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Socialism, Collectivism and
Democracy
By SCOTT NEARING

Workers Age

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Weekly Paper of the Independent Labor League of America

VOL. 8, No. 45.

NEW YORK, N. Y., SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 11, 1939

5 CENTS

AT FIRST GLANCE

by Jay Lovestone

THE GREATER PROMISE OF LABOR

WE are living thru times crowded with events only yesterday believed unbelievable. In fact, every once in a while we get such a deluge of the weird that one gets to feel and think that these are days when the fantastic is commonplace. Yet, it would be folly to assume that the world, that movements and men, have gone altogether berserk. Nor could anything be as fatal to labor's advancement and hence to social progress as the paralyzing notion that there are no longer any analytical values, stirring ideals, valid ideas or sound principles.

Let us take the concrete situation in which American labor finds itself. Our working-class movement, the comparatively better off, is beset with many difficulties. Division persists in the ranks of unionism; costly mistakes undermine organized labor with disheartening recurrence and stubborn persistence. Ineptness, petty jealousies, inflated ambitions, reckless Stalinist manipulations, slavish following of "progressive" boss-class politicians, apathy towards and misunderstanding of war preparations and plans, singly and collectively take their toll in defeats or devitalizing uncertainty. Despite it all, there is much vitality, hope and promise in our labor movement. Moreover, there is one towering certainty in the present influx of uncertainties. In the welter of conflict and confusion, there is the overriding certainty that a united American trade-union movement is not only possible and desirable but also probable in a future nearer than discouraging surface indications momentarily reveal. I am convinced that objective forces and subjective factors are combining to speed a resumption of unity negotiations between the A. F. of L. and the C.I.O. At Cincinnati, the former left the door wide open to a resumption and consummation of unity deliberations. Likewise, the C.I.O. convention did not close the door to the reopening of conferences for reunification. We underscore this, the San Francisco convention did sort of slam the door a bit in the face of President Roosevelt on the occasion of the receipt of his pro-unity letter.

I would be much surprised if the A. F. of L. and the C.I.O. were not to resume by January or February their negotiations looking towards peace in the house of labor. Here is no wishful thinking on my part. There is multiplying and mounting evidence that the coming months will see the federal government become even more directly responsible for a still greater share of the economic life of the country. This will mean a much higher coordination of industry that will itself drive divided labor towards coordination of its organized resources and unification of its ranks. Otherwise, our trade-union movement will be thrown into an extremely dangerous and humiliating situation—into a position of utter helplessness before the new and grave problems flowing out of America's decisive role in the world-shaking crisis.

Recent years have witnessed a sufficiently encouraging vitality in the depths of American labor to chase despair and pessimism out of first calculations. Then, too rare to these instances be, there have been heard in the last few months sincere and strong voices in behalf of unity. Slowly but surely, the rancor and shortsightedness generated by the split are receding even in top circles of the C.I.O. and the A. F. of L.—in the face of the rising complexities of the critical hours at hand. A. F. of L. Vice-President Woll's address to the last convention of the New York State Federation of Labor is significant in this respect. In this connection, we also point to C.I.O. Vice-President Hillman's article in the New Republic of November 8, reading in part:

"With the immediate objectives of the C.I.O. now won, the question of unity recurs under new conditions. The bitter experience of labor abroad has shown that division in the ranks of the progressive forces provides an entering wedge for reaction. . . . There is today a widespread recognition in the ranks of labor of the need for peace and a determination on the part of the membership of the two organizations to achieve it. Given these conditions, I am confident that it will become possible to find a basis for a united labor movement which will sacrifice none of the gains of the past, but equip organized labor with the strength and the singleness of purpose that it requires to perform the vital tasks which lies ahead."

