

Get Your Ticket
for the
OCT. 6 SYMPOSIUM
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Workers Age

Weekly Paper of the Independent Labor League of America

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AT FIRST GLANCE

by Jay Lovestone

BEHIND THE RUSSO-GERMAN TRADE PACT

POLITICAL factors often have profound effect on economic relations. But, far more often do economic relations affect to an even greater degree the political relations. In again emphasizing this oft-forgotten truth we are specifically considering the recent Stalin-Hitler trade negotiations.

It is true that the last years have witnessed a sharp drop in Soviet purchases from Germany. It is equally true that, in a measure, Nazi anti-Soviet foreign policy served to accentuate this decline, but not to cause it. There are important economic reasons for the previous fall in Soviet purchases. Likewise, there are economic causes, pressing both countries to seek improved trade relations.

Within recent years substantial economic changes have taken place in the U.S.S.R. and Germany. The shrinkage of Nazi-Soviet trade is primarily rooted in these changes. Progress in Russian industrialization accounts for lessened Soviet purchase of manufactured goods. Today, the U.S.S.R. needs more highly intricate machines, chemicals, optical goods, and engineering supplies. It is precisely the exporting of such commodities that Germany has checked in the interest of piling up armaments. The enhanced demand for the latter has also caused a shortage of labor and raw materials to the point of making almost impossible the German manufacture of certain machinery for export. At best, resulting higher prices and delays in delivery put German industrialists at a disadvantage with their American and British competitors for the Soviet market.

Furthermore, with terrifically increased gold production, the Soviets can no longer be tempted by long credit terms and are in a position to buy elsewhere cheaper. Then, Russia's raw materials which the Germans need so badly have brought the U.S.S.R. better prices from the wealthier countries that are also feverishly rearming. Hitler's mounting difficulties with the "democracies" and especially the collapse of German-American trade are forcing the Nazis to seek certain supplies from the U.S.S.R. Under these circumstances the latter has driven a hard bargain and the possibility of improved Russo-German trade relations is greater. This is so regardless of the adjectives that Pravda and Voelkischer Beobachter may fling at each other—or did until yesterday.

ECONOMIC TRENDS

IT won't be long before the last Congress will be forgotten—if capitalist reaction can help it. Labor, however, should and can never forget the blows struck by Congress—many of them inspired and helped along by Roosevelt himself—at its most vital needs. But in hitting labor and going backward generally, Congress has also—unconsciously and very unwillingly—made a number of moves which will prove costly to the boss class.

The President's "lending-spending" program, defeated by Congress, was not a direct relief measure. It was a proposal seeking primarily to fill the coffers of the heavy-industry magnates thru giant federal expenditures. Only spite strategy dictated the defeat of this bill; here is a case of biting the nose to spite the face. The complexities of our domestic political pattern are plainly revealed here. The ensuing important decrease in federal spending will be heavily felt in the coming months, as private industry, particularly because of the loss of this federal stimulus, will not come forward with increased expenditures. No one can accuse the A. F. of L. Executive Council of being for the extension of government enterprise. But even this generally inept and staid body was compelled at its recent Atlantic City sessions to conclude that there is "no present way, except government pump-priming, by which the volume of national production can be surely, immediately and steadily increased."

Exactly two years ago, an acute economic decline set in precisely because of "sudden reductions in deficit-spending." A flaming tribute to the stagnation and developing decay of private enterprise! History will soon repeat itself, unless other factors intervene. The recurrence will be all the more distasteful to our industrial overlords in view of the fact that the profits of 365 representative big corporations were, in the first six months of this year, double those of the corresponding period in 1938. We doubt very much whether biggest business will allow this process to go untouched and unmodified by legislative action. Of course, an immediate world war would change the whole picture, in view of the American ruling class controlling the war warehouse of the world.

War Would Bring Iron Dictatorship to U.S.A.

Industry, Labor Under One-Man Rule

Washington, D. C. **I**F war comes this country will get a dictator—not one after the European model, perhaps, but a real dictator nevertheless. The army now reveals that in case of war the nation's industrial resources would be ruled by one man.

Machinery for this one-man Fuehrer of American industry already is being set up, the no war threatens this country at present. The new War Resources Board, recently named, constitutes this machinery; its chairman, and above him the President, would be the dictator.

At the W.R.B.'s first meeting two weeks ago, Acting Secretary of War Louis Johnson outlined the new board's present task: supervising the \$32,000,000 program of "industrial training" which the army and navy are carrying out.

Its chairman, Edward R. Stettinius, Jr., chairman of the board of United States Steel Corporation, and five other civilian members are advising the army and navy on mobilization of this country's economic resources for war and will report directly to the President.

The five other members are: Karl T. Compton, president of Massachusetts Institute of Technology; Walter S. Gifford, president of the American Telephone and Telegraph Co.; Harold G. Moulton, president of the Brookings Institution; John Lee Pratt, director of General Motors

Corporation, and General Robert E. Wood, chairman of Sears, Roebuck and Co. Colonel Harry K. Rutherford, U. S. Army ordinance officer, is secretary of the agency.

Come war, this board will take on full dictatorial executive powers.

Ironclad authority to set prices, allot war orders, establish precedence of orders, choose factories for government orders, distribute supplies of labor and control labor generally, assign raw materials and transportation facilities, will be vested in its hands. This would be no different from what happened during World War days when the War Industries Board, under Bernard M. Baruch, had similar powers.

One difference between now and 1917 is being noted: For the first time in its history, the United States is drawing its blueprints for "industrial mobilization" along totalitarian lines well in advance of any immediate war danger.

But here again America is only following the example of the other "democracies." Across the Atlantic, where war is more of an immediate concern, Great Britain and France have both created supreme industrial commands to speed up arms programs and, in event of war, to take dictatorial charge of economic life.

This civilian board has just been created by the United States, "industrial-mobilization" plans are already well under way. The army

Russia Joins In Alliance With Germany; World Tense As War Crisis Threatens

Lovestone Hits Russo-Reich Pact

New York City

THE following statement on the German-Soviet pact was issued by Jay Lovestone, secretary of the I.L.L.A., at the request of the New York Post and was published in the August 22 issue of that paper:

"For Russia at this particular moment to sign a political as well as economic pact with Hitler means rendering outright the greatest service to Nazi imperialism in its hour of greatest need.

"The communist parties of western Europe and the United States have been primarily agents of the Soviet. When Soviet foreign policy was based on partnership with the so-called 'democratic' powers, these agents of Russia had free access to labor and liberal ranks and could win tremendous support on a simple anti-fascist program.

"But the deal with Hitler will unmask the Stalinists thruout the international labor movement. It will narrow their influence.

"The situation, however, will prove a signal for a reawakening of revolutionary thought and action in many sections of the labor movement hitherto paralyzed by Stalinist ideological perversion and stranglehold control."

Dictatorship Set Up in Great Britain

Maxton Leads Fight Against Giving War Mandate To Chamberlain

London, England.

Parliament, summoned suddenly last week, voted almost unanimously to grant the Chamberlain government sweeping war-time dictatorial powers over virtually every aspect of British life. Included among the provisions of this Emergency Powers Act were powers:

To issue decrees having the force of law, even to the point of setting aside acts of Parliament.

To take over any property or undertaking except land.

To enter and search any premises and to order any arrest the Home Secretary deems expedient.

To hear judicial proceedings in secret.

To put into operation immediately any measure considered "necessary for the national safety" in the control of production, transportation, food distribution, etc.

To impose any scheme of financial control subject to the approval of the House of Commons within twenty-eight days.

Prime Minister Chamberlain demanded these powers on the ground that Britain was in "imminent peril of war." The fight against this effort to shelve "for the duration of the crisis" the democratic rights of the British people was led by James Maxton, Independent Labor Party leader in the House. Mr. Maxton declared he was compelled to "record [his] opposition to the Prime Minister's mandate to go to war" and to the dictatorial powers demanded by Chamberlain. Virtually all the Labor Party M.P.'s supported the government bill.

All over Britain feverish preparations for war were under way during the week. The government already has authority to mobilize man-power without public proclamation.

has prepared a cross-index of every vital industrial plant in the nation. Its files contain information on factories that can be turned to wartime production. Each plant is indexed according to its capacity and availability. Each plant, moreover, is inspected regularly by army officials. Problems of "controlling" labor are being thoroughly studied.

There can be no mistaking the signs of the times. . . .

Hitler Sends His Demands To London

Days of the mounting tension, driven to a head by the bombshell of the Russo-German pact, culminated last week in what seemed to be the beginning of negotiations between Germany and Great Britain over the Polish situation. From what could be gathered in semi-official diplomatic quarters, it appeared that just at the moment when the German seizure of Danzig was expected, the day after Albert Forster, Danzig Nazi leader, was proclaimed "supreme head" of the Free City, Chancellor Hitler transmitted to London thru the British ambassador his "minimum demands" for a settlement. These demands were said to include:

Immediate and unconditional return of Danzig to the Reich.

A "corridor" thru the Polish Corridor in the form of a motor highway under German sovereignty from Germany proper to East Prussia.

Immediate abandonment of the Anglo-Polish alliance, finally concluded last week.

Direct negotiations between Germany and Poland for a "final settlement."

Negotiations between Britain and Germany for the return of Germany's pre-war colonies.

If these demands were granted, the report ran, Hitler declared he was ready to conclude "non-aggression" pacts with Britain and Poland. Otherwise the Reich would press for the complete partition of Poland, even thru war if necessary.

The Anglo-French answer to these demands was not yet officially known when this paper went to press. It was believed, however, that Hitler's terms would not be accepted but that the reply would be couched in such form as to leave the door open

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LaFollette Denies FDR's War Charges

Progressive Says Roosevelt's Neutrality Stand Hurts Peace Chances

Washington, D. C.

President Roosevelt's assertion that a Congressional "coalition" had tied his hands from making any move for world peace by preventing action on the Administration's program for revision of the Neutrality Act drew quick dissent last week from Senator LaFollette.

"I don't see what move we could make for peace that would involve the sale of arms, ammunition and implements of war, and that is the nub of the issue presented to Congress," Mr. LaFollette said.

The Wisconsin Senator, a supporter of much Administration legislation, opposed the proposal of the President and Secretary Hull for repeal of the embargo clause of the present law, which prohibits the sale of arms to belligerents.

