elected by "great majority." There is a good deal of truth in these arguments. But on the whole, it seems to me that withdrawing from the election was incorrect and inadvisable.

### THE "UNITED FRONT" OF RIGHT AND LEFT

I maintain that all the treachery in the furriers union must not be attributed to Gold and his comrades only. I am of the opinion that it would never be possible for Gold to do what he is doing if he did not have the blessing of his silent partners, the so-called "right wingers." These few individuals, who at one time paraded as leaders of the right-wing socialist movement in the union have long parted with

LOUIS WALDMAN



# Waldman to Address Symposium

New York City.

LOUIS WALDMAN, outstanding social-democratic leader and labor attorney, will present his views on the subject of America's future at the symposium, "Towards A Better America," arranged under the auspices of the Independent Labor Institute for Friday evening, October 6, at Hotel Center, 108 West 43rd Street.

Other participants in this symposium will include: Luigi Antonini, chairman of the American Labor Party and first vice-president of the I.L.G.W.U.; Dr. George S. Counts, president of the American Federation of Teachers; Norman Thomas, chairman of the Socialist Party; Lewis Corey and Scott Nearing, labor economists; Abram L. Harris, professor at Howard University; and Bertram D. Wolfe, educator and author. Jay Lovestone will be chairman.

These men, distinguished in the fields of labor, education and politics will discuss from various angles the current trends of American social development and the outlook for a better future for the great mass of American people.

Tickets are 75 cents and are to be obtained at the Independent Labor Institute, 131 West 33rd Street, New York City.

that movement for the sake of their paid jobs. The furriers have never heard a word of criticism from Begoon and his friends. Is there nothing to criticize in the union? Isn't there a better way of handling the unemployment situation? Must the union administration be mortgaged to the bosses? Doesn't Begoon remember that Gold used to accuse the former leadership of the union of close cooperation with the bosses? And what are Gold and his comrades doing now? What is there so mysterious about everything? Begoon, as the secretary-treasurer of the union, sanctions the squandering of the union treasury, all for the price of the paid job. The responsibility and the blame, therefore, fall mainly upon those who are giving the Stalinists the protection of their "right-wing" label to be used by Gold and Company as a cover for a "united front."

For this false label the Stalinists are offering Begoon and his few friends their endorsement in the elections. In exchange, these so-called "right wingers" pledge solemnly to shut their mouths and give a blanket endorsement to everything Gold and his clique do in the union.

### RESULTS OF RECENT ELECTIONS

The elections went on for two days in succession. The administration fully mobilized its forces. The paid officers, in cooperation with the bosses, forced workers to go to vote. Business agents were on the lookout at subway entrances. The administration spent thousands of dollars of union money on campaign literature. Yet with all these tricks and maneuvers at the administration's disposal, they themselves report not more than 6,300 participating, out of a membership of 15,000! Out of these, they were forced to give to the opposition, whose names remained on the ballot, over 1,200 votes for paid officers, and over 1,600 for Joint Council members. There were also between seven and eight hundred blank ballots thrown in by workers who made their protest in this eloquent manner.

# Lovestone, Pivert Talk On Nazi Pact

New York City.

AN enthusiastic audience filled the big hall at Hotel Center last Wednesday evening, August 30, to hear Marceau Pivert, head of the French Socialist Workers and Peasants Party (P.S.O.P.), and Jay Lovestone, secretary of the Independent Labor League of America, discuss the meaning of the Stalin-Hitler pact and the war situation in general.

Pivert, just recently arrived in this country, told his hearers about the indignation and disgust of the French workers at Soviet Russia's sudden alliance with Nazi Germany. He went on to describe in vivid terms conditions in France in the grip of a military dictatorship. He concluded with a stirring appeal for international workers solidarity against war and the war-makers.

Jay Lovestone, who was the first speaker, presented a clear and forceful analysis of the background, causes and consequences of the Russo-German alliance, laying special stress on its implications for the international labor movement. His final appeal was directed particularly to members and followers of the Communist Party whom the shock of the pact was forcing to do some hard thinking. He called upon them to make a definite and final break with the C.P., which now stood exposed as merely an unscrupulous, slavishly obedient agency of the Stalin dictatorship, and join the I.L.L.A.

(Marceau Pivert's address will be published in full in the next issue of this paper. Jay Lovestone's speech will be used as material for a series of articles to begin in an early issue.)