None can exaggerate the decisive import of these conclusions—provided the weight of the C.I.O. and A.F. of L. rank and file is put in the scale for unity. Furthermore, the coming weeks can be utilized very effectively by the I.L.G.W.U. to revive its drive for trade-union unity. Substantial progress towards healing the breach must be acknowledged when some,

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Lewis Ban on Third Term Confuses Capital

Frank Howard's Weekly Washington Letter

By FRANK HOWARD

Washington, D. C.
JOHN L. LEWIS'S letter to eleven state chairmen of Labor's Non-Partisan League regarding the western third-term conference surprised and confused Washington. Not knowing of Howard Costigan's connection with this conference (Costigan is head of the Commonwealth Federation of Washington and a leading Communist Party fellow-traveler), it did not make sense. The behind-the-scenes story (I have it from trustworthy sources) is that this conference was arranged by Costigan in accord with the old line of the C.P. When Costigan was in Washington to attend the last convention of the American League for Peace and Democracy (he is vice-chairman), he stayed at the White House. He had been introduced to Mrs. F. D. R. by her daughter, Mrs. Boettiger of Seattle. Mrs. F. D. R. sent Costigan to see the left New Dealers who have been promoting the third-term movement. He was authorized by them, and indirectly by the White House, in the way such things are done (see Moley's book) to organize this conference in cooperation with Philip Dunne of Los Angeles. The story here is that he is now being repudiated because of what happened at the C.I.O. convention in San Francisco. Paradoxically, this move of John L. may hurt Hillman's choice for the presidency—who is F. D. R., of course—but this doesn't phase Lewis. It rather pleases him. He is said to prefer Burton K. Wheeler. And he can say to Sidney: "Didn't you tell me to stop working with communists and their stooges?" It is a nice kettle of fish!

An angle of this incident, not overlooked by New Dealers who may

House Passes Repeal of Arms Ban

Embargo Is Killed By 243-181; Effort to Bar Loans Also Beaten

Washington, D. C.
The House of Representatives last week backed the Senate in killing the embargo on the export of arms and munitions to warring countries by adopting a neutrality law very similar to that passed by the upper house the week before in the form of the Pittman resolution. Such minor differences as there were between the two versions were ironed out in conference between committees of the two houses the next day and the measure was ready for the President's signature. Immediately upon signing the act, President Roosevelt issued proclamations involving and implementing the new law. Acting under the law, too, he set up combat zones thru which American ships may not pass, covering the waters of the North Atlantic down to Spain and including the North and Baltic Seas.

Action on the neutrality bill in the House came after some vigorous debate lasting four days. There were three significant votes taken on the question, in each of which the Administration forces scored a victory. The first roll-call came on an amendment by Representative Woolcott of Michigan demanding that the House insist on a provision to forbid Federal Reserve Banks or other governmental agencies to finance any purchases by belligerents. Supporters of this move stressed that without such specific prohibition, the ban on loans and credits to belligerent powers could be circumvented without great difficulty. Nevertheless, the Woolcott amendment was defeated by 228 to 196.

The modified embargo proposal of Representative Vorys, forbidding the export of arms, munitions and "lethal instruments," was defeated by 245 to 179. The Vorys bill had been passed by the House towards the end of the last session of Congress but now the Administration succeeded in downing it.

Finally the main embargo test came on a motion of Representative Shantly to retain the arms ban substantially as in the old law. This was defeated by the division of 243 to 181.

The repeal of the arms embargo was received with exultation in Britain and France, where there was talk of huge orders for fighting and bombing planes to be placed immediately in America. The press in London and Paris openly spoke of the United States as economically aligned with the Allies and hinted that ever greater assistance would be forthcoming as the need would arise. Semi-official quarters in Germany, foreseeing heavy Anglo-French orders for American arms, munitions and airplanes, declared that German U-boats would probably intensify their activities in the Atlantic in an effort to sink as many arms-carrying ships as possible.

