

VOTE SOCIALIST!
NORMAN THOMAS
FOR PRESIDENT

Workers Age

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Socialism, Fascism and the Outcome of the War

By JAY LOVESTONE

THERE is no difference in our ranks over the great desirability of socialism triumphing as a result of the war. We, of course, prefer such an outcome to any other conceivable consequence. However, merely wishing for a socialist triumph or even writing and speaking for it (in those countries where we still have such possibilities), are not necessarily effective means for speeding up and assuring the socialist victory.

We contend that only socialism can conquer Hitler and all species of Hitlerism. It is from this point of view that we heartily welcome the fact that the influential school of thought in the British Labor Party represented by Laski has changed its approach. It used to say: "Thru Victory to Socialism"; today, it says: "Thru Socialism to Victory." Furthermore, we contend that the bourgeoisie really cannot defend democracy against a Hitler onslaught because they are opposed to extending democracy. The bourgeoisie find it too expensive to extend democracy and therefore they can afford less and less of it — for the great mass of the population. In England, for a number of reasons, the trend has been in a significantly different direction in recent months. This is due entirely to the fact that British labor has increasingly been acting to defend and extend its rights and interests. This process is an organic phase of the development towards socialism, without which England cannot triumph over Hitler imperialism.

We continue our desire and our efforts to keep America out of this war. But mere desire will not bring us success. We must have a concrete, practical program for keeping the United States out of the war. The finest of words and the most magnificent of manifestoes are insufficient. We need deeds—and the right deeds effectively performed—in order to stand a chance of keeping America out of the war. I emphasize our continued determination to keep America out of war not because I am a pacifist. No realistic socialist can be a pacifist; genuine pacifists have a really hard time being effective socialists. Socialists are not opposed to war in principle, at all costs and at all times. The approach of Lenin towards war I consider today sound enough as a yardstick for us in the present conflict. Let me quote:

"Yes, war is a great calamity for the people. But the social-democrat cannot regard a war independently of its historical significance. For him, there can be no absolute calamity, just as there can be no absolute good fortune. . . . He must regard and estimate the significance of a war from the viewpoint of the interests of his class, the proletariat, the interests of its development and emancipation. His estimation of the war must depend not on the number of victims, but on its POLITICAL CONSEQUENCES (my emphasis—J.L.). Higher than the interests of the INDIVIDUALS who perish and suffer from the war must come the interests of the CLASS. And if the given war serves the interests of the proletariat, as a class, if it serves the proletariat as a whole, if the war emancipates them from part of their bonds, gives them freedom of struggle and development, then such a war is a progressive phenomenon, regardless of the sacrifices and sufferings which it brings in its train" (Proletarii, Bolshevik central organ, September 14, 1905).

It is significant indeed that Lenin attaches so much importance to the proletariat being emancipated from even "part of their bonds" and to "political consequences" which give them "freedom of struggle and development." Let us think what a fascist triumph would mean in this respect. And let us think what we can do to avert such disaster.

Again, even the strongest aversion to war does not in itself assure the slightest immunity from war. It takes two sides to avoid a war as well as to make one. Sometimes, one can make war against the other while the other either doesn't want it or is unable to wage it. Hence, we must have a practical program for avoiding war. This practical program is not in a void and must reflect accurately the immediate concrete situation. In the light of the new world situation, the United States can be kept out of the war or will be able to keep war away from itself only if it has a sound practical program for meeting the critical world conditions.

Towards this end, we make, amongst others, the following concrete proposals for United States foreign policy, towards America's averting and avoiding war: adequate national defense; the unequivocal rejection of all direct and indirect "appeasement" policies towards the fascist powers; and proper non-imperialist economic, political and cultural relations with all the countries of the western hemisphere. I am not going into details here. In regard to some phases of these concrete proposals, I have already written in greater detail. There is much to be added.

This is no occasion to repeat what I have written about fascism long before Hitler came into power and since the present war. This subject demands far more analysis and far more adequate comprehension. It should be clear to all of us that there were some inadequacies (Continued on Page 2)

Germans Turn Major Drive to Near East

The U. S. A. and the Far East

Desire Syria, Africa to Hit At Britain

BEFORE we allow ourselves to be stampeded into a bloody and disastrous war in the Far East, towards which Administration policy seems to be heading at breakneck pace—while there is still time to think and think with some measure of realism—let us ask ourselves some very direct and pertinent questions.

What primary interests have the American people at stake in the Far East that justify the preparations for war now under way and ultimately war itself if it comes to that? None whatever! "Our" investments, trade and business opportunities in the Far East, however much or little they may amount to, are of vital concern only to a small handful of business and financial interests in this country, and not to the people at large. As far as the people are concerned, from the standpoint of mass welfare and living standards, it would be far better if we set ourselves singlemindedly to make the most of our "open door" at home—our own vast undeveloped and unused productive resources and mass purchasing power—rather than chasing the delusive phantom of overseas markets. Certainly, these markets are not worth a war; they are not worth the life of a single American boy.

Or is it that we must "protect" the Dutch East Indies and French Indo-China from Japan because we get rubber, tin and certain other strategic war materials from those regions? With a little effort and planning, we could get all these necessary materials right in this hemisphere, directly or thru substitutes, with the immense added advantages of accessibility, security and closer economic relations with the other American nations.

Or perhaps it is our sympathy for China? Of course, we loath and detest ruthless Japanese imperialism and sympathize with the Chinese people in their heroic struggle for national freedom. But that's no reason for going to war, for by that logic we'd always be at war in every quarter of the globe since there are imperialistic aggressors on the map

everywhere. It is not our mission to engage in holy wars or crusades to right the wrongs of the world where our own vital interests are not at stake. Undoubtedly, the Chinese nationalists eagerly desire us to become involved in a war with Japan, just as the Cuban nationalists in 1898 openly urged us to go to war with Spain. They have their own interests at stake, and we cannot judge them. But neither can we allow their interests to sway our policy. Despite all the appeals of the Cuban nationalists for aid against the Spanish imperialist oppressor, our war with Spain in 1898 was a crime and a disaster; war with Japan today would be a crime and a disaster on a scale immensely vaster.

