

Next Week:  
**APPROACHES TO  
SOCIALISM**  
By LOUIS WALDMAN

# Workers Age

Weekly Paper of the Independent Labor League of America

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## At First Glance:

### Behind the Headlines

By JAY LOVESTONE

IN the closing days of the Communist International as an international working-class organization, some of us used to describe the difference between this International and the Socialist (Second) International in this fashion: "In the Second International, revolution is impossible; in the Third International, nothing is impossible." This evaluation was, in part, inspired by the repeated sharp turns of policy of the C.I.

A decade has passed since this description was made. In this decade so much mud has been thrown and so much blood has been spilled as to demand a re-examination of this formulation. It is still true that in the Second International revolution is impossible. But the Comintern, which has been transformed into an agency of the Stalin-Hitler front, must now be defined as an organization in which nothing is impossible—except revolution.

The swift mechanical shift from ultra-left to ultra-right and the latest beginnings of a turn to a new brand of ultra-leftism are a tribute to the incredible incompetency and stupidity of the leaderships foisted upon the various "parties" of the Stalinfront. In fact, when one examines the senseless obedience with which the agents of Stalin have been carrying out the weird turns and twists, he is reminded of an instructive experience in Roman history. Some nineteen hundred years ago, the third emperor of the Julian dynasty, Gaus by name, nicknamed Caligula ("Little Boots"), made his horse a consul. Obviously, Big-booted Stalin can make even more surprising appointments and decisions. And lest any of our readers think we are resorting to exaggeration or unfairness, we propose to call upon the Daily Worker headlines to talk for themselves.

Here I am turning for inspiration to a pamphlet, "Behind the war Headlines" just gotten out by the Communist Party. In this very little of a masterpiece, we are told: "The biggest barages of this war have not been fired on the military fronts. They have been fired at the nerves and hearts of the people from the high-power batteries of the press and radio." There is quite some truth in that. Now, let us see in what direction—for whom and at whom—"the high-power batteries" of the Daily Worker have been firing. Until the close of August, Stalin's "high-power batteries of the press," in this and all other countries, hammered away at the Hitler gang as the only aggressor in the war then being prepared. Soon came the Stalin-Hitler partnership to precipitate this imperialist war. And then? And then? Now it's only the "great democracies," boomed by Browder last July Fourth, that are the aggressors, that are responsible for the imperialist war. Herr Browder is wrong in both instances. At all times, regardless of their momentary relations with Stalin, the British, French and German governments were imperialist aggressors and could wage only reactionary wars—undeserving of the slightest support by the workers of all countries, without exception.

But let us look "behind the war headlines" of the Daily Worker: JUNE 29, 1939.—A front page editorial blares: "The Price of Peace—Defeat the Isolationists" and raves about "the rabid war-encouraging isolationist campaign in the United States, led by the most outspoken friends of fascism in this country, to kill the Bloom bill revision of the scandalous 'neutrality' (arms-embargo.—J.L.) law."

OCTOBER 25, 1939.—William Z. Foster, in a fit of fury, screams that "the struggle to defeat the repeal of the arms embargo is a vital part of the people's fight to keep America out of the imperialist war."

Why did these Comintern consuls and drag-horses change their course so abruptly? On June 29, Stalin was still negotiating with Chamberlain, (Continued on Page 4)

### Appeal to Our Readers

AS all workers well know, a labor organization such as the Independent Labor League of America is not subject to large donations from socialites, Hollywood darlings, or pent-house devotees. That is why there is a constant struggle to maintain the tempo and character of our positive work for the advancement of our class—the workers of America, the workers of the world. That is why we are constantly appealing for support, no matter how insignificant such support may seem to the one who responds.

Frankly, we need dimes, nickels, quarters—and will even gladly accept pennies. We must have the means to carry on an organized struggle for the workers, against reaction.

Why not slip your hand into your pocket now? Send us whatever you can spare. No matter how much it is it will go a long way to aid our fight for a better life—for a warless world—for socialism. We count on you. Do let us hear from you—with cash.

We will gladly accept your pledge that you can make a contribution at an early date.

### Court OK's NLRB Ruling In Steel Case

Rejects Appeal Of Republic Steel, Orders Back Wages Paid

Philadelphia, Pa.

A National Labor Relations Board order directing Republic Steel Corp. to rehire 5,000 Ohio workers involved in the Little Steel strike of 1937 was upheld last week by the United States Circuit Court of Appeals.

The corporation had asked the court to set aside the order issued by the Board on October 13, 1938.

The ruling would require the corporation to provide back-pay for strikers who were not returned to their jobs. It has been estimated that such payments might amount to \$7,000,000.

The payment is required under the Board's original order which directed the corporation to rehire the striking employees within five days after they applied for reinstatement—or to pay them wages from that time. Attorneys for the corporation stated that an appeal to the United States Supreme Court was being planned.

The case grew out of the strikes at Republic's plants at Youngstown, Massillon, Canton, Warren and Cleveland.

### HERE'S A GOOD WAR TO GET INTO!



## War Would Bring Military Dictatorship to America

Locomotive Firemen's Journal Warns Against Grim Danger

By CHARLES M. KELLEY

(This article is from the November 1939 issue of the Locomotive Firemen and Enginemen's Journal, official publication of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and Enginemen—Editor)

IF THIS country is so unfortunate as to become actively involved in Europe's war, its workers will, to all practical effect, be in the army, and will do as they are told. They will work at such jobs, at such wages and for such hours as are determined for them by an industrial autocracy that will be in complete control of the life of the nation.

You don't believe it? Then you don't know about a mobilization plan that has been worked out by the War Department. Under its provisions, all industry will be placed under "outstanding industrialists." All labor legislation will become a dead letter. Agencies administering labor laws, such as the National Mediation Board, Wagner Labor Board, the Women's Bureau and the Children's Bureau, will be laid on the shelf.

### READY FOR M-DAY

The Industrial Mobilization Plan, known as the "M-plan" in military circles, has been in the course of preparation ever since 1921. During all that period, fourteen officers employed full time in the office of the Assistant Secretary of War, and fifty officers on full or part time, have worked out a scheme that is intended to regulate the life and activity of every citizen the moment war is declared. Indeed, the plan can be put into effect if there arises an "emergency due to the imminence of war." A great strike, in the opinion of those who have studied the plan, would be sufficient warrant to place the country under a military dictatorship.

The plan has been revised many times, the last just a few weeks ago.

Phraseology has been changed, but the original purpose remains unchanged.

Two years ago, the Senate Committee on Military Affairs favorably reported legislation which embodied the views of the militarists, who earnestly commended its provisions and strongly urged their enactment. Colonel Charles T. Harris, Jr., director of the planning branch of the War Department, told the committee:

"The War Department feels that all elements of the nation should be treated alike in war legislation. If we are going to control prices, it is very necessary to control all of the elements of cost entering into those prices. As labor is the greatest single element of cost, the War Department feels that control should be extended to cover labor."

In a letter to the committee, Secretary of War Harry H. Woodring gave unqualified approval of the plan. "All elements of the nation," he declared, "should be treated alike in war legislation, and we feel that, if the control of prices in general is provided, the control of wages should be included."

### UNIVERSAL REGIMENTATION

The starting point of the M-plan is the universal draft, which calls for the registration of every male person over eighteen years of age. The plan calls for six field armies, or about 4,000,000 men. Those not mustered into the fighting forces will be given a deferred rating. Those on the deferred list will make up a civilian army of workers which will maintain the armies in the field and the civilian population.

There is a very sweeping provision that permits the military to reach out and grab any citizen and assign him to any service deemed necessary or desirable. It says: "Nothing in this act shall be construed as preventing the President, when in his discretion the national

interest requires it, from calling immediately for duty in the public armed forces, any person subject to registration who is liable to service, however classified, or wherever residing."

The method is there. All that is necessary for the installation of a full-fledged labor draft is for the President to say the word.

If there is any doubt on that point, ponder this provision in the legislation which was approved by the Senate Military Affairs Committee two years ago:

"The President is empowered to draft into the military service of the United States such members of the unorganized militia as he may deem necessary, subject to such conditions, exemptions, rules and regulations as the President may prescribe and publicly proclaim."

"Unorganized militia," it should be emphasized, means the entire male population.

The Senate committee which investigated the munitions traffic a few years ago studied the M-plan and reported:

"The committee finds that S. 1721 (a bill giving effect to the plan of the War Department) puts all male labor under registration and provides for penalties and also for court martial in case any of the registrants 'fail or neglect fully any duty required of him.'"

"The proposal can also be used to effect and enforce a draft of labor and to remove the right of any worker to refuse employment in private industry under conditions or at wages which do not satisfy his needs."

"The power to call into military service any union or other representative of labor who becomes spokesman for other employees in attempts to secure higher wages, is the power to break strikes. This can also be done thru the use of military forces in removing the spokesmen from the plant involved to other plants or

(Continued on Page 3)

### Tammany Sweeps New York Vote

Council Votes Not Yet Counted; Jeffries Wins In Detroit Race

New York City

A Democratic sweep in New York City in the elections on Tuesday, November 7, put Tammany organization men in virtually every office for which there was a contest and defeated the Republican and Fusion candidates endorsed by Mayor LaGuardia. Tammany was reported looking confidently and jubilantly to the majority elections in 1941.