Big Anti-War Rally on November 10

New York City.
The biggest meeting of the New York Keep America Out of War Congress since the famous Hippodrome meeting in March 1938, which launched the national anti-war movement to block the Administration's moves toward war, will be held on the eve of Armistice Day, Friday night, November 10, at Carnegie Hall, 57th Street and 7th Ave. Senator Burton K. Wheeler, running mate of the late Robert L. La Follette, who was candidate for President in 1924, will be the main speaker. Others to address the meeting are Morris L. Ernst, noted civil liberties attorney; John T. Flynn, author, economist and national chairman of the K.A.O.W.C.; and Johanna M. Lindlof, progressive member of New York City's Board of Education. Rabbi Sidney E. Goldstein will be the chairman. A labor speaker will be announced later.

Theme of the meeting is: "One Armistice Is Enough for Us—We Can Stay Out of This War."

In announcing the meeting, Leonard Bright, New York executive secretary, said: "Two months ago, governmental departments were being geared in preparation for war. Rumors were rife in Washington that we would enter the war in six months. The anti-war mobilization in Washington by the K.A.O.W.C. and allied peace forces had a marked effect. The fight in the Senate on the arms embargo compelled even those Senators who were for the lifting of the embargo to declare strongly against our involvement in war abroad."

"This meeting will be a further demonstration of the American people's sentiment to stay out of war."

No Trust in Words!

IN his address to the New York Herald-Tribune Forum last week, President Roosevelt denounced as a "fake" the warnings sounded inside and out of Congress "against sending the boys of American mothers to fight on the battlefields of Europe." "The fact of the international situation," he solemnly asserted, "is that the United States, as I have said before, is neutral and does not intend to get involved in war."

Before we take these words at their face value, let us pause and think back twenty-three years. It was then, in 1916, that President Wilson assured the American people that he deserved reelection because he had "kept us out of war" and intended to continue doing so in the future. The American people took his solemn pledge at its face value and reelected him. That was in November 1916. In April 1917, six months later, President Wilson appeared before Congress asking for the declaration of a state of war with Germany!

The American people can trust in nothing but their own active determination to keep out of war.

"O.K.—BUT NOT MORE THAN A MINUTE"



—from Justice

John L. Lewis Hits Third-Term Boom After the Repeal of The Arms Embargo

Directs Labor Non-Partisan League To Shun "Progressive" Parley

Washington, D. C.
John L. Lewis last week publicly repudiated the movement for a third term for President Roosevelt in a letter to Governor Olson of California in which he sharply criticized a conference of "progressives" of eleven states which he said two government officials were organizing with the secret purpose of promoting the candidacy of President Roosevelt for another term.

Mr. Lewis, chairman of Labor's Non-Partisan League, instructed officials of the League in the eleven states to stay away from the movement, which he said he believed was being undertaken without President Roosevelt's approval.

Mr. Lewis said the conference was being organized by Norman M. Littell, assistant to Attorney General Murphy in charge of the Lands Division, Department of Justice, and Marshall E. Dimock, second assistant secretary of the Department of Labor. He added that a "secret agenda for the conference has been completed and the organizers of this conference are awaiting disposition of the neutrality bill by Congress before the issuance of their public call for the conference."

"Labor's Non-Partisan League" Mr. Lewis wrote to Governor Olson, "is opposed to the holding of this conference for the following reasons:

"a. The source of its conception and the surreptitious manner in which its organizers have worked.

"b. The doubtful source of its finances. An anonymous individual in California is counted upon to provide a plentitude of money.

"c. The questionable legality under the Hatch Act of the activities of Littell and Dimock.

"d. The slight to Senator Burton K. Wheeler and the great liberals in the West who have not been consulted and who are slated to be excluded from the conference.

"e. The exclusion of labor from the privilege of making suggestions for a legitimate program.

"f. The secret plans to use the conference to launch a third-term boom."