Shall we go to war in order to preserve the British Empire in Asia because we sympathize with the British war effort against Hitler in Europe? That would be a folly no one has yet dared to advocate in just so many words, altho it seems to be the unmistakable meaning of Administration policy in recent months.

Does Japan menace our security in this hemisphere? Arrant nonsense, far more arrant even than the hysterical nightmare of a Hitler invasion. Japan hasn't the resources; it hasn't the power; it hasn't the possibilities. There isn't a single responsible military or naval man in this country who would dream of asserting that, with all its sinister intentions, Japan could conceivably develop any serious threat to this continent or this hemisphere, either alone or in concert with other powers.

Let us not lose our bearings, for then indeed would we be lost. Our true primary interests—the vital interests of the great masses of the American people—lie on this continent and in this hemisphere. So do our true defense interests, for so long as we remain in the security of this hemisphere we are virtually impregnable. The surest way for us to lose everything—our prospects of a better America, our democracy, our security—would be for us to plunge headlong into far-flung commitments and reckless adventures that can only end up in war.

Opinion Grows Hitler Faces Defeat With Failure to Reduce England Thru Assault

The eyes of the world were turned away from London to the Balkans and the Near East last week altho England continued to take terrific punishment from Nazi bombers. The Campaign of England was still officially on, but the main attention of the Axis powers was directed elsewhere in Europe. In a sudden and unpredicted move German troops poured into Rumania and took over military control of the oil fields and other vital resources. A few days later came reports of Nazi forces invading Bulgaria. Turkey and Greece were openly threatened in the controlled press of the Berlin-Rome Axis.

The situation was clear. Germany and Italy, balked in the Blitzkrieg against Britain, were aiming to get control of the Balkan states, and thru Turkey to get at Syria, the entire Near East and northern Africa, in this way hoping to cut off Britain's supplies and resources and thus undermine its powers of resistance. For any degree of success, the scheme would require complete control of the Dardanelles.

The threat to the Dardanelles as well as the prospect of unrestricted German domination of the Balkans markedly accentuated Russia's growing concern with the direction Nazi activities were taking. Moscow made no secret of its hostility to Hitler's new drive in the Balkans. The official Russian news agency, Tass, denied that the Soviet government had received advance information or had been consulted as to German troop movements in Rumania. The Russian army paper, Red Star, declared officially that Soviet military forces must be kept in a constant state of mobilization because of the "tense international situation." Russian troop concentrations along the Rumanian border were also reported.

More openly, the Turkish press warned that any German move against Britain would be promptly resisted. Negotiations for a Russo-Turkish military assistance pact were reported. In fact, there seemed to be forming an anti-Axis coalition in the Balkans consisting of Turkey, Greece and Yugoslavia under the auspices, from different directions, of both Russia and Britain. On its part, Italy was exerting the greatest pressure, compounded of threats and promises, on Belgrade.

There was great doubt expressed in informed circles as to how far Stalin's new attitude would go. The general impression was that should Hitler desire to force matters to a position now, it as stressed, to stand up to Hitler, nor as that part of his strategy. Stalin would break with Hitler, if ever, only when Hitler was already facing ruin and the Russian blow would supply the finishing touch.

A somewhat different situation confronted ten young men in New York who stated that their consciences forbade them even to register. (Continued on Page 2)

Education in Crisis

By GEORGE S. COUNTS

(This is the second of two articles embodying the most important addresses of the brilliant Presidential Address of delivered by Dr. George S. Counts at the recent convention of the American Federation of Teachers, an A. F. of L. affiliate. Dr. Counts was elected president of the A. F. of T. The first article appeared in the last issue of this paper. —Editor.)

OUR central and peculiar responsibility in the defense of American democracy today and tomorrow is to work everlastingly to bring our entire system of public education into the service of democracy—to wipe out the educational inequalities between races, classes, occupations and regions; to conceive and launch a program of vocational education designed to raise the technical qualifications and enlarge the opportunities of the entire younger generation; to conceive and launch a program of youth education devoted to the interests and problems of youth in a free society; to conceive and launch a program of adult education dealing ably and courageously with the issues of the present crisis of democracy; to bring the entire educational undertaking into close relation with the life and needs of the community; to resist with all our power efforts on the part of privileged or misguided groups to take advantage of these critical times to reduce the

educational services and impair the quality of the educative process; to achieve a wholly just and equitable system of school taxation and support commensurate with the program required; to enlarge the responsibilities of the teacher in the school; and to increase the role of labor and other democratic elements on boards of education. All of this is to be regarded as instrumental to the systematic rearing of the young in the democratic faith.

Qualitatively, democratic education is unlike the education of other societies and faiths. It is an education designed to set men free and equip them to guard their freedom thru the generations. It is an education designed to develop loyalty to the principle of the dignity and worth of the individual human being; to the process of untrammeled criticism, discussion and majority decision; to the ideal of honesty, fair-mindedness and scientific spirit in the conduct of this process; to the idea of the obligation and the right to work; to the idea of the supremacy of the common good; to the obligation to be intelligent. It is an education designed to give to the young, at appropriate levels of maturity and without any desire to deceive or mislead, the social knowledge, insight and understanding that will equip the individual most thoroughly to guard and advance both personal and social interests—knowledge of the nature of man and so-

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Warring Britain Improves Social Legislation

Survey Shows Aid Raised And Liberalized in England; Holds Big Lesson for U.S.A.

New York City.

Instead of repealing social legislation under the pressure of war, Great Britain has expanded the domestic social-security program and introduced "new principles of social amelioration" such as it never contemplated before," the American Association for Social Security reported recently.