# Facts Behind the CIO-GM Agreement

## Settlement Ignores Production Men

(These paragraphs are from the August 16 issue of the Western Michigan Auto Workers, issued by Region No. 7 of the United Automobile Workers of America (A.U.W.)—Editor.)

Lansing, Mich. PUBLICATION of the G.M.-C.I.O. "memorandum of settlement" reveals that the C.I.O. surrendered all of its demands—10-cents hourly increase, tool and die union label, and supplementary contract—and submitted to the drastic demands of the company in a fruitless effort to gain recognition over the U.A.W.-A.F.L.

Tool and die workers in Saginaw, Flint Fisher No. 1, Pontiac, Cadillac, Cleveland, and other plants found themselves out of a job on Monday following the settlement of the tool and die strike between the C.I.O. and General Motors, the company simply pointing to the "back-to-work-according-to-seniority" clause in the settlement and stating that it had no work for them.

The company refuses to negotiate further on grievances arising from the settlement as it calls attention to the paragraph in the "memorandum" which states that the union agrees not to appeal over the heads of divisional managers for a period of thirty days.

LESS THAN 200 MINOR RAISES In Cadillac, only two company stooges have been found to be eligible for the minor changes in

But even these figures are a mystery. I shall compare these figures with the elections held in 1935, and then let you pass your own judgment. In 1935, when unity was achieved between the "independent" Stalinist Furriers Union and the Furriers Joint Council of the A. F. of L., both sides put up slates. Both sides were keenly interested in winning the elections. It was natural for each side to try to bring out the maximum voters. The elections in 1935 were on for three days in succession. The workers were definitely lined up on each side. The sidewalk near the polling place was filled with voters six abreast waiting for hours for their turn to vote. Yet, all in all, not more than 7,000 workers participated in the elections in 1935.

This time, the opposition announced its official withdrawal from the elections. The workers in general, even Stalinist sympathizers, were disappointed in the leadership of the union. A good many of them did not turn out to vote. The conditions in the trade, the last general strike, the fake "victory," the constant collaboration of the union officials with the bosses, the mishandling of the unemployment question, all these were no small matters. They certainly did not add to the prestige and popularity of the leadership. The workers were less and less interested in the elections. How in the world it was possible for the leadership to swell the number of votes to 6,300 only they know, and it is for you to judge what these figures mean.

The election results show clearly what the situation in the furriers union really is. I am firmly convinced, and this is also the opinion of many others, that with an honest election the entire outcome would have been different.

# Labor and the Law

by Joseph Elwood

## THE C.I.O. AND THE LABOR BOARD

THE first repercussions of recent modifications of National Labor Relation Board rules of procedure are already here. In issuing a warning to all its affiliated unions against certain rulings of the Board enumerated in recent decisions, the C.I.O. appears to have altered its attitude and its policy towards the Board from one of blind support under any and all conditions to open criticism and attack.

The basis for this change is the allegedly "definite indication" seen by the C.I.O. of a "policy of the Board to attempt to placate the A. F. of L. at the expense of the interests and at the risk of encouraging chaos in industry." This statement was contained in the August 15 issue of the C.I.O. Legal Bulletin, which is prepared under the direction of Lee Pressman, its general counsel.

After "viewing with increasing alarm" recent decisions of the Labor Board, the Bulletin states: "Our unions should feel free to express their criticism publicly and make our members aware of the dangerous policy being followed by the Board."

Decisions which aroused the ire of the C.I.O. involve the issues of craft versus industrial bargaining unit and plant versus employer-wide bargaining unit. The Bulletin alleges that in recent decisions, "wherever A. F. of L. organizations have insisted upon craft units, the Labor Board has only too willingly granted such requests in the face of opposition of C.I.O. industrial unions."

The Bulletin adds that "considerable attention" will be given this matter at the forthcoming national convention of the C.I.O. at San Francisco.

So now it is no more "verboten" to criticize certain practices of the Board. Only yesterday any criticism of the Board was regarded in C.I.O.

circles as high treason to the labor movement.

### Some Interesting Statistics

A COMPARISON of statistics of certifications of collective-bargaining agents issued in representative cases, the National Labor Relations Board and the New York State Labor Relations Board arrive at their determinations by somewhat opposite means.