The vote for New York City Council, registered on paper ballots under the proportional-representation system, was being counted last week and no results were yet known. The American Labor Party ran Council candidates in all counties and it was expected that a good showing would be made despite the handicaps under which the party labored in this year's elections.

In a state-wide referendum, New York State voters supported overwhelmingly the constitutional amendment to legalize pari-mutuel betting on horse-racing. New York City was 4-to-1 in favor although Mayor LaGuardia had made a last-minute plea against it.

In California, a huge turnout of voters appeared to be swamping the so-called "ham-and-eggs" plan of old-age pensions by a heavy majority. In Ohio, a similar proposal was also defeated, going down by a 3-to-1 vote.

The state-wide election in Pennsylvania, involving four judgeships and regarded as a sort of "preview" of 1940 sentiment, gave the Republicans a considerable lead. The Republicans retained control of Philadelphia.

In Detroit's non-partisan mayoralty elections, which drew out a heavy vote for a purely municipal

(Continued on page 3)

## German Offensive thru Low Countries Seen

Berlin Said to Be Preparing "Decisive Blow" on Land and Air; Russian Foreign Office Initiates "Ideological" Drive

A new tension gripped Europe and the world last week as indications multiplied that a decisive military blow was being prepared by Germany, very possibly involving the invasion of Holland and Belgium. In that case, it was felt, real war—totalitarian war in all its fury

would break loose, with consequences that could not be easily foreseen.

The week, the tenth week of the war, opened with a new peace initiative, made this time by King Leopold of Belgium and Queen Wilhel-

mina of Holland, who, after a conference at the Hague, offered their services as mediators in an effort to halt the war "before it breaks out on the western front in all its violence." Only perfunctory replies were forthcoming from London and Paris, while Berlin simultaneously attacked the Belgian and Dutch rulers for "kowtowing to England" and the Allied governments for virtually rejecting their peace initiative.

Ominous signs of a coming storm on the western front could be discerned early in the week as vast German troop concentrations and other extensive military preparations were reported on the Dutch and Belgian frontiers. The controlled German press, too, hinted darkly that a "decisive blow" might be struck "at any moment." This "blow," it was believed in military circles, would be a combined land and air offensive, the former probably an invasion of France thru the Low Countries, the latter aimed primarily at England. Holland and Belgium, greatly perturbed, especially in view of the multiplication of border frays, rushed defense measures. Preparations to flood the main water defense lines and other emergency military measures were reported in both countries.

There was considerable speculation as to the reasons for the sudden turn in German war policy—if turn there was going to be. Informed opinion favored the view that internal pressures in Germany, economic and political, were compelling a policy of aggressive action without regard to military considerations. Germany, it was pointed out, cannot follow a course of "outwitting" the enemy, as England and France seem to be doing. In the first place, Germany's economic resources, upon which its fighting capacity so largely depends, could never stand a long and drawn-out war, even with the assistance that Stalinist Russia would offer. The strategy of "economic strangulation" and "starving out" at the basis of Allied war policy would take its toll long before that. Furthermore, it was stressed, the Nazi regime, in its very nature, in its inherent instability, requires a continuous "dynamism," constant aggression, ever-new victories—or else collapse!

In other respects, too, the week's developments centered in Germany. A tremendous sensation was created when, barely half an hour after Adolf Hitler addressed "old-guard" Nazis in the beer-hall where sixteen years before they had launched their unsuccessful putsch, a time-bomb in the attic exploded, sending the ceiling crashing down and killing seven and injuring sixty. But Hitler and his leading aides had left fifteen

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## Labor Peace Parleys to Be Resumed

Washington, D. C.

President Roosevelt conferred separately last week with Wm. Green and John L. Lewis, heads of the rival A. F. of L. and C.I.O., on the question of resuming negotiations for peace between the two labor federations. No official report of these conferences was made public but it was understood that Mr. Roosevelt had pressed for a renewal of unit discussions and that both labor chiefs had agreed, although it was not quite clear how the formalities would be carried out.

Informed quarters said that talks between the peace committees of the two labor organizations would begin some time in February. Indeed, there were indications that approaches to resume negotiations had been made even before the White House conferences last week. Naturally, Mr. Roosevelt's pressure was expected to speed renewed peace discussions.

Unit negotiations between the A. F. of L. and C.I.O. took place for the first time in December 1937 and January 1938, ending in a deadlock. They were taken up again early in February this year and broken off without conclusion in April.

FRIDAY NIGHT  
November 17  
8:15 P. M.

JAY LOVESTONE speaks on:  
"Twenty-Two Years of Soviet Russia"

RIVERA HALL  
131 West 33rd St.  
25 Cents

# S.U.P. Sailors Score Victory, Curran Rule Ruins N.M.U.

By JACK SODERBERG

October 30, 1939  
**YOU** have probably heard that the Sailors Union of the Pacific and the Marine Firemen, Oilers and Wipers on the West Coast have signed agreements covering the next two years. The agreement between the shipowners and these unions provides that each six months the clause dealing with wages may be reopened for reconsideration. This clause was inserted on the demand of Harry Lundeberg in order to safeguard against any changes which a probable war will bring about.

### STALINISTS OUTSMARTED

The Stalinists played their usual dirty role this time again. Only they were outsmarted this time, and Bridges and the longshoremen and the Communist Party officials of the Cooks and Stewards are left holding the bag they prepared for Lundeberg in particular. It happened this way: All agreements expired on September 30. Prior to this, however, negotiations had been in progress. As usual, the C.P. clique, controlling what is left of the Maritime Federation, endeavored to gain control over all union negotiations, whether affiliated to the Federation or not. Naturally, the S.U.P., an A. F. of L. affiliate, turned this down flat, and the M.F.O.W., an independent union, followed the example of the S.U.P. This left Bridges with but his own longshoremen and the C.P.-controlled Cooks and Stewards. On behalf of the S.U.P., Lundeberg gave the shipowners seven days to make up their minds. Failing satisfaction in seven days, the sailors would strike. Again the M.F.O.W. followed Lundeberg's lead. Bridges, on behalf of his own union as well as that of the Cooks and Stewards, immediately granted the shipowners sixty days extension, and in doing so stated quite frankly that "now at last we have Lundeberg out on a limb." This sentiment was faithfully echoed by Cayton of the C. and S. (Cayton formerly was the California representative of the International Labor Defense when suddenly he recollected that he was a ship's steward and, with the C.P.'s assistance, got into the C. and S. union and, in due course, was "elected" an official. This will give you an idea who controls the C. and S.)

As the seventh day drew near and no contract was signed with the sailors, Bridges and Co. began their handsprings. Surely Lundeberg was licked this time and would have to come to the C.P.-controlled Federation for assistance, in which case Bridges, Cayton and Co., together with the commissars from Haigh Street, would dictate terms. Everything seemed rosy for the Communists in Frisco. But something went wrong somewhere. At the last minute the shipowners signed on the dotted line and, although some of the M.F.O.W. officials were playing both ends against the middle, the branch offices of this union advised Frisco that they would stand for no splitting tactics which would leave the S.U.P. to fight alone. The result was that they too received the signatures of the shipowners covering the same period as the sailors. Result? Bridges and the rest of his C.P. clique are now very much out on the limb on which they thought they had Lundeberg.

What made the shipowners change their mind and sign? The teamsters. This union, also an A. F. of L. affiliate, notified the proper parties that should the shipowners decide to stall the issue and play the game of Bridges and Co., the teamsters would back the sailors to the limit, tying up every pound of cargo on the docks and in the warehouses. Mr. Shipowner signed!

### SITUATION ON THE EAST COAST

On the East Coast, we have a sorer picture. Here also the agreements expired on September 30. Negotiations between the shipowners and the Communists in the leadership of the National Maritime Union have been in progress for some six weeks to date. A thirty-day extension was agreed to first, and now a second period of thirty days has just been agreed to. Here the shipowners flatly refuse to consider the union control of hiring halls. They want this clause abolished and refuse to discuss anything else until Curran and Co. have agreed to the abolition of this clause.

For months prior to the opening of discussion for a new agreement, Curran, in the Pilot, kept hammering away at the membership warning them against a strike. Curran doesn't want a strike for two reasons. No. 1: He is afraid of a strike for what it may bring. The tanker strike fiasco almost unseated him. The rebellion in the ranks against the choking of the strike in hot oil scared him. This strike opened the eyes of the membership as to his incompetence and impotence, as well as teaching the rank and file that the next strike must be run on a basis of a complete tie-up of everything that floats. This is the last thing Curran would desire. It would completely spoil his present endeavor of appeasing the Maritime Commission with a view of becoming their chief scab-herder.

No. 2: Ostensibly there are one hundred and eighty thousand some odd dollars in the N.M.U. strike fund. Actually, there isn't anywhere near that much left. Curran already

## 3,000,000 Workers Have Closed Shop

Washington, D. C.  
**C**LOSED-shop agreements now cover an estimated 3,000,000 of the 8,000,000 union members in the United States, the Monthly Labor Review of the Bureau of Labor Statistics states in its October issue. In addition, many union members are said to work under conditions approximating closed shops but lacking formal written agreements. Coal miners are the largest single group of employees working in closed shops, the report says. Other highly organized industries having closed shops are men's and women's clothing, printing, brewing, motion picture production, the fur trade and hat manufacture.

