

Next Week:
SOCIALISM AND
DEMOCRACY

Workers Age

Weekly Paper of the Independent Labor League of America

ON SITUATION IN TRADE-UNION
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AT FIRST GLANCE

by Jay Lovestone

WILL THEY LEARN?

INCALCULABLE damage has been done to the labor movement by the Stalin regime. Of course, when we speak of the labor movement we have in mind especially the bona-fide, non-caricature types of organizations. How honest and not unintelligent labor people from all over the world have been duped by the Stalinist manipulators is pathetically revealed by the following letter from a British Labor Party spokesman, Charles Trevelyan, in the Manchester Guardian Weekly of August 18, 1939:

"I have just returned from Soviet Russia, where I have travelled for two months, a sojourn almost exactly coinciding with the period spent in Moscow by Mr. Strang. I was able to observe the attitude of the Russians to passing events . . . They regard the fascist governments without qualification as the only possible enemy . . . Of course, they have all along been in favor of a firm common front to meet aggression . . .

"A supreme interest governs all their actions. The Russians want to maintain peace. They have an economy which is every year giving their people a level of prosperity unknown elsewhere. Wages are rising, prices are falling. Unemployment is unknown. Cheerfulness, hope and confidence are universal. They are, moreover, the most politically educated people in the world. There is infinitely more discussion of international politics than with us. And they know far better than the bulk of our people that a firm front of the democratic powers means peace. They do not believe that Hitler would challenge the formidable odds he would have to face if their armies, larger and as well mechanized as his own, were added to the defensive array of France and Britain. Knowing this, they want the pact."

We have quoted at length from this concoction of nonsense, fairy tales, and just plain poppycock, not to be mean to the simple and gullible Trevelyan but rather to show the ravages perpetrated against clear thinking and clean action by Stalinist duplicity. We reckon Mr. Trevelyan must feel pretty low after having written the above which has been proven false from A to Z. Our sympathy goes out to him and his kind—provided they learn from their past grievous errors and strike out on a new and better path.

MARX AND THE MIDDLE CLASS

ONE need not accept fully all interpretations and conclusions of Dr. Abram L. Harris in his study "Pure Capitalism and the Middle Class" (The Journal of Political Economy, June 1939), to recognize the timeliness and value of the work as such. This noted Negro economist and scholar of Howard University thru careful research into the writings of Marx, goes a long way to show how illiterate, distorting and wrong are many of the would-be destroyers of the Marxian theory of class divisions in society. Very appropriate indeed is the analysis made by Dr. Harris as an answer to those who rant against Marx as a thinker and social scientist on the ground that he saw only two classes in society and erred in not seeing the new types and kinds of middle class that would arise with technical progress.

In quoting freely from Marx's writings to refute such misrepresentation Dr. Harris emphatically declares: "The old middle class arose under individualistic conditions of capital accumulation while the new is a product of corporate ownership and monopoly. In the third volume of Capital, Marx discusses the changes in the conditions of capital accumulation and in the character of property and ownership. It is with these changes that the rise of this new middle class was associated by him . . . Harris further stresses that this "does not change the inherent character of capitalist development" and quotes Marx to the effect that under these conditions "the poorly paid artists, musicians, lawyers, physicians, professors, schoolmasters, inventors, etc. will increase." He discloses the conclusions of Marx as to the increasing proletarianization of the commercial laborers and white-collar employees.

Of more than ordinary interest is the further finding of Dr. Harris that: "It is a common belief that the American economist, Thorstein Veblen, was the first to call attention to the growth of conspicuous consumption and, along with it, the increase of 'predatory functions' . . . Yet . . . Marx, as early as 1870, was not merely aware of the development of conspicuous luxury among the capitalist class and of the growth of domestic and 'public' servants, but . . . he knew these developments to be an integral part of capitalist expansion."

HOLLAND TO THE FORE!

WE take our hats off to our brother party in Holland. In the present situation it is a mighty achievement for revolutionary socialists to hold their own. But to score a victory in the teeth of menacing reaction, to advance the cause of militant socialism despite the fatal Stalinist betrayal of the principles and ideals of Marx and Lenin, is a victory of vital significance—splendid in its inspiration beyond the frontiers of Dutch imperialism.

Our comrades of the Revolutionary Socialist Workers Party (R.S.A.P.)
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Roosevelt Orders 'State of Emergency'

Nazis Push Conquest of Poland

Partition Between Reich And Russia Expected, No Real Action In West.

The first week of the European war ended with about one-third of Poland in the hands of German troops, who were pushing forward to Warsaw, and some preparatory military activity initiated on the western front. Britain still confined itself largely to using its command of the seas to effect a virtual blockade of Germany, although some British troops landed in France. Italy still maintained its "neutrality" but its press launched a strong anti-British campaign while treating France with rather curious friendliness. Russia was mobilizing hundreds of thousands of men on the Polish frontier, evidently in preparation for some decisive action. In the Far East, Japan was feeling its way to a new orientation, maintaining contact and negotiations with both Britain and Russia.

According to Berlin reports, Hitler was planning to annex the Polish Corridor and all those portions of Poland that had belonged to Germany and Austria before the war. Large sections of eastern Poland would then go to Russia, leaving a small, formally independent Polish puppet, buffer state under Russo-German control. Russian mobilization on the Polish frontier was understood to be a preparation for the invasion of eastern Poland once the German troops took Warsaw and reached the central part of the country. Talk of a Russo-German, or even a Russo-German-Italian military alliance, continued to grow last week. Cabling the Chicago Daily News from Berlin, Walter R. Duesel stated (September 5): "Several conferences have already taken place here between representatives of the German High Command and high ranking officers who arrived Sunday. . . . An Italian military mission is expected to arrive in Berlin this coming week-end. Whether joint German-Russian-Italian conversations are planned cannot be learned."

Once the conquest and partition of Poland were accomplished, Germany planned, according to reliable reports from Berlin, to make a "peace" offer to the Allies, especially to France. Like the Italian press, the German press too differentiated markedly between Great Britain, which was branded as the instigator of everything, and France, which was pictured as essentially a victim of British intrigue. Official spokesmen, headed by Field Marshal Goering, continually stressed that Germany did not "seek war with the western powers." In some circles, it was said that Premier Mussolini might emerge from his "seclusion" to assume the role of liaison diplomat and peace-maker between Berlin and

'This Is Not Our War!'

London, England.
THE Independent Labor Party announced last week that it had received a message from the Independent Socialists of Germany declaring that "Hitler begins war with Poland against the will of large masses of the population."

The message, written on the eve of the outbreak of war, was quoted:

"German workers do not want this war; German peasants do not want it."

"Although we love our native country, we have nothing in common with the present regime. This war is not our war; this fight is not our fight. And we ask you not to forget in the midst of death and destruction the ideals for which we died under torture."

Big Increase In Jobless During July

New York City.

National unemployment rose 3.5% last month, reversing a downward trend that began in mid-February, the National Industrial Conference Board, an employer research agency, reported last week. The number of persons out of work increased from 9,528,000 in June to 9,850,000 in July. The total in July, 1939, was 10,894,000.

Total employment dropped from 45,052,000 in June to 44,774,000 last month. The largest losses were recorded in agriculture, manufacturing and trade, distribution and finance. Gains were noted in construction, transportation and the service industries.

The emergency labor force maintained by the federal government thru the W.P.A., the C.C.C. and other agencies dropped from 2,894,000 in June to 2,603,000 in July. This was the fifth consecutive monthly decline.

London-Paris.

On the western front, despite sensational rumors, there were still no signs of any real large-scale fighting although there was the beginning of preliminary action in the "no-man's land" between the Maginot Line and the German West-Wall. French and British diverting attacks were gathering some strength, necessitating the transfer of German troops from the Polish front. But any real Allied attempt to smash thru the German West-Wall, with the prospect of heavy losses in the proportion of three to one, had not yet developed and seemed most unlikely at this stage.

Labor Leaders Call To Keep Out of War

Lewis, Green Make Strong Statements

Ogden, Utah.

IN a lashing Labor Day attack upon the Roosevelt Administration and its policies, John L. Lewis, president of the C.I.O., charged that the Administration was "more concerned and agitated over the political quarrels in Europe" than at the plight of "one fourth of America's workers" who are jobless. He made a strong plea for keeping America out of the European war and also accused Administration leaders of "callous indifference" and "cold brutality" toward labor, condemned federal "experimentation" and reciprocal trade pacts, and declared that the national debt "has already reached such proportions that it may never be liquidated by orthodox methods."

"Thoughtless and sadly executed experimentation will not always suffice to beguile a suffering people," he asserted in a speech broadcast over a seventy-five-station radio hook-up.

"Displacement and economic abandonment of 25% of the adult population able to work constitutes a threat to the stability of the republic. Attempts to maintain alive this population by direct and work relief, while humanly commendable, make no contribution to the solution of the basic problem."

Attacking the Administration's preoccupation with European affairs, Mr. Lewis said:

"In the face of the economic debacle in America, many of our statesmen are more concerned and agitated over the political quarrels in Europe."

"The country is being told of the statesmen and national leaders who are spending sleepless nights in worry over the situation in Europe. In every way how much better it would be if the same statesmen would spend a few sleepless nights in devising a way for one-fourth of America's workers to get a job at a wage that would keep them alive?"

"Labor in America wants no war nor any part of war. Labor wants the right to work and live—not the privilege of dying by gunshot or poison gas to sustain the mental errors of current statesmen. During the last fortnight, our country has been subjected to an overdose of war propaganda. Patently, an attempt is being made to create the illusion that when war breaks in Europe, the United States in some mysterious fashion will forthwith be involved. Such a concept is, of course, a monumental deception and amounts to a betrayal of national interest."

"Countries of the western hemisphere are self-contained and have no need to participate in the festering

ing intrigues and ancient political quarrels of Europe. The destiny of our own country should be in the keeping of its own people, and it should not become a puppet to be pulled by strings from the warring rulers of Europe."