Of 342 certifications issued after formal action by the N.L.R.B. for which figures have been reported, 68% were based upon the results of employee elections while 32% resulted from other procedure, such as comparison of union authorizations with the payroll of the employer, etc. But in New York, analysis of 481 certifications made by the State Board during the past two years shows that 60% have been based upon comparison of union designations with employer payrolls and only 40% have followed elections conducted by the Board.

That the New York Board's method of determining employee representations may be influenced by the size of the approximate bargaining unit is suggested in an analysis of its representation cases prepared by Louis Goldberg and made public recently by the Board. According to Mr. Goldberg, the statistics indicate "substantially that certifications in larger bargaining units resulted mostly from elections by secret ballot, while those resulting from comparisons involved primarily the smaller bargaining units embracing the least number of workers."

As to the method of selecting representatives, Mr. Goldberg states:

"Of the total figures in both methods of selecting collective-bargaining representatives, comparison of union cases outnumbered elections by 33, while 21,063 more workers were involved in elections than comparisons. These contrasts indicate that in small-sized units determinations thru comparison comprised the greater part, whereas in the larger units the number of elections was greatest."

Also comparable statistics on the size of bargaining units sanctioned by the N.L.R.B. are not available, size is not among the criteria guiding its determination of bargaining representations.

### Employer Goes To Jail

The first employer to go to jail for violation of the wage-and-hour act was committed last week for a maximum term of six months by the federal district court in West Virginia. His offense was contempt of court, resulting from failure to produce records for inspection by the Wage and Hour Division and failure to make restitution to workers of back-wages totaling \$3,152.

Visit Our New CIRCULATING LIBRARY WORKERS AGE BOOKSHOP (Headquarters for Labor Literature) HUNDREDS of TITLES From "Das Kapital" to "Grapes of Wrath" Room 707 — 131 W. 33rd St.

Eat Good Food At Low Prices IRVING'S LUNCH 100% UNION 141 W. 33rd St., N. Y. C.

Make a Rule to Wine and Dine at EXCHANGE TAVERN Delicious Lunch — 45c Special Dinner — 65c 434 Seventh Avenue at 34th Street New York City Leading Ryes and Scotches at Popular Prices

The Best Protection... For Workers and their Families can be offered only by consolidated forces of the workers. FOR HEALTH INSURANCE LIFE INSURANCE MEDICAL CARE HOSPITAL AID RECREATION SOCIAILITY Join the WORKMEN'S BENEFIT FUND 714 Seneca Avenue, Brooklyn, N. Y. organized 1884



# Moves to Revise Labor Laws Face Next Congress Session

## See Attacks on Wagner Act and Wage-Hour Law

By ARTHUR GREEN

Washington, D. C. THE Congressional battle over this country's labor laws will go into its next round when Congress meets again in January, and a fateful round it is likely to be.

The rap of the adjournment gavel early in August was only a signal for time out. Resumption of the struggle is scheduled to begin again in a few weeks.

In the meantime, an on-guard atmosphere prevails in the Washington headquarters of the parties concerned: the A. F. of L. and the C. I. O. for labor; and for the employers, the National Association of Manufacturers, the United States Chamber of Commerce and similar employing-class pressure groups with direct interest in changes in the laws covering the rights, privileges, wages and hours of labor.

### CHANGES HELD UP IN COMMITTEES

Only a last minute maneuver kept a drastic set of amendments to the wage-hour act from reaching the House floor just prior to adjournment. A long list of witnesses still to be heard prevented either Senate or House Labor Committees from reporting out amendments to the Wagner Act. Changes in the Walsh-Healey Act, which sets minimum wages on federal orders privately placed, would have lowered the present application of the law from contracts of \$10,000 or over to those of \$4,000 or over. These amendments received Senate approval but never emerged from a House Committee.

Indications that a sizable group of Congressmen will attempt to bring these amendments out of committee next session are not difficult to find.

For one thing, the five-man House committee to investigate the Labor Board will begin operations early in October. The alleged purpose of the inquiry, which will be headed by reactionary Representative, Howard Smith, is to test the "fitness" of the N.L.R.B. But it is obvious that the real purpose of the inquiry will be to provide amendments to force thru certain amendments much desired by employer groups.

It should be realized that, whatever the reason may be, there is considerable dissatisfaction with the Wagner Act as it now stands. The trend of public opinion is unmistakable. The most recent Gallup poll on the subject, released in June, reveals that 48% of persons with opinions on the Wagner Act believe that it should be amended, while 18% think it should be repealed and the remaining 34% think it should be left unchanged.