The British experience was cited to prove that "the effective carrying on of war and preparation for national defense cannot be achieved by the curtailment of social legislation, but, on the contrary, requires the greatest expansion of these protective measures."

"Ever since national defense has become the leading issue in America," the Association declared, "blind leaders of business have issued and some narrow-minded newspapers have published numerous statements and editorials to the effect that the success of our preparedness program requires the abandonment of all social legislation. "Not only is social and labor legislation selected as the only cause for the collapse of France, but America is warned that its defense program cannot proceed adequately without the surrender of all the social legislation which the United States so belatedly enacted. No better answer to this selfish campaign of misrepresentation on the part of the opponents of labor can be offered than the actual facts with reference to social legislation in England and Canada under the trying conditions of war.

"The extensions and more liberal benefits provided in Great Britain when the nation is engaged in the bitterest life-and-death struggle for existence is the best evidence that, whether in peace or in war, social security is indispensable in our modern social structure. Indeed, protective legislation is even more important in war than in peace."

Executive Council of the A. F. of T., elected by a decisive majority of the recent convention in Buffalo, set up a subcommittee to look into the New York situation to see what could be done about saving the teachers-union movement from disintegration, about making possible the organization of the mass of teachers, and about bringing about re-affiliation with the Central Trades and Labor Council.

Instead of aiding the National Executive Council in carrying thru this elementary responsibility and this most important task, the Local 5 administration launched into a most vicious attack upon Dr. Counts and the national leadership. Before the national subcommittee could report its findings, the Local 5 administration, at a membership meeting packed by its supporters and permeated by a lynch spirit, rejected a motion made to suspend action until the National Executive Council also had a chance to present its point of view. A motion was rushed thru condemning the na-

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Draft Begins; 10 CO's Face Grand Jury

Some Conscientious Objectors Refuse to Register, Others Will Claim Exemption

New York City.

The first peace-time registration for compulsory military service in the country's history took place on Wednesday, October 16, when over 16,500,000 men between the ages of 21 and 36 filled out official registration forms. After the information thus obtained is classified, the first contingent of America's conscript army will be chosen by lot within a few weeks. By law, no more than 900,000 draftees may serve at one time, but it was understood that this number would be raised gradually thru successive drafts until the top figure is reached towards the end of 1941.

The process of registration for military service immediately brought forward the problem of conscientious objectors. In New York City, nearly 2,000 indicated on the registration forms that they were conscientiously opposed to war and could not therefore participate in military activities. According to the conscription law, they will be given a hearing when and if they are selected in the draft lottery. If their conscientious objections are allowed by the Department of Justice, they will be assigned to non-combatant service.

A somewhat different situation confronted ten young men in New York who stated that their consciences forbade them even to register. (Continued on Page 2)

Danger Ahead!

Washington, D. C.

IN all the excitement of war and elections, there is real danger that entirely inadequate attention will be given to certain vicious pieces of legislation now before Congress. These bills are particularly menacing to labor's rights.

The Sheppard bill, S. 4131, which is now before the Senate Military Affairs Committee, grants to employers in defense industries the authority to set up groups of hand-picked employees who will be provided with guns by the federal government to guard and protect against subversive and unlawful activities. They will be endowed with the authority of federal law-enforcement officers to suppress unlawful activities. The only governmental supervision would be in the hands of the commander of the United States Army Corps in the area where the plant is located.

If such a bill is enacted into law, we will find delegated to private interests the authority, powers and duties of United States marshals to commit acts of force and violence against anyone in the community whom they consider unlawful or subversive. Labor should be on guard against such bills as this.

H. R. 10147, which was introduced by Congressman Jerry Voorhis of California, is another piece of legislation so loosely drawn that it is full of dangerous loopholes. It has already passed the House and is now pending in the Senate. It would require the registration in detail of information concerning membership and operations of all organizations subject to foreign control which engage in political or "civilian military activity." While its avowed purpose is to register all Nazi, communist and fascist organizations, the bill is so drawn that labor, peace or church organizations with international connections may be subject to its provisions.

Another bill which strikes at our fundamental system of democracy is the Dempsey bill, H. R. 4860, which has passed the House and is ready for Senate action. It provides for the deportation of all aliens who believe in or belong to organizations which advocate "any change in the government of the United States," even tho no advocacy of force or violence may be involved.

Everything should be done immediately to block the enactment of these measures.

Teachers Leave Local 5 Due to Stalinist Control, Ask AFT to Charter New Local

200 Resign Declaring Local 5 Has Become Bar to Unionism; More to Follow

By OBSERVER

New York City

THE crisis in the New York teachers-union movement reached a climax recently with the resignation on October 5, 1940 of twenty leaders of the opposition in Local 5, followed on October 12 by the resignation of 150 more members. Hundreds more are expected to leave within the next few weeks in protest against the Stalinist domination of Local 5 and the destruction of the teachers-union movement resulting from that domination.

LOCAL 5 HINDRANCE TO UNIONISM

This organized action of resignation follows nearly a thousand individual actions in resigning from and dropping out of the union during the previous year, 250 of which took place in May-June and 250 in July-August. Those who resigned made clear their loyalty to the national organization, the American Federation of Teachers, of which Dr. George S. Counts is president. They also made clear their desire to remain a part of the teachers-union movement and to build it to the best of their ability. However, they felt that New York Local 5, due to Stalinist domination, methods and policies, could no longer serve as a vehicle for that purpose.

The membership of Local 5, the teachers of New York City and the organized labor movement had made clear thru their actions and attitudes that Local 5 could not win their respect, adherence, loyalty and cooperation. Members were literally voting with their feet—by walking out of the union. In the year and a half before May 1940, 1,800 teachers left the union. In September 1940, 650 members were more than twelve months in arrears and were therefore officially no longer members of the union. In addition, over a thousand were more than six months in arrears, without membership privileges. Even the Local 5 administration, in calculating its budget for the coming year, had to figure on a loss of 1,500 dues-paying members for the year ahead.