Charging that the nation's plight was the result of "incompetent industrial and political leadership," he said that, despite some resumption of industrial activity in 1939, the unemployed still numbered from ten to thirteen millions.

"Let those who will seek the votes of the workers of America," Mr. Lewis concluded, "be prepared to guarantee jobs for all Americans and freedom from foreign wars."

Duluth, Minn.

WILLIAM GREEN, president of the A. F. of L., made a fervent appeal against American involvement in the European war in a Labor Day address here before a crowd of 5,000.

Mr. Green declared: "There must be no European entanglement and no involvement in European wars. We call upon our government to scrupulously avoid the commission of any overt act, to maintain a strictly neutral attitude and thus avoid the tragic and unhappy experience thru which our people passed during the World War."

Washington Stunned at Lewis Speech

(Special to the Workers Age)
By FRANK HOWARD

Washington, D. C.

I WAS with a few New Dealers when John L. Lewis's speech came over the air from Utah on Labor Day. Were they surprised? They didn't like his sharp criticism of the New Deal. They commented on the fact that his speech was undiscriminating in its attack on Democratic leadership. It did not single out Garner. It lumped all leaders of the present "government" together. It made a special point of criticizing those who were spending sleepless nights worrying about Europe while our country was going to hell. Who could this be but Roosevelt and Hull? The New Dealers did not fail to understand the significance of the reference. Someone said to me later: "Why Bill Green was not as anti-war as John L."

Now, the question is: Why did Lewis make this speech? Was it because he was away from Pressman,
(Continued on Page 2)

Moves to Stir Up Hysteria, War Panic

Washington, D. C.

Drawing on the vast power he possesses under a number of wartime and post-war statutes, President Roosevelt last week proclaimed a state of "limited national emergency" and issued a series of executive orders of a military and administrative character. This action was apparently taken in pursuance of the Administration campaign to establish war-time controls over the country and to stir up a state of panic and hysteria in the public mind by creating the impression that we are directly endangered by the war in Europe and that our involvement in this war is imminent and inevitable. Such an atmosphere of fear and hysteria, the Administration believes, will facilitate its efforts to "revise" (destroy) the present neutrality legislation for the benefit of the Allies and to align the United States in every way possible with Anglo-French imperialism in the latter's conflict with German imperialism.

Executive orders were immediately issued directing big increases in the army, navy, marine corps and National Guard, and strengthening federal machinery for curbing "foreign propaganda" and "sabotage." The personnel of the armed forces will be increased by over 100,000 men.

These orders were followed by another reorganizing the Executive Department. The most significant feature of this reorganization was the appointment of Brigadier-General Edwin M. Watson as Presidential liaison man to maintain "quick and easy communication with Congress, individual members of Congress and heads of Departments."

In his press conference, President Roosevelt referred several times to the desire of the Administration to "avoid" placing the country on a "war-time footing both in its defenses and its internal economy," but he spoke in such a way as to indicate very plainly that it might come to that yet.

Issues Neutrality Proclamations

Washington, D. C.

President Roosevelt issued two neutrality proclamations last week to define the position of the United States in the European conflict. The first, under the terms of international law, set forth a number of restrictions, most of them already in the statutes, by which the use of the territory and territorial waters of the United States would be denied to belligerents for warlike purposes.

The other, required by the Neutrality Act of 1937, clamped an immediate embargo on shipments of arms, munitions, airplanes and airplane parts to the belligerent countries. The neutrality law, in accordance with which the second proclamation was issued, states:

"Whenever the President shall find that there exists a state of war between or among two or more foreign states, the President shall proclaim such fact, and it shall thereafter be unlawful to export, attempt to export, or cause to be exported, arms, ammunition, or implements of war from any place in the United States to any belligerent state named in such proclamation, or to any neutral state for trans-shipment to, or for the use of, any such belligerent state."

The law requires the President "by proclamation, definitely to enumerate the arms, ammunition, and implements of war, the export of which is prohibited." It prevents any juggling with this list.

The law further prohibits loans or credits to belligerent states, as well as the purchase, sale or exchange of bonds, securities or other obligations of belligerent states issued after the date of the neutrality proclamation. The President may, at his discretion, exempt from this proscription ordinary commercial credits and short-time obligations of a character customarily used in normal peace-time commercial transactions.

The law forbids American vessels to carry arms, ammunition or implements of war to any belligerent state, or to any neutral state for trans-shipment to or for the use of any belligerent state.

It bars the use of United States ports as bases of supply for belligerent warships and authorizes the President to prevent any vessel, domestic or foreign, from carrying fuel, men, arms, or other supplies to any belligerent warship, tender or supply ship.

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Keep America Out of War! Unite for Peace, Freedom and Socialism!

Appeal of the National Convention of the Independent Labor League of America to the American People

(The national convention of the Independent Labor League of America, held in New York City over the Labor Day week-end, issued this appeal to the people of America.—Editor.)

WORLD war has begun! The flames burning on the margins of Europe, in Ethiopia, in Spain, have eaten their way into the center and burst into general conflagration. As we meet in convention, big guns are blasting away old frontiers; bombs are destroying ancient and populous cities; and the madness of wholesale slaughter of man by man has begun on a scale unparalleled in human history.

The seeds sown by the last war and its brutal imperialist peace have begun to bear their new fruit. The Versailles structure has collapsed, and with it the League of Nations. The Socialist (Second) International died in the last war as a result of its own treachery to the cause of peace and socialism. The Communist (Third) International, built to replace it, pronounced its own death sentence on the eve of this second world war by helping to prepare it, when its totalitarian one-man leader, Joseph Stalin, entered into a pact with Adolf Hitler, father of the "Anti-Comintern Axis." Indeed, the Stalin-Hitler pact served as the go-ahead signal for Germany's invasion of Poland and the opening of general war.

In the name of the peoples of all countries, in the name of the great mass of working men and farmers, in the name of all the millions who are called upon to make up the rank and file of all the armies and slaughter others like themselves with whom they have no quarrel, in the name of the teeming populations of the great cities, of the old

men and women and children to whom war spells suffering and naught but suffering, in the name of all but the little handful of rulers and exploiters and profiteers who coin money from human blood, in the name of all the mass of mankind in all lands of the earth we declare: THIS IS NOT OUR WAR!

What Kind of War Is This?

WHAT kind of war is this that the peoples of the world are called upon to wage on each other? What kind of war is this that powerful ruling groups in America will now call upon us to enter?

This second world war is neither more nor less than the continuation of the first. It represents the same imperialist conflicts for territory, for markets, for spheres of influence and investment, continued anew after a brief breathing spell. It represents an attempt by the defeated powers to revise the ruthless "peace" treaty of 1919 and write their own treaty in yet more ruthless terms. It represents an attempt on the part of the victorious powers to hold on to their blood gains. It shows beyond the shadow of a doubt that no "preventive war" ever prevents the next war, that no "wars to end war" do more than sow the seeds of future wars, that no ruthless peace can ever be ruthless enough to do more than prepare the next conflict, that so long as capitalism and imperialism endure, so long as profits are set above human life, the world will continue to stagger from wars to bigger wars, from bloodshed to greater blood-

shed, from ruin to more universal ruin, till civilization even in the imperfect forms in which we know it, will give way to universal brutality and chaos. If we permit ourselves to be dragged into this war, if we permit it to be ended by the same ruling cliques who began it, unless the peoples of the world who have nothing to gain and everything to lose by war take the control of their destinies into their own hands and themselves determine the peace and create a system where not profit but human welfare is the aim and object of all production, unless and until the world's producers are willing and able to make the world their they have builded, war will continue in ever more bloody forms.

We must not let ourselves be blinded by fine phrases designed by "statesmen" to cover up their crimes against their own peoples and to sprinkle the reeking blood with the holy water of "noble" causes. We must not be deceived by the emphasis that will be placed upon the especially brutal and authoritarian form of the new regime in countries like Germany. All governments, without exception, make war upon their own peoples to drive them into the trenches and to stifle their natural opposition to inhuman butchery of their own and their fellow-men. All governments, as soon as they prepare to enter into set up brutal, ruthless, authoritarian, military dictatorships to suppress opposition, to persecute dissent, to frame up, silence, jail and slaughter all who oppose the senseless participation in mass butchery. Germany but mirrors the regimes being established in France and England today, the regime that will be installed in America tomorrow if we can be driven into the war, the regime that

the Roosevelt Administration, and the Coolidge-Hoover Administrations before him, have been secretly, now more and more openly, preparing. Germany started earlier and went farther because its whole course was set since Versailles on the rewriting of that treaty by force. In fact, the totalitarian regime in Germany, like growing totalitarianism everywhere, is nothing but a result of the last war, ironically called a war for democracy. Another war will not end it but extend it to include all governments that enter on either side.

The nature of modern capitalist war is such that it embraces, and must embrace, the entire population and all branches of agriculture and industry. It prescribes who must go to the front, who work at one thing or another, what must be produced and what sold and what said and what thought and what done. It brooks no opposition, permits no individual freedom, no human rights. Every thing, every life, every deed, is directed to the single aim of mass slaughter. In short, in every country, WAR TODAY IS TOTAL WAR. If we would stop totalitarianism here at home, we must stop our own war-makers. If they have their way, totalitarianism is inevitable here.

It is in this light that we must examine all the hypocritical claims that this is a war not for markets, resources, colonies, spheres of influence, but for "ideals" and "ideology." We heard that before, and were driven into bloodshed under the sweet strains of "war to end war" and "war to make the world safe for democracy." We were "victorious." What were the results? Millions of dead and wounded and maimed, thousands of
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Resolutions of the I.L.L.A. Convention:

On Present Situation in the Trade Union Movement

(We publish below two resolutions—"On the Situation in the Trade-Union Movement" and "On Defections and Breakaway Movements"—adopted at the recent convention of the I.L.L.A.—Editor.)