### BROADER SCOPE ASKED FOR WALSH-HEALEY ACT

The unprecedented volume of government orders flowing to private industry for rearmament and other purposes is likely to create a demand for lowering of the Walsh-Healey Act exemptions. A campaign by labor unions to inform the public of the issues involved is counted upon to create sentiment in favor of this legislation.

On the matter of the national minimum-wage and maximum-hours law, agricultural, canning and allied interests are keeping up a steady barrage intended to blast the Barden amendments out of committee early next session.

In general, the prospect is that Congress will be as exercised over labor legislation when it reconvenes as over any other single topic, with the natural exception of neutrality.

The National Labor Board, for

one, has made attempts of its own to forestall amendment of the act it administers. Employers have been granted a limited right to petition for collective-bargaining elections when competing unions are contesting the right to represent their employees. In addition, recent decisions of the Board have made concessions to the A. F. of L. point of view rather than to the C.I.O. position in a number of important cases.

Further "appeasement" for employers is contained in a recent Labor Board decision declaring that employers may flatly refuse a union's demand for a closed shop. On the home front, the Board has made internal administrative changes calculated to please some of its critics.

There is little likelihood, however, that these Labor Board self-defense moves will prove completely effective in staving off amendments to the Wagner Act, but they are intended to soften considerably the blow of the Congressional axe.

These self-defense tactics have been used by the administrator of the wage-hour law, Elmer Andrews, but with different results.

With this strategy in mind, Mr. Andrews asked Congress for a number of amendments to the Fair Labor Standards Act. The House Labor Committee agreed, but the House itself displayed more enthusiasm for amendments than Mr. Andrews had bargained for. When it

appeared that certain pressure groups wished to change the wage-hour act far beyond what the Labor Committee had originally intended, Mr. Andrews hastily withdrew his amendments and arranged to have them bottled up in committee until Congress had gone home.

Chief cause of concern for the Wage-Hour Administration lay in the sweeping changes proposed by Representative Barden of North Carolina. The Wage-Hour Division pointed out that upwards of one million persons would be deprived of minimum pay and maximum hours protection if the Barden amendments passed. It was in this connection that John L. Lewis, C.I.O. president, named Vice-President Garner as the chief inspiration of hostile amendments to the wage-hour law, and threw in for good measure the now-famous charge that Mr. Garner was a "labor-baiting, wiskey-drinking, poker-playing, evil old man."

Thus the Wage-Hour Administration's attempt to obtain cautious changes in the law ended in a strategic retreat. The only amendment finally approved by Congress was one exempting operators of small telephone exchanges. The demand for revision of the law persists among representatives of wholesale agricultural, canning and similar interests and this demand certainly will be felt next session.

(Continued on Page 4)

# Foreshadowing the Pact

(We publish below extracts from Jay Lovestone's column, "At First Glance," foreshadowing the recent sudden change in Russo-Soviet relations. Last week, we quoted extracts from our editorial and news columns indicating that the Workers Age forecast the Stalin-Hitler rapprochement repeatedly during the past year. Additional quotations to the same effect will appear in future issues.)

NOVEMBER 19, 1938:

"If, as it is likely, a break is to be made (by the Soviet Union) with the pro-French orientation and there is to be even the slightest move in the direction of a rapprochement with Germany, then surely some French spies and agents will have to be liquidated. We must remember that, in the halcyon period of the Franco-Soviet pact, there 'logically' was no one accused of being a spy for French imperialism."

FEBRUARY 11, 1939:

"There is another angle to the whole situation. No unusual vehemence characterized Hitler's diatribes against Bolshevism; in fact, the entire effusion here has a stench of stonewall about it. This may well suggest that there may be under way negotiations between Hitler, Germany and Stalin-Russia towards establishing some modus-vivendi between the two. A truce with Nazi Germany would be of great aid to Soviet military and economic conditions, particularly in view of the dreadful damage inflicted on both by Stalin within the last three years."

MARCH 8, 1939:

"The Nipponese imperialist threats hurled with such increasing frequency and fury against the Soviet Union in recent weeks are very likely only means of pressure exercised by the Axis powers on the U.S.S.R. to speed up some momentary understanding and insure some substantial Russian concessions in the bargaining. Already Italy has managed to get the Soviet government to supply Rome's navy with desperately needed oil."