The opposition, composed of the Liberal Group, the Independent Group and other progressive forces, had done everything possible to reform the union, striving to make it into an effective instrument for unionizing the mass of teachers of the city. The significant gains had been made in convincing members to get rid of political domination of the union—as reflected in a doubling of opposition strength during the year—yet the results could not offset or prevent the disastrous consequences of Stalinist domination—the disintegration of the

teachers-union movement in the city. Thousands were leaving the union as against the additional hundreds that were being won over to reform the union. The saving for teacher unionism of the winning for that same cause of other thousands who were being repelled by Local 5 because of its Communist Party label—these objectives were becoming much more important from the standpoint of labor unionism among the teachers than continuing at the rather futile task of reforming or getting rid of the totalitarian regime of the Stalinists and their supporters in a union that was narrowing down in their direction to an ever-increasing extent. The fact was that Local 5 was becoming less and less a trade union and more and more a party auxiliary. Local 5 was becoming an obstacle instead of an aid to the organization of the teachers.

This condition holds also for other sections of the A. F. of T. controlled by the Stalinists. In Pennsylvania, where elements akin to the Local 5 administration are in control, 40% or 800 out of 2,000 members, dropped out of the teachers-union movement in the past year. In the New York College Teachers Local 1, controlled by similar elements, the same percentage was lost during the year and a half. This is in striking contrast to the situation in

Chicago, where 9,000 out of 14,000 teachers are in the union, or in Cleveland where 50% of the teachers are organized, or in Atlanta where practically the entire teaching staff is unionized.

The crisis was aggravated by the fact that the 1,500 labor-minded teachers of the New York Teachers Guild refused to come back into the American Federation of Teachers as long as Local 5 remained communist-dominated and was the only local in New York for the teachers of the city.

ISOLATION FROM ORGANIZED LABOR

To complete its isolation, Local 5 still remains excluded from the New York Central Trades and Labor Council, with no chance of getting back until Stalinist control of the local is abolished. To make matters worse, the New York State Federation of Labor, it is said, is considering expelling Local 5. This would be catastrophic since the aid of the State Federation of Labor has been decisive in the past in safeguarding the interests of the teachers, the pupils and the schools in connection with legislative battles that have taken place at Albany.

Cognizant of this state of affairs, and realizing that the very life and progress of teacher unionism in New York was at stake, the Nation-

New Wage Law Rules Hamper Enforcement

Procedural Change Aids Employer Evasion

Washington, D. C. WHEN words come from high places in Washington that all labor and social standards are to be scrupulously maintained through the crisis, the labor movement would do well to look behind the words to the governmental actions presumably supporting and enforcing the pledge. Take the Wage and Hour Act, for example. Colonel Philip Fleming, administrator of that act under Secretary of Labor Frances Perkins, has several times during the past three months or so been strong and explicit in his assertions that production in the defense industries would not be helped by the relaxing of wage minimums and hour maximums. Quite the contrary, he has maintained that experience during the last war proved the unwisdom from a production point of view of lengthening the hours of work and trying to reduce wages. He has even taken the lead in giving the lie to the persistent propaganda that the recent collapse of France before the bloody Hitler juggernaut was caused by the French labor and social laws.

With those statements of his in mind, and also with similar statements from the President, Secretary Perkins and members of the National Advisory Defense Commission in mind, what are we to think of the press release issued by the Wage and Hour Division, U. S. Department of Labor, on September 22, entitled, "New Procedure Expedites Wage-Hour Compliance"? That release announces that the act that "every employer against whom an allegation of violation of the Wage and Hour Act is filed henceforth will receive a form which he is asked to fill out, giving information indicating his compliance with, or violation of, the Fair Labor Standards Act."

The release then describes how, on the effective date of the law, October 24, 1938, the Wage and Hour Division started "with a force of less than 25 inspectors, and faced with an ever-mounting complaint load, in many instances was unable to send an inspector to investigate a complaint for several months. Sometimes, the firm had gone out of business, or the complaining employee had left its employ and could not be located, and many other changes and conditions intervened to make investigation of these 'cold' complaints difficult, if not impossible."

A significant fact to cite in reference to this portion of the release is the return to the Treasury by the Wage and Hour Division on July 1, 1940 of an unexpended balance totalling around \$387,000. That amount would have provided approximately 180 inspectors if one figures their average salary at \$2,300 per year, which appears to be in the neighborhood of the present average rate. The wage-hour law appropriation for the fiscal year 1939-40—from which this \$387,000 was returned unused—was one which had been increased by the House at the active insistence of the labor movement whose representatives were urged to lobby for it by the explanation of Wage-Hour Administration officials that no ade-

quate enforcement could be had without more money for more inspectors.

"EXAMINATION OF CONSCIENCE"

The disingenuousness of the first sentences of the release, implying that the employer violating the Wage-Hour Act would gladly fill out a form for the government setting forth his violation, is astounding enough. Subsequent paragraphs are even more amazing. The release goes on to say: "The use of the new form will have the effect of making each complaint a 'live' one, in that action will begin immediately with the filing of the charge."

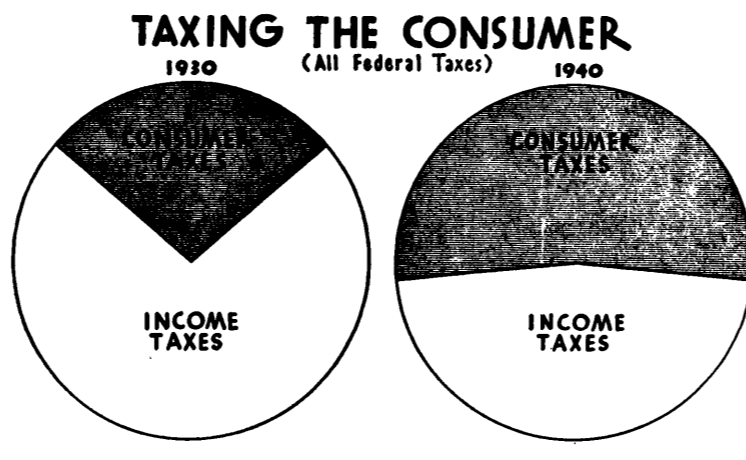
"Each employer who is notified against will receive this form, AD-85, headed, 'Information Respecting Compliance with the Fair Labor Standards Act of 1938.' This will serve to advise some employers, who have been inadvertently violating the law, of the existence of the statute and its requirements."