"To take the position that the sale of arms would promote peace is to fly in the face of our whole experience leading up to our entry into the last war," Mr. LaFollette said. "The President seems to be proceeding on the theory that we can have our cake and eat it too.

"The way to stay out of Europe is to stay out. If we attempt to influence the course of events prior to hostilities by throwing the American productive capacity in arms, ammunition and implements of war into the balance, we would be gambling with the fate of 130,000,000 people who live in the United States, plus those who live in the western hemisphere.

"More important still, we would be staking the fate of American democracy on the turn of a card in a game of power-politics which has been going on in Europe for 2,000 years."

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"Impossible"—But . . .

"WE must never forget that the rulers of present-day Russia are common blood-stained criminals, that here is the scum of humanity. . . .

"Considered purely militarily, in the event of a Germano-Russian war against Western Europe, which would probably, however, mean against the entire rest of the world, the relations would be simply catastrophic.

"An alliance whose aim does not comprise a plan for war is senseless and worthless. . . . Thus the fact of the conclusion of a treaty with Russia embodies the declaration of the next war. Its outcome would be the end of Germany."—Adolph Hitler, "Mein Kampf."

"THE reactionaries openly speculate that the Soviet Union may try to beat Chamberlain at his own game by joining hands with Hitler. But even those who hate the land of socialism cannot believe it, when they see that the Soviet Union alone rounds up the traitorous agents of Hitler within its own lands and puts them beyond all possibility of doing any more of their wrecking, spying and diversions for fascism.

"The clean-up of the Trotskyite—Bukharinite—Lovestonite gangs in the Soviet Union was the final guarantee, for those who needed it, that the Soviet Union will never be surrendered to fascism."—Earl Browder, "Fighting for Peace" (published in July 1939).

Realignments Follow Nazi-Soviet Pact

The entire picture of the European situation was suddenly changed last week when, apparently after months of secret negotiations, Soviet Russia and Nazi Germany sealed an alliance in the form of a far-reaching "non-aggression" pact, a few days after the conclusion of an important commercial agreement between them. German Foreign Minister von Ribbentrop journeyed to Moscow where he and Premier Molotov, in the presence of Joseph Stalin, promptly signed the political treaty binding the two powers generally regarded as mortal enemies.

(A rapprochement between Moscow and Berlin was repeatedly forecast in these columns during the last year. As far back as December 3, 1938, an editorial appeared headed "What Would A Soviet-Nazi Pact Mean?" On March 22, we headlined "Stalin Indicates Reich Pact." On March 29, in an article, "Behind the Screen of Diplomacy," it was stated: "Stalinist Russia, for years tied hand and foot to the 'democratic' front, is now beginning to break away and to look towards a possible rapprochement with Germany." Thereafter, comments on a Stalin-Hitler understanding were to be found almost weekly in the columns of this paper.—Editor.)

The Russo-German agreement goes far beyond the ordinary terms of a "non-aggression" pact and is markedly different from such pacts signed by Russia in the past. The most important of its sweeping provisions are:

The two parties "obligate themselves to refrain from . . . every aggressive action against each other, including any single action or that taken in conjunction with other powers."

"In case one of the parties should become the object of warlike acts by a third power, the other party will in no way support the third power." This is interpreted as meaning that Russia could not come to the aid of any power with which Germany was at war.

"Neither of the parties will associate itself with any grouping of powers which directly or indirectly is aimed at the other party." That, of course, would mean that Soviet Russia could not join in a "peace front" (Anglo-French block) against Nazi aggression.

The pact does not include the usual "escape" clause providing for its lapse in case one of the contracting parties attacked a third power.

The Russo-German agreement thus constitutes in fact an alliance between the two powers, exactly how far-reaching, however, is not yet evident. There are authoritative reports that the pact includes a number of undisclosed secret clauses.

The Stalin-Hitler pact immediately set in motion a number of important diplomatic shifts and realignments. It was clear that Germany would have the backing—at the very least, the "benevolent neutrality"—of the Soviets in its campaigns of expansion in central and southeastern Europe, beginning with the annexation of Danzig. It was even suggested that some arrangement for the eventual partition of Poland had been discussed in the Berlin-Moscow conversations. The first sign of this new German-Russian cooperation in the politics of southeastern Europe was seen in the declaration made by George Markov, vice-president of the Bulgarian National Assembly, that Russian Premier Molotov had assured him that Russia was backing Bulgaria in the latter's demand for the return of the Dobruja from Rumania. Nazi Germany had long supported Bulgaria's claims.

On the other hand, in the Far East, Russia would have German backing—at the very least, a free hand—against Japan. This was well understood in Japanese government circles.

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WEDNESDAY
August 30
8 P. M.
Admission 25c

"STALIN, HITLER AND WAR"
What Does the Russo-German Pact Mean?
Speakers:
MARCEAU PIVERT, Leader of the French Socialist Workers and Peasants Party (P.S.O.P.)
JAY LOVESTONE, Secretary of the I.L.L.A.

CENTER HOTEL
Grand Ballroom
108 W. 43rd Street
New York City

Counts Elected President Of Teachers Union

Progressives in Big Victory at A.F.T. Convention

(Special to the Workers Age) Buffalo, N. Y. Dr. George S. Counts, well-known liberal educator and candidate of the progressive forces, was elected president of the American Federation of Teachers (A.F.T.) at its convention here.

(A full report of the A. F. T. convention will appear in the next issue of this paper. We publish below Dr. Counts's program for the A.F.T. and a statement issued by a number of delegates on behalf of his candidacy. —Editor.)

MY PROGRAM FOR THE AMERICAN FEDERATION OF TEACHERS
By George S. Counts
Professor at Teachers College, Columbia University



Dr. GEORGE S. COUNTS

I. The Extension of Democracy
WE should promote the development of a comprehensive program of education designed to sustain and advance the cause of democracy during the present critical period. This requires:
1. Intensified support of all measures (with particular emphasis on federal and state aid) designed to reduce and ultimately to remove inequalities of educational opportunity with respect to districts and regions, class, occupational, racial, national and religious groups.
2. Reorganization and coordination of the tax structure of the nation on the principle of levying taxes according to ability to pay, of taxing wealth where it is found, and applying it where it is needed.
3. Establishment on the part of the school of the closest possible relationships with the democratic forces of the community and the formation of boards of education representative of the people.
4. Democratization of the organization, conduct, and administration of the school.
5. Organization of the life and program of the school to develop in the pupil those traits and dispositions essential to the democratic way of living:
a. A feeling of competence and confidence to deal with life.
b. An allegiance to the central democratic principle of human equality, brotherhood, dignity, and worth.
c. A loyalty to the democratic

process of free discussion, criticism, and group discussion.
d. A mentality marked by fairness, integrity, and scientific spirit.
e. A respect for and an appreciation of talent, training, and character.
f. A sense of the fundamental social obligation to work.
g. An enlightened devotion to the general welfare.
h. The establishment of all forms of vocational and special training on a broad cultural base.
7. The support of all educationally sound measures, whether local, state or federal, designed to promote the education of adults.

II. The Teacher and the Community
We should struggle for those conditions under which teachers may become dignified, honest, and free, in the full awareness of their vital importance and heavy responsibility in guiding children and youth in the ways of democracy. This requires:
1. Support of all measures, organizational relationships, and legislative enactments respecting the employment, promotion, and dismissal of teachers which will guard the deepest and most abiding interests of pupils, teachers, and community.
2. Support of adequate retirement legislation for teachers, and of general social security for all employees of the board of education or educational institution.
3. Encouragement of teacher par-

ticipation in the life of the community, defense of freedom of speech for teachers both as teachers and as citizens, and in short demanding for the teacher all the rights of the citizen.
4. Struggle against all forms of discrimination against teachers because of race, religion, politics, sex, or marital status. Unwavering stand for tenure based squarely on merit; reemphasis on the principle of civil service for teachers.
5. General drive for mobilization of funds and resources for the defense of teachers unjustly dismissed or deprived of their rights.

III. The Organization of Teachers
We should build a vigorous and solidly unified organization which will draw into the American Federation of Teachers all progressive forces in the teaching profession. This requires:
1. Systematic cultivation through the membership of the spirit of independence, power of critical judgment, and capacities for leadership.
2. Defense of the principle that membership is open to all teachers alike, regardless of race, religion, or politics.
3. Encouragement within the A. F. T. of critical analyses and evaluations of all political programs, but commitment of the union as a whole to no national party.
4. Recognition of the fundamental principle that adequate support of education requires the release of the productive forces of our economy so that expansion of the national income results.
5. Unification and democratization of the entire labor movement, (including farmers and middle-class groups), and participation in the organization of programs looking toward the increase of our productive energies. The teachers must participate in this unification and democratization.
6. Expansion of the services of the national organization to the locals, and development of fraternal relationships with other federations of teachers on the American continent.
7. The integration in the American Teacher of the practical and theoretical functional interests of teachers.
8. Active cultivation of friendly

Result of State Labor Polls

New York City. A SUMMARY of all elections, contested and uncontested, held by the New York State Labor Board during the period from July 1, 1937 to June 30, 1939, made by Louis Goldberg from records of the Board, shows that A. F. of L. unions won 59.4% of the 170 elections in which they appeared on the ballot. C.I.O. unions won 48% of 102 elections and "independent" unions won 62.9% of 62 elections. These "independent" unions were in part genuinely independent organizations, bona-fide unions, unaffiliated with either A. F. of L. or C.I.O., and in part disguised company unions.
The "independent" unions made out best relatively in the elections. They won 30 of the 48 elections in which they were opposed by A. F. of L. or C.I.O. affiliates, casting 52.3% of the valid votes in these elections.

A.F.L. Sees More "Spending"

Washington, D. C. The American Federation of Labor last week declared in its monthly survey of business that Congress probably would have to adopt another spending program next January if progress toward recovery was to be sustained.
Although the Federation's economists deplored continued deficit financing, they recognized that there was "no present way, except government pump-priming, by which the volume of national production can be surely, immediately and steadily increased."
The Federation recalled that in six years federal pump-priming had cost an average of \$3,000,000,000 a year, which it said had produced a big increase in the national income in those years when the largest amounts were spent.
The survey stated that government spending alone could not bring full recovery, but that it could act only as a stimulus to start revival by creating a demand for goods and paving the way for private investment.
The Federation charged that businessmen in the United States were not organized to expand production.