"But not for a moment should anyone overlook the fact that Hitler and Mussolini can very well utilize

ly impressive. But in describing all of these incidents, Sheean does not see the insidious grasping control exerted in Spain by the Communists. He admits it but tends to praise it as necessary in order to preserve order and achieve efficiency. Only once, in his lengthy treatment of the three-and-a-half-hour political report of "Pasionaria" before the Central Committee of the party, does he express doubt. First, he tells what he heard her say. It surprises him. He had known of the resolutions of the Seventh Congress of the Comintern, "they told the Communists of the world to support the democracies only under this or that set of circumstances, exactly specified; they did not tell Communists to support private property as a constitutional principle. What Dolores was putting forward was a program under which the Communists would cease to be any different . . . from the ordinary Republican liberals. Her program was Dr. Negrin's program, and that was all. President Azana would have had nothing to oppose to any part of it."

Here is Sheean's doubt. "I thought that there were two observations to be made: first, that they would never really convince the bourgeoisie of their sincerity, and second, that they would never reconcile the Spanish working class to an abandonment of the revolution even for a time. In the Newtonian laws of the intellect, inertia itself was not more terrible than momentum; and what the Communists were attacking here was the momentum of all post-war thinking the world over. The middle classes everywhere for twenty years had thought of the Communists as their most dangerous enemy; the proletariat, especially in Spain, had developed an unreasoning belief in constant revolution; and both currents of thought had acquired such terrific momentum by 1938 that this attempt to arrest them came too late."

This is the measure of Sheean's political blindness. Instead of recognizing that only by fundamental changes in Spain, during the war could the war have been won, Sheean regrets that the Communist Party was not able to curb the revolutionary tendencies of the Spanish working class. What a tragic popularization, in the year of Our Lord 1939, of the great mistake of the Social Democrats.

Reviewed by FRANK HOWARD

these arrangements with the Stalin regime to insure major shakedowns from their French and British imperialist opponents. World tension has reached the trigger point. In such situations, bluff can at any moment turn into grimmest reality."

JULY 1, 1939:

"We, as all the world knows, think that the U.S.S.R. should keep out of all entangling imperialist alliances. We do not look upon the Franco-Soviet pact, that was and is, as an instrument of good for the Russian or international working class. Nor do we see the slightest cause for jubilation by the world labor movement should Stalin conclude a 'peace pact' with Chamberlain or Hitler."

AUGUST 5, 1939:

"In line with this, too much importance cannot be attached to the coming visit to Stalin by the Nazi economic negotiator, Helmut Wohltat. The latter, who put over the Rumanian deal for Hitler, will seek to conclude a \$600,000,000 credit to provide the German war machine with oil, ores and timber from the U.S.S.R. As if to put even firmer finishing touches on these manifestations of real friendship in deed, a delegation of Nazi steel magnates will then go to Moscow."

"Apparently it would be wrong to pool-pool the recent reports that Mussolini has been working hard for a rapprochement between the Axis powers and the Stalin dictatorship. Evidence of such efforts was afforded aplenty the other day when the authoritative Gazzetta del Popolo wrote a long dissertation to prove that there was little difference between the Stalin regime and the Mussolini, Hitler and Franco regimes, and that therefore 'their destinies lay naturally together.' Said this Turin mouthpiece of Il Duce: 'There are many reasons which might bring Russia close to the Axis powers and to those who gravitate around them; this may appear a heresy, but it is not.'

"Of course, here is a trial balloon filled with poisonous ideological gas. Nevertheless, let no one minimize the likelihood of contemporary politics making even for stranger bedfellows than Stalin and Hitler. Didn't Italian bombers use Soviet petrol to shoot down Russian pilots flying in Spain? Paradoxical? Really illuminating of what consorting with imperialist brigands will bring! Stalin's policies have led the Soviet government to a position of being dependent on one or another brand of imperialist brigands. From the viewpoint of independent international working-class action, the U.S.S.R. is now impotent in its foreign affairs."