Senator Wheeler said that he did not know much about the matter except that some western politicians

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Molotov Justifies Germany in War

Says Germany Seeks Peace and Allies Want War; Russia Pushes on in Baltic

Russia again held the center of the stage of war diplomacy last week both on its own account and on behalf of its ally, Nazi Germany. The formal address of Premier Molotov before the Russian Supreme Soviet made emphatically clear Moscow's close cooperation with Berlin. Russia was drawing closer to Germany, Stalin's spokesman declared, and

was striving to establish better relations with Japan. Germany desired peace, he insisted, and the Allies were responsible for the continuation of the war.

In his one and a half hour address, Premier Molotov ranged over many phases of Russo-German foreign policy, in the course of which:

He struck at President Roosevelt for "intervening" in Russia's negotiations with Finland.

He declared Russia was "unable to understand" Finland's refusal of the Russian terms, which, he said, included a "mutual-assistance pact approximately on the lines of our pacts with other Baltic states." Continued efforts of the Finns to "frustrate the proposed agreement," he threatened, would, "of course, work to the serious detriment of Finland."

He denounced Great Britain and France for carrying on the war "against" Germany for the purpose of safeguarding their colonial possessions. "Today," he said, "Germany is striving for the earliest termination of the war and for peace."

He said "there can be no question of restoring Poland" and that it was "absurd to continue the present war" for such a cause.

He declared that Russo-German relations were being placed on an increasingly "friendly and solid basis," economically and politically. Russia held, he said, that "a strong Germany is an indispensable condition for a durable peace in Europe."

He announced that trade negotiations would soon be opened with Japan and hinted at closer relations with Tokyo, possibly a "non-aggression" pact.

He said nothing in his address about the Scandinavian countries or the Balkans, but it was widely reported that a Russo-German move against Norway and Sweden was in the offing. It was said that Russia was demanding naval bases in Norwegian and Swedish ports. In its daily diatribes against Finland, the Moscow press began to include repeated references to the two Scandinavian countries as well. There were indications also that something was about to break in the Balkans. Germany was said to be offering Bulgaria a handsome trade bid in an effort to check the plan for a neutral Balkan block under Italo-

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Billion Dollar Naval Bill Is Proposed

Washington, D. C.
A record-breaking naval authorization bill which will require congressional appropriations of about \$1,300,000,000 will be introduced at the next session of Congress, probably on the first day, it was learned here last week.

This vast program, which carries the approval of President Roosevelt, provides for the construction of ninety-five combat ships, including three aircraft carriers, eight cruisers, fifty-two destroyers and thirty-two submarines. Completion of the program will increase the fighting strength of the navy to about 2,100,000 tons. The bill also provides for a maximum naval air strength of 6,000 planes, for thirty-six lighter-than-air craft and twenty-one auxiliary vessels. This program goes far beyond the top figures set by the Administration last year.

Representative Vinson of Georgia, chairman of the House Committee on Naval Affairs, who will pilot the bill thru the House, said that the authorizations would give the United States a fleet having an under-age strength in 1944 of 15 battleships, 59 cruisers, 11 aircraft carriers, 173 destroyers, 87 submarines, 6,000 airplanes and 36 lighter-than-air craft. He added that the new construction might be completed within three or four years.

Don't Miss It!

THE STALIN-HITLER GAME

(Who Is Playing Whom—and For What?)

by Jay Lovestone

Watch for it in the Next Issue of the Workers Age

In the second place, we cannot overlook the fact that the organized anti-war movement has not succeeded in convincing all of the millions who are against involvement in war that repeal of the embargo means the beginning of just that. Many, too many people still believe that you can have your cake and eat it too—that you can keep out of war and yet let the Allies help themselves out of our resources. We still have to prove to millions that getting into war is not accomplished in one fell swoop but in a series of steps each of which may not seem so terribly dangerous in itself but which, added together, spell war. We still have to prove to millions that you cannot get into the war economically and stay out of it militarily.

These are the tasks cut out for us, the organized anti-war movement. The fight to save this country from the dread disaster of war has only just begun. In spite of the victory of the Ad-

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