WPA Head Admits Lack Of Labor

New York City. A shortage of skilled workers on the relief rolls here has compelled W.P.A. and city officials to draw plans for curtailing W.P.A. building operations and concentrating on sewers, roads and other projects requiring a high proportion of unskilled labor, Lieut. Col. Preston B. Somervell, local Work Projects Administrator, admitted last week.
The A. F. of L. building-trades unions are conducting a strike on W.P.A. projects demanding the restoration of union wage rates on work relief. Thomas A. Murray, president of the Building and Construction Trades Council of the A. F. of L., declared that the union stoppage had brought all work to "a complete halt" and had made the North Beach Airport "as quiet as the ghost town of the West." The W.P.A.'s effort to operate in the face of the strike had caused the waste of \$5,103,500 since July 1, Mr. Murray said.

Dubinsky Hits Stalinist Parade

New York City. Branding as a "falsehood" a statement which appeared in the communist press that International Ladies Garment Workers Union locals are to take part in a "peace parade" sponsored by the League for Peace and Democracy, David Dubinsky, president of the I.L.G.W.U., called upon the members of his union last week to shun the parade and characterized the League as a "spoke in the communist wheel."
The statement reads:
"The information in the communist press with regard to I.L.G.W.U. participation in their so-called 'peace parade' this Saturday is false."
"Our union has always regarded the 'League for Peace and Democracy' as a spoke in the communist wheel. To take part in their parade would be equivalent to endorsing the 'Stalin-Hitler peace' and the worst insult to the good name and the conscience of any individual worker or labor organization."
"We therefore ask all the members of our union to shun this parade and not to allow anyone to make use of them as a means of whitewashing or endorsing the treacherous and bloody Stalin-Hitler deal."

Textile Wages Recommended

Washington, D. C. Arguments for and against a universal minimum wage of 32½ cents an hour for 650,000 textile workers were submitted in final form last week to Elmer F. Andrews, wage-hour labor administrator.
His decision whether to adopt this minimum, recommended by a textile industry committee and vigorously opposed by many southern cotton mills, was expected within a month.

NEW DEAL UNION LAUNCHED

When the courts ruled the suspension of Local 37's officers to be legal, the commissars announced the formation of a new union and petitioned the N.L.R.B. for an election to determine the bargaining agent. The organization drive of this new union consists in part of such inspiring gems as this: "Outside of a few I.A. pets, not one working man has ever profited a thin dime by coughing up the piratical tribute to the fakers who lined their pockets with his dough while openly sneering at him."
The new union, of course, denies any affiliation with the C.I.O. but they admit that the C.I.O. longshoremen have given them a thousand dollars. They have tried to keep secret the visits of Brophy and other C.I.O. big shots to Hollywood but the internal dissension which has already developed has led to the

Labor and the Law

by Joseph Elwood

THE N.A.M. AND THE WAGNER ACT

IN reporting on its investigation of the policies and actions of the National Association of Manufacturers, the LaFollette Civil Liberties Committee analyzes what it calls the "deliberate action" of that organization "to promote organized disregard for the National Labor Relations Act."
The committee's report, issued on August 14, is the third of four reports on the "Labor Policies of Employers Associations." The two previous reports in this series treated the National Metal Trades Association and the Associated Industries of Cleveland. The last of these reports, to be published in the near future, will deal with the activities of the so-called "citizens committees."
The latest report stresses the importance of the N.A.M. by pointing out that it is the only existing federation of national, state and local employer associations, and that its allied organizations total from 30,000 to 35,000 manufacturers who employ between one-third and one-half of the persons engaged in manufacturing industries in this country.
"The National Association of Manufacturers," the report proceeds, "is concerned with the formation and crystallization of policy among employers toward the rights of labor; the individual members of the associations affiliated with the National Industrial Council (a collaborating organization) put these policies into actual practice in particular industrial areas."
The Association is said to be "largely financed by a small group of powerful corporations representing in 1937 less than 10% of its membership."
A much smaller clique of large corporations, not more than 60 in number, the committee declares, has supplied it with active leadership. The annual budget of the organization in 1937 was \$1,440,000.
"An intransigent minority of powerful corporations," the report declares, "continue to oppose the right of their employees to organize into unions of their own choosing. Under the guidance of this small but powerful minority of corporations, the Association has continued its

Approved Hosiery Standards

For the first time under the wage hour act, the recommendations of an industry committee for wages above the act's blanket minimum have been officially approved. Administrator Andrews announced last week that he had endorsed recommendations covering the hosiery industry and that these would be made the basis of a formal order, setting the minimum wage in the manufacture of seamless hosiery at 32½ cents an hour and in the full-fashioned branch at 40 cents an hour.

How New N.L.R.B. Rule Works

The National Labor Relations Board's new policy of not certifying a union without an election despite documentary proof of majority membership must be invoked either by an employer or a rival union or the Board will not apply it, it was revealed last week.
In the case of North American Aviation, Inc., a craft union was certified on July 25, 1939 without an election where a petition was presented containing names of 75 out of 77 workers in the appropriate bargaining unit. This, it seems, was due to the fact that neither the employer nor any other union contested this majority showing by the craft union.

SPREAD THE WORKERS AGE

Antonini to Speak At Symposium

Counts, Thomas, Waldman Also on List

New York City. LUIGI ANTONINI, state chairman of the American Labor Party and first vice-president of the I.L.G.W.U., will be one of the group of outstanding personalities in the fields of labor, education and politics to take part in the symposium, "Towards A Better America," to be held on Friday evening, October 6, at Hotel Center, 108 West 43rd Street, under the auspices of the dependent Labor Institute.
Other speakers will include: George S. Counts, widely-known educator and president of the American Federation of Teachers; Norman Thomas, chairman of the Socialist Party; Louis Waldman, leading social-democrat and labor lawyer; Lewis Corey and Scott Nearing, labor economists; Abram L. Harris,



LUIGI ANTONINI

professor of economics at Howard University; Bertram D. Wolfe, educator and author; and Jay Lovestone, secretary of the I.L.L.A.
These men, each of whom has something very worthwhile to say on the basis of his study, experience and activity in the labor movement, will discuss the trends of American social development and the outlook for a better future for the great mass of the American people. From every viewpoint, this symposium promises to be one of the most significant educational affairs of the year.
Tickets are 75 cents and are to be obtained at the dependent Labor Institute, 131 West 33rd Street.

Realignments Follow Nazi-Soviet Pact

(Continued from Page 1)
circles, which expressed keen disappointment resentment at the Berlin-Moscow pact. In fact, authoritative Cabinet spokesmen in Tokyo suggested that Japan would withdraw from active diplomatic relations in Europe and would probably denounce the anti-Comintern pact, which it regarded as virtually broken by Germany's action. An attempt to establish "better relations" with England was also suggested.
Italy's attitude was more than ambiguous. Officially, the Italian press approved the Russo-German pact and pledged all aid to Hitler. But it was known that Rome too resented the rapprochement with Moscow, for one reason because it further damaged Italy's already weak position in the Berlin-Rome Axis. Count Ciano was understood to have told a British diplomatic representative that, despite all public announcements, his government was not pledged to rush to Germany's assistance in any war. Energetic but unavowed efforts were being made all last week by Anglo-French diplomacy to take advantage of Italy's disaffection and break it from the Axis.
In Russia, the turn to Germany was followed by a complete right-about-face in the tone and direction of the press, which now began to stress the "German people's desire for peace" and to excoriate Britain and France. It was also hinted that a new series of "treason trials" were being arranged, involving important personalities on charges of "conspiring" with England and France to bring about an "imperialist war" and to "drag the Soviet Union into it." Former Foreign Minister Maxim Litvinov was mentioned as chief defendant, with Alexander A. Troyanovsky, former Russian ambassador to the United States, and perhaps Ivan Maisky, ambassador to London, included in the list of victims. In general, the Russian press played down the news of the European crisis.
(Read the editorial on the front page.—Editor.)

French C.P. Papers Suppressed

Paris, France. The Communist Party newspapers, Humanite and Ce Soir, were banned for an indefinite period by a special decree issued by Premier Daladier last week. Semi-official spokesmen said the action was taken because these publications defended and justified the Stalin-Hitler pact and in order to "make clear that France no longer considers Russia a friend."

Struggle for Control Rocks Hollywood Stage Hands

Stalinist "Boring From Within" Tactics Prove A Failure

By J. D'OAKES

Hollywood, Cal. PROBABLY the most interesting thing about Hollywood is the multitude of blond babes who roam its boulevards in shorts or slacks but there are several other things that should be considered while we polish our spectacles for maximum vision. Among these are: (1) pictures are one of the most potent propaganda mediums that was ever developed; (2) Hollywood is the production center of one of the nation's major industries; (3) 25,000 workers are involved in picture production. These three factors have made Hollywood the scene of an unscrupulous struggle for union control.

MAIN FORCES IN STRUGGLES

The two principal forces involved in this struggle are the International Alliance of Theatrical Stage Employees and Moving Picture Operators (I.A.) and, secondly, the C.I.O., which, on the Pacific Coast, is dominated by communists and serves as the trade-union expression of Communist Party politics.
To properly evaluate the role of these two forces, it is necessary to consider the background of the I.A. For nearly fifty years, the I.A. has organized and maintained wages and hours in every theater in the United States and Canada. From its very inception, it has had an industrial tendency in that it has included such diverse crafts as electricians and carpenters in addition to the peculiarly theatrical crafts such as grips, property men and fly men. With the inception of the movies, the new craft of moving-picture operator was automatically included.
Always relatively insignificant in point of numbers, it was able to resist the attacks of powerful theatrical combines only by its forceful tactics. Until it invaded Hollywood in the early twenties, the I.A. had not had an organization drive for thirty years. Membership in the I.A. meant commanding one of the highest wage scales in the world and it was a privilege for which men fought and convived.
If there ever was an aristocracy of labor, the membership of the I.A. could be said to be that. It is not surprising, therefore, that it should develop a ruthless and domineering hierarchy highly skilled in gaining favorable contracts for the membership but without understanding of the technique of handling workers in masses.
The I.A.'s first attempt at organizing Hollywood was not successful for several reasons. Among them

were inadequate technique, the chaotic nature of the industry and the refusal of other unions, notably the electrical workers and the carpenters, to recognize I.A. jurisdictional claims. The painters, plasterers, machinists, carpenters and electrical workers had achieved varying degrees of organization but no closed shop existed until the I.A. made its successful second attempt at organization in 1933. It claimed jurisdiction over juicers, grips, property men, prop makers, nursery men, projectionists, upholsterers, lab technicians, sound technicians, assistant camera men, wardrobe, etc. These 12,000 workers were placed in one local (37) with separate locals for the sound men and assistant camera men.