# War Starts In Europe

(Continued from page 1)

ments were supported almost unanimously in the House of Commons and the Chamber of Deputies. Practically all the British Laborites lined up behind the Tory government, the strongest voice of opposition being that of the Independent Labor Party which, thru John McGovern, declared it could not follow the Prime Minister for it had "no faith in him or his system as an instrument for fighting Hitler." In the French Chamber, the socialists and communists joined in backing Daladier and his war program; it is not yet known what voices of protest, if any, were raised in that assembly. In both France and England, the cabinets were reorganized in the direction of greater "national unity"; the inclusion of socialists and Laborites in the war governments is expected in the near future. In both countries, too, the military dictatorships established even before the outbreak of war were considerably tightened up last week.

### MILITARY OPERATIONS BEGIN

Military activity of the war began with vigorous fighting in the Corridor and nearby sections of Poland. The Germans were reported to have made wide gains and to have closed the Corridor by military occupation. What line of military operations Great Britain and France would follow was by no means clear last week. Of course, England immediately blockaded Germany in the North and Baltic Seas and closed the entrances to the Mediterranean. With Germany able to draw to some degree on the economic resources of Russia, the blockade could not possibly be as effective as in 1914-1918. France announced that "operations" have begun, involving the entire land, naval and air forces. "But some time ago, the French General Staff is reported to have decided that to take the offensive along the old 'western front' was out of the question in view of the impassable system of tank barriers and concrete machine-gun nests that Germany has built into its lines, or Siegfried Line. For France or England to invade Holland or Belgium to get at Germany was said to be 'unthinkable'—albeit not, of course, by any means impossible. The only way seemed to be across northern Italy and thru the Brenner Pass. That is why Italy's neutrality was so obnoxious to the Allies; from their standpoint, even its participation on the German side would be preferable. The general impression seemed to be that if Italy could not be won over by London and Paris,

# What Do Foes of the Wage Law Want?

## Reactionary Bloc Out for Starvation Wages

By ELMER F. ANDREWS

WHAT do these people who are trying to wreck the Fair Labor Standards Act really want? Their past history certainly does not suggest that they are motivated by unmixing altruism. They aren't trying to wreck the law merely because of unwavering addiction to some abstract but untorn economic theory. They are practical people, and what they really want is the right to pay their workers something less than 25 cents an hour, something less than \$11 for a 44-hour week, the wage and hour standards for this year.

### WHAT THEY ARE OUT FOR

Heaven knows that \$11 a week is little enough in these times! At most, it represents the absolute minimum that Congress considered essential to sustain life for an American family. Yet these enemies of the law don't want to pay 25 cents an hour; they don't want to pay time and a half for overtime; certainly, they don't want to be forced to pay 30 cents an hour for a 42-hour week, which becomes the standard after the 24th of next October, if they can help it. What they want is that the taxpayers—you and I and the public in general—should be forced to make up the difference in the form of relief between the wretched wages they are willing to pay voluntarily and the minimum essential to sustain life. They want the public to pay their wage bills for them so that they will be free to cut the throats of their responsible competitors by underbidding them on a price basis. That's what they want, no matter how hard they try to gloss over their greed by highfalutin talk about the "American way" or the beauties of "rugged individualism," or "the dastardly plot at Washington to impose autocratic regulations upon American business."

The issue is not thus simply one between labor and employers. The interests and the economic and social welfare of the entire nation are involved. Are a large group of the American people—those whose wages are insufficient to hold body and soul together even on a bare minimum standard—to be supported in whole or in part by the contributions of the rest of the population? That state of affairs is unsound economically, socially and morally. The Fair Labor Standards Act is not in itself the complete answer to the present problems of this nation, but it does embody a fundamental principle: a man's work should pay enough to support him.

### INADEQUATE ENFORCEMENT

There is more than one way to wreck a law. In this case, the frank and honorable way would be to attack the law and work for its repeal. You might be able to respect an industrial pirate, however much you disagreed with him, were he to take the position that it is nobody's business if he depresses the wages of his workers to the starvation level, that society has no right to hold him accountable for his acts. But you can have mighty little respect for those who, working behind the scenes to knife the wage and hour law, at the same time profess to be the friends of labor bent upon enslaving labor for labor's own good. That is the kind of opposition we have had in the last few months.