Most of the unionized construction workers, many city transport workers and many employees of the electrical equipment and radio industries also work under closed-shop conditions. admitted that he had, all constitutional provisions to the contrary, "borrowed" \$25,000 against the strike fund. It is rumored—and seemingly with substantial reason—that a far larger amount than this has been borrowed from the Amalgamated Bank and that the whole of the strike fund is mortgaged as a result, that there are no assets whatever to carry on a strike. It is simply humanly impossible for the commissars at this time to call a strike in the N.M.U., and you may rest assured that the shipowners are fully aware of this situation.

### WHY THE OWNERS HAVE THE UPPER HAND

And that is the reason the shipowners are able to state flatly to the negotiating committee, headed by the C.P. member, McKenzie, that they refuse to discuss anything unless the union first agrees to surrender the hiring control. The surrender of this would mean the complete destruction of the union. And there the matter stands today—the result of two years of Stalinist control in maritime on the East Coast. Compare that with the progress of the S.U.P., which long since got rid of the Stalinist poison. Comments are unnecessary!

In the meantime, the change in the neutrality law will play hell with shipping on the East Coast. Because of the clause prohibiting American shipping in the North Atlantic, some twelve to fifteen thousand seamen will be beached within the next couple of weeks. Ships that were taken out of the bone-yards in the recent short-lived boom in shipping will be returned. Others will tie-up. Unemployment will be rampant

among the seamen on the East Coast.

Some two months ago when hostilities broke out in Europe, shipping boomed in this country and particularly on the East Coast. The seamen justly demanded a bonus to take the ships thru the blockade and tied up some ships to enforce their just demands. Curran "settled" for a "bonus" of approximately fifty cents a day for these men with a promise that if nothing better was obtained within ten days, he would agree to the demands of the rank and file to strike. The ten days have long since passed and still no further action on the fifty cents. Instead, Curran came out with the statement that he was willing to have his men sail the ships for nothing until all Americans had been brought home from Europe! That, of course, was just prior to the change of the Stalin line and prior to the discovery of an imperialist war instead of "the great democracies against Hitler, fascism, etc." Anyway, they are now all home, and shipping is tying up. The bosses made hay while the sun shone, but Johnny the Sailor once more was sold down the line, this time by the Communist Party of the U. S. A.

### RANK-AND-FILE REVOLT

The rank and file are grumbling and the mutmur has been heard up on the ninth floor of the East 13th Street Kremlin. The Pilot comes out with a "warning" that trouble is expected in the union created by "shipowners stooges." "Shipowners stooges," indeed! The rank and file have been sold out. Their money has been used in the most irresponsible manner. "Organizers" whose only proof of qualification seems to be the possession of a membership card in the Communist Party, have been appointed right and left. Money is spent on the craziest pretenses. Union affairs are being criminally mis-handled. To top it all off, it is quite apparent that the Stalinists intend to howl to the shipowners demands to abolish the union hiring hall! Is it any wonder that the members are grumbling? And when Curran and the rest of his Communist Party friends write that they fear trouble, it is only because guilty consciences keep telling them that trouble will be unavoidable. But there are no shipowners stooges involved here. It is the natural revolt of a rank and file that has been bled and bled again by a bunch of Moscow-controlled parasites, and bled until there is no more blood left. They have stood enough. They intend to take no more. And if these Stalinist chicaneries crown their sell-out career by losing the hiring halls, they are thru in maritime, and they know it. And this is precisely the "trouble" they are expecting and are trying this time to pass off as the doings of "shipowners stooges." The

## Hourly Wage Rates in the U.S.A.

(The following figures of average hourly earnings in the United States are from data compiled by the Bureau of Labor Statistics of the Department of Labor. It should be remembered that these are hourly rates and do not by any means represent total yearly earnings, to calculate which periods of unemployment and part-time work must be taken into account.—Editor.)

**AVERAGE HOURLY EARNINGS, SELECTED INDUSTRIES, DEC., 1938. (In Cents)**

Women's Clothing:	
Coats and Suits	106.6
Cotton Dresses	39.3
Dresses, other than Cotton	75.5
All other Women's Clothing	42.3
Corsets and Allied Garments	46.3
Knitted Outerwear	46.7
Knitted Underwear	42.2
Men's Clothing	58.7
Shirts and Collars	39.6
Millinery	63.9
Hats, Fur-felt	70.5
Iron & Steel and other Products, not including machinery	75.7
Machine y. not including Transportation Equipment	72.1
Automobiles	92.1
Shipbuilding	84.7
Nonferrous Metals and their Products	66.7
Lumber and Allied Products	53.2
Cotton Goods	38.4
Dyeing and Finishing Textiles	53.2
Woolen and Worsted Goods	52.4
Leather and Shoes	50.0
Bakery	61.1
Beverages	61.6
Slaughtering and Meat Packing	86.4
Tobacco Manufactures	46.9
Boxes, Paper	53.8
Paper and Pulp	61.3
Printing and Publishing:	
Book and Job	79.5
Newspaper and Periodicals	101.1
Rubber Boots and Shoes	59.7
Rubber Tires and Inner Tubes	96.3

sailors know better and will act accordingly!

The West Coast sailors are in a very favorable position for two reasons. First, because of honest and competent leadership, devoid of Stalinist poison, they have secured a greatly improved agreement covering the next two years. (This is true, that is, for the unions not controlled by the commissars. The Bridges outfit and Cayton's with their sixty-day extension, are still very much in a mess because of their own incompetence as well as political fanagling). Secondly, the war zone mapped in the neutrality law does not touch the West Coast. On the contrary, shipping will increase somewhat on the West Coast because some of the freight thru New York will in the future be carried thru West Coast ports. As a whole, the West Coast sailors and firemen are sitting pretty.

Curran on the East Coast still supports the Maritime Commission's "training" school on Hoffman Island. Simultaneously, the Maritime Commission continues to build new ships way ahead of schedule. There is a common tie between the two. The ships are being rushed with an eye towards an eventual entry into the war. By that time, the Communist Party-controlled unions will be so demoralized as to be absolutely ineffective. The recruits from Hoffman Island will take the place of union men on these ships when war breaks out and bona-fide sailors will be stuck on the beach. These recruits are drilled now and taught seamanship by the U. S. Coast Guard. They live, eat and sleep naval discipline. A handy bunch of youngsters to break any strike on the waterfront! Who said the "New Deal" wasn't blessed with sufficient foresight to see ahead and assure itself of a plentiful supply of scabs to sail its ships when needed? And Curran, despite all this, gives his official blessing to the very instrument which will complete the destruction of his union! Well may he expect "trouble!"

**Two Timely Books:**

**"The Devil Theory of War"**  
By Charles A. Beard  
How America got into the last war and what to do to stay out now.  
60 cents

**"Karl Marx"**  
By Leon Trotsky  
\$1.00 including postage

Order Now—The Supply Is Limited  
**WORKERS AGE BOOKSHOP**  
131 W. 33rd St., N. Y. C.

## New Service On Wage Act Is Set Up

New York City  
**A** free information service to acquaint employees with the provisions of the Fair Labor Standards Act and to aid them in collecting wages which may be due them under the act, is being launched by the New York Women's Trade Union League, it was announced recently by Rosa Schneiderman, president of the League.

The Wage-Hour Service, as it is called, will be conducted by Helen Blanchard, a vice-president and organizer of the League, at the League Clubhouse, 247 Livingston Avenue, New York.  
"At this time when the labor movement must bend every effort to preserve its hard-won gains in the face of war-time pressures," said President Schneiderman, "we feel that a service of this kind, offered to both organized and unorganized workers, is an important aid to maintaining labor standards and peaceful relations between employers and employees."  
"A few years ago, when the state workmen's compensation law was passed," said Miss Schneiderman, "the League's Compensation Service secured thousands of dollars of accident compensation for workers who otherwise would not have known how to proceed. The technicalities of the Fair Labor Standards Act

## Labor and the Law

by Joseph Ethwood

### PROBLEM OF RUN-OFF ELECTIONS

**T**HE latest dissenting opinion of the National Labor Relations Board, in the case of Coos Bay Lumber Co., opens to legal doubt the Board's power to order run-off elections.

The new basic disagreement was as follows:  
Board Member Leiserson declared that the Board had no power to establish a procedure of run-off elections since the Board had no such authority from Congress.  
According to Leiserson, if neither of two unions competing in a Labor Board election receives a majority of the votes cast, although a majority of those voting are for collective bargaining and choose one or the other union, the case must be dismissed immediately. He would, however, allow a new petition for certification by either union as soon as it could make a showing that it had a majority.  
The Wagner Act provides that in any proceeding for the certification of representatives, the Board "may take a secret ballot of employees, or utilize any other suitable method to ascertain such representatives." Thus, it is to be seen that Congress has not expressly conferred upon the Board power to order run-off elections nor expressly withheld such power. Board Chairman Mad-

den and Board Member Smith, constituting the majority of the Board, agree, and hold, justifiably so, it seems, that Congress "clearly intended" to leave the details of the elections to the Board, and that whether it is desirable to hold a run-off election and the proper procedure for it are such "details" as are within the discretion of the Board.