The contract the I.A. gained called for union recognition and closed shop, a 10% increase in wages each year for five years, a reduction in the working day from 8 hours to 6 and time and a half for overtime. What this contract meant to the workers can be seen in the case of the grips, the second most numerous category of workers. Prior to 1933, they were working 8 hours for \$4.75 or less, with no increase for overtime. Today, they are making \$7.80 for 6 hours and time and a half for overtime.

BUREAUCRACY IN THE I.A.

Characteristically, the I.A. leadership, unable to cope with the problem of controlling so great a mass of workers, found it easier to tell them than to ask them. No membership meetings were held and the membership was never consulted on matters of union policy. This did not provoke the resentment that might be expected. The majority of the 12,000 members had never before belonged to a union and they took little interest in union affairs. To many of the men, especially grips and laborers, studio work is merely a temporary expedient. I have worked with an M. D. from Oregon, a Brooklyn high-school teacher, the aviator who preceded Wiley Post around the world establishing refueling stations, and a six-day bicycle rider. Such men belong to the union because they have to but their interests lie elsewhere.
The men who really desired local autonomy were an ineffectual minority. At a mass-meeting of several thousand called by the I.A. early in 1938, President Browne called for a vote of confidence. Only 15 men voted against him.
To the I.A., control in Hollywood is important because it is the seat of

a great industry, the outlet of which the I.A. already controls; and because it is a bonanza that pays off to the tune of \$36,000 a month. Both of these points, are of great interest also to the Communist Party and its trade-union arm, the C.I.O., on the Pacific Coast. Add this to the political importance of controlling a vital propaganda medium and the lure becomes irresistible. The commissars decided to count themselves in. Their first attempt came during the 1937 strike of the A. F. of L. moving-picture painters. Under orders from the C.P., the business agent of the painters resigned from the union during the strike and tried to establish a C.I.O. union that would cover the whole industry! The attempt was idiotic and it flopped miserably. The commissars waited for another opening and the I.A. gave it to them when, without consulting the membership, it allowed the producers to continue the previous year's wage scale without the 10% increase. At the same time, Willie Bioff, the personal representative of the president of the I.A., deposited \$100,000 in the Bank of America. The coincidence looked bad and it probably was.

STALINIST "BORING FROM WITHIN"

The C.P. had no one of any importance in Local 37 and for front man they had to pick a youngster just out of college by the name of Kibre. He was secretly appointed representative of the C.I.O. The Los Angeles Central Labor Council is in possession of reports sent by him to the C.I.O. in 1938. With the aid of the commissars and C.I.O. attorneys, he took to the N.L.R.B. a series of charges claiming that the I.A. did not represent the workers, that it was a company union and that Bioff had taken graft. There was enough substance to the charges so that the I.A. settled by agreeing to grant local autonomy if Kibre would withdraw the charges. In the subsequent local elections, the new board of governors was anti-I.A. The contradictory actions of the new board were a reflection of the confusion that existed but there was nothing confused about the little group of Stalinists under Kibre. Their primary objective was to alienate Local 37 from the I.A. and they persisted in that direction. They were aided in this by a number of individuals who saw an opportunity for personal gain. They were also able to rally to their support the other craft unions in the industry that had their several reasons for fearing the I.A. The internationalists of these unions, how-

Housing Big Problem For Next Congress

Many Interests Unite to Push Shelved Bill

By ARTHUR GREEN

NEXT year, Congress will have to reconsider its vote shelving the \$800,000,000 housing bill.

By throwing out the President's request for a doubled authorization for slum-clearance projects, the House of Representatives only postponed decision on the future of the government's entire low-rent housing program.

The housing bill was blocked as adjournment approached, a victim of the last-minute stampede for "economy." It went down with the much larger lending-spending plan, of which it was a part.

Yet that does not mean that Congress will be able to repudiate the entire idea of building houses to rent at low rates to people in the "lowest one-third" of the national income scale.

Under parliamentary rules, the housing-expansion bill will remain on the House calendar and the question of passing it will arise next session for action by the members who refused, in the pre-adjournment jam, to consider it. The Senate already has passed it and when the House acts, it will either accept House amendments or consider it in conference.

When housing comes up on the agenda before Congress at its next session, lawmakers will have to consider the same set of conditions among the nation's poorest-housed millions as they were confronted with when the bill was first studied.

Unlike the Home Owners Loan Corporation, which relieves distressed home owners, and the Federal Housing Authority, which insures mortgages to get private capital into home construction, the housing law under consideration is a slum-clearance measure and, secondarily, a step to provide more employment in the building trades.

The United States Housing Administration (U.S.H.A.), which is asking for the \$800,000,000, raises its funds thru sale of bonds guaranteed by the federal government and can lend up to 90% of a project's cost, the local housing authority being required to raise the other 10%. The local authority also issues bonds to cover the cost of its project, giving a maximum of 90% of the bonds to the U.S.H.A. and selling the remainder elsewhere.

Security for the local bonds is the U.S.H.A.'s contract to make annual contributions to reduce rents on the project. Thus, these annual contributions are in one sense rent subsidies and, in another sense, constitute debt-service payments. They are vital to the low-rent plan.

Congressmen will be reminded next session that the United States Housing Administration, told by Congress in 1937 to go ahead and lend \$800,000,000 to local housing authorities for slum-clearance projects, had to stop lending and earmarking funds when the \$650,000,000 mark was reached. This is because Congress authorized the U.S.H.A. to make annual rent contributions as a subsidy to tenants and set aside \$28,000,000 for this purpose. The U.S.H.A. found out that \$28,000,000 in rent contributions would cover only the \$321,000,000 in loan contracts already made and \$329,000,000 already earmarked—a total of about \$650,000,000.

The U.S.H.A. is asking for authority to sign rent contribution contracts for \$45,000,000 more. This would permit earmarking of the remaining \$150,000,000 and of \$800,000,000 more, a total low-rent housing fund of \$1,600,000,000.

Congressmen will be reminded also that the U.S.H.A. first \$800,000,000 will provide about 160,000 dwelling units in some 140 projects in 193 localities of 22 states, the District of Columbia and Hawaii. Doubling the U.S.H.A.'s lending power would have permitted construction of an additional 18,000 dwelling units.

The need, however, according to government economists, is far greater than even this number of proposed dwellings indicates. Commissioner of Labor Statistics Isador Lubin has told the Temporary National Economic Committee that four million dwelling units in the country are either unfit for human habitation or in need of major repairs.

Next year, Congress will be asked also to recall that five states enacted legislation in 1939 making them eligible for U.S.H.A. loans. There are not sufficient funds, however, to supply these newcomers, and unless Congress authorizes more lending power for U.S.H.A., the late-voting states will be penalized.

In addition, many localities participating in slum-clearance with U.S.H.A. help have only begun to attack their slum-removal problem. Funds so far available to the U.S.H.A. have made only small inroads into the over-congested areas of many cities. From this stems strong local pressure for more housing projects, hence a need for more U.S.H.A. funds.

Another point of unfinished business for Congress to recall at its next session: little has been done so far under the housing program to attack the unfit, substandard rural home. The shelved housing bill contains provision for a \$200,000,000 onslaught on the rural housing problem, a first step toward a decentralized approach to the problem of the substandard rural dwelling unit, using federal aid.

Perhaps the strongest reminder that the housing question has not

been adequately answered will be written in the grim totals of next Winter's unemployment figures.

Employment on housing projects with the money now available is scheduled to reach a peak of about 160,000 jobs next March, and then drop sharply. By mid-Summer of 1941 the employment rolls on U.S.H.A. housing projects will be down to a mere 20,000. Administrator Nathan Straus points out, however, that a grant of an additional \$800,000,000 would keep these workers on the employed list. The doubled authorization would create a steadily expanding number of jobs until a peak of 240,000 was reached early in 1941. Then there would be a gradual decline.

So Congress will certainly be reminded of what its vote snubbing the housing bill means in terms of slum dwellers, in terms of states and towns anxious for projects and in terms of jobs.

Should the I.L.P. Join The British Labor Party?

Brockway Describes Background, Urges Affiliation

By FENNER BROCKWAY

(Special to the Workers Age)

London, England.

FOR over a year the Independent Labor Party has been negotiating with the Labor Party to find out whether terms of affiliation could be secured which would allow the party freedom to carry on its revolutionary socialist propaganda and action. The negotiations have been leisurely, partly because the I.L.P. has approached the question with great care, partly because they have been interrupted by the recurring war crises which have compelled concentration in other directions, and partly because the Labor Party has referred the issues raised by the I.L.P. to sub-committees which have delayed consideration for many weeks.