Still another danger is that enforcement may be crippled by inadequate funds. The enactment of social or labor legislation, however well conceived, is not enough. No law is of value until provision is made for its enforcement. It is relatively easy to enforce a law requiring the protection of factory ma-

chinery with safety appliances. A single trip thru a factory will disclose to an inspector whether the law is being complied with or not. To enforce the Fair Labor Standards Act is a far more difficult proposition. The inspector must study the payroll records. He must interview the workers, usually in their homes, since they fear dismissal or some other form of retaliation if seen talking to the government's representative. Frequently, he must stand at the factory gate at night to check up on the overtime work. He is often called upon to educate employers and employees alike as to their responsibilities and rights under the law.

To-date we have received approximately 19,000 complaints of violations and we have investigated a sizeable number of them. We are nibbling away at the remainder as rapidly as we can with limited personnel and inadequate funds. But until we are able to employ a sufficient number of trained men to make inspections on a regular and systematic basis, and not solely on the basis of complaints, we are likely to continue to lose ground. In the circumstances, continued operation on a shoe string will be almost as damaging as destructive amendments. . . .

### DANGER AHEAD!

For the moment the schemes of those who want to wreck the act becomes who want to wreck the act. But these schemes are not yet dead; they are being revised in slightly different form and will be put forward again—if not during the remaining days of this session of Congress, then during the next session beginning in January. The ball has been punted out behind the goal posts, but next January may see it on the five-yard line.

I think you may have to expect that these attacks will be periodically renewed for some years to come, or until, at last, the principle of decent pay for decent hours of work becomes so firmly entrenched in the conscience of the nation that no man will dare to challenge it.

(These paragraphs are from the address delivered by Elmer F. Andrews, wage-hour law administrator, on July 31 at the American Newspaper Guild convention in San Francisco.—Editor.)

## MARCEAU PIVERT

Leader of the French Socialist Workers and Peasants Party (P.S.O.P.)

will speak on

### "The New Socialist Youth Movement"

Wednesday, Sept. 6  
8 P. M.

Auspices: New York Youth Section, I.L.L.A.

### "Present Situation in the French Trade Union Movement"

Thursday, Sept. 7  
6:30 P. M.

Auspices: New York Dress-makers, Branch, I.L.L.A.  
Both meetings will be held at RIVERA HALL  
131 W. 33rd St., N. Y. C.

# Pivert, French Socialist Leader, Discusses Pact

## Probes Effects On Labor Movement Of France

(Continued from Page 1)

get out of this embarrassing alliance. But here again the reformists are incapable of putting forth a genuine working-class program which would help the labor movement.

QUESTION: What do you propose? What is your program?

ANSWER: Our party, the Socialist Workers and Peasants Party of France (P.S.O.P.), is a newcomer to the French political scene, since it arose in the leftward split of the Socialist Party in 1938, but all our worker and peasant members have indeed stood the test under the fire of events these past twenty years. We have today several thousand members who were formerly members of the Socialist or Communist parties or who reached a revolutionary point of view thru their experience with the Popular Front. We were therefore not very much astonished at Stalin's latest turn. For us the problem was clear; we denounced Stalin as the gravedigger of the proletarian revolution without having to wait for the pact.

For us imperialist war is the fine flower of the existing economic system. War preparations have already become an absolute necessity without which the regime would be unable to solve its contradictions. War can be no solution at all, because,

like dictatorship, it remains within the framework of capitalism. We are therefore against this war which can only be carried out at the expense of the working masses, thru misery, privation, suffering, bloodshed and racial oppression. We are not only against war, but against all dictatorship, whether Bonapartist, "democratic," fascist or totalitarian. We want to prepare the masses who are now face to face with the terrible catastrophe of war, for a complete transformation of the economic system. We too want to overthrow Hitler, but the means suggested—war—may actually help Hitler prolong his rule or extend it over other countries, and would certainly tend to stimulate the setting up of dictatorships in the "democratic" powers. The capitalist system is too hopelessly bankrupt to allow the survival of democratic institutions; it needs the shot in the arm brought about by militarism. It cannot turn back now. We will explain and prove this to the workers of France and other countries. We say this to the workers of Germany and Italy now under the yoke of their dictators, and we hope that the popular masses all over Europe will one day sign their own non-aggression pact on the ruins of dictatorial systems, on the ruins of capitalism, giving way to the Socialist United States of Europe.

# With Fraternal LABOR DAY GREETINGS

JOINT BOARD,  
DRESS AND WAISTMAKERS UNION,  
I.L.G.W.U.

BEN EVRY, President  
JULIUS HOCHMAN, General Manager  
PHILIP KAPP, Secretary-Treasurer