In the Coos Bay Lumber Co. case, neither of the two competing unions received a majority. The A. F. of L. Lumber and Sawmill Workers Union received 195 votes, the C.I.O. International Woodworkers of America received 188 votes, and 36 votes were cast for neither. Thus, we see that in this particular case, about 91% of the workers who cast a vote voted for unionism, A. F. of L. or C.I.O.

If the Leiserson dissent should become the prevailing view of the Board, the result would be that a small minority of workers who desire no representation would be able to deprive the overwhelming majority of workers of all opportunity for collective bargaining for at least a year. If we examine the figures of the Coos Bay Lumber Co. case, the dangers involved in the Leiserson dissent become much clearer. According to Leiserson's view, the 8% of the workers who cast their vote in the Labor Board poll against both unions could forestall the selection of a collective-bargaining agent, although over 91% of the workers clearly expressed their desire for collective bargaining. To dismiss a representation petition for a run-off election, as urged by Board Member Leiserson—the majority of the Board argues—"is to frustrate collective bargaining despite the wishes of a majority of the employees."

In the case under discussion, the union which received the highest number of votes, the A. F. of L., requested a run-off election. The Board reaffirmed the "usual procedure and declared that the run-off election ballot provide only for votes for or against a union which received the greater number of votes." Thus, a union which received nearly 45% of the votes (in this case, the C.I.O.) was deprived of its right to a place on the run-off election ballot while the so-called designation, "neither," which received only about 8% of the votes was put on the run-off election ballot. Such a policy deprives the workers of their democratic right to express their preference for one or the other union in the run-off election. Besides, such a policy is entirely unreasonable. A designation which received almost half of the votes is deprived, according to Board policy, of the right which is granted to a designation (in this case, "neither union") which got less than one-twelfth of the votes!

The question of the validity of the Board's run-off election procedure in barring from the run-off ballot the one of two competing unions which received the fewer number of votes, is now pending before the U. S. Supreme Court. The lower court held this procedure to be "illegal," declaring that it gives the workers no more than a "Hobson's choice."

To this problem, Leiserson's dissent has added an even more important question: Does the Labor Board have any authority at all to order a run-off election?

### Standards in Knitted Underwear Industry

Setting a record for speedy deliberation, Industry Committee No. 7 of the Wage and Hour Division, with jurisdiction over the knitted-underwear industry, held its first session on October 25, and on the following day, announced its recommendation of a minimum hourly wage of 35 cents for workers in this branch of the apparel industry. If approved by the Wage and Hour Administration after the public hearings have been held, the effect of the recommended wage rate will be to increase the earnings of 7,500 of the 23,000 workers employed by the industry.

As announced, the vote in favor of the 35-cent minimum wage in the committee, of which David Dubinsky and Louis Nelson are members, was 16 to 1. The lone protest came from an employer representative from North Carolina.  
Although the industry employs industrial home-workers, especially in the production of infants knitted garments, the committee voted against making exemptions relating to this type of worker. The committee likewise advised that labels attached to garments signifying that they had been produced in accordance with the Administrator's order would be helpful in enforcing the act. The committee also rejected regional differentials in the wages of workers.  
No date has yet been set for public hearings on the committee's recommendations.

## War and Living Costs

**W**HAT a war boom may do to food prices—how war is felt on the "kitchen front" at home—can be seen from the figures below in which the wholesale prices of various food products are given first for 1913, just before the World War, and then for 1919, just after the war.

- EGGS: In 1913, 37½ cents bought one dozen eggs; in 1919, only half a dozen.
  - BUTTER: In 1913, 33 cents bought a pound of butter; in 1919, only little more than half (0.55) a pound.
  - FLOUR: In 1913, 12 cents bought 5 pound of flour; in 1919, less than half as much (2.2 lbs.).
  - SUGAR: In 1913, 4.9 cents bought a pound of sugar; in 1919, only a little over half (0.54) a pound.
  - BEANS: In 1913, 3.8 cents bought a pound of beans; in 1919, only a little more than a quarter (0.29) of a pound.
  - BEEF: In 1913, 12.5 cents bought a pound of beef; in 1919, only a little over half (0.58) a pound.
- The same process of skyrocketing is already beginning again, less than two months after war broke out in Europe. Last week, the Department of Labor announced that retail prices of staple foods had risen by 10% since August.

## German Offensive Thru Low Countries Seen

Berlin Said Preparing 'Decisive Blow'

(Continued from page 1)

The German government promptly blamed "foreign instigators," obviously pointing at Britain. But there were also strong hints that the attempt might be traceable to terrorist groups of suppressed opposition Nazis, such as Strasser's Black Front or other half legendary "Avengers of Roehm," or else to bitter undercover rivalries within the Nazi leadership itself. There was some suggestion that a series of Nazi "Moscow trials" might be staged in connection with the Munich attempt.

Italy's ambiguous position in the clash of imperialist fronts became more ambiguous still last week as the controlled fascist press intensified attacks on Soviet Russia, the Russo-German alliance, and the new "revolutionary" line of the Communist International. Rumors multiplied that the Berlin-Rome Axis was already strained beyond the breaking point and that Italy would open a short time. But in usually well-

formed quarters the opinion persisted that despite all indications, Italy was still aligned with Germany and would stand with it when the test came.  
Meanwhile, the Soviet-Finnish negotiations, representing a crucial phase of Russia's aggressive expansion in the Baltic, remained at a standstill. The situation grew increasingly menacing and an explosion seemed possible at any moment. In Moscow, official quarters insisted that a "satisfactory solution," satisfactory, that is, to Russia, would be forthcoming in the end.

The Soviet Foreign Office struck out in another direction last week. This time thru the medium of pseudo-"revolutionary" ideology. The Communist International in a manifesto, George Dimitroff, secretary of the C.I., in a special article, and Premier Molotov in an official address on November 7, all broke out in a rash of "revolutionary" phrases, reviving all of the old formulas but this time in the entirely new context of the Russo-German alliance.

(Read the editorial, "Stalin Goes Revolutionary," on page 4.—Editor)

## DON'T Do Your Xmas Shopping Now—Wait for the

**Bazaar and Entertainment**  
will be held  
**December 7-10, 1939**  
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# What Is F.D.R.'s War Policy Doing to the New Deal?

## Reconciliation with Tories Is Now On Order of Day

By WILL HERBERG

WHAT is the Administration war drive doing to the New Deal? It would be easy to say that it has wrecked it, and that would be true. But it would not be the whole truth. For, from the very beginning, the Rooseveltian New Deal, like the Lloyd Georgian reform and the Wilsonian New Freedom before it, has operated on two planes—the public plane of social reform and the hidden plane of war preparations. Every institution and instrumentality of the New Deal, set up for the purpose of social reform, can and undoubtedly will be transformed, as we have pointed out several times, into a mechanism of military-authoritarian control in time of war.

### NEW DEAL IS VICTIM

Yet the fact remains that the New Deal of earlier days has been the first victim of the President's war policy. Ludwell Denny described the situation in graphic form in a recent article in the New York World-Telegram (October 24):

"There are certain tangible facts of the present so real and so big that nobody can ignore them:

"1. The President is trying to defeat depression by an armament boom

"2. The Administration's interest and activity have shifted from national to international problems.

"3. New Deal agencies are on the defensive.

"4. The President has formed an alliance with the anti-New Deal Democrats under Vice-President Garner."

Repeatedly, we have pointed out in the columns of this paper during the course of the last two and a half years that "armament means reaction," implying by "rearmament" the whole outlook and policy of war preparations. We stressed that rearmament in this sense must mean a "strong" imperialistic foreign policy to which all domestic welfare and reform are sacrificed, that it must lead to the diversion of governmental spending from objects of social utility to war purposes, that it must bring with it an upsurge of dark jingoistic passions in the name of "national unity." All of these forecasts and warnings have unfortunately been realized to the last detail.

### ARMS BOOM TO THE RESCUE

There cannot be the slightest doubt that President Roosevelt is now determined to stake everything on an armament boom. That is one reason why he is so set on repeal of the arms embargo and why, in the months to come, he will be just as set on the repeal or the circumvention of whatever ban on loans to belligerents is embodied in the new neutrality law. As to expenditures at home, "several billions of dollars—how many even the President has not yet figured out—are to be poured into the armament boom," Mr. Denny tells us. "Where is the money to go? For military purposes instead of the original New Deal goal of housing, public health, reforestation, conservation, public power, social security and all the rest." And Kenneth Crawford, a strong Administration supporter, provides more details. "Another heavy lend-spend program," he writes in the New York Post of October 24, "similar to the one turned down by Congress at its last regular session but built this time on a national defense base (emphasis mine.—W.H.) is in process of formation by various executive agencies."

"Acting on orders from the White House, experts are getting together the prospectus for a semi-military public-works authorization bill calling for outlays of about \$5,000,000,000. . . . This bill will not include direct appropriations for the army

and navy, which may reach \$4,000,000,000 in themselves next year."

In other words, about nine billion dollars in all! It is clear that what we witnessed during the past year, when W.P.A., relief and public-welfare expenditures were cut mercilessly to make way for a much heavier "national-defense" budget, is as nothing to what we are apparently to be treated to in the coming months.

How cynically the Administration and its cohorts are viewing the growing armament and war boom is to be seen in an article by Jay Franklin, one of the most offensive New Deal lickspittles, in the New York Post of October 18. Mr. Franklin actually crows right out loud at the rise of agricultural prices and farmers income that has already resulted from the war in Europe and, with hardly an attempt to disguise his meaning, hopes for America's further involvement in the war so that this increase may continue and expand!