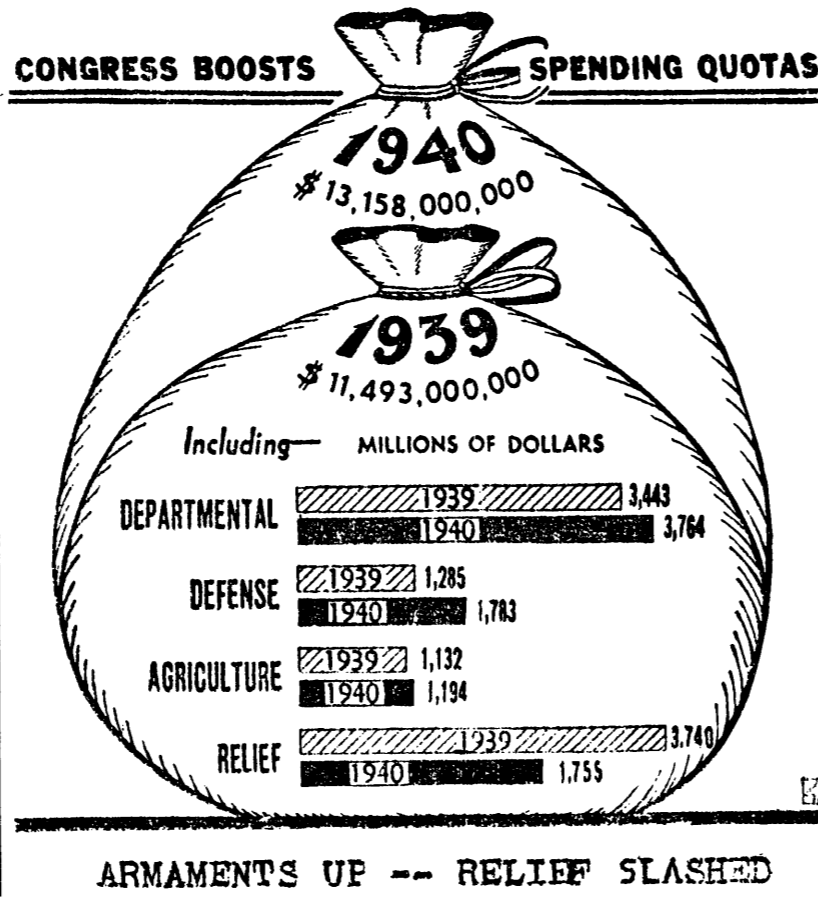
The problem is a difficult one for revolutionary socialists in Britain. The I.L.P. is approaching it in the same attitude that Lenin advised in 1920. Even when the Communist International was insisting that its sections in the different countries should pursue a policy of sharp hostility to the Social Democratic parties, Lenin saw that the peculiar constitution of the British Labor Party demanded a different attitude towards the question of affiliation. He informed the I.L.P. delegation, which went to Moscow in 1920 to inquire about terms of affiliation to the Communist International, that in his view it would be the correct tactic for a real Communist Party in Britain to seek affiliation to the Labor Party so long as freedom were given to maintain communist propaganda and organization.

The difference between the structure of the British Labor Party and the Social Democratic parties in other countries must be understood clearly if a correct view is to be reached on this question of affiliation. Social Democratic parties are generally composed of an individual membership and their constitutions do not permit the affiliation of distinct political organizations maintaining their separate policies and functions. If groups of revolutionary socialists wish to join these Social Democratic parties, they must cease to function as organized units and must be incorporated in the general membership and be subject to the party's rigid discipline.

The Labor Party structure is different. The Labor Party began as a federation of socialist and working class organizations with the object of securing labor representation independent of the capitalist parties. A joint committee was established representing trades unions and socialist organizations. Each section retained its own liberty, but all united for the purpose of putting forward working class and socialist candidates on a broad program with socialism as its ultimate objective. There was no strict discipline and when parliamentary representatives of the different sections differed they had freedom to vote according to their convictions. This was in practice a political workers' front. The I.L.P. participated in it, directing its elements towards the socialist position and not hesitating to record its votes independently when socialist principles demanded this.

This situation continued until and during the war. The right of the affiliated organizations to pursue an independent policy was so fully recognized that, although the majority within the Labor Party supported the war and even authorized Labor representatives to enter the government, there was no suggestion that the I.L.P. should be disaffiliated even though it opposed the war and its parliamentary members acted as a permanent opposition group in the House of Commons.

In 1918, however, the constitution of the Labor Party was changed so that the basis of separate affiliated organizations was supplanted by an individual membership of the Labor Party. Prior to



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this, no one could join the Labor Party as an individual except thru membership of one of the affiliated organizations. Since 1918 individuals have been permitted to join the Labor Party directly and are associated in the localities in sections of the Labor Party.

The Labor Party thus has a dual structure. Nationally the federal structure of affiliated organizations remains dominant. The national conference is composed of representatives of the affiliated organizations plus representatives of the local labor parties. These local labor parties are themselves federal. They are composed of delegates from the trade union branches and other affiliated organizations in the locality, including the sections of individual members.

But side by side with the structural modification of the Labor Party there has been a tightening up of its discipline. The Parliamentary Party has adopted Standing Orders which prohibit its members from voting independently. Members are permitted to abstain from voting if conscientiously impelled to do so, but up to the present this "conscience clause" has been held to apply only to three subjects—questions related to drink, religion, and war. On these subjects members have been allowed not only to abstain from voting, but to express their difference of policy by declarations both in Parliament itself and in the press and on the propaganda platform.

The I.L.P. came into conflict with these Standing Orders during the Labor Government of 1929-31. That

Hitler Sends His Demands To London

(Continued from Page 1)

to further negotiations. Indeed, opinions were expressed in informed quarters that such negotiations might prove the entering wedge of a new Munich, with Germany ultimately getting substantially all it had set out to obtain under cover of some face-saving device. Some countenance was lent to these views by the great stress laid in London and Paris on the statement that in the end it "depended entirely on Poland" whether to accept or reject Germany's terms, as last year it was said to depend on Czecho-Slovakia. In this way, by exerting proper pressure, England and France would be able to make "concessions" to Germany without appearing to violate their pledges. An element of further confusion was introduced into the situation by the fact that France sent its reply to Hitler many hours before the British Cabinet finally decided on its stand.

There were strong indications that Italy, behind its formal pledges of support to Germany in case of war, was exerting all its influence in the direction of getting Hitler to moderate his demands and reach some sort of an understanding with England and France. Official appeals for peace addressed to Italy, Germany and Poland were also made by President Roosevelt but these were regarded as of little significance except as indicating the President's desire to play an "active" part in the European crisis without regard to the involvements it might bring upon the United States.

Despite all discussions, negotiations and peace efforts, Europe went ahead putting itself on a full war footing. Millions of men were under arms and millions more called to the colors. Dictatorships held sway everywhere, in the "democratic" as in the fascist countries. The masses of the people were numb with the nerve-racking terror of waiting for the bombs, poison gas and air raids to start. A spark seemed all that was necessary to set off the explosion. It was indeed the "blackest week since 1914!"

government reduced the wages of public servants, withdrew unemployment benefit from 300,000 workers, and cut down expenditures upon social services. It also pursued a policy of imperialist repression in India and other parts of the empire. The I.L.P. opposed both the attack on the living conditions of the workers and the imperialist repression. The Labor Party then demanded a pledge from all parliamentary candidates that they would in the future obey the Standing Orders of the Parliamentary Party. The I.L.P. candidates refused to give this pledge and subsequently the party took the decision to disaffiliate.

Nevertheless the Labor Party remains the mass party of the British working class and particularly of the trades unions. Indeed, some of the trades unions have rules which preclude the activity of members who do not belong to the Labor Party. Thus the I.L.P. has found in practice that its disaffiliation from the Labor Party has imposed restrictions not only on its influence in the political movement, but also upon its influence in the trade union movement.

Since the I.L.P. left the Labor Party its membership has dropped to one-third its previous strength, but against this there has been a valuable development of its policy in a revolutionary direction and its personnel has become much more dependable from a revolutionary point of view. No one would claim that it has yet reached perfection in either of these directions, but it can be said confidently that its revolutionary tendency is now decisive within its ranks and will determine its future.

The I.L.P. has now to ask itself whether its revolutionary socialist work could be done more effectively by affiliation to the Labor Party. We are applying the test of Lenin and are clarifying the extent of liberty which we would be allowed.

We have secured from the Labor Party an understanding that if our party affiliated our full organizational independence would remain. This means that the I.L.P. would continue as a separate organization, with its own branches and conferences, paper, literature, and propaganda meetings. We should have liberty to maintain our policy thru our organization so long as it did not clash fundamentally with the basic principles of the Labor Party.

On two issues we have not been able to secure clear assurances from the Labor Party. The first relates to parliamentary votes. We would be prepared to say that we would not vote against the Labor Party if we had the right to abstain on all issues when we differ and to make clear to the working class why we did so. Our socialist convictions cover wider questions than "drink, religion, and war"! In practice, however, it would be very difficult for the Labor Party to restrict the right to abstain to these three questions and in fact it does not do so. Indeed, during the last three years there have been many occasions when Labor M.P.'s have voted against the Labor Party and have not been disciplined for doing so.

The second question upon which uncertainty remains is the right of the I.L.P. to be affiliated to the International Revolutionary Marxist Center and the International Workers' Front Against War if it became affiliated to the Labor Party. The differing practices of sections of the Second International are so marked, however, that it would be very difficult for the Second International to discipline the I.L.P. in this connection. For example, in Britain the Labor Party will have nothing to do with the British section of the Communist International; in France the Socialist Party has entered a Popular Front with the French section of the Communist International. In view of these contradictions it would be illogical for the Second International to say that an affiliated section of the Labor

What the Wage Law Means to Unionists

Even Well-Protected Workers Get Benefits

Washington, D. C. ALTHO the Fair Labor Standards Act has had the vigorous support, before and since its enactment, of all important national labor leaders, it has sometimes been difficult for the individual union man to see how it will benefit him personally.

Many members of organized labor already were receiving much more than 40 cents an hour, which is the highest minimum wage contemplated in the Act. Many already under union contracts were receiving time and a half for overtime work. Many trades unions, by bargaining agreements, have established a shorter work-week than 40 hours, which is the maximum to be reached under the Act in 1940.

Yet even these well-protected workers will receive important direct benefits.

Not all workers are organized. Outside the labor movement there are many millions of men and women employed in interstate commerce, or in the production of goods for interstate commerce, who were wholly without protection until this law came to their assistance. They constituted an enormous reservoir of low-paid labor to which certain employers could turn in their efforts to resist the legitimate demands of organized workers for higher wages and better working conditions. Indirectly, they were in competition with every man or woman who had a good job.

Moreover, when these people receive wage increases, the nation's mass buying power has been increased. And everybody knows that the goods made in the mass production industries cannot be sold unless there is widely diffused mass buying power.

Before the Fair Labor Standards Act, Mary Jones worked in a Troy factory for \$7 a week. After the Act became effective she was raised to \$11 a week—25 cents an hour for a 44-hour week. She was able to buy a new dress, a new hat and a new

pair of shoes, to go to the movies more frequently, to eat more and better food.

Just one worker's increased buying has an infinitesimal effect upon the total of the nation's business. But when you multiply one Mary Jones and one John Smith by hundreds of thousands or millions of Mary Joneses and John Smiths, the total effect may be tremendous.

The farmer sells more produce and with the money he receives he can buy more goods manufactured in the cities. The grocer from his increased business, can buy a new automobile; the automobile maker can build a new house; the housing contractor can buy a new electric refrigerator; and idle railroad workers are called back to work to help move all these goods from farm to city, from city to farm from city to city. Thus the benefits of increased buying extend on and on in ever widening circles until everybody benefits in some degree. And the goods for which there is now an improved demand have to be manufactured, and the people who manufacture them are, in many cases, organized workers.