The release continues—and we emphasize these sentences so that they won't escape you: "Accurately filled out, it will put the employer thru a sort of 'examination of conscience' insofar as the Wage and Hour Act is involved. When he has completely filled out the form, he will know whether or not he is complying with the law."

Colonel Fleming then explains that when an employer discovers he has been violating the law and wants to "come into compliance immediately and make restitution of back wages due his employees, every assistance will be given him by the nearest Wage and Hour office." He then says that "in no case is this form being used as a substitute for physical or personal inspection of the books of the employer involved. It is merely being used to expedite our inspection procedure and should prove of great value in this respect. Inspections still be made at the faster rate made possible by our increased inspection force now totalling more than 700."

That may sound plausible to those unfamiliar with the actual field operations of the Wage-Hour Division. But what inspectors are going to be encouraged or permitted to examine employers books and perform their other duties when regional directors, apparently backed by headquarters in Washington, take the reverse attitude in practice? For example, here is a letter to a union complainant in New England. The letter, which seems to be typical, is signed by Charles R. Hersum, acting regional director, and tells the complainant that no further action is contemplated in the case "since they (the complainant's employers) state they have not violated the Fair Labor Standards Act of 1938." The letter concludes with the suggestion to the complainant that the Wage-Hour Act permits the complainant to hire a private lawyer and bring suit against his employers for restitution of back wages he may think are due him or his fellow-employees.

Some time after the above letter was received and had been given considerable circulation by the out-



Education in Crisis

(Continued from page 1)

present to the long-time interests of individual and society. It is an education designed to prepare the young to live by, to labor for, and, if need be, to die for the democratic faith.

The crowning responsibility of our profession is to assist and guide the young in fashioning a great vision of the future of our country—the vision of guarding here in North America the human gains of the centuries during a possible age of darkness; of devoting the resources of science and technology to the creation of a civilization founded on justice and mercy; of building that ancient City of God where no man exploits his brother—a vision that is as universal as the affirmations of the Declaration of Independence, as American as the spirit of the Gettysburg Address, as liberal as the Bill of Rights, as realistic and practical as the Federal Constitution.

Through our own example, we should lead children and youth, not only to contemplate this vision, but also to strive to give it substance, to devote their energies and enthusiasms to the task of fulfilling its provisions. But in doing all of this, we should caution them lest they fall from their hands the only instrument with which they can assure the future of their rights and liberties—the method of political freedom. Such a vision is indispensable to the defense of our democracy against the corrupting sweep of totalitarian doctrine.

The crux of our problem is the teacher. Democratic education requires two conditions here: of the teacher, loyalty to the essential values of democracy; of society, security and freedom for the teacher in both school and community. Only democratic teachers, free and secure in their posts, can rear a generation of free men and women. It is the responsibility and the opportunity of the American Federation of Teachers in this crisis to work for the establishment of these conditions, to put a free, secure and responsible teacher into every classroom in America, to put and keep him there. In this undertaking, we ask the cooperation and assistance of our great parent body, the American Federation of Labor, and of all organizations and movements working for the defense and advance of democracy in the United States. In this undertaking, we ask the support of the teachers of the country.

TRADE ASSOCIATIONS APPROVE, APPLAUD

The press release ends with two paragraphs describing the collaboration of business on the new form. The form has been in use on an experimental basis in some parts of the country for more than a month," it explains. "It has been submitted to 52 national trade associations, so that they may be able to advise their members, should any question arise concerning the use of the form or its purposes. In all of those contacted by the Division since the use of the form was inaugurated, there has been hearty approval of this new procedure."

No fair-minded student of industry-labor problems can deny, or wants to deny, that the lining up of industry in the enforcement of a labor statute is wise procedure, that social-minded, law-abiding employers should be encouraged to collaborate in forcing their chiseling competitors to abide by the law. By the same reasoning so should the labor movement be encouraged to help achieve enforcement of statutes designed to improve and protect labor's conditions.

In this particular case, diligent inquiry fails to reveal any 52 national or international unions to whom the Wage-Hour Division submitted this new form, AD-85 for approval before Colonel Fleming announced its adoption in his press release. There are rumors that President Green and Sidney Hillman were consulted on it at some time during its preparation or "experimental use," but their views have not been made public. At any rate, the contrast between these reported consultations and the submission of the form to 52 national trade associations is striking enough.

No wonder labor is troubled. . .

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STATEMENT OF OWNERSHIP, MANAGER, PUBLISHER, CIRCULATION, ETC. REQUIRED BY THE ACT OF MARCH 3, 1933.

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State of New York.

Before me, a notary public in and for the State and County aforesaid, personally for the Robert Macklin, who, having been duly sworn according to law, deposes and says that he is the Business Manager of the Workers Age, and that he is the author, to the best of his knowledge and belief, of a true statement of the ownership, management, and circulation of the publication for the date shown in the above caption, required by the Act of August 24, 1912, embodied in section 411, Postal Laws and Regulations.

That the names and address of publisher, editor, managing editor, and business managers are:

Publisher: Workers Age Publishing Association, 131 W. 33rd St., New York City; Editor: Will Herberg, 131 W. 33rd St., New York City; Managing Editor: Jay Lovestone, 131 W. 33rd St., New York City; Business Manager: Robert Macklin, 131 W. 33rd St., New York City.

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ROBERT MACKLIN, Business Mgr. Sworn to and subscribed before me this 26th day of October, 1940.