The fact that any "prosperity" resulting from a war and armament boom is necessarily built on sand and is certain to result in a deflationary collapse of the most disastrous proportions and consequences, bringing panic and impoverishment in its train, does not seem to interest the Administration today. "Make hay while the sun shines" and "after us, the deluge," about sums up the hectic, reckless attitude in Washington.

### "FORGIVE AND FORGET"

Naturally, the abandonment of New Deal reform has meant a reconciliation between the Administration and its reactionary enemies in the Democratic and Republican camps. The same Jay Franklin, to whom we referred a few lines above,

depicts the state of affairs very well in an article in the New York Post of October 21. "Love Is Keynote As Party Rebels Return to Fold," runs the headline, and Mr. Franklin writes "There is another lost war in Washington—lost in the sense of being mislaid. That is the perfectly good struggle . . . between the New Dealers and the erstwhile Tories. . . . The wave of appeasement which has swept over Washington has wrought a miracle of reconciliation and men to whom Roosevelt has been a fighting word are now forgiving and forgetting like wildfire." Mr. Franklin appends a whole list of these Tories who are now rushing into Mr. Roosevelt's arms "forgiving and forgetting" in their perfect enthusiasm for his war policy: Representative Clifton Woodrum, relief-slasher extraordinaire; Senator Edward Burke; Senator Carter Glass; Senator Josiah Bailey, and last but by no means least, Vice-President Garner. Nor should we forget Jim Farley—by no means!

It is clear enough that this reconciliation between the Administration and the Tories is an important aspect of the "national unity" which Mr. Roosevelt has been so eager to obtain. It is not altogether without its implications for 1940 and for that third term.

This is the set-up today. This is what the New Deal has come to. This is what we are facing at the present moment. A clear understanding of the profound change in the political situation that has occurred in the last two years is absolutely indispensable if labor is to steer its course without disaster in the coming period.

(This is the second of two articles by Will Herberg. The first, dealing with the driving forces of the Administration war policy, appeared in the last issue.—Editor)

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# Vast Expenditures for Army and Navy in '40

## Huge Peace-Time Sum to be Spent for Arms

Washington, D. C. It is a commonplace by this time that the army and navy are spending record peace-time sums. That is the situation all over the world, with every major nation entered in an armament race that costs 20 billion dollars a year.

But next year, commonplace or not, the American defense forces are going to ask for—and probably get—the largest amount of federal funds for peace-time "national defense" in the history of the country.

How large? Two billion dollars, or thereabouts, according to those who should know. That is double what the government spends now for public works, about as much as it spends for unemployment relief, 600 million dollars more than the army and navy are spending this fiscal year.

That is not all. The generals and admirals are getting a head start on record spending contemplated for the year ahead by running up bills for the current year that far exceed the funds originally authorized by Congress.

By early Summer, the army and navy will run out of funds and will need about 200 million dollars to carry them to June 30, 1940, the day that the government closes its annual accounts. Congress will be asked to make up the deficiency.

One week after German planes bombed Warsaw, President Roosevelt faused enlisted strength of the army to 227,000, an increase of 17,000 over the enlistment goal originally set for June 30, 1940. The National Guard went from 190,000 to 235,000. Navy strength was ordered raised to 145,000 from 113,500, while the Marine Corps was enlarged to 29,000 men from 18,500.

To patrol the Atlantic and Pacific sea borders of the United States, the navy recommissioned idle destroyers and ordered daily inspections of America's coastal waters by planes and ships. Production of items of special equipment for the army and ship construction for the navy have been spurred.

### NEXT YEAR ARMY BUDGET TO INCREASE

All this costs money not provided when Congress passed the military budget last Summer. Officials estimate that the cost of this unbudgeted spending may come to \$200,000,000.

The really heavy increase in military spending, however, will come after next June.

Army and navy officers in Washington are now sitting up nights, outlining what increases in funds they want from Congress. Two months from now, their jottings will appear, after review by the President and the Budget Bureau, as the 1941 War and Navy Departments budgets.

Here are some of the things they want:

The army would like to bring its enlisted strength up to 280,000. Assistant Secretary of War Louis Johnson declares that the Initial Protective Force—M-Day Force—

should be 600,000, which would mean a larger National Guard, perhaps 320,000 men. Even so, this would still be short of the ceiling of 450,000 that Congress has set for the National Guard.

Even the record number of 5,500 airplanes authorized for the Air Corps now appears outdated to army officers. The War Department would like authority to pass that limit, perhaps by 1,000 planes. More funds to train pilots and mechanics are other leading items the army seeks from Congress.

Most expensive wish of the army is to have complete equipment in its garages and arsenals for an M-Day Force of one million men. The cost would be close to a billion dollars.

The navy, traditionally a bigger spender than the army, asks for

fewer new items from Congress because it is already deep in a record naval-expansion program that will keep it busy for another ten years.

Nevertheless, the navy would like to raise its enlisted strength to the maximum—191,000—and enlarge the Marine Corps to 38,000.

Regular appropriations will be

needed to pay for new war vessels now under construction, among them eight battleships and two aircraft carriers. Chairman Vinson of the House Naval Affairs Committee, has already stated his intention of sponsoring a bill at the next session of Congress for a billion-dollar naval-expansion program.

In these facts and figures, we have a vivid picture of the staggering totals of the Administration's armament drive.

Not only will the nation be ruled by business, but it will be big business. It is a significant fact that even the regular government departments, manned by men selected through political processes, will be reduced to figureheads. The M-plan declares that "it would be unfair to expect the men in charge of government departments to exercise emergency restrictive control over the people they were chosen to serve."

The military and business men who will be in control, it is assumed, will be indifferent to political pressure and will not be restrained from putting into effect policies that might cost a politician his political life.

According to the Munitions Committee, the entire program is designed to relieve contractors from the fear of fluctuating wages. The committee further states "that all of the proposed contract forms have in common a provision which guarantees the contractor against loss due to increase in the cost of labor or materials."

Colonel Harris, referred to above, told the Senate Military Affairs Committee: "There is a profit system in this country, and the War Department feels that no measure should be adopted which would in any way hamper or destroy the incentive to produce."

In other words, Uncle Sam must not be tough with capital, or capital will refuse to work.

And there it is. If, at some future date labor finds itself under galling industrial dictatorship, it cannot say it was not warned.

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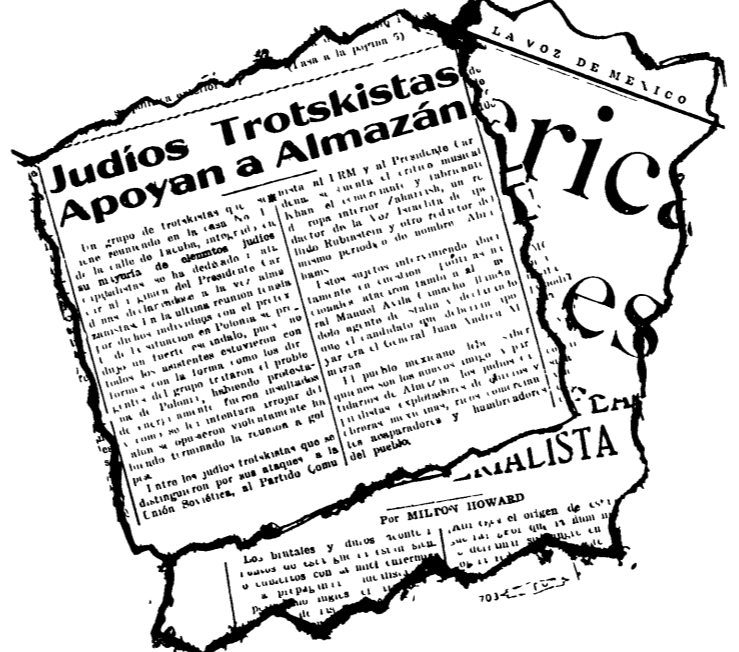
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# And Now They Sink to Outright Anti-Semitism!

THE Socialist Appeal of November 3, 1939 directs attention to an article in the Mexican Stalinist paper, La Voz de Mexico, which goes a long way towards indicating what Stalinism is really capable of. In the October 19 issue of this Mexican Stalinist sheet (see cut), the following headline tops an article on page 2:



"TROTSKYIST JEWS SUPPORT ALMAZAN."

The article goes on:

"A group of Trotskyists that meets at 15 Tacuba Street, composed in its majority of Jewish capitalist elements, has dedicated itself to attacking the regime of President Cardenas and supporting Almazan. . . . Among the Trotskyist Jews who distinguished themselves by their attacks on the Communist Party, the P.R.M. (Cardenas's party.—Editor) and President Cardenas were the music critic Khan; the dry-goods merchant, Zaharias; and two of the editors of La Voz Israelita, named Rubinstein and Abrahams.

"These individuals, openly intervening in national political questions, also attacked General Manuel Avila Camacho, calling him an agent of Stalin. . . .

"The Mexican people must know who are the new friends and partisans of Almazan: the capitalist Jews, exploiters of Mexican working men and women, rich monopolistic merchants who starve the people."