Thus factories that formerly ran only part time may now have to operate full time to fill the orders. The hourly rate of pay any worker receives is important, but even \$1 an hour is not a very good wage if he who receives it has an opportunity to work only two months a year. Even with no increase in his base rate, his annual earnings rise with each added week of employment he gets. And it takes the buying of many millions to keep the factories running so that all the workers will be employed for longer periods and others now idle will be called back to work.

Several months ago an investigation was made of the manner in which American families spend their incomes. It was found that there were 16,000,000 families receiving less than \$1,250 a year. The investigators figured out that if all these

Family should not maintain its connections with revolutionary socialist parties. A decision on the question of affiliation to the Labor Party will probably be reached by the I.L.P. in the early Autumn. In this report I have dealt mainly with the organizational issues, but they are incidental to the political issue. We recognize completely that the policy of the Labor Party in home and foreign affairs is not only not socialist, but in many ways a repudiation of socialist principles. Its foreign policy makes it at the present time a war party, and the I.L.P. is not prepared in any way to limit its denunciation of all that the Labor Party stands for in this direction.

On the other hand, we know that there are thousands within the organizations affiliated to the Labor Party who share our view on these matters, and the fact has to be faced that it is within the Labor Party ranks that the vital discussions which will make the final decision of the British working class are taking place. Our revolutionary socialist comrades in the Labor Party are appealing to the I.L.P. to assist them in their political conflict, particularly against the Communist Party, who have largely penetrated the Labor Party machine.

Our comrades abroad can be certain that the I.L.P. will reach its decision on the question of affiliation from the point of view of doing what is most effective to win the British working class for revolutionary socialism and that we shall not desert our comrades of other countries in any action which we take.

Dr. Counts Is Elected Head of AFT

(Continued from page 2)

"Save Our Union Committee" which protected Local 5 from disintegration and vindicated the rights of minorities in that local. That Dr. Counts still stands for defense of minority rights is definitely shown by this sentence taken directly from his platform: "Defense of the principle that membership is open to all teachers alike, regardless of race, religion or politics."

The leadership of George Counts as president of the A.F.T. would establish this organization in the minds of thousands of our fellow-teachers as the organization which stands for their highest social and professional ideals.

We are convinced that the election of George Counts as president of the American Federation of Teachers would bring into our union a deeper and growing unity.

RUSSELL BABCOCK, North Shore Local 460.
WANDA TAESCHNER, Chicago Local 1.
GEORGE AXTELL, West Shore College Teachers Local 635.
ANDREW STAUFFER, Chicago Local 1.
CARL BENSON, Toledo, Local 246.
LILLIAN HERSTEIN, Chicago Local 1.
STANTON SMITH, Chattanooga Local 246.
ARTHUR ELDER, Detroit Local 231.

Daladier Persecutes PSOP Leaders

Paris, France.

The French government continued its refusal to release Lucien Weitz and other members of the Socialist Workers and Peasants Party of France (P.S.O.P.), imprisoned for anti-militarist activities.

Immediately after the arrests, the Humanite, Stalin's official paper in France, actually greeted these arrests and denounced the revolutionary socialist prisoners as "Nazi agents, supporters of Hitler and allies of the Nazi regime."

But the resentment of the workers was so great that the Humanite was compelled to discontinue its campaign. Even Jean Zyromski, Stalinite spokesman inside the Socialist Party of France, could not stomach it and issued the following declaration.

"I am in complete and absolute disagreement with the conceptions of international politics maintained by the P.S.O.P., but I hasten to raise a protest against the imprisonment of Weitz and to affirm publicly my conviction about the honor and entire loyalty of Marceau Pivert, a genuine militant at all times."

could be raised to \$1,500, and if they spent their money as do those after relief receiving that amount, \$800,000,000 more would be spent each year for food, \$400,000,000 more would be spent for clothing, \$600,000,000 more for rentals, \$450,000,000 more for fuel, light, refrigeration and house furnishings, \$385,000,000 more for automobiles, and \$200,000,000 more with the doctor, the dentist and the druggist.

The Fair Labor Standards Act isn't so ambitious as to aim at a minimum national family income of \$1,500 a year, but it is a step in the right direction.

Economists emphasize the importance of our foreign trade, but when you come right down to it, the greatest potential American market is not in China, or India, or even in Canada, but right here at home.

How to Recognize A "Real Liberal"

Never Mind Issues—Does He Follow FDR?

By JOHN T. FLYNN

(These paragraphs are from the August 16, 1939 issue of the New Republic.—Editor.)

THE Tory uprising in Washington which has resulted in a series of reverses for our great liberal leader must be a subject of concern to every true liberal. Who is a liberal and what is liberalism—or progressivism or whatever it is that it should be called—is one of those points on which speculative minds may struggle for hours. But fortunately we have at the moment a test which is definitive. A liberal or progressive or what-have-you is a follower of President Roosevelt. A liberal measure is one which President Roosevelt supports. And I know of no greater tribute to the generous, open-minded attitude of our traditional liberal leaders than the manner in which they have abandoned all other tests and surrendered to this one. How can I doubt the mental integrity of some old-line liberal—even a left-wing liberal—when I see him lustily cheering for a plan to establish the coal owners of the bituminous regions as the executive and legislative rulers of the economic province of coal? Something inside that man tells him that this is not liberalism or progressivism or Marxism or even democracy; but his loyalty to his new leader tells him that the old standards are no longer sound and that if Franklin is for it—it's liberal and its okay.

This is a great help in the present Tory crisis in Washington. Surely there can be no doubt about where a liberal must stand on a thing like the Hatch bill. For over a hundred years, liberals in this country have battled against the hateful principle of the civil service and everything connected with it. The grand old Democratic party in New York City has waged incessant war against the principle of selecting men on the merit system and then keeping them out of politics. The right of the political leader to keep his legions happy and loyal by putting them in jobs and then keeping them there by using those loyal legions in the campaign and around the polls, has been one of the first items in the creed of such great liberals as Dick Crockery, Charlie Murphy and John Curry. And the great principle has been held aloft by such true-hearted liberals as Senator Guffey, Representative Sullivan, Mayor Hague, not to mention Jim Farley and Franklin Roosevelt. True, Mr. Roosevelt once said that he believed profoundly in the civil service and wanted both parties to come together and agree on the subject. But this was before he became governor. And it was, beyond a doubt, one of those intervals of doubt which come into every man's career when he strays for a moment from the grand old path of true liberalism.

So now, when we see a batch of Republicans, and Democrats too—Tories all—fighting to put an end to what they call the "drilling of the public payroll" and the "marshalling

of the faithful to the polls" and the "shaking down of office-holders for campaign drives," can any liberal doubt where he would stand?

There was another problem facing the liberals. It was in the spending-lending bill. There was a plan to make \$350,000,000 available to the railroads to buy new equipment. That was stricken out on the motion of Durt Wheeler, the hated Tory from Montana. No one can doubt that Wheeler is a Tory. He has opposed half a dozen measures sponsored by our liberal leader and that makes him a Tory.

There are a lot of simple-minded people who insist that Wheeler was fighting the battles of the progressives when Mr. Roosevelt had only two planks in his platform—and they were the League of Nations and the Biggest Navy on Earth. They say Wheeler was being hoodwinked by the old Harding detectives when Jim Farley and Joe Guffey and other great liberal leaders were playing around with either Tammany Hall or Wall Street. But what has that got to do with it? Everybody knows that the railroads have been the great pets of the liberals—that a true-hearted liberal will do anything in this world to save a railroad stockholder and help a railroad president to hold his job. They are trying to stave off bankruptcy and dispossess by having the government lend them nearly half a billion dollars upon security that no one else will touch with a forty-foot pole. The President rightly takes the liberal position—lend to the railroads, save the roads from bankruptcy, save the stockholders and the executives and the railroad bankers. Obviously the liberals must cheer for this.

I know it is a little confusing. It gets even more so when we liberals look around and find McNutt sitting close to our leader and fingering the liberals favorite instrument—the Social Security Act—and when we see other such valiant liberals in places of power. But we need never worry. All we have to do is to forget everything else and remember that the true test of a liberal is whether he is for Roosevelt or not.

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LABOR AND THE THIRD TERM

PROBABLY the most significant action taken by the recent convention of the New York State Federation of Labor was its refusal, despite all sorts of pressure, to go on record in favor of a third term for President Roosevelt. We welcome this stand taken by so influential a body of organized labor for we are thoroughly convinced that labor should have nothing to do with the third-term agitation in any of its forms.

In the first place, we do not believe that President Roosevelt deserves such a blank check of unqualified support as is implied in the third-term idea. Indeed, we do not believe that, on the whole, he deserves the continued support of labor at all. We are not unmindful of the benefits labor has received from certain phases of the New Deal nor of the great advances made in labor and social legislation under the Roosevelt regime. But today all such questions are thrown into the background by the great and overshadowing question of war. Let America be plunged into another world war and all of the gains that labor has made in the last decade and more will be ruthlessly wiped out by the military dictatorship that war will most certainly bring in its train; the very reform legislation of which the New Deal is so proud will be perverted into a mechanism of authoritarian control. And yet it is as clear as daylight that President Roosevelt's foreign policy is a war-making policy, a policy which, whatever its intentions may be, is driving the United States ever nearer the brink of the precipice. The Administration's destructive attitude on neutrality shows this; its reckless drive to get this country entangled in some sort of "collective-security" alliance with Anglo-French imperialism proves it to the hilt. Today President Roosevelt stands for war and neither labor nor any other section of the population that desires to keep America out of war can afford to give any support to the third-term idea.

But even in domestic policy the Administration's record is by no means as immaculate as the Daily Worker and other professional pro-Roosevelt papers pretend. We will not go back into history, not even into relatively recent history. We will merely refer to the present W.P.A. crisis that looms so large as a problem for organized labor. Can it be denied that President Roosevelt sponsored and approved the destruction of union wage scales on W.P.A.? Can it be denied that his spokesmen in Congress, Majority Leader Rayburn and the rest, openly aided in rushing thru the iniquitous Woodrum relief bill and converting it into the 1940 relief law? Can it be denied that when A. F. of L. construction-trades unionists dared to go on strike to protect their hard-won wage scales, the President and his underlings launched a barrage of fierce denunciation against them and gave the W.P.A. authorities a free hand in crushing the strike movement in the best union-smashing, open-shop manner? Could anyone alive to the trends of the time miss the fascist note in the Presidential pronouncement that "you cannot strike against the government"?