THE fundamental features characterize the present situation in the trade-union movement. 1. The coexistence of two equally genuine, equally bona-fide labor movements in this country, the American Federation of Labor and the Congress of Industrial Organizations.

great mass-production industries, bringing a new spirit of hope, militancy and self-reliance to millions of workers throughout the country. But, as we pointed out in the resolution of the November 1938 session of the National Council, a marked turn in the situation began to set in towards the Fall of 1937, a shift to another line of development amounting virtually to a reversal of trend, the result of a combination of unfavorable objective factors and the cumulative effects of unwise policies, harmful methods and failure of leadership on the part of the C.I.O.

THE POSITION OF THE C.I.O. TODAY

IN the dynamics of the labor movement today, the C.I.O. occupies a double and contradictory position. On the one hand, it already has to its credit a tremendous achievement which all future development will have to take for its point of departure: it has brought unionism for the first time to the great mass-production industries of the country; it has converted industrial unionism from a "radical" idea into a potent, decisive force; it has helped to raise the labor movement to a new, higher level of class organization. On the other hand and by the same token, it must be recognized that the C.I.O. has already largely accomplished its original mission, the mission which justified the rupture of the framework of the A. F. of L. and its emergence as a separate, special organization: the popularization of the idea of industrial unionism and the bringing of industrial organization to the mass-production fields. There is no longer, as there was in 1936-37, any compelling necessity, grounded in the paramount interests of the labor movement, for the C.I.O. to remain a separate and distinct organization apart from the A. F. of L.

Hence the central problem today is the reunification of the labor movement, the reabsorption of the C.I.O. into the A. F. of L., so that the essential achievements of the C.I.O. may be fully assimilated in the further growth of the trade-union movement as a whole. In this connection, it is significant that, within the A. F. of L., a gradual but definite shift of attitude has become noticeable on the basic issue of industrial unionism, manifested both by the strong tendency, stressed in a recent N.L.R.B. report, for craft or semi-industrial unions in the A. F. of L.—largely under the spur of the competitive struggle with the C.I.O.—to expand their jurisdiction along industrial lines and by the increasing readiness of the A. F. of L. Executive Council to recognize industrial unionism for the mass-production industries, as evidenced in its willingness to readmit the so-called "original" C.I.O. unions with their own charters. This shift, along with other factors, has served to stimulate a certain realignment in the top leadership of the Federation.

FUNDAMENTAL ATTITUDE TO A.F.L. AND C.I.O.

WE regard both A. F. of L. and C.I.O. as genuine, bona-fide labor organizations—each, because of its specific background, structure and composition, with its own particular strong points and its own particular shortcomings. We do not "favor" one as against the other in any sense. We support both equally as genuine labor organizations and we criticize shortcomings and mistakes of each on the merits of the case.

dependent labor political action; its inadequate effort to end discriminatory and jim-crow practices against Negroes in affiliated unions. In the C.I.O., we find it necessary to criticize the strong trends towards authoritarianism and super-centralization; its toleration and even support of Stalinism; Lewis's blind, unrealistic position on unity; the acquiescence in the Administration's war policy.

PROBLEMS AND PROSPECTS OF UNITY

SINCE 1937, unity on the basis of the C.I.O. as the dominant force has been manifestly impossible. Today, unity in realistic, practical terms can only mean a negotiated peace for the admission of the C.I.O. unions into the A. F. of L. on a basis that would recognize industrial unionism in the mass-production industries and preserve the essential organizational achievements of the C.I.O. in the mass-production fields. Such unity is quite possible at the present time. Most effectively it could proceed along lines already outlined several times in the past: the readmission of the "original" C.I.O. unions with full charters; the isolation of any jurisdictional conflicts that may arise in other fields to be dealt with separately by joint committees, mediation, arbitration, etc.; after adjustment of those difficulties, the entry of all C.I.O. unions into the A. F. of L. in a body. Both the A. F. of L. and the C.I.O. have already agreed to follow this procedure. The A. F. of L., on its part, has also signified its readiness to readmit the "original" C.I.O. unions with their own charters.

But all the time, under all circumstances, we incessantly urge and work for the reunification of the labor movement. For only thru unity can the strong features of both movements be reinforced and fused and the shortcomings eliminated or counteracted. Only thru unity can the labor movement as a whole escape disaster and muster its forces for successful resistance to the gathering offensive of the forces of employing-class reaction.

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Complete reunification may very probably require some considerable credits to foreign countries in default on their obligations to the United States did not apply, he said, to the R.F.C. or the Export-Import Bank. Should the federal government carry thru Mr. Jones's plan, it would be a way of evading both the Johnson Act and important provisions of the neutrality law.

Despite John L. Lewis's recent statement that unity with the A. F. of L. was "impossible," there is no reason to abandon the peace negotiations as hopeless. These negotiations must be resumed and the utmost effort should be made by all sections of the labor movement to bring them to a successful conclusion.

Neither President Roosevelt nor State Department officials made any attempt to hide their hostility to the Neutrality Act and their reluctance to invoke it because it would operate, they said, to the disadvantage of the Allied powers. It was understood that the President was waiting for a favorable moment to convene a special session of Congress to emasculate or repeal the law.

Much, very much, depends upon it. The rising tide of public hostility, the threat of restrictive legislation on the pretext of making labor "responsible," the growing offensive of the employers, can be effectively met only if unity is achieved. Only if unity is promptly achieved, moreover, will it be possible to avert governmental intervention as foreshadowed by President Roosevelt's unofficial threat to use the "big stick" if necessary; such interven-

tion for the sake of bringing about unity would only too likely be the thin edge of a wedge to force increasing governmental control upon the labor movement in its own proper concerns and activities.

Observers pointed out that the Administration was already utilizing a number of loopholes in the Neutrality Act to reduce its effectiveness. Jesse Jones, Federal Lending Administrator, announced last week that the Export-Import Bank was in a position to finance American exports of surplus commodities to Europe and that the R.F.C. had "plenty of unused credit" with which to finance industrial production in this country. Mr. Jones made this statement after a conference with the President. The Johnson Act prohibiting loans and

Washington, D. C. President Roosevelt announced last week that the government contemplated initiating action to "curb foreign propaganda" in the United States, particularly that "aimed at the American system of government and glorifying Nazism, communism or other forms of dictatorship."

These repressive measures, it is understood, will be taken in connection with expected revelations of the Dies Committee purporting to show that the various Nazi groups of this country are agencies of the Hitler government and the Communist Party and its affiliates agencies of the Stalin government. They will all be charged with operating as agencies of foreign governments without having registered as such as prescribed by law.

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time to accomplish, even under the most favorable circumstances. But the bitter civil war in labor's ranks, with all the devastation it has caused, cannot be permitted to continue for another day. A truce in the civil war and a united labor front, making for cooperation on the economic and political fields, are possible without much delay. This is the central task of labor under the present circumstances.

Our fundamental attitude to Stalinism can, therefore, be nothing but uncompromising opposition. No collaboration with Stalinism in general is possible today. Where such collaboration still remain over from former days, the chief task is to maintain a sound line for the union, whatever the Stalinites may or may not do and to be prepared for rupture resulting from Stalinist policies and maneuvers.

Menace of Stalinism

EVERY effort to advance progressive policies and bring about a healthier condition in the labor movement inevitably comes into clash with Stalinism. For, despite the undoubted sincerity of many of its adherents and followers as workers, Stalinism, as an organized force, is a thoroughly reactionary force in the American labor movement. It is an outside, hostile force, alien to the needs of the labor movement and subject not to its control but to the control exclusively of Stalin in Moscow. In plain and literal fact, it is, and functions as, a police agency, an arm of the G.P.U.

Problems and Tasks

THE big problems facing the labor movement today, particularly the C.I.O., remain what they were when we formulated them at the National Council meeting of November 1938:

- 1. The reunification of the trade-union movement. 2. The realization of union democracy and autonomy within the framework of a united, effective trade-union movement. 3. A definite break with the old-line parties and politicians and the establishment of labor's independence on the political field. 4. The struggle against the forces making for American involvement in war and support and leadership to the anti-war movement. 5. The defense of the independence of the labor movement against the menace of government control ("regulation," incorporation, etc.), the legal restriction of trade-union activities, and the like. 6. The eradication of the pernicious influence of Stalinism.

On "Defections" and "Breakaways"

ONE of the difficult problems that have arisen in recent months is the problem of defections and shifts from one trade-union movement to the other. Increasingly, such defections are from the C.I.O. to the A. F. of L., either directly or thru an intermediate stage of independence. By and large, they are brought about by outbursts of membership resentment at the arbitrary, despotic regime in so many C.I.O. unions and at the shameful corruption and misuse of the union machinery by Stalinist cliques frequently in control. These breakaway movements differ from the splits of the old dual-unionist days not only in the sense that they are not "ideological" (i.e., for the purpose

of setting up new, "revolutionary" unions) but also because they take place under conditions where there are, in effect, two "main streams" in the labor movement, two distinct and rival, the equally bona-fide, federations of labor. Splits as such are always to be deprecated, but, under the present complicated circumstances, exceptional situations are possible; each case must, therefore, be judged on its own merits, in terms of what line of action is best calculated to advance the interests of the workers involved by making it possible to build a stable, democratic and effective union. In no case, can we take a position of "favoring" either the A. F. of L. or the C.I.O. as such.

Painters on Strike in Brooklyn

New York City. THE 2,500 members of the Brotherhood of Painters, District Council 18, whose general strike against the Associated Painting Employers of Brooklyn, went into effect last week, because the latter refused to renew the agreement with the union, held a mass meeting on September 5 at the Brownsville Labor Lyceum.

The membership voted overwhelmingly for the following demands to be put forward in the negotiations with the employers:

- 1. There shall be a 7-hour day for \$11.20 on all painting work. 2. Of the union painters employed by the employer on any particular job, 50% may be selected by the employer and the remaining 50% shall be placed by the union, from members doing picketing duty. 3. The employer shall agree to recognize and deal with shop stewards, the union representatives.