W. J. MILLER, Notary Public My commission expires March 30, 1942.

Jackson, Arnold Clash On Anti-Trust Laws

Attorney General Once Hit Anti-Labor Use

By MATTHEW WOLL

(This is the final article in a series on "Labor and Anti-Trust Laws" by Matthew Woll, vice-president of the A. F. of L.—Editor.)

LET us look into this matter of consent decrees a little deeper. Twelve of them have already been had. I shall not go into these, with one exception. Let me indicate what this union was first asked to agree to. It was asked to agree to a provision prohibiting the members of the union from refusing to work on materials not bearing the label of their international union; it was asked to agree to a provision requiring the union to eliminate from its rules and agreements the regulations concerning apprentices, etc. Fortunately, the union in question was able to eliminate these and like provisions from the final decree—a decree by which that union is now constantly under the supervision, inquiry and regulation of the Department of Justice!

Mr. Arnold intends to have inserted in every other consent decree against trade unions similar restrictions, unless we can make the voice of labor heard and put an end to the dangerous campaign inaugurated by him.

ARNOLD REJECTS HIGH COURT TEST

In a recent address of mine, as well as in my conference with Thurman Arnold, I suggested: "Granting the correctness of your opinion, of your own judgment, because you have temporarily the power of government in your hands, it is nevertheless the opinion of labor that these laws were never intended to be applied in that way. If you intend to be fair and just to labor and still true to your convictions, why then not take one of these cases as a test case and bring it to the United States Supreme Court and thus let us have a final and ultimate decision as to whether you are right or whether you are wrong, and, in the interim, carry on no further criminal prosecutions against labor surely that is a fair proposal."

Do you think he would agree to that? No, he certainly would not! He would want a case all of his own making and liking before agreeing to such a procedure in order that his views might ultimately be sustained. I suggested to him that the case in St. Louis involving the carpenters would be an excellent one. But he refused and said: "Oh, the union has made it impossible for this case to go to the Supreme Court." Yet the following day, the United States Supreme Court granted a certiorari in this case, thus

bringing it immediately to the Supreme Court, although the court actually cannot take cognizance of it until its Fall term.

Undoubtedly, Thurman Arnold intends, in the meantime, to proceed in his course, holding to the power in his hands, seeking to control the destiny of labor as long and as bitterly as he can.

No, Thurman Arnold does not distinguish between labor organizations and capitalistic organizations. What he is doing is seeking to protect vested interests rather than protect the human welfare in our industrial life.

Now it is a peculiar thing that the Attorney General himself, Robert Jackson, certainly as capable as Mr. Arnold, also expressed himself on this subject. And what is Mr. Jackson's opinion which he delivered on May 28, 1937? The address is quoted in Thurman Arnold's book, "The Folklore of Capitalism." Apparently with Thurman Arnold's approval, these words are quoted: "A failure to enforce the anti-trust laws would have been bad enough, but they were not merely ignored; they were perverted. In 1908, the court discovered in the *Lowry-Lawlor* Hatters case that labor unions were monopolies in restraint of trade."

WHEN DOCTORS QUARREL

Here then the Attorney General says that to apply the Sherman and Clayton Acts to labor is a perversion of the law, but the Assistant Attorney General emphatically holds that labor organizations are included. So we have the spectacle of the man in charge of the Department of Justice, the chief, holding that labor should not rightfully come under the Sherman and Clayton Acts, that the courts perverted these acts when they made them cover labor organizations; while on the other hand, his assistant in charge of the Anti-Trust Division, Thurman Arnold, not only holds but enforces a contrary point of view. When those in charge of the enforcement of the law differ so widely and radically—pray, how shall we be guided in the right?

In addition to the dangers already mentioned, we must also be aware of a danger within our several state governments, because many of our states have laws similar to the Sherman and Clayton Acts. It would not be at all surprising if, with these federal laws being now used against labor by Mr. Arnold, some of our state officials may well be encouraged to try to outdo Mr. Arnold. Thus, the vicious circle, once set in motion, moves on.

We may well wonder, then, whether we are heading, whither this form of bureaucracy will lead us.

Employers Offset Shorter Hours by Higher Output

Reduction of Labor Cost, Low Prices of Raw Materials Result in Higher Profit

Washington, D. C. AMERICAN industry has already succeeded to a considerable extent in "readjusting" itself to shorter hours and higher wage rates, recent studies of labor productivity and labor costs show. This readjustment has been accomplished mainly, of course, thru the great increase in mechanization of industry since 1930.

The revised computations have been made possible by publication this year and last of new indexes of industrial production, employment and pay-rolls by the Federal Reserve Board and the Bureau of Labor Statistics. Dividing the production index by the index of employment gives the "output per man." The value of output divided into the total pay-roll gives the "labor cost per dollar of output."

The new indexes of labor productivity and costs thus derived differ considerably from the old ones, and presumably are more accurate. They show that in June 1940 the output of the average worker was 17% higher than in 1929—this, despite a material reduction in the average number of hours worked.

When this productivity is translated into terms of the labor cost of producing an article worth \$1, it is found that this cost, in June, had fallen 5% below the 1929 level. This was in spite of wage rates per hour 15% higher and prices for finished goods 14% lower than in 1929.

The two trends tend to move in opposite directions, labor costs falling when output per man rises, and vice versa. Since 1931-32, the trend of productivity has been irregularly upward, that of costs irregularly downward. This means that the chasm between America's capacity to produce and its capacity to consume under existing economic institutions has been growing considerably wider.

The reduction in labor costs has been accompanied by a decline in prices of raw materials—the other prime cost in manufacturing. In the first half of 1940, the cost of raw materials for a dollar's worth of product was 13% below that of 1929, and the wage cost about 2 1/2%.