This is outright anti-Semitic propaganda on the notorious Nazi model! It is one of the many far-reaching consequences of Stalin's Hitlerite orientation.

# It Sure is "Painful"!

"It has become painfully evident since the mutual-assistance pact between the Soviet Union and Germany," declared Roger Baldwin recently in resigning from the executive board of the American League for Peace and Democracy, "that communist international policy is now dictated by the national interest of the Soviet Union wherever it may lead."

"Painfully evident" is right! It's been "evident" all along—and now it's "painful."

fewer new items from Congress because it is already deep in a record naval-expansion program that will keep it busy for another ten years.

Nevertheless, the navy would like to raise its enlisted strength to the maximum—191,000—and enlarge the Marine Corps to 38,000.

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needed to pay for new war vessels now under construction, among them eight battleships and two aircraft carriers. Chairman Vinson of the House Naval Affairs Committee, has already stated his intention of sponsoring a bill at the next session of Congress for a billion-dollar naval-expansion program.

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# Production Outruns Consumption in Crisis

## Employment and Purchasing Power Behind

Washington, D. C. THERE are the widest differences of opinion among government experts as to the present economic situation and the prospects for the future, immediate and more remote. The expert views range all the way from deep gloom to moderate optimism. All agree that there is an upturn under way and that the present boomlet will carry thru the year-end—barring a sudden peace, of course, which would come as a terrible blow to certain business circles. The Federal Reserve Board index of industrial activity is currently estimated around 118-20 and is expected to reach 125-30 in December, at least equalling the all-time high of June 1929.

Everyone seems agreed that the current rise can't go much farther than that. The question is how long and how big the anticipated reaction will be—whether it will be a short "reaction" carrying the index back to perhaps 110 or a severe recession down to possibly 80.

### PRODUCTION TOPS CONSUMPTION

One view advanced is that we face some time next year something very much like a real depression. Industrial production is now running at the 1936-7 peak level, while consuming power as gauged by the national income is measurably lower than at that time. Consequently, inventories are accumulating at an estimated rate of one billion dollars per quarter which, if continued, could only result in a collapse.

But will the boom last a whole year? Primary production is probably running 15%-20% above current

American ships may carry passengers or goods to belligerents, except to ports in "permitted" areas. American ships may not carry arms but all goods except arms and munitions of war may be carried in American ships to any port south and west of an imaginary line marked around the North Atlantic and anywhere in the other waters of the world.

The President at his discretion may declare any region a combat area, which automatically bans American passengers, ships and planes from passing thru such region. President Roosevelt has already issued a proclamation designating the Atlantic waters near the British Isles and the European continent down to Spain as well as the North and Baltic Seas as combat areas.

No belligerent may buy arms in the United States without paying cash on the barrel-head. No belligerent may obtain other materials until title has been transferred (Canada excepted). No belligerent may float loans or obtain credits in the United States. But Congress left large credit loopholes in the prohibition of loans and credits. The law provides that this ban does not apply to "renewal or adjustment" of existing debts, thus permitting further vast credit extensions. It also permits the extension of credits (for the purchase of everything but arms) to citizens of belligerents as distinct from belligerent governments or their agents. Nor does it forbid federal agencies from financing the purchases of belligerents in this country.

Penalties for major infractions: \$50,000 fine, five years in jail or both; for minor infractions, \$10,000 fine, two years in jail or both.

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consumption. Industrial employment and pay rolls are 10%-15% lower than in the Spring of 1937. Total employment is estimated about one million lower, unemployment, 2½ million higher. Total labor income is close to \$150 million per month lower. Close analysis of foreign trade prospects indicates that total exports may easily decline for at least six months, before war orders can be expected to reach sufficient volume to turn the tide.

On the other hand, the accumulation of inventories may possibly be checked before it has reached serious proportions—except perhaps in some steel and textile lines; heavy industries may be more or less stimulated by increased armaments and railway equipment buying; demand for automobiles and housing is beginning to increase again to some extent; employment and national income are now headed upward.

Yet there are enough things in the picture to justify doubt that there will be nothing more than a mild two-three month setback. Something more like an old-fashioned "intermediate cycle" recession may be in the cards.

Some of the New Deal economists scout the idea of any business cycle under a "planned economy," such as we are supposed to be having now. Those whose memories go back twelve or fifteen years will recall a similar "disappearance" of the business cycle during the lamented Coolidge-Hoover New Era. But looking at the business chart one notes something running from May 1935 to May 1938, which looks suspiciously like the oldtime, three-year, "camel's-hump" cycle.

### ANOTHER OLD-TIME CYCLE

The current upward trend, in reality, dates from May 1938, when the 1935-38 cycle ended. It has run a little faster than the latter. In the first 16 months (up to September 1939, latest month for which any final data are available), the F.R.B. index gained 34 points against 24 points from May 1935 to September 1936. Factory employment and pay rolls rose slightly faster on the current cycle, building about the same in actual volume the less on a percentage basis as it started from a higher level in 1938 than in 1935.

The most striking thing about the present advance is that it has occurred in two violent spurts, that of May to December last year and the present one starting in late May of this year. In between was the sharp recession of last Spring.

This peculiar configuration of the business chart may perhaps be attributed to the vagaries of New Deal "economic planning" and the impacts of a disordered foreign situation.

Business was skyrocketed last year by a rapid increase in government expenditures and by the reduction of the down payment on F.H.A. financed houses to 10%. But that took the cream off the rise in the short period of seven months. The F.R.B. index didn't get back to the December 1938, level until last month, and building activity is still nearly 25% below volume attained at that time.

The effects of the war in Europe are not yet definite enough to enter even into moderately long-range forecasts. One thing is already clear, however, and that is that an inflationary boom, based primarily on production for inventory, is definitely beginning to get underway. It is not yet out of hand but may well become so in coming weeks. If the Administration succeeds in breaking down our neutrality safeguards to any marked degree, the war boom will unquestionably be speeded up. Indeed, the Administration is probably counting on that and its own vast armaments expenditures to effect a more sizable measure of recovery than it has yet been able to bring about with all its spending. But here incalculable political factors enter, including when, if ever, the "real war" is going to start in Europe, and these cannot be safely estimated at the present time.

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## STALIN GOES "REVOLUTIONARY"

THE great excitement in the press about the new "revolutionary" line of the Communist International, expressed in the recent C.I. manifesto and in the addresses of Molotov in Moscow and Earl Browder in Boston, has something of the ludicrous about it. It seems incredible that anyone should at this late date believe that Stalinism or any of its adjuncts or agencies was still capable of turning revolutionary under any circumstances—as long as words continue to retain their present meanings. True, the loudspeakers of the Stalin dictatorship in Moscow and abroad are beginning to blare out again the old-forgotten phrases of proletarian revolution, but at bottom, there is hardly any more substance to these phrases coming from that source than there is to the formulas about "true-German socialism" in the creed of the Nazis. It's just another case of a smokescreen of glittering phrases covering a very far from glittering reality.

We do not intend to enter into an examination of the fine points of the recent pronouncements of Stalin's assorted mouthpieces. We leave that to those who take these outpourings seriously as meaning what they say and saying what they mean. We do not intend to get entangled in a mass of ideology manufactured precisely for the purpose of trapping those who cannot distinguish ideology from reality. We want to get to the reality, the ugly, brutal reality behind it all.

The new "revolutionary" turn of official communism—let us put it plainly—is a matter of Russian state politics, that and nothing more. As long as Stalin was flirting with the democracies, the principles of communism weren't worth a tinker's dam in Moscow and revolution meant about as much to the all-powerful bureaucracy there as it means to the D.A.R. in this country, which also has "revolution" in its name. But just as soon as Stalin changed his diplomatic game, his puppets throughout the world began to change their tune. How better to cover up the Stalin-Hitler alliance than by reverting to the old "revolutionary" phrases and using them for all they are worth to denounce Britain and France while mulling a few pious generalities about Germany? Even totalitarian dictatorships need ideological camouflage for their power-politics. But to take such ideology at its face value and to try to evaluate it in terms of principle is folly indeed.

Undoubtedly, there are some trusting souls who do this new outbreak of "revolutionary" phrases at its face value and are fooled by it. But we are confident that they will be un deceived much more quickly this time, if only because of the much faster tempo of world politics these days.

As for the leading men of the ruling classes, we may be sure they are not deceived. If they regard the Stalinist parties as a menace, it is only as agencies of the Russian government and not as revolutionary movements in a socialist sense. It is because relations between the United States and Soviet Russia are so strained that "friends of President Roosevelt" are hinting at the possibility of federal action against Earl Browder on charges of conspiracy for some of his remarks in Boston—which, incidentally, he had at least as much right under the Constitution to make as the President's "friends" have to make their threats.

The best commentary on the cold reality—the reality of cold steel—behind the red-hot phrases of the new Stalinist "turn" was offered some days ago (October 20) in a United Press dispatch which we reprint in full:

"HELSINGFORS, Oct. 20.—Reports from Tallin, Estonia, of wholesale arrests of Estonian communists were confirmed here today by reliable sources.

Reasons for the arrests were obscure, since Estonia is occupied by Soviet troops, but it was said that a full agreement had been reached by Estonian and Russian officials on a policy whereby any attempts by Estonian communists to create a new political crisis should be suppressed.

"It was reported that many Estonian communists who had appealed to Russian army officers in behalf of their imprisoned friends had been given a stern refusal and the reply: 'In Russia political agitators of that kind are shot.'"

## THEY'RE AT IT ALREADY!

WITH the ink hardly dry on the President's signature to the new neutrality act, an attempt is already being made to evade the provisions of that law, weak and full of loopholes tho it is.

Last week, the United States Lines asked the Maritime Commission to sanction its plan to transfer eight of its ships to the Panamanian registry. Note the neatness of this scheme of circumventing the law. The ships would still be American ships, ships on which lavish operating subsidies had been paid in the past to bolster the line's profits, ships which would still be owned by American stockholders. But they would fly the flag of Panama and thus could with impunity defy the neutrality act, carrying passengers and goods to belligerent ports and passing thru the forbidden combat areas in plain violation of the law. Then should one of the ships be sunk by a German submarine or captured by a German cruiser as a carrier of contraband, a dangerous international "incident" would be created involving the United States, despite the Panamanian registry of the vessel, for in actual fact the ship would remain in American hands. That's the kind of trick the shipowners are trying to put over—a brazen attempt to circumvent the law for the sake of their profits, without regard to the peace and welfare of the land.

The legal subterfuge was transparent enough and the public danger great and manifest, the Maritime Commission approved the request of the United States Lines "in principle." The very next day, President Roosevelt sustained the commission's ruling that the transfer of registry was no violation of neutrality. Secretary of State Hull, too, chimed in at first, altho later he seems to have changed his mind. Indeed, it now comes out that over a hundred American ships were sold or had their register changed in the past year, forty-nine of them since the European war broke out.

It goes without saying that such an outrageous attempt to get around the plain intent of the law would never have been made and sanctioned had Congress been in session. Perhaps that is one of the reasons it was adjourned so hastily instead of remaining in Washington thruout the whole of the "emergency" proclaimed by President Roosevelt himself some months ago. But despite the adjournment of Congress, such a powerful storm of protest has arisen on all sides, even from Administration stalwarts, that the President and the Maritime Commission have seen the wisdom of second thought.

As this is being written, no final decision on the request of the United States Lines has yet been made. Even tho this request should be turned down in the end, as it may well be because of the adverse public reaction, it will be only a matter of time before another such attempt will be made, perhaps better disguised. And all such attempts will receive the full support of the Administration, which is determined to break down every neutrality safeguard that still secures the peace of the country and to bring all foreign policy, including actually if not legally the ultimate decision of peace or war, into the hands of the President.

Whether such attempts in the future will succeed or not will depend on the vigilance and effective power of the anti-war movement thruout the country.

## STALIN THE MAGICIAN—From Marx to Hitler



Towards A Better America:

# Collectivism and Socialism

By SCOTT NEARING

(We publish below the paper presented by Scott Nearing in the symposium, "Towards A Better America," held recently in New York City under the auspices of the Independent Labor Institute—Editor)

WHEN I was asked to take part in this discussion, "Towards A Better America," I made up my mind that, as I was primarily interested in economics, I would frame for myself the following title, "Towards A Better American Economy."

### CLEARING AWAY THE RUBBISH

My basic assumption is as follows: The present economic and social apparatus, including institutions, class relations and the like, must either be liquidated or be liquidated before we can proceed to a better America.

Before we can expect improvement, before we can expect betterment in America, we must take part in clearing away the rubbish and the wreckage of declining capitalist economy.

I am going to proceed on the assumption that there are certain basic economic principles or truths or laws on which American economy must be organized if it is to be better in the sense of providing a more abundant life for a larger number of our people.

In that connection, I lay down four propositions.

My first proposition is that, having run thru a vast cycle of competitive economy, in the broad sense of that term, including our agriculture, our industry, our finance and so forth, having run thru a broad cycle of competitive economy much as a spendthrift runs thru his fortune—and in terms of our resources, this is a very apt analogy—the economic structure itself is tending to become cooperative, within the limits of corporative organization, and this tendency must be supplemented by and brought to move more in the direction of a cooperative economy.

We have had our fill of competitive economy in the United States, and in the next twenty-five or fifty years, in the next epoch, we have got to close the ranks and fill the gaps of a cooperative economy.

In the broad fields of social organization, competition plays a role. It stimulates economy but it may lead to widespread destruction.

Cooperative economy plays a role. It helps to coordinate and unify.

We have had our epoch of competition; we are due for an epoch of cooperation. And that cooperation is going to involve a degree of centralization which will not please most of the speakers on this platform and most of the individuals in this room.

### COLLECTIVISM AND DEMOCRACY

Hitler has his "national socialism." Stalin has his "socialism within one country." I don't know what Mussolini calls his brand. They all have forms of collectivism or corporativism. They all have forms of collectivism, and these forms of collectivism will characterize the initial stages in the development of a cooperative economy, because you cannot make a transition from the chaos of a competitive economy to the order of a cooperative economy and carry along the old slaves with you without a degree of discipline which will irk people unused to more or less rigid social discipline.

First, I say that in order to have a better American economy, it will have to be a cooperative economy. We will have to enter a new epoch, and to do that we will have to abandon the ideas, the conception, the dominant atmosphere, the pervasive atmosphere, characterized by the broad and meaningless phrase, "democracy."

I don't sneer at democracy. I reject it as a word of precision. It means no more in this war than it did in the last war, and it meant nothing then except bait for suckers!

Second, we will have to organize a use economy in the United States, because a profit economy won't any longer work.

Those of us who have read or thought or talked about or discussed the Marxian analysis of profit economy need no elaboration of the argument that the accumulation of surplus in the hands of a ruling class will ultimately clog the channels of economic life, so that surpluses of capital and surpluses of labor power will accumulate up to the point where the crisis becomes

chronic and no revival of the economic prosperity is possible.

In the last twenty-five years or so in the United States and Europe, we have seen the fulfillment of this socialist analysis. The capitalist system of profit accumulation will not work, and in place of that system of profit accumulation we must substitute an economy for use based on the assumption that the provision of livelihood must be taken out of the jungle of competitive struggle and put into the atmosphere of a modern laboratory, and that the economist must function in the community as, let us say, the hydraulic engineer does. You call in an engineer and say: "We need water in the houses of our city." The engineer and his staff provide the necessary means, and the water runs from the taps of the houses.

Economists must function in the same sense. A use economy must feed and clothe and house the nation. It is a proposition in science and engineering, and not a proposition in morals and ethics. It is not a moral or ethical question. It is a broken-down social institution.

A better American economy for use is one in which we feed and clothe and house our nation exactly as we provide them with schools and streets or hospitals or playgrounds or any of the other commonly accepted publicly provided institutions at the present time.

### PROBLEM OF COORDINATION

Third, our better American economy will have to be a coordinated economy. There are two points of view, two points of approach, quite different and in need of synthesis. One is the approach of the economic preservation of local economic initiative. Can you centralize the economy of the United States in Washington or Chicago, and still have it function? What are you going to do with the economy of the local mine, farm and factory, and the other local institutions?

Now, when I say that our economy must be coordinated, I mean two things: first, that there must be an economic plan, but that, included in that economic plan, there must be a recognition of the basic truth that

that economic plan plans most effectively, which leaves the widest possible margin of local economic initiative and freedom, and on the basis of that local economic initiative and freedom must rest all liberty and all social freedom.

Fourth—and from my point of view, this is the hardest doctrine to swallow—in order to have a better American economy, economy must become a means and not an end. In production, we have made economy an end in itself. Captains of industry have organized economic power and let it go at that. In consumption, we have made economy a means in itself. If you have a large enough income and can get enough things, you will be happy forever more.

Neither of these points of view is sound. In terms of production, we must produce only as many things as in terms of consumption are necessary to the maximum well-being of the population, and the well-being of the population does not end with economics—it only begins there.

When you feed and clothe and house people, then you have prepared them to live, but the living part of it comes after. We will have a better America, economically speaking, because we have the resources here and because we have the technological development—machines, training and skill.

We will have a better America because these facts are a part of our heritage, but we won't have it right away. The first stage in putting up the new school-house is to get the old one off the lot. We have on our necks a declining, decaying social system—a profit economy. That social system and all that it stands for has got to go. It has got to go physically, and it has got to go psychologically. We have got to prepare ourselves to attend the funeral, and if possible without tears.

Those who cannot make this psychological adjustment—bankers and other profiteers take notice!—those who cannot make this psychological adjustment are enemies of the better America. Those who are able to make this psychological adjustment will join in a united effort, at the earliest possible moment, to rid ourselves of the wreckage of the old economic system and to proceed with the building of the new structure.

## Behind the Headlines

(Continued from page 1)

Daladier and, in a sense, Roosevelt for the "democratic front of collective security." At that time, he pulled the line for lifting the embargo and for the United States plunging into the imperialist war against German imperialism. Now, he, Stalin, is negotiating for and in behalf of his partner Hitler whom he doesn't want to see weakened and whose enemies he doesn't want to see strengthened by the lifting of the American embargo. On June 29, in the interest of Stalin's reactionary foreign policy, the Daily Worker was for lifting the embargo because it was pro the so-called "democratic" imperialist powers. On October 25, in the interest of the same reactionary foreign policy of Stalin, the Daily Worker was against lifting the embargo solely because it had been ordered to be pro German Hitler imperialism. In neither case was the Daily Worker opposed to imperialist war or concerned with the interests of the working class in this country.

If we look at some more headlines culled at random from the Daily Worker, we see clearly that the C.P. in this country, as everywhere else, is not really opposed to imperialist war as such. Actually, it is today only against the Allied imperialist powers because, at the moment, the latter are against Stalin's present partner in plunder, Herr Hitler. Thus, the Daily Worker declares on:

SEPTEMBER 1, 1939.—"Enraged by Polish Stand, Nazis Bare British Squeeze on Warsaw."

SEPTEMBER 30, 1939.—"Soviet-German Pact for Peace, Budapest Says."

So bloody Horthy, butcher of the Hungarian working class, has become an authority on peace—for the Daily Worker!

OCTOBER 18, 1939. — "Nazi Troops Push French Forces Back." "Germany Can Survive British Blockade, Izvestia Declares."

OCTOBER 19, 1939. — "French

Lose More Ground and Men in Nazi Drive."

OCTOBER 22, 1939.—"Nazis Report More Lost Ground Regained. Promise to Intensify Submarine Drive on Shipping." "Athena Sunk by Inside Blast, Says Berlin; Cites U. S. Story as Proof."

OCTOBER 23, 1939.—"Soviet-German Trade Talks Show Great Progress." "Allies Seek to Drag Small Nations Into War. Imperialists Try to Force Belgium, Holland Into Conflict. Turkey War First. Anglo-French Pressure Put on Small Nations with Open Threats." "Germans Strengthen New Warnd Forest Positions." "Sinking of Athena Laid to Churchill. Wanted to Drag U. S. Into War, Goebbels Broadcasts."

Small wonder, therefore, that the October 10 manifesto of the Communist Party of Germany doesn't find it possible to utter even a syllable of criticism against the Hitler pact with Stalin enabling Nazi Germany (with the aid of the Red Army) to 'hack Poland to pieces. Under orders from Stalin's Foreign Office, this same "party" declared in January 1939, at its convention: "As Germans, we stand for an alliance with the Soviet Union. . ."

Between Stalinism and Marxism, the gulf is unbridgeable. Between Stalinism and Leninism, as exemplified in the spirit and ideals of the Russian Revolution, the incompatibility is absolute and the war treacherous. Stalinism rests on ordered, planned, impudent ignorance of the followers of the Big Leader Stalin to whom all must owe unquestioning faith. If one does a little thinking as well as looking "behind the war headlines" of the Daily Worker, he will recall that somewhere in his "Leviathan," Thomas Hobbes said: "The Papacy is the ghost of the Roman Empire, sitting crowned in the grave thereof." Today, we can well paraphrase: "Stalinism is the ghost of Marxism and Leninism sitting crowned in the Kremlin grave thereof."

November 11, 1939.

## C.P. Members Protest Hitler-Stalin Pact

Party Group Issues Statement on Alliance

(Concluded from last issue)  
IT is completely true that the Soviet Union must maneuver among the capitalist states and take advantage of the contradictions between them. That is down in cold print in Lenin's works, and we have read it. But maneuvering doesn't mean capitulation, and that is exactly what this pact looks like to us—a capitulation to Hitler.

When we began this series of letters in the hope of bringing about a revival of the revolutionary teachings of Lenin, we were most concerned about the opportunism of the party and its support of the "democratic" capitalist nations. That support was clearly against the basic principles of communism as the pamphlet of Lenin, "State and Revolution," teaches. Democracy, teaches Lenin, referring to "democratic" capitalism, is just another name for "democratic" capitalism is a capitalist dictatorship which must be overthrown by the workers. In our previous letter, we opposed any support to capitalist politicians like Roosevelt, whose slashes of relief make him just another Hoover, and we called for a return to the revolutionary line of Lenin.

Instead of a return to Lenin, what happens? A pact is signed with Hitler!

This pact is a new event of the most startling kind. How can it be explained to the average worker? Reading the capitalist press, he will begin to believe that if the Nazis and the Soviets can make a pact, then they must be two varieties of the same thing. Our tasks are made a hundred times more difficult. In essence, this pact is a blow against the whole labor movement. Many unions will now hound out communists and bar them from membership. A completely unnecessary wave of reaction is forming as a result of this pact, which threatens to engulf our party.

The first job, in our opinion, is to reestablish democracy in the party. Applauding and yelling approval to everything that comes from the leaders who dominate the party doesn't solve anything. A reversal is needed. It is time that the rank and file. Policies and pacts are shaped in an office and then foisted on the membership for their approval. It is good and well to listen to explanations from these people who have already done the deed; but how about the opinions of the rank and file who have to meet the public?

Do you enjoy getting a fascist salute and being called "Heil Stalin"? The Bolshevik party under Lenin was allowed complete freedom, even under adverse conditions, to democratically discuss and advocate changes in the party line. What is needed now is a return to that kind of a party, a democratic party where every member in good-standing would feel perfectly at liberty to get up on the floor and say exactly what he thought about any policy or leader in the party without the slightest fear of finding himself ousted with or without a trial. Our party needs democracy and needs it badly.

In the latest Daily Worker, as we write this letter (August 27), the latest "explanation" of the pact is offered. "BRITISH-FRENCH BAN ON RED ARMY AID TO POLAND ENDED PACT TALKS, U.S.S.R. REVEALS," in the headline.

On top of this, the party speakers have been stating that, after all, Chamberlain has been trying to stab the Soviet Union in the back all the time, and now Soviet patience is exhausted. The idea is that the pact gives Chamberlain what he deserves. It is perfectly correct, we believe, for the Soviet Union to abandon all faith in Chamberlain, Daladier and the other heads of the various "democratic" capitalist nations. We hold that the same is true for Roosevelt, whose record in Spain, China, on relief cuts, etc., is the same as Chamberlain's. But when the Soviet Union turns to Nazi Germany, it is

only turning from bad to worse! The treachery of the "democratic" Tories is no excuse for a pact with fascism!

If the Soviet Union must break loose from dependence on England and France (yes, and Roosevelt too), if it must not substitute for this pact with fascism, what can it do?

If "collective security" is dead and isolationism is impossible, what can we believe in? The answer is to be found in the revolutionary teachings of Lenin, who was particularly clear on this point.

The answer is to break away from all pacts and tie-ups and dependence on any capitalist government, and to look for support for the Soviet Union from the revolutionary working class which is struggling against all these imperialists. The answer is to put the struggle for socialism once again in first place as the aim of communist and Soviet international policy.

The only reliable ally of the Soviet Union is the revolutionary working class. In the darkest days of the revolution in Soviet Russia, during the 1919-1920 intervention, it was the workers, stirred by the Russian Revolution, who forced the imperialists in all countries to give up their plans to intervene. When Lloyd George and Clemenceau (just as "democratic" as Chamberlain and Daladier) and President Wilson (just as "democratic" as Roosevelt) were sending armies to overthrow the Soviets, it was the working class who was the only defender of Soviet Russia and who saved the land of the Revolution by its own surge towards revolutionary action.

Even while Lenin accepted the aid of French army officers in training the Red Army to resist Germany, the French communists worked for the overthrow of the French imperialist government and carried on an uncompromising class struggle. Lenin did not maneuver with the imperialists take the edge off the revolutionary struggle of the workers in the capitalist countries against their masters at home. This is the line for us, now as always.

We can break out of the terrible danger confronting the Soviet Union and our party only in one direction: Back to Lenin's policy of revolutionary class struggle! Uncompromising struggle against the imperialists in all lands!

### NO FAITH IN ANY IMPERIALISM!

No faith in any of the capitalist states! That must be the line of our party. No faith in Hitler who has broken his pledges as fast as they have been made, whose signature is not worth the paper it is written on, whose whole strategy and tactics is making pledges in order to lull his enemies and then bringing down his war machine to destroy them.

No faith in Chamberlain or Daladier or Roosevelt, who would like nothing better than to appease Hitler and send his armies in the direction of the Ukraine. No faith in the "democratic" capitalists who oppress hundreds of millions of colonial people. No faith in our own capitalist government that slashes relief at home, shoots down strikers and builds up the largest peace-time war machine in history.

Back to Lenin and the policy of the revolution!

Back to Lenin, before it is too late!

Save the communist movement in America!

We are going to try to get out another of these letters as soon as we are financially able. We especially appeal to the old-timers or to those who have seriously studied the basic works of our movement to help us. We need your opinion and your reaction and your help. Your name is absolutely safe with us, but we will respect communications bearing only initials.

A GROUP OF MEMBERS OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY AND THE YOUNG COMMUNIST LEAGUE.

### A VERY SPECIAL ANNOUNCEMENT:

Hold Everything! Hear Ye! Hear Ye!

We are all stepping out to the

International New Year's Eve Dance

SUNDAY EVENING, DECEMBER 31

Only dancing? NO!

Refreshments? AND HOW!

Entertainment? NOT ONLY AMERICAN BUT ENGLISH, FRENCH, SPANISH & MEXICAN.

Remember our Send-Off last April? Well, this will be even more interesting and enjoyable—much, much more so!

Where? - at the MANHATTAN CENTER, 34th St. and 8th Ave.

How much? - only ONE Buck - One GOOD U. S. DOLLAR!

Save this date - You will be more than pleasantly surprised at what we will offer you at our

International New Year's Eve Dance