Another resolution passed by this mass meeting, presided over by Philip Marshak, the president, authorized the strike committee, headed by Joseph Schaffer, the secretary-treasurer, to begin signing agreements with individual employers, starting Wednesday, September 6, regardless of the actions of the employers association.

Lewis Speech Stuns Washington

Attack on F.D.R. Arouses Speculations

(Continued from Page 1) who remains as much pro-British and pro-French as ever, and, I don't need to tell you, also as pro-Stalinist? Was it because he took the advice of the Jett Lauck who has always held this position that we should "cultivate our own garden"—that is, "plan for industrial expansion on this continent"? I don't know the answer but I think the stars for Lewis's unpredictability at this moment. His voice, added to Green's, will count heavily against war when the time comes. Let's hope he doesn't change his line.

going to do my bit in fighting them as vigorously and persistently as I know how. Remember, as before in history, our enemy is at home—this crazy capitalist system of ours—just as the enemy of the German workers is at home and the enemy of the French and British workers is at home. Therefore, the most unremitting activity is necessary to stop the war machine. "Keep America Out of War" is a better slogan today than it was a week ago. Make it ring thru the land—in the shops in the offices, on the farm and in the halls of Congress. Swamp your Senators and Representatives with letters and telegrams. Get your friends and their friends to do likewise. There is an amazing amount of sentiment upon which we can build. In the unions, Lewis's and Green's statements can be used very effectively. Have resolutions passed in every local where you have influence, strongly supporting this position taken by the national leaders of labor. On this point, the C.I.O. and the A. F. of L. can unite. I am sure that the editor and other contributors must be playing this same tune when this letter is printed next week but I want you to know that, from the Washington perspective, nothing is as important today for the future of the labor movement and for socialism as unceasing work to keep this country out of the mad imperialist war.

Major Berry's Brainstorm

INADEQUATE attention, it seems to us, has been paid to the address of George L. Berry, president of the printing-pressmen's union, before the convention of the International Typographical Union held recently at Fort Worth. In almost so many words, Major Berry proposed that the various printing-trade organizations leave the A. F. of L. and join in a separate body "distinct from any other labor movement", presumably along the lines of the railway brotherhoods.

President Berry was speaking to a union that had been threatened with suspension from the A. F. of L. for refusal to pay the special "war-chest" assessment, and presumably he counted on the resentment among the delegates to win a favorable reception for his startling suggestion. We will not here attempt to judge the conflict between the typographical union and the A. F. of L., for the issues involved are particularly grave and far reaching in their consequences; it is our earnest hope that the I.T.U. will find it possible to remain in the ranks of the A. F. of L., which it helped to found over fifty years ago. But we have no hesitation whatever in saying that Major Berry's proposal is an utterly vicious one and should be immediately rejected by every one who has the best interests of labor at heart.

What Major Berry is proposing is in reality the further disorganization of the American labor movement. It is apparently not enough for him that the ranks of organized labor are torn apart in two rival organizations and its power and solidarity greatly undermined thereby. His idea is to break the existing federations of labor down still further into their constituent elements. We have now what is virtually an independent railway-workers federation; Major Berry urges an independent printing-trades federation. Why not then logically independent building-trades, metal-trades and mining-trades federations, to mention only a few? What kind of labor movement will we have then? No labor movement at all, but a dozen or more separate organizations, all weak and relatively helpless against the consolidated power of capital. It would mean retrogression by many decades to the days before the Knights of Labor when trade unions in this country were not yet well enough entrenched to unite their forces on a national scale in one powerful all-embracing labor movement. It is not a proposal that deserves any serious consideration for the good that may be in it; it is a nightmarish idea that can bring nothing but disaster to organized labor.

What organized labor needs today is not more division but more unity. What it needs is not further disintegration but increased consolidation. What it needs is not for the printing-trades unions to break away and set up shop for themselves but the unification of the C.I.O. with the A. F. of L. and the affiliation of the railway brotherhoods with the united labor movement.

At First Glance

(Continued from Page 1) scored a real victory for Dutch and international labor in Holland's recent municipal elections. Their winning of 41,000 votes in these contests means that the voice of revolutionary socialism will very likely be heard in the Dutch parliament after the next general election. For every forty thousand votes a party is entitled to a parliamentary seat.

In Rotterdam, the biggest industrial center, the R.S.A.P. secured 17,000 votes—in comparison with 7,000 votes in the previous election, in 1935. At the same time, the Stalinist band dropped from 13,000 to 9,000. Today, our comrades have two councillors in the municipal chambers of Rotterdam instead of one—and the Stalinists but one instead of three.

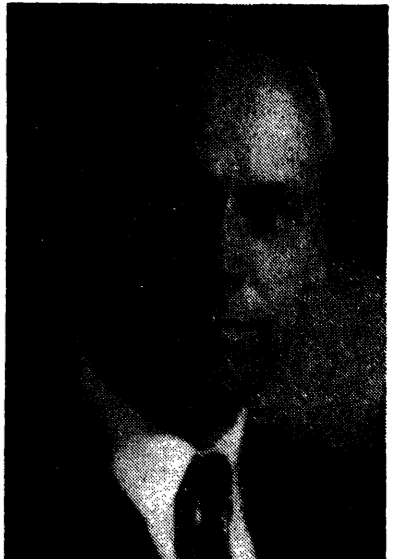
Holland is no first-line power, in a European continental sense. It is a very wealthy imperialist country, nonetheless. In world politics, especially colonial affairs, Holland is of paramount importance. Its location in the very heart of the European hell only adds to the significance of the strengthened voice of revolutionary socialism in the wilds of fascism and in chaos of socialist let-down and collapse.

We congratulate the Dutch comrades. Their victory will prove a real inspiration to the class-conscious workers and their forward-looking friends in the United States. We count on the R.S.A.P. further helping the cause of international socialism thru their loyal and vigorous defense of working-class interests and ideas while in office.

Thomas to Take Part in Symposium

New York City. NORMAN THOMAS, chairman of the Socialist Party, will present his views on how America can be made a "better America" at the symposium arranged under the auspices of the Independent Labor Institute for Friday evening, October 6, at Hotel Center, 108 West 43rd Street.

Other leaders in the fields of labor, education and politics who will discuss the subject of the sym-



NORMAN THOMAS

posium, "Towards A Better America," will be Luigi Antonini, chairman of the American Labor Party and first vice-president of the I.L.G. W. U.; George S. Counts, president of the American Federation of Teachers; Louis Waldman, leading social-democrat and labor attorney; Abram L. Harris, professor at Howard University; Lewis Corey and Scott Nearing, labor economists; and Bertram D. Wolfe, educator and author. Jay Lovestone, secretary of the Independent Labor League of America, will be chairman.

Widespread interest is already being shown in this symposium, in view of the importance of the subject and the eminence of the participants. From every viewpoint, this promises to be one of the most significant educational affairs of the year.

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

FDR in Neutrality Proclamations

But Already Strives to Circumvent It

(Continued from page 1)

The law prohibits American nationals from traveling on vessels belonging to belligerent states, and forbids American merchant vessels to be armed.

Neither President Roosevelt nor State Department officials made any attempt to hide their hostility to the Neutrality Act and their reluctance to invoke it because it would operate, they said, to the disadvantage of the Allied powers. It was understood that the President was waiting for a favorable moment to convene a special session of Congress to emasculate or repeal the law.

Observers pointed out that the Administration was already utilizing a number of loopholes in the Neutrality Act to reduce its effectiveness. Jesse Jones, Federal Lending Administrator, announced last week that the Export-Import Bank was in a position to finance American exports of surplus commodities to Europe and that the R.F.C. had "plenty of unused credit" with which to finance industrial production in this country. Mr. Jones made this statement after a conference with the President. The Johnson Act prohibiting loans and

WPA Cuts Projects Due To Firing

New York City.

A shortage of skilled labor will make it necessary for the W.P.A. to suspend all work on "twenty or thirty" building construction projects with a normal employment of 3,000 to 4,000 persons, Brehon B. Somervell, local Work Projects Administrator, announced last week.

With the ranks of skilled mechanics thinned by the strike of 125 A. F. of L. unions and the dropping of 70,000 persons who had been on the W.P.A. rolls eighteen months or more, Colonel Somervell admitted that no replacements were available on the city home-relief lists.

In an effort to increase the effectiveness of their demand for restoration of union wage scales on W.P.A. jobs, the striking A. F. of L. authorized the executive board of the Building and Construction Trades Council to study the advisability of extending the walkout to 45,000 non-relief employees on Public Works Administration projects.

Asserting that the move represented no "idle threat," Thomas A. Murray, president of the council, expressed certainty that the executive board would recommend a complete tie-up of all federal work and that this recommendation would be accepted by the full council at a meeting next week.

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French Workers Face Hard Fight Against War

Pivert Stresses Grave Effects of Stalin-Hitler Pact

By MARCEAU PIVERT

(We publish below the address delivered by Marceau Pivert, secretary of the Socialist Workers and Peasants Party of France (P.S.O.P.), at a meeting held in New York City on August 30.—Editor.)

At this very hour, many millions of workers all over Europe are being overwhelmed with worry and suffering, separated from their families, and fed with official lies by the government censorship. War menaces both men and things, bread and liberty, but it is especially international labor that will suffer the heaviest burdens. The last war taught us who fought in it, the lesson that war is nothing but a sharpened counter-revolutionary crisis which, when it is over, leaves the poor poorer and the rich richer and even more powerful through the world.

My first message to you, in the name of the socialist and revolutionary workers and peasants of France, whom I represent here, and also in the name of the International Workers Front Against War, is to heed the urgent appeal of our class which the reformist leaders of the labor movement have trampled under foot these last few years. Workers of all lands! Unite against the imperialist world war that threatens on all sides!

FRENCH WORKERS AND STALIN PACT

No doubt you must be wondering how the French working class has received the news of the Hitler-Stalin pact. I can convey to you conversations I had with workers from large factories in the Paris region, just before I left France. They were stupefied, indignant, outraged. The sympathizers of the Communist Party, those who were attracted to it because of its nationalist propaganda against Hitler, were also dumbfounded. We at once understood that Stalin had finished off, by a shot in the back, the Third International, or rather that cleverly camouflaged organization that served as Stalin's diplomatic tool, just as he has been accustomed to finish off Old Bolsheviks and generals in the Red Army.