All this has had its effect on profit margins in manufacturing, as may well be imagined.

when the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America was formed out of a break in the United Garment Workers. The inveterate dual unionists of the Local 5 administration cannot cover up the disastrous consequences of their control and methods by shouting dual unionism. They know only too well that proposals to merge with the Teachers Guild, an attempt to swallow those 1,500 teachers into their totalitarian political set-up, cannot shift attention from the central issues and problems—what is to be done to save and advance teacher unionism in New York, what is to be done to make possible building the A. F. of T., what is to be done to break the terrific isolation and growing disintegration resulting from the Stalinist control of Local 5?

It is my opinion that there remains only one possible solution under the circumstances. That solution is the formation of a new local by the A. F. of T. comprising the membership of the Teachers Guild, the opposition elements of Local 5, the thousands of union members who have left Local 5, and the thousands more who can be gotten to join a bona-fide union having the support of the city and state federations of labor—a union free from political control and factional methods and totalitarian regime; a union affiliated with the A. F. of T. in spirit as well as in form. It is either this solution—or the entire dissolution of teacher unionism in New York City for many years to come.

Socialism, Fascism and the Outcome of the War

(Continued from page 1)

in our previous evaluation of fascism. It would be wrong for us to continue to maintain that fascism is merely a difference in the form of state (as against bourgeois democracy), tho this in itself is a very vital difference. Fascism is dynamic counter-revolution on the march, as distinct from the forces of status-quo. It permeates not merely the political structure, but also the social, economic, cultural and all other forms of human relations. It is not a new economic system in the sense that we speak of socialism versus capitalism. It is, however, a new expression of class rule resulting not only from the economic bankruptcy of the bourgeoisie but also, and at least as much, from the political failures of the proletariat. Fascism is not merely German or Italian. Fundamentally, it is an evidence of the irremediable decay in the vitals of all capitalism, everywhere.

Yet, the trend towards fascism is different, for many reasons, in different countries, just as the trend towards proletarian revolution, which parallels it, also has its uneven development and differs in various countries. Nevertheless, no one can deny that the fate which befalls the most marked expression of the fascist trend or the Nazi development, the fate which befalls this expression in the country in which it came to its greatest head, will be decisive for this phenomenon thruout the entire world. If Nazi imperialism triumphs, totalitarianism will receive terrific impetus in the unconquered as well as the defeated lands. Certainly, fascism would then be terrifically strengthened in the victorious countries.

Let us recall our experience with socialist revolution as a dynamic force. The trend towards socialist revolution came to its highest point in Russia with the revolutionary triumph in October 1917 and served to stimulate the forces of working-class revolt everywhere. When the Russian Revolution was checked in western Europe, its dynamism was paralyzed. Considerable crises set in for the Soviet revolution and the entire movement was set back on a world scale. A defeat of counter-revolutionary dynamism (fascism) would have disastrous effects not only on Nazi power in Germany, not only on fascist power in Italy, but also on totalitarianism in all lands. That is why, imperialism as the character of this war may be, capitalist as its causes and roots are, the working class of our and all other countries have a most vital stake in its outcome, are most gravely concerned in regard to its consequences. The worst that could happen is a Nazi triumph. The best that could happen is a victory for world socialism. But between the worst and the best, many other things can happen at present foreseeable and unforeseeable, to which we must adjust ourselves and which we must also be ready to fight for or against. The situation is very complex and highly critical. No simple shibboleth, no phrase barrage, will serve the purpose. Straight thinking unhampered by dogma, boldness in evaluation, desire and ability to seek and find the new in an entirely new situation: these must be our guiding lines.

Benefit of
WORKERS AGE
Special Performance
ESTHER'KE
Yiddish Art Theatre
Second Ave. at 4th St.
Friday Evening,
November 15th, 1940

Read—Spread
WORKERS AGE

Teachers Leave Local 5 Due To Stalinist Domination

(Continued from page 1)

of teacher unionism or giving teacher unionism a real chance to grow in New York thru a new local free from the stigma and condition of Stalinist control. It knows full well that there arise at times abnormal situations in the history of labor where out-of-the-ordinary solutions are necessary—such was the case

Nazis Turn Drive Toward Near East

(Continued from page 1)

Meanwhile, the attack on Britain was netting the Germans no significant result whatsoever. There was no longer any talk of invasion and the air offensive was certainly producing nothing decisive. In a review of recent developments made by the Russian official army paper, Red Star, last week, the conclusion was reached that the German air offensive had definitely failed. The paper said that not only were the British able to defend themselves effectively and continue industrial and civil activity but that "unbeaten British aviation is even extending the radius of its action." In informed quarters generally, the impression prevailed that Hitler was far from having won the war; indeed, the likelihood was growing that he might even lose it. According to a poll of Washington opinion conducted by the well-informed news-weekly, United States News, and reported in its October 18, 1940 issue, views as to who would win the war stood as follows:

PROPOSAL OF NEW TEACHERS LOCAL

The administration of Local 5 admits that the national leadership does not contemplate lifting the charter of Local 5. Its charge against the National Executive Council is that the latter may form a new teachers local in New York. In a campaign of deliberately provoked hysteria, it dubs such possible action on the part of the National Executive Council as dual unionism. The Stalinist Local 5 administration, which in the early 1930's organized a dual union known as the Classroom Teachers Groups outside the A. F. of T. and against Local 5 (then under the leadership of Dr. But and Dr. Lefkowitz), this present Stalinist administration, which at that time engaged in reckless public attacks against Local 5, the A. F. of T. and the A. F. of L., now hypocritically poses as the champion against dual unionism. It knows very well that for the past five years there has been a deep organizational division among labor-minded teachers of New York City between Local 5 and the Teachers Guild. It knows well that another and irreconcilable division has arisen within Local 5 between the totalitarian and those believing in democracy, between those practicing political domination of unions and those working for a union free from political control. It knows full well that it has brought about a situation where teacher unionism will be discredited for years to come unless some basic change is promptly effected. It knows full well that it is a case either of the complete disintegration

Germany	7%	82%
Britain	13%	70%
U. S. diplomats	10%	66%
U. S. Army officials	5%	60%

The remainder of those questioned predicted either stalemate or British victory only with U. S. aid.

In the Far East, the situation continued tense. Reports from Tokyo indicated a new urgency in Japan's efforts to reach an understanding with Moscow, in which Germany was believed to be helping. On the other side, Britain reopened the Burma Road for the flow of war supplies to China; the road had been closed on July 17 in an unsuccessful attempt to "appease" Japan.

Draft Begins; 10 CO's Face Grand Jury

(Continued from page 1)

ter because that involved cooperation with the military authorities in activities directly related to war. In this group were eight Union Theological Seminary students and two young socialists, Stanley Rappaport, executive secretary of the Y.P.S.S., and Howard Schoenfeld. As soon as they indicated their refusal to register, they were called before a federal grand jury for a hearing. If indicted and convicted of violating the Selective Service Act, they would be liable to maximum penalties of five years imprisonment and \$10,000 fine. The grand jury proceedings were secret.

Demonstrations against conscription were arranged on Registration Day by a number of anti-war organizations, including the Fellowship of Reconciliation, the War Resisters League and the Youth Committee Against War. A parade, led by the Rev. Francis Hall, marched down Fifth Avenue with signs denouncing war and conscription. Leaflets entitled "a Message for Registration Day" were also distributed.

Administration Foreign Policy and War Crisis

FDR-Wilkie Line Runs Counter to Real Interests

By WILL HERBERG

NO single act of the Roosevelt Administration in foreign affairs has any real meaning outside of the larger context of the entire foreign policy pursued by the Administration in the past three years. It is idle to dispute as to whether this or that particular act of the Administration is good or bad because the act itself loses most of its significance in isolation. We must clearly grasp the character of the Administration's course as a whole before we can weigh the full meaning of any particular feature or aspect of it at any particular time.

MUST BE JUDGED IN LARGER CONTEXT

Let us take two examples to make this point a little clearer and to drive it home. A year ago, in the great debate on the Neutrality Act, the Administration's spokesmen urged the replacement of the arms embargo by a cash-and-carry plan. The vast majority of the people who supported the cash-and-carry system did so because they felt that it was a safe way of helping the then Allies, that is, a way of helping the Allies and yet keeping out of war. The safeguards of the cash-and-carry plan were emphasized as much as, or perhaps even more than, its effectiveness in aiding the Allies. But what was Mr. Roosevelt's position? In his message, he spoke of establishing "real neutrality"—whatever that might mean. It was reported then, and it has been established since, that what Mr. Roosevelt really wanted was a completely free hand in consolidating a war alliance with Great Britain, that he resented the safeguards involved in the cash-and-carry scheme almost as much as he resented the original arms embargo. He wanted a clean sweep of all legislative safeguards against involvement in war, and he said so to the Senate chieftains whom he consulted. He agreed to the cash-and-carry idea only when he was flatly told he could not get what he really wanted in view of public sentiment, and then he only accepted it as a stop-gap. It is clear, therefore, that the same measure meant fundamentally different things to President Roosevelt and to the people at large.

Or take the recent embargo on the export of scrap iron to Japan. I am not here examining the curious question why the Administration refused all these years to impose this restriction, despite the earnest pleas of so many Americans, when it was so remarkably quick in imposing a special arms embargo on Loyalist Spain. Here I am simply making the point that this step, in itself so welcome to democratic and socialist opinion in the United States, might also be welcome for quite other reasons to those imperialistic groups who are desirous of pushing "American interests" (that is, the interests of American big business) in the Far East, and who therefore resent Japanese expansion in that quarter of the world. The act itself cannot be intelligently judged unless it is known into what frame of reference, into what system of general policy, it fits. This does not, of course, mean that we should reject those aspects of Administration policy which we happen to agree simply because they are part of the Administration policy. It does mean, however, that we should not be in a hurry to give our endorsement to the general line of policy of the Administration simply because we agree with one or another isolated aspect of it.

TREND OF F.D.R.'S POLICIES

It is not necessary in these columns to bring forward any evidence to prove that the general course of Administration policy in the last three years, and above all since the outbreak of the war in Europe, has been one of preparation—economic, political, diplomatic, military and psychological—for involvement in an overseas war in Europe or Asia as the ally of Great Britain. Virtually every page of the Workers Age in these years has been full of documentation in support of this charge. It is practically admitted in the semi-official "American White Paper." Every Administration defense budget, every statement of Administration defense policy, proves it—especially the demand for peace-time conscription. As so many military writers have pointed out, the programs and policies of the Administration make no sense in terms of genuine national defense, even when that is conceived in the broadest sense as the defense of the entire western hemisphere; they have a meaning only as parts of a long-range program of preparation for foreign war across the seas, on other continents. Only those who are not adequately informed or who are willfully blind can fail to see this.

1. See, for example, the article, "Wanted: A Plan for Defense," by Hanson Baldwin, military writer for the New York Times, in the August 1940 issue of Harpers Magazine. Note especially Mr. Baldwin's comment on conscription: "Conscription in time of war can be justified. But at a time like the present it cannot be justified on a basis of hemisphere defense. . . ."

Seen in its larger aspects, the Administration policy is rooted in one of two fundamental philosophies that stand in irreconcilable conflict. One of these standpoints may be called the "continentalist," or, by extension, the "western-hemisphere" orientation. It believes that it is the historical mission of the American people to build up a self-sustaining economy of plenty, welfare and security on this continent, and, in free cooperation with other American peoples, in the western hemisphere. It maintains that, with a rational defense program, we are impregnable as long as we stay in this hemisphere, but that as soon as we allow ourselves to be involved in the power-politics of Europe and Asia, in the clash of rival aspirations and ambitions, we are lost. In short, the vital interests of the great mass of American people—whatever may be the case with those of selfish, profit-seeking imperialistic groups—are not