The A. F. of L. has done a valuable service to American labor by taking up this challenge flung down by the President himself, by standing firm in defense of the fundamental rights of labor, by making clear its determination to hold the Administration politically responsible for its deeds and misdeeds. It would be well if all organized labor followed the lead of the A. F. of L. in this respect.

There is yet another side to the third-term question—the anti-third term "tradition." We are certainly no blind worshippers of political traditions or conventions. But in these days of growing authoritarianism threatening the last safeguards of democracy, any tradition that stands as an obstacle in the way of the expanding power of the Executive is, to that degree at least, to be welcomed. Certainly, this is no time to increase the already tremendous power of the Chief Executive and his political retinue or to extend the already considerable permanence of his position. For these reasons, we feel that organized labor should not let itself be involved or entangled in any way in the third-term campaign. Labor should learn from experience and follow its own independent way.

THE STALIN-HITLER PACT

(Continued from Page 1)

of Popular Frontism—already bankrupt and discredited in its practical results—will collapse like a rotten, worm-eaten structure, leaving a nauseating stench behind it.

And what about "collective security"? Only yesterday the Stalinists were vociferously calling upon this country to join the "democratic front against fascist aggression" along with England, France, the Soviet Union and other "great democracies." For the sake of this "democratic front" we were asked to risk involvement in war and to invite all the disasters that war would inevitably bring in its train. And now the Soviet Union suddenly walks out of this "democratic front" and concludes a pact with the very chief "fascist aggressor"—to the obedient applause of the Stalinist press! Is it not plain that the whole "collective-security" propaganda of the Communist Party has never been anything but a brazen fraud, a gross swindle and deception practised upon the American people in order to serve Stalin's diplomatic aims of the moment? If recent events mean anything at all, they should strengthen our determination to avoid any entanglement in the imperialist power-politics of Europe, no matter how glittering the phrases with which the trap is baited. Keep America out of war!

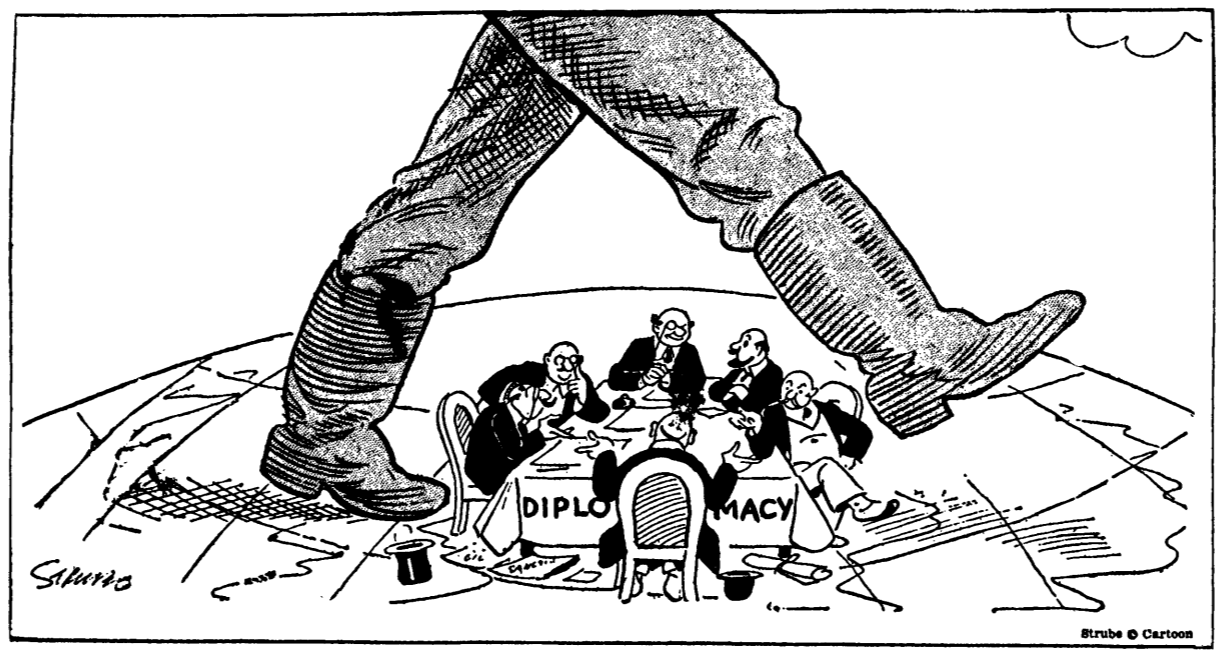
WHAT will follow? What unprincipled concoction of treacherous phrases and demagogic slogans will make up the new Stalinist "party line" as the instrument of the new Soviet foreign policy? One thing is clear at any rate: Once the new "party line" is decreed in Moscow, it will be taken up by the "coordinated" cliques of Stalinist henchmen in the various countries and injected by them into the labor movement with the same unscrupulousness and the same disregard of consequences that marked the ultra-leftist dual unionism of 1929-1935 and the Popular Frontism of recent years.

American labor must be on the watch against the new manoeuvres and intrigues that are sure to come with the new "party line," when that is decreed from Moscow. It must protect itself against disruption and demoralization engineered by elements utterly alien to its needs and interests. It must act now if it is to forestall the great damage that is bound to come when the Stalinists begin operating with their new line.

TO the members and followers of the Communist Party, whom the terrific shock of the Stalin-Hitler pact is forcing to think and think hard, we make this appeal:

Open your eyes and face the facts! For seven years, from 1929 to 1935, you were kept in the madhouse of "third-period" sectarianism, with its frenzied dual unionism and "social-fascism." Then, upon orders from above, without a word of explanation or discussion, you were suddenly turned right-about-face and driven into the bottomless swamp of Popular Frontism. For the sake of the "democratic front" at home and abroad, you were compelled to swallow every sort of abomination and to abandon every idea of socialism and militant class struggle. And now, again at a word from Stalin, and again without explanation or discussion, another sudden right-about-face—a pact with Hitler! The Daily

THE REAL OVERSHADOWING POWER



C. P. Members Protest Party's W.P.A. Betrayal

Document Shows Great Resentment at Surrender

(We publish below in full a very significant document now being circulated within the ranks of the Communist Party. This appeal reflects very vividly the growing resentment of certain sections of the C.P. membership at the anti-labor and anti-socialist policies followed by the party leadership.)

—Editor—

August 1, 1939.
TO MEMBERS OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY ONLY:
Dear Fellow-Members:

We address this letter to you, as fellow members of the party, because the events of the W.P.A. strike have made it impossible for us to remain altogether silent any longer.

We who write to you are all members of many years standing and have devoted all our time and unsparing work to build our party for the tremendous tasks that lie ahead. We have done so because we are revolutionists, because we are communists, and because we want to see the overthrow of this capitalist order of starvation and insecurity. Yet think, comrades, with thousands of W.P.A. workers on strike, with the skilled building-trades workers striking to restore the prevailing wage, followed by thousands of unskilled laborers, with W.P.A. projects in dozens of cities shut up tight as a drum, with such magnificent demonstrations of working class militancy and solidarity in answer to the starvation lay-offs and wage-cuts—that has our party been doing and saying?

We want to speak our mind to you in this letter because when we raised this question in the party branches we were regarded with suspicion; our questions were called disruptive in spite of the fact that our comrades know that we are loyal and devoted party workers. We have heard our fellow-members whisper their objections, privately, to what has been going on. But a comradely discussion of our policy has not been permitted in our branches. We wish that you honestly consider the points we raise, without prejudice, for the good of the movement, because we know that many party members feel as we do about it.

PARTY LINE SUPPORTS ROOSEVELT

What line has our party followed in this critical W.P.A. situation? IT HAS SUPPORTED ROOSEVELT. It has never said a word about Roosevelt's responsibility for the terrible situation that now faces the unemployed. It has put all the blame upon the Tories. Every line in the Daily Worker whitewashes the President completely and even suggests that he is fighting for the W.P.A. workers' interests.

We say to this that the party has not been telling the truth to the workers in thus covering up Roosevelt. The passage of the Woodrum bill meant the firing of about 30% of the W.P.A. workers, about 750,

and the slashing of wages of skilled workers to one-quarter the union scale. Roosevelt did NOT veto this bill; he SIGNED it; and he gladly recalled to the reporters that he had been trying to get the union wage clause out for some time now! Labor's answer was to issue a strike call immediately, which met with the enthusiastic response of the whole American working class. The answer of the New Deal government was to fire all who had been on strike for five days and bar them permanently from relief. Pink slips were issued to some 2,500 daily in New York and only about one-quarter of these were replaced. Attorney General Murphy, who was supported by the party in Michigan as a New Dealer, has called out the G-men to break the strike and threatens prosecutions of unions. And Roosevelt backs all this up with the statement: "You cannot strike against the government."

Who believes that "you can't strike against the government"? It is Roosevelt, the Tories and reactionaries who believe that! It is they who want the workers to take the W.P.A.-cutting attack lying down, and Roosevelt backs up their wishes which are also his, with the government guns! But labor IS striking against the government—the general strike of the W.P.A. construction workers speaks for itself. Why not? Isn't the boss (the government) firing workers, cutting wages? Hasn't it shown itself to be the bosses government?

"ONE-DAY STOPPAGE" —BUT NO STRIKE!

And our party—is it supporting labor's strike, or is it supporting Roosevelt's anti-labor attitude? Is it in the thick of the actual fight against the government? Far from it! While the W.P.A. strike was in progress, the Workers Alliance and our party called for—a one-day stoppage! The Workers Alliance did not join the strike and call its members out. The Daily Worker played down the existence of the strike, and did not come out battling for its support and extension! This in spite of the immense assistance to the strike if the Alliance had brought masses of unskilled workers to the support of the strikers and welded the unity of skilled and unskilled workers in action.

More than that, the Alliance sent Roosevelt a message that it was willing to call off even the one-day stoppage; it instructed its members that they need not necessarily go out on the stoppage, and in many places the Alliance did not, in view of this attitude. It instructed its members to go back to work after the stoppage, even though this meant in many cases crashing the picket lines. Comrades, we submit: When communists are asked to pass picket lines set up by their fellow-workers in fight against lay-offs and wage cutting, they cannot keep silent!