The first consequence of this dramatic event is that the grip held over the perspectives of international proletarian revolution by the butcher of the Russian Revolution, is at last lifted. The labor movement will at last be able to rid itself of the hidden virus of Stalinism which has been literally poisoning its vitals, accentuating and embittering its inner differences, and frustrating all attempts of the workers to return to an offensive against capitalism.

Stalin was able to rob the French proletariat of its victory in June 1936 by sponsoring an irresistible popular movement towards nationalism and class peace.

Stalin was able to inject the use of fascist methods into the Spanish revolution—cannibal police dictatorship, and the assassination of the most loyal revolutionaries, such as Nin and Landau.

But now Stalin cannot create for himself enough political capital among the conscious working masses to betray again, or as easily, the cause of international socialism. However, the Stalinists have already done vast harm since 1935, especially to the French labor movement, and the immediate future depends on the ability of our comrades, despite widespread demoralization and confusion, to find the path at once that leads in the direction of a clear-cut, independent struggle of all the oppressed against all the oppressors.

STILL WORTHY OF THE COMMUNE

We do not give up hope in our working class. It is still worthy of the Communards of 1871. It smashed the fascist offensive of February 1934 thru the great general strike, thru hundreds of street demonstrations, thru the uprisings at the arsenals of Brest and Toulon. It occupied the factories in June 1936 and held at bay a considerable section of international capitalism.

Then, indeed, all the cunning of the "national-communists" as they kissed the flag, all the duplicity, or perhaps the congenital and tragic weakness, of the reformist leaders like Blum, were necessary to cheat the French workers of their victory. The men who led the People's Front were agreed and prepared to save the shaky capitalist system, to chloroform the working class, and to force it to accept the "breathing spell," "non-intervention," militarization, emergency decrees, and they are now preparing to send the French working masses off to imperialist war. Their differences are on the plane of imperialist considerations: "Will France be best served by war or by Munich methods of negotiations? Shall we abandon Central Europe in order to concentrate on the strengthening of the empire? Or shall we defend the front lines in Poland or Rumania established by Anglo-French capitalism to act as a barrier to German imperialism?" This policy of class collaboration has resulted not only in the loss of all the gains, of June 1936, but also in the rapid disin-

tegration of the institutions of bourgeois democracy.

DICTATORSHIP IN FRANCE

Today, Parliament in France is only a shadow of itself. Hundreds of decree-laws have upset the entire system of legislation; the constitution has been violated many times; the right to public justice and public trial has been suppressed. Military dictatorship holds the entire country in its grip. The colonial peoples are suppressed by an actual fascist regime. Taxes and the cost of living are rising.

In April 1938, the leaders of the Socialist and Communist parties voted that the Daladier government, the government of the employers and generals, be granted full and emergency powers. They themselves demanded the abrogation of the 40-hour week, spoke for military credits, aeroplanes, Mobile Guards and the Senegalese troops. Today, they are surprised that their "patriotism" has been so poorly rewarded. The Hitler-Stalin pact gives the French bourgeoisie a splendid opportunity to attack the working-class parties. How, indeed, can the bureaucrats of working-class organizations, whether betrayers or incompetents, forget the oppressive role of the ruling-class state? Searches, arrests, indictments, are but the normal methods of procedure of this state, which, before taking the fatal step into the unknown territory of war, must wipe out the last vestige of working-class liberty at home.

Thus, everywhere in Europe, Stalin has, after the social-democracy, done most to aid the rise of fascism.

A phenomenon, similar in international dimensions and importance, can explain the partnership between the Stalinist totalitarian system, born of proletarian revolution, and the Hitler totalitarian system, born of counter-revolution. After the violent suppression of all working-class democracy, the two dictators, although they come from opposite poles, meet at the same place, carried forward by the logic and irresistible current of historical events.

Indeed, history will not permit an infinity of solutions to the present world crisis. Either you must turn towards the proletarian revolution, or else you will be helping the fascist counter-revolution, more or less consciously, more or less directly. Even a military victory of the "old democracies" will turn out to be a victory for fascism, for totalitarian needs, for a process of barbarization from which they cannot free themselves. This is the

immediate and irresistible dilemma facing Europe.

Certainly, the two dictators will now divide up Central Europe. The combination of the complementary features of both economies will raise the power of this totalitarian block to a very high level. But the same needs and contradictions will spring up again in their original and simple forms: the search for markets in Asia, Africa, the Mediterranean colonies, Latin America; a continual process of industrialization in its crudest forms, accelerated militarism, and an inevitable drop in the standard of living of the workers.

And in this field, the fascist element will naturally dominate. Because of its superior efficiency on the counter-revolutionary level, it will permeate the Soviet economy, in all its racial, reactionary and police aspects.

Yes, we must be prepared to face these dramatic prospects. After deserting the path of liberty and revolution, Stalin, having prepared the way by his own totalitarian dictatorship, has handed over his people to barbaric counter-revolution.

Things are not at an end. On the contrary, a new phase in the development of the labor movement is just beginning.

Neither the Russian people, nor the German people, nor the Italian people, nor the French people, nor the Spanish people, nor the great colonial peoples of Asia and Africa have said their last word. We would be wrong to mistake the language of the diplomats, or the signed scraps of paper, for the real aspirations of the masses of humanity condemned today to be driven to slaughter.

The international revolutionary vanguard will utilize the very contradictions of the regime for new possibilities of development and for new foundations on which to coordinate our fight.

OPPOSITION TO WAR GROWS

Opposition to war is much greater among the ranks of the workers than is generally known. It is very stupid to sacrifice one's life and liberty in defense of a regime which can no longer bring anything to humanity but dictatorship, destruction and death. The need for liberty is no less pressing today. On the contrary, it is all the stronger because the totalitarian, or Bonapartist, dictators are depriving increasingly larger masses of it, in order to enforce low wages, conscription, long hours of work, and armaments. Finally, the general demand for abundance is one of the consequences of this regime.

(Continued on Page 4)

IMAGINE THEIR EMBARRASSMENT!



RAY IN THE KANADA CITY STAR.

Change Your Partners!

(We publish below an editorial paragraph in the September 2, 1939 issue of the Nation.—Editor.)

IT should be many a long winter's night before the more politically minded gentry of both the right and the left get used to their new bedfellows. The plight of the communist is only the most obviously pathetic case. After expounding the thesis that, Marx or no Marx, there was a great difference between a fascist and an ordinary capitalist and that it was necessary to sleep with the latter in order to frustrate the former, he must now hail Stalin for climbing into bed with Hitler in order to make life miserable for Chamberlain. After scoring appeasement day in and day out, he must now join the Munich chorus by pointing out that the Russian-German pact marked a great day for Poland by showing the way to peace—the idea being that Poland, too, is free to make a pact with Germany and thus prevent a war. But if the communists find themselves cozying up to appeasers, Nazis and the like, sleeping arrangements have become similarly complicated for Bundsmen, Christian Mobilizers, Christian Fronters, and Knights of the White Camellia. Fritz Kuhn blandly declares that he never was anti-Russian or anti-Soviet—just opposed to international communism. George Deatherage, the Camellia, goes even farther; he finds, somewhat retroactively, that Christianity has been flowering in Russia for these many months and that the real seat of the anti-Christ has been moved from Moscow to New York. Father Coughlin, still tied to the strings of the Church, is unable to bless both Stalin and Hitler and is accordingly obliged to give them both his curse—which may mean that he will find himself fighting the Nazi-minded Mobilizers so recently sprung from his own Christian Front. The Danse Macabre is on. Change your partners!

"Don't Cheer—the Poor Devils Are Dying!"

By W. L. WHITE

THE hard-boiled nucleus of the party over here can take it. They have had their minds changed by Moscow countless times before and are prepared to don brown shirts and start pestering the Jews for a while if it serves the party's needs.

But this is an hour of bitter tragedy for those American ex-liberals who once had minds of their own, but since 1935 have given them to Stalin for safe-keeping. The truth is, of course, that their minds were never their own. They were people who have always had a deep need for a far-away mental focus—a being or an institution in the background which could do no wrong.

In youth, it was a deep unquestioning trust in father, mother, family or church. When something happened to shatter this loyalty,

German Anti-Fascists And the Stalin Pact

Greater Independence Will Be Chief Result

By OBSERVER

THE Stalin-Hitler pact demonstrates Stalin's utter disregard for the international labor movement. Stalin pays no heed at all to the voice of world labor. He really believes that the rise to power of fascism marked the final defeat of the labor movement from which it would never be able to recover. He is full of contempt for the underground anti-fascist movement in the dictator-ridden countries. He certainly has some ground for this feeling insofar as the official German Communist Party machine is concerned, for the German C. P. no longer has any organization or effective forces left in Germany. There are little groups of communists, often associated or cooperating with socialists and trade unionists, who do underground work and try to build up a network of underground workers. There are, of course, also a great many individuals who would like to overthrow the regime but who cannot or do not do anything else today but "wait and see."

Many of the underground workers were disillusioned with the Stalinist regime and the Communist Interna-

tion some time ago, particularly during the "purges." Many more have lost their illusion about the party bureaucrats who reside abroad as self-appointed "majors." Yet many, probably the majority, have cherished the hope that, despite the "weaknesses" of the Stalin regime and the Comintern, the Soviet Union would remain the bulwark of the world revolution and would give them effective aid in their own anti-fascist struggle. There were even some who believed that the Red Army would come to their rescue and overthrow the Nazi rule. At any rate, the idea that socialism was victorious in at least one big country was a comforting one indeed. The "purges" and the mass execution of old revolutionaries brought doubt to many underground workers about the role of the Stalin regime, yet after all they read in the Nazi press incessant, savage attacks upon the Soviet Union and upon Stalin. Naturally, anti-fascists living under fascist oppression would tend to look up to those whom their oppressors regard as enemies, and would be ready to overlook many things.

The Stalin-Hitler pact was a tremendous blow to all of these underground workers and anti-fascists who regarded the Soviet Union as the leader in their struggle against Hitler and who desired passionately to believe that Stalinist Russia was a socialist country. What will happen now? Many will lose all their illusions, and with their illusions, perhaps all their hopes, and lapse into a state of despair and fatalism about the future. This is the direction in which fascist propaganda does its best to exploit the pact as a source of strength for the regime. Totalitarianism, under which head both Russia and Germany are specifically included, is praised as the "new form" of social life, far superior to democracy. In the Nazi press, Stalin is pictured as a friend and ally of fascism.

Many anti-fascists will pass thru a period of despair, apathy and fatalism. But many more will learn a new lesson without which proletarian revolution cannot hope to be victorious: that there is no power or government or authoritarian leadership that can lead the struggle from outside the country. The underground workers will be compelled, and will learn, to rely on their own forces and to make their own decisions if they really intend to fight fascism. There will be a period of stagnation, it is true, as the immediate result of the Stalin-Hitler pact. But it will also have the healthy effect of clarifying the situation, strengthening the confidence of the most advanced and class-conscious workers in their own forces and increasing their determination no longer to trust in any authoritarian leadership.

Stalin's reasons, from the point of view of Russian nationalism, are no doubt sound. But his American followers are not Russians. They felt that in trusting him they were giving their loyalty not to a foreign power but to an international beacon of light and freedom. It is a bitter hour for those who, in hope of making a better world, made to the cause the ultimate disastrous sacrifice—freedom of mind.

"Don't cheer, men—the poor devils are dying!"

(These paragraphs are from the New York Post of August 29, 1939.—Editor)

Keep America Out of War! For Peace and Socialism!

An Appeal of the Independent Labor League of America

(Continued from page 1)

new millionaires, a long period of reaction, unemployment on a scale never known in history, unpaid debts, billion-dollar budgets and deficits, intolerable taxes, spreading totalitarianism in a world "safeguarded for democracy," and the blood-nourished seeds of new wars.

Are we to be asked to enter the present slaughter in the name of the defense of democracy? Poland is no less of a dictatorship than Germany. Or "self-determination"? Talk of "self-determination" with Germany throttling the peoples of Czecho-Slovakia under its iron heel and England and France holding scores of millions in subjection in their colonial empires! Against totalitarianism? But every country becomes totalitarian as soon as it undertakes to wage a modern war.

We cannot now foretell the outcome of the war that has just begun. But one thing is certain: its first result will be totalitarianism everywhere. And this time, so deeply rooted and universal that no country will be able ever again to dismantle its authoritarian machinery short of an uprising of its own people against its own military, war-making machine.

And another thing is certain: that any war thus fought and any "peace" treaty written by those who wrote the last one, can only sow the seeds of fresh unemployment, fresh economic, cultural and social decay, and fresh yet more bloody wars. If German imperialism had won the last war, the result would have been no different. Whichever gang of war-makers wins, the results are inevitably the same. For this reason, too, we declare in answer to all hypocritical slogans: THIS WAR IS NOT OUR WAR!

To the great mass of our fellow-countrymen, to the working men and farmers, to the tens of millions of young men who would be driven into the slaughter to kill men against whom they have no quarrel and die under false slogans for causes that are not theirs, we say in no uncertain terms that our very first duty to ourselves and our fellow-Americans is to keep America out of this war.

The Enemy Is At Home

OUR convention, in session with the European war just getting under way, received an appeal from the Socialist Workers and Peasants

Party of France at the very moment when the French Premier, Daladier, was establishing his military dictatorship, clamping down a censorship, driving his people into war. A portion of that appeal from French labor we want to transmit to the American workers and to all Americans who have nothing to gain by this country's entrance into war. The appeal declares:

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

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

This appeal comes to us endorsed by the Independent Labor Party of Great Britain, the Spanish Workers Party (P.O.U.M.), and militant socialist organizations in Germany, Italy, Belgium, Holland, Poland, Czecho-Slovakia and half a dozen other European countries, and by organizations in many colonial lands.

At the very moment these words were being transmitted to us, John McGovern, Independent Labor Party member in the British Parliament was echoing the same thought in these words:

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

This is the authentic voice of international solidarity, reaching the hand of brotherhood across bloody frontiers and great oceans, reestablishing the unity of the great mass of mankind who have nothing to gain and all to lose by war,

laying the foundations for a new international unity to replace that shattered by the treachery and corruption of the old Socialist (Second) and Communist (Third or Stalinist) Internationals, laying the foundations for a unity of the men and women who labor in all lands, which unity alone can put an end to the war that has just begun, which alone can dictate its own terms for a just and enduring peace, which alone can put an end to the endless cycle of imperialist wars and the bloody profit system which engenders them.

We call upon our fellow-countrymen in the ranks of labor, upon the farmers, the young men and women and mothers and children and all those for whom war spells endless misery, to answer this heroic appeal in the spirit in which it was sent. We venture to pledge ourselves and our organization to devote all our strength and activities to the single overwhelming purpose of keeping America out of war. We know that we can best serve the cause of peace here and abroad by strengthening the struggle against our own ruling war-makers and aiding the workers of Germany and Poland, of France and England, in their struggle against the rulers who have plunged them into this war. Tomorrow, if Stalin succeeds in driving his own people into war on the side of either imperialist block (already he is aiding Germany), we must give solidarity and support to the Russian people against their own war-makers also.

How to Keep America Out of War

IN 1914, we were a people unversed in the ways of modern diplomacy and full of illusions about our own democracy. We did not sense until too late the power of our own money kings to plunge us into war and fancied that there was no danger of our involvement. When we elected a president because "he kept us out of war," he had already made the commitments for our entrance. We believed every cock-and-bull story about the noble nature of that war.

Today, we know better. No man today is so blind that he does not see the danger of our involvement. Rather, the chief danger now is that of fatalism and passivity, the belief that we cannot stop the war profiteers and money kings, and the officials who serve them, from bringing us into the war. But we who have nothing to gain by war are the overwhelming majority of the nation and we can stop it if we are determined to do so and organized and united for the purpose. It is true that there are powerful interests eager to involve us. But they can, they must be stopped!

We cannot put any trust in the present Administration. President Roosevelt has secretly, then more and more openly, committed us as far as he has been able, to the side of Anglo-French imperialism, has arranged secret naval and military conversations with the British and French

admirals and generals. The accident of a falling plane in California revealed the presence of a French aviation mission here, kept secret from Congress and the American people. This is "democracy" when war is being prepared. We must act now to tie the hands of the President, and any other President, Republican or Democratic, who may succeed him in 1940, and to restrict his arbitrary power to involve us in war. We must take out of the hands of the President the power to make commitments behind the back of Congress and the people: NOT MORE POWER TO THE EXECUTIVE BUT LESS IS THE ROAD TO SAFETY!

We must strengthen the present neutrality legislation by extending the mandatory embargo on arms and munitions to an embargo on all materials of war and by restoring the cash-and-carry provisions for all other trade with belligerents. We must put every obstacle in the way of economic entanglement in the European conflict.

Nor can we leave to Congress the chance to determine our fate behind our backs. We must pass the LaFollette-Ludlow war-referendum amendment giving the people themselves the right to vote on whether or not to declare war. If we cannot vote on this question, involving our very lives, then what does our democracy amount to in an hour when a handful of big bankers and their political instruments can plunge us into war.

We must organize all opponents of war in the already existing and powerful federation of peace societies, labor and youth organizations, known as the Keep America Out of War Congress. The organized labor movement must become the backbone of this movement to keep America out of war.

We of the Independent Labor League of America appeal to all progressive working men and women who understand that in the end war can be abolished only by international solidarity and the establishment of socialism, to join our organization, and we pledge ourselves to work for the unity of all those who are against war and for socialism in this country and throughout the world.

Working men and women of America, let our watchword be: THIS IS NOT OUR WAR!

STRETCH THE HAND OF BROTHERHOOD TO THE WORKERS OF GERMANY AND POLAND, ENGLAND AND FRANCE. ACROSS ALL FRONTIERS, TO ALL LANDS!

DOWN WITH WAR, THE WAR-MONGERS AND THE WAR-MAKING IMPERIALIST PROFIT SYSTEM!

DOWN WITH TOTALITARIANISM AND MILITARY DICTATORSHIP!

FOR PEACE, FREEDOM AND SOCIALISM!

KEEP AMERICA OUT OF WAR! FOR A WARLESS WORLD!

Workers Age

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WILL HERBERG, Editor

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THE PRESIDENT AND NEUTRALITY

There can hardly be any doubt that the President is going to call a special session of Congress just as soon as he can "prepare" public opinion and get Congress to give him what he wants in the way of "revising" existing neutrality legislation for the benefit of Britain and France. In other words, the President is already plotting to break down even the inadequate safeguards against involvement in war that we have at present.

The whole issue of neutrality is grossly misrepresented in Administration propaganda. President Roosevelt and supporters of his kill-neutrality program denounce the arms embargo contained in the present neutrality law on the ground that it allegedly "aids Hitler"—their desire being avowedly to aid the Allied imperialists. But the great mass of the American people are not primarily interested in the one or the other, however their sympathies may run. The great mass of the American people are concerned with keeping America out of war. And it is from this point of view that the agitation for eliminating the embargo on arms must be met and judged.

From this point of view, the embargo on the export of arms and munitions to belligerents is probably the keystone of the whole structure of neutrality. For once you allow the free sale of arms to belligerents, even on a cash-and-carry basis, as the President's supporters desire, you are well on the road to involvement in the war.

Recalling the road to war this country followed in the two and a half years before 1917, let us see how the abolition of the arms embargo would work and what consequences the free sale of arms on a cash-and-carry basis would have. Today, England and France possess a certain amount of gold and a good deal of credits and convertible holdings in the United States. For a time, the Allies would therefore be able to buy all the arms and munitions they want, especially airplanes and airplane parts, for cash, and to carry their purchases away in their own ships because of their control of the seas. During this period, there would develop a tremendous boom in armaments and related industries in this country, with productive capacities rapidly expanding, new plants opening, scores of thousands of new men hired, and so on. But very soon there would come a time when the Allied supply of "cash" would be exhausted and then they would say, and their fiscal agent, J. P. Morgan, would say for them, just as they did early in the last war: "Now we must be allowed to float loans in the United States in order to keep up our purchases. If we're not allowed to make any loans, we'll have to stop buying; and then your factories will close down, vast masses of men will be thrown out of work and a major economic crisis precipitated." In other words, the United States would be faced with the alternative of destroying the last safeguard of neutrality, the ban on foreign loans, or else taking the consequences in the sudden contraction and breakdown of our economic machine. Once the floating of loans by the Allies in this country is permitted, a powerful economic force is created directly interested in Allied victory and the road to our involvement in war laid wide open.

This is substantially what happened in the last war and it would be folly to forget it. Bitter experience has shown us that if we allow our economy to be geared to the war needs of either group of belligerents, and that is just what the President's proposal for repealing the arms embargo means, then sooner or later we will inevitably be sucked into the maelstrom of slaughter. The time to put up effective barriers against involvement in war is right now, at the very beginning.

Instead of permitting the President to break down whatever safeguards the present neutrality law does contain, the American people should exert all their efforts to strengthen it and plug up its loopholes. The arms embargo must be not only preserved but extended to include all materials of war, indirect as well as direct, which it does not do today. Above all, the cash-and-carry clause on all other trade with belligerents, which lapsed last May, must be reenacted, for if warring powers are permitted to buy anything whatever here on credit and have their purchases transported in American ships, we again have the makings of our embroilment in the European conflict.

KEEP AMERICA OUT OF WAR—and to do it our present neutrality legislation must be safeguarded and strengthened.

LABOR AGAINST WAR INVOLVEMENT

At this moment of crisis, when the war-mongers are already busy at work trying to drive America into the war, it is indeed heartening to read the strong, forthright statements of the responsible heads of the two great labor organizations of this country, the A. F. of L. and C.I.O., published elsewhere in this issue. They have taken up the cry of "Keep America out of war" and they have indicated in no uncertain terms their opposition to anybody or anything that would make for our involvement in the European slaughter.

Mr. Lewis made the stand of his organization perfectly clear in his Labor Day address at Ogden, Utah. "Labor in America wants no war nor any part of war," he declared in ringing tones. "Labor wants the right to work and live—not the privilege of dying by gunshot or poison gas to sustain the mental errors of current statesmen. . . . [We] have no need to participate in the festering intrigues and ancient political quarrels of Europe."

In an address on the same day at Duluth, Minn., Mr. Green gave voice to the same splendid sentiments. "There must be no European entanglement and no involvement in European wars," he stressed. And thereby he recalled the statement he made some months ago before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee: "Labor through the length and breadth of the United States is opposed to sending another generation into the trenches of war. . . . The working people of this country are firm in their desire to avoid entanglement in the intrigues of nations seeking aggrandizement of territories or protection of the gains of former aggression."

We have had, and we still have, our differences with both Mr. Lewis and Mr. Green on a number of questions of trade-union policy. But we have nothing but praise and applause for the vigorous stand taken by both labor leaders on the question of keeping America out of war. We are confident that it reflects the sentiments of the great mass of American workers for whom they speak.

"It would be a natural thing," J. P. Morgan told reporters on the Queen Mary, "if they (the Allies) wanted an American agent, that they would call upon us to repeat our performance."

The "performance" to which Mr. Morgan refers, it will be well for us to remember, consisted in building up financial and other pressure to drive this country into war. We must not allow Mr. Morgan to "repeat" his "performance" today!

DECLARED Howard Karlson, Daily Worker distributor in Yorkville, German-inhabited section of New York, to the press last week:

"Before the Russian-German pact, we didn't push the paper up here. Now, we're selling more than 150 copies daily right here on this corner. Most of the people who buy them are Germans. I imagine they're curious to see what's in it."

Curious is the word, all right!

ILLA Convention Prepares For Labor Anti-War Fight

Internationalism Stressed in Reports, Decisions

New York City.

THE national convention of the Independent Labor League of America, held here over the Labor Day week-end, was primarily and above everything else an anti-war convention. Its greetings, reports, discussions, resolutions, even the informal conversation of the delegates, centered around the war that had just broken out in Europe and the all-absorbing task of mobilizing to keep America out of war. By the time the convention adjourned on Monday, September 4, there was the feeling among those who had taken direct part in it that a good start had been made in preparing the organization to meet the political and practical problems created by the war situation.

INTERNATIONAL SOLIDARITY

A strong tone of internationalism dominated the convention from the very first. Direct greetings from fraternally linked parties in other countries were delivered, either in person or in writing, from the Independent Labor Party of Great Britain, the Socialist Workers and Peasants Party of France (P.S.O.P.), the Spanish Workers Party (P.O.U.M.), the International Marxist League of Germany, the militant socialists of the Scandinavian countries, a group of former Communist Oppositionists of the Sudeten region, and so on. They all stressed the one great theme of international solidarity against war, fascism and capitalist reaction, international solid-

arity for socialism. Particularly welcome was the message of the Socialist Party of America, delivered by Lillian Symes. A strong impression was also made by the eloquent letter of greetings from Jack Soderberg, labor prisoner at Sing-Sing.

Warm greetings from the International Revolutionary Marxist Center and the International Workers Front Against War—the I.L.L.A.'s affiliation to both of which was endorsed by the convention—were brought by Marceau Pivert, leader of the French P.S.O.P. Pivert also delivered a brief but very effective report on the international situation and the tasks of the international socialists of all countries in the face of the war. Jay Lovestone, secretary of the I.L.L.A., followed with a penetrating analysis of the economic and political background of the war crisis, in which he included an estimate of the Russo-German pact and its significance for the international labor movement. He concluded by outlining a number of important tasks for the organization, which were later supplemented by a program of anti-war work brought in by a committee of the convention.

The extensive discussion that followed ranged wide in scope and consumed the better part of a day. At its conclusion, the reports of Pivert and Lovestone were unanimously approved and the resolutions on "Socialist Unity and United Action" (outlining the approach of the I.L.L.A. to the burning question of the unification of socialist forces) and

"Socialism and Democracy" (defining the significance and place of democracy in socialist society), were adopted.

At this point, the convention heard and adopted with great enthusiasm a stirring "Keep America Out of War" manifesto, prepared by the resolutions committee.

PROBLEMS OF LABOR MOVEMENT

The second part of the convention began early Sunday evening with the report by Will Herberg on the situation in the labor movement. This report, too, was followed by a long discussion and by the adoption of two resolutions, one dealing with the trade-union situation generally and the other with "defections and breakaway movements." The discussion reflected the problems and experiences of the progressive forces in important sections of the labor movement.

The Labor Day 1939 convention of the I.L.L.A. opened its sessions on the day after war was declared in Europe. Because it faced the new situation with realism, courage and determination, it is bound to constitute an important landmark in the long, difficult struggle to create a militant and effective socialist movement in America.

(The "Keep America Out of War" manifesto and the resolutions on the situation in the labor movement appear in this issue. The other documents and greetings will be published in early issues.—Editor.)

Socialist Conception Of Peace Problem

Luxemburg Exposes Folly of Utopian Schemes

By ROSA LUXEMBURG

(Continued from last issue)

BUT there is another and extremely important factor besides: the social and political awakening to independent life of the hinterlands, of the colonies and the "spheres of interest." The revolution in Turkey, in Persia, the revolutionary ferment in China, in India, in Egypt, in Arabia, in Morocco, in Mexico, all these are also starting points of world-political antagonisms, tensions, military activities and armaments. It was precisely during the course of these fifteen years that the points of friction in international politics increased to an unparalleled degree; a number of new states stepped into active struggle on the international stage; all the Great Powers underwent a thorough military reorganization. In consequence of these events, antagonisms have reached an acuteness never known before and the process is going on and on, since, on the one hand, the ferment in the Orient is increasing from day to day and, on the other, every settlement between the military powers unavoidably becomes the starting point for fresh conflicts. The rival Entente between Russia, Great Britain and France, which Jaures hailed as a guarantee of world peace, led to the sharpening of the crisis in the Balkans, accelerated the outbreak of the Turkish revolution, encouraged Russia to military action in Persia and led to a rapprochement between Turkey and Germany which, in its turn, rendered the Anglo-German antagonisms more acute. The Potsdam agreement resulted in the sharpening of the crisis in China and the Russo-Japanese agreement had the same effect.

Therefore, on a mere reckoning with facts, to refuse to realize that these facts give rise to anything rather than a mitigation of international conflicts is wilfully to close one's eyes.

NO TENDENCY TOWARD PEACE

In view of all this, how is it possible to speak of tendencies toward peace in bourgeois development which are supposed to neutralize and overcome its tendencies toward war? Wherein are they expressed? In Sir Edward Grey's declaration and that of the French Parliament? In the "armament weariness" of the bourgeoisie? But the middle and petty-bourgeois sections of the bourgeoisie have always been moaning at the burden of militarism, just as they groan at the devastation of free competition, at economic crises, at unscrupulousness in stock-exchange speculations, at the terrorism of the cartels and trusts. The tyranny of the trust magnates in America has even called forth rebellion among broad masses of the people and endless legal efforts against the trusts on the part of the government authorities. Do the social-democrats interpret this as a symptom of the beginning of the limitation of trust development or have they not rather a sympathetic shrug of the shoulders for that petty-bourgeois rebellion and a scornful smile for that governmental campaign? The "dialectic" of the "peace tendency" of capitalist

development, which is supposed to have cut across its "war tendency" and to overcome it, simply confirms that old truth that the roses of capitalist profit-making and class domination also have their thorns for the bourgeoisie, which the latter prefers to wear round its suffering head as long as possible, in spite of all pain and woe, rather than get rid of it along with the head itself on the advice of the social-democrats.

To explain this to the masses, ruthlessly to scatter all illusions with regard to attempts made at peace by the bourgeoisie and to declare the proletarian revolution as the first and only real step towards world peace—that is the task of the social-democrats with regard to all disarmament swindles, whether they are invented in Petersburg, London or Berlin.

II.

THE utopianism of the standpoint which expects an era of peace and militarist retrenchment under the present social order is plainly revealed in its fondness for project-making. For it is typical of utopian efforts that, in order to demonstrate their practicability, they must hatch all sorts of "practical" recipes with the greatest possible supply of details. Here belongs the project of the "United States of Europe" as a basis for the limitation of international militarism.

(Concluded in the next issue)

French Workers Face Hard Fight Against War

(Continued from Page 3)

quences of the rapid development of the technique of production. Therefore, the bourgeoisie is forced to put into our hands not only material but political arms. On the same basis, fascism speeds up the rhythm of proletarian action. So we find, thrown together in the large mass-production factories, in the barracks, in the military units, the masses of workers whom we must lead along the path of their emancipation.

Today in France, ten factory workers are necessary to every soldier. And each combatant on the Maginot Line uses up, in armaments and buildings, \$25,000 worth of materials. This state of affairs shows that the structure, behind the powerful and imposing facade, is not resting on too firm a foundation. The false social equilibrium is very precarious.

The influence of the revolutionary vanguard upon the millions of victims of this critical situation must become of decisive significance. Those who suffer privation, despair, and oppression, and who have the same aspirations, the same needs and the same protests, can readily understand one another in spite of all obstacles, and can unite in spite of all suppression. We call upon you, to throw yourselves actively into this international struggle for the greatest and most exalted objective—the liberation of humanity, its deliverance from poverty, from fascist dictatorship and war.

The path we must take to overthrow capitalism and fascism is built up of daily tasks that are unsensational and modest. But so long as our definite and ultimate objective remains before us, we are

on the right path. It is the only path before us; all others lead to defeat. We, French workers, united with the revolutionary oppositionists who are working towards the overthrow of the dictators, appeal to you not to support war or war preparations.

On the contrary, we urge you vigorously to unite to keep at least this large section of the world out of war. Then organize to resist all attempts to deprive you of your liberties, to lower your standards of living, for totalitarian methods are very contagious. You will thus show your solidarity with all those who are fighting on the other side of the water under extremely difficult conditions for the triumph of international socialism. Do not forget these comrades, these working-class brothers who have been able to maintain their faith, in spite of all trials and betrayals, in the emancipation of the workers by the workers themselves. Join them in the International Workers Front Against War. Something terrible is brewing on the small European continent and the whole world is waiting and watching anxiously as the terrible preparations are getting under way. If you heed us, you will contribute towards a brighter future than even today we can perceive thru the fog of misery and warfare. Europe is facing the alternative of unification either under the yoke of the fascist totalitarian dictatorship or under the banner of proletarian socialism.

American comrades and friends, be assured of our loyalty to the banner of socialism. Thru the united action of each individual proletariat against its own bourgeoisie, our banner will one day fly over the ruins of all dictatorships and tyrannies.

Talking It Over:

America's Neutrality

by Bertram D. Wolfe

THE President of the United States has issued a proclamation of neutrality. It is a reluctant declaration. It is issued with obvious mental reservations. Still, it is a declaration of neutrality, and as such it is welcome.

In sober fact, it is the result of a two-year conflict between the Administration and the anti-war forces and anti-war sentiment of the American people. Had the President not been fought every step of the way, he has made it abundantly clear that by now we would be over the ears in involvement on the side of England and France.

Over two years ago, he made his famous Chicago Address on "collective security" and the "quarantining of aggressors." This was followed by some of the most nefarious scheming and plotting in the history of this country to circumvent the will of the American people and commit us to one of the two great imperialist camps. It included secret naval conversations with Great Britain, behind the back of Congress and the people, which leaked out only thanks to indiscreet remarks in the British Parliament where a boast was made of the already-consummated naval conversations. It included a secret military mission of France in the United States which leaked out only thanks to "an act of God"—the fall of an airplane in California, resulting in the death of high French military officials, which fact could not be suppressed. It included the building up of an army and navy and air force so large that it can only be intended for overseas use. It included such reckless statements in word and deed which together make up a criminal conspiracy to involve this country in a war which is none of our making except insofar as powerful American financial interests, and the President himself, by his acts and words, have helped to make it. I have no hesitation in charging that all the President's "acts, short of war" were of such nature that they would have led to war had not the bulk of the American people fought him, some in organized and conscious fashion, some less consciously, every step of the way. As such, the President's declaration of neutrality, with all its limitations, represents a victory for the American people, or for the great mass of them for whom war spells nothing but misery.

JUST BEGINNING

BUT now the struggle to keep America out of war begins in earnest. The President's proclamation is only the end of the first stage of that struggle.

I would be glad, indeed, to believe that we could take the President at his word when he says: "I hope the United States will be kept out of this war. I believe that it will. And I give you assurances that every effort of your government will be directed to that end."

I would be glad to believe those assurances, but the Administration's every act for the last two years throws doubt upon it. The speed with which the New York police "goes on a war footing" throws doubt upon it. The back-breaking burden of our armaments throws doubt upon it. The President's embargo of Spain but not of Japan throws doubt upon it. His effort to revise neutrality legislation so as to make it less binding upon him throws doubt upon it. His efforts to lift the arms embargo for England and France throws doubt upon it. Jesse Jones's scheme to finance foreign war loans thru the Reconstruction Finance Corporation in circumvention of the expressed law of the Johnson Act forbidding loans to those who have not paid their debts contracted in the last war, throws doubt upon it. In short, the President's whole past and present, unless and until he repudiates and undoes those acts, serve only to remind us that he is facing a 1940 election and that his predecessor in whose War Cabinet he served, Woodrow Wilson, cynically secured reelection on the slogan: "He kept us out of war," when already he had made the secret commitments for our involvement.

CHIEF FOREIGN AGENT

THE same powerful forces that succeeded in involving us in the last war against the will and behind the backs of the American people, are at work at present. Already, J. P. Morgan has announced that he expects to be the agent of Great Britain. When the President makes remarks in the future about preventing the activities of foreign agents in this country and interning, arresting or deporting them, the real test of his words will be his readiness to deal energetically with this, the most dangerous of them. I cannot resist the feeling that only when the American people learn to deal with the moneyed kings who are the real rulers of our destinies, will they be effectively dealt with.

The forces making for war have gotten off to a flying start: commitments two years before its outbreak, super-armament such as the country did not dream of last time till after it entered, a war conspiracy far advanced against us.

THREE DANGERS

IN this dangerous hour, there are three perils which beset us: (1) false confidence—in the Atlantic Ocean, in the words of the President at this moment, in our ability to keep out without eternal vigilance and effort; (2) failure to overcome the desire of the American people into an effective, conscious, overwhelmingly powerful force—without such organization, on the widest scale, all the intentions and desires of the great mass of Americans can be circumvented, short-circuited, poisoned and defeated; (3) fatalism, the stupid belief that no matter what we do, our entrance into the war is inevitable. And the greatest of these three dangers is fatalism.

That the will to stay out is overwhelming at present, should be obvious to every one. It is reflected in the most unexpected places, from the declaration of the head of the American Legion to the declaration of the President. The National Commander of the American Legion has just declared its opposition to America's entrance into the war:

"To a generation that knows war from its participation in it, this (keeping out of war) today is the greatest and most solemn mission of the American Legion."

What Chadwick will say tomorrow may be quite another thing; but today his words express the authentic will of the millions of ex-soldiers who went thru the hell of the last war, and saw what came of their sacrifices and sufferings.

The heads of both great labor organizations have made declarations which reflect, albeit a little weakly and hesitantly, the real desires of their millions of members. If the powerful organized labor movement of America, reinforced by the great farm organizations, every one of which has already signified its opposition to war, if these great organizations of workers and farmers form the backbone of the Keep America Out of War Congress, organized independently of control by politicians or parties, then their determination will be invincible.

The radical movements and parties cannot replace, as the Trotskyites fondly imagine or pretend to imagine, such a mass movement. Were they all united instead of fighting with each other, were they ten times as strong or a hundred, they could not replace it. All they can do is seek to form part of it, to serve it, to give such clarity and activity and devotion as they are capable of giving it. Only then can they be a help instead of a hindrance.

The days to come will try all men and all movements, test all programs and all organizations, apply acid to the words of the President and all the volume of words that will flood the country. It is my conviction that we can keep America out of war if we work hard enough and well enough at it.

On our side is the will and desire of the overwhelming majority of the American people. On our side is America's experience with the last war. On our side is the need of the millions being driven into the trenches in all lands of Europe.

On the other side is enormous wealth, control of powerful agencies for shaping public opinion, the general apparatus of the two great political parties, and the apparatus of the Administration of the country. In the last two years, if they have gotten an early start, the Keep America Out of War Congress shows that we too have not been idle. Now it is a contest between their conspiracy and our open efforts. It is a race between our attempts to organize and clarify and their attempts to disorganize and poison and bewilder. If we are on the job, the conflict is not too unequal. Anyway, it was not of our making, and like it or not, we cannot choose but undertake it.

The next few months, perhaps the next few weeks, will determine the outcome and show whether we are equal to our opportunities and duties.

More than you think, how you who have just read to the end of this column act in response to it, even how you treat this very issue of this paper, will help to determine the outcome. For history is the outcome of the subtle calculus of the millions of crisscrossed wills and deeds of all the men and women who make it. The forces are so balanced that even little pushes one way or the other in the coming weeks will determine the direction of its movement.

(This column was written prior to President Roosevelt's open attack upon his own neutrality proclamation, an attack which doubly confirms the warning contained in the above paragraphs.—Editor.)