Worker, of course, hails, applauds and justifies everything, just as it did yesterday and the day before, for the top party leadership knows but one law: Whatever Stalin says or does is right! But how about you, the rank-and-file membership of the party, who are sincerely concerned with building an effective communist movement in this country?

Do you think a genuinely socialist working-class party capable of coping with the forces of American capitalism and leading the way to a new social order, can ever be built up in this way? Do you think that the American working class can ever be led to victory by a party that is utterly devoid of conviction or principle or even elementary political decency, by a party that is merely a mechanical puppet rigidly controlled and manipulated by strings reaching from Moscow? Don't you see that by serving such a party you are really being exploited for ends that have nothing to do with communism or the interests of the working masses of the world? Isn't it time to brush aside illusions, no matter how deeply cherished, and look the facts straight in the face?

If you want to have your efforts really count in advancing the cause of socialism and working-class struggle, we call upon you to join the Independent Labor League of America. In the I.L.L.A. you will find an organization firm in its devotion to the tested principles of militant socialism but realistic and flexible in tactics; an organization that is an organic part of the American labor movement and cannot be driven from one extreme to the other by orders from the outside; an organization that frames its policies, independently and democratically, to meet the needs and promote the interests of the working masses and stands responsible for these policies before the whole labor movement. If you want to do your bit for the victory of socialism in this country, your place is in the I.L.L.A.!

The editorial line of the Daily Worker completely backed up this anti-strike policy, even while the strike of the trade unions was in full swing. In the July 15 Daily Worker, the leading editorial says: "The question of the right to strike against the government is clearly not an issue in the present fight to revise the Woodrum bill. The construction workers are not striking against the government. Their action is part of a nation-wide movement which consists mainly of one-day stoppages, demonstrations, and sending of delegations, in protest against the way the Tories in Congress have undermined the W.P.A. thru the Woodrum bill." This while Murray and the building-trades unions were challenging the W.P.A. officials to visit the projects themselves to prove that no work had been going on for weeks continuously! This was a complete misrepresentation of the brave fight of the W.P.A. strikers.

In the July 18 Daily Worker, Comrade Herbert Benjamin, head of the Alliance, issued the following statement: "The Workers Alliance of America has fixed a policy with regard to the strikers and has not departed from this policy in this instance. We have not called any strikes and are not now calling for strikes of the W.P.A. workers. . . . The one-day stoppage and demonstration we have called for July 20 is just that and not a strike."

WHAT THE PARTY SHOULD HAVE DONE

Communist comrades! Our party has a rich history of unemployed and relief sit-in strikes, in the hunger march to the President's doorsteps in Washington, in W.P.A. strikes, in stirring and militant demonstrations of the unemployed like that of the March 6, 1930. Now it apologizes for Roosevelt; it says that Roosevelt's signing of the Woodrum bill was merely a result of bad advice; that the New Deal Congressmen were all "confused" on the vote; it tells the workers and its members to stay on the job while W.P.A. is being struck up and down on the land. The party should have raised the loudest voice for the support of the strike on the W.P.A. We party members who are aching to get into the fight, should have been thrown into support of the W.P.A. strikers with all the resources of our party behind us. It is for this kind of action that we joined the party. Because we were for the revolutionary class struggle against capitalism and its government.

Now, just when the W.P.A. workers and labor all over the country are pitted in a fight against Roosevelt's attack on W.P.A., our party is engaged in a campaign to build up sentiment for the third term. What can we expect? If in spite of everything, Roosevelt knows the workers are in his bag no matter how raw his attacks on W.P.A. and relief; he will move openly, boldly to continue his anti-labor course.

Furthermore, as it not Roosevelt who ordered not long ago that a half million "aliens" be dropped from W.P.A. rolls? And up until July cuts took place regularly and with systematic and increasing viciousness. Our party did not rally the workers or the one and a quarter million fired since 1938 elections; our party did not dare to say where these cuts were coming from; our party played down these anti-labor and anti-W.P.A. steps of the New Deal government, and devoted itself to building up the confidence of the workers in F.D.R. and his New Deal lieutenants. Our party did not warn the workers that the only way the W.P.A. would be maintained was by coming out of the streets, in mass demonstrations of class-struggle militancy, in strikes, in explaining the truth about the New Deal policy to the workers. Thru thick and thin, our party gave its support, and even uncritical support, to the New Deal and its men—while the New Deal gets older and older, and looks more like the same old bossed deal every day. How true Comrade Browder's words when he said: "How childish it is to think that the 'goodness' or

Outstanding Symposium of the Year

TOWARDS A BETTER AMERICA

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 SCOTT NEARING, Economist and Author
 LEWIS COREY, Economist and Author
 ABRAM L. HARRIS, Professor at Howard University
 BERTRAM D. WOLFE, Educator and Author
 JAY LOVESTONE, Secretary of the I.L.L.A.

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Auspices: INDEPENDENT LABOR INSTITUTE

I.L.L.A. Holds Vital National Convention

World Situation, Labor Problems on Agenda

WHAT is bound to prove one of the most important gatherings in the history of the Independent Labor League of America will take place on the Labor Day weekend, September 2-4, 1939, at the national convention of the I.L.L.A. to be held in this city.

For the convention will face a most critical situation in international affairs, in domestic politics and in the labor movement, and the delegates will have to review realistically the experiences of the past year and to devise policies to enable the organization effectively to meet the difficult situation.

The central subject of discussion at the convention will naturally be the international situation. Jay Lovestone will report on this subject and in his remarks he will deal at length with the nature and significance of the Russo-German pact and with its implications for the world labor movement. His report will also stress the fruitful efforts made during

'badness' of the individual Roosevelt can make the slightest difference in regard to the policies of the government! The government, with Roosevelt at the head, is trying to save the capitalist system. To save the system makes it necessary to put the burden of the crisis on the workers, farmers, and middle classes. . . . Roosevelt is bad for the workers because he is the leader of the capitalist class in its attacks upon the working class" ("Communism in the United States," by Earl Browder).

Most of us are communists of many years service to the party who have been taught to look behind the capitalist policies with a revolutionary understanding. We have been trying to think these events thru as our great teachers of the revolutionary movement would have done. The uneasiness which so many of the comrades show with regard to our present policies makes the responsibility of ourselves and yourselves one that cannot be ignored.

WE MUST TELL THE TRUTH!

We must tell the workers the truth about Roosevelt and the New Deal. We must come out in defense of the workers interests against the New Deal as well as the Tories. We must tell them not to depend upon Roosevelt and on capitalist politicians but on their own organized strength and class struggle. We must throw the weight of the party towards separating the political labor movement from support of capitalist politicians and towards building their own independent political party of labor. We must proclaim, as we once did, that only a revolutionary struggle will save even the smallest crumbs for the workers in these days when the bosses are screwing the lid down more and more tightly.

That's for our party to do. We must rally the disillusioned and embittered workers against Roosevelt. We must forget the nonsense that post cards and petitions and polite visits to officials themselves will get us what we want, without the fighting methods of the class struggle. We must not continue to burn our fingers playing around with capitalist politicians.

To us who are writing to you, the questions we are raising mean everything, because the movement means everything. Write us what you think! The party must be what the party workers want it to be—the Communist Party which will rally the American working class for the revolutionary defeat of capitalist slavery and for socialism!

THIS LETTER IS FOR COMMUNIST PARTY AND YOUNG COMMUNIST LEAGUE MEMBERS ONLY. PLEASE DO NOT LET IT FALL INTO THE HANDS OF INDIVIDUALS OUTSIDE THE ORGANIZATION.

Issued by a group of members of the Communist Party and the Young Communist League.

the past year to build up a new International Center and an international labor front against war. Lovestone was present at the foundation conference of the International Revolutionary Marxist Center and at the sessions of the International Workers Front Against War towards the beginning of the year and he will present to the delegates of the I.L.L.A. convention a thoroughgoing account of these important gatherings.

The second report will deal with the basic trends in the American trade-union movement in the past year. Significant developments in the A. F. of L. and the C.I.O. as well as the changing relation between these two organizations will be discussed.

A full report of the convention will be given in coming issues of this paper.

Struggle in Stage Hands Union

(Continued from Page 2)

cause on August 12 the producers signed with the I.A. a closed-shop agreement for a period of five years, covering all the crafts previously involved. The five locals hold regular meetings and are working out their own demands and the leadership of the I.A. has promised to become involved in the negotiations for these demands only upon the request of the membership. The N.L.R.B. trial examiner has issued the statement that the basic closed-shop agreement is contingent upon the hearings on August 16, but it is my guess that he is talking thru his hat. The agreement will probably hold and the I.A. is going to demand that every worker within its jurisdiction hold an I.A. card. By the time of the hearings, the I.A. is going to be able to show that the overwhelming majority are already in the I.A. and that an election would be farcical. In the event that the N.L.R.B. insists on holding the election, the I.A. will undoubtedly be victorious. The I.A. membership cards the boys hold will guarantee their interest in an I.A. victory and I think they'll see it that way in a ratio of about two to one.

CLASH OF ACTORS AND I.A.

The current flurry between the actors and the I.A. is a separate struggle for power between two groups of officials. The actors are independent unionists. The first and only important actors strike that I recall was won for the actors in 1919 by the I. A. At that time, the actors acknowledged the fact. Organization of the extras and lesser luminaries is imperative but in the upper brackets it becomes damn silly. What a \$50,000 per picture star has in common with a \$5 per day extra is something only a communist could explain. As far as the mechanics are concerned, this latest development is important only in that it demonstrates the strong industrial-union tendency of the I.A.

There has been and there will continue to be a crying need for a group of articulate trade unionists who are capable of giving cohesion and direction to that large mass of workers who feel that both sides are at fault in this struggle. The opposition succeeded in discrediting the I.A. administration even though it has failed in its major objective, but it is not in a position to take advantage of it. Only a third group can give point to this dissatisfaction and direct it toward a struggle for complete union democracy within the I.A. and progressive cooperation of all the crafts in the industry. That such a group will arise is quite unlikely but its failure to do so will not be catastrophic. Catastrophe was averted when the Stalinists were outmaneuvered by the old line trade-union politicians of the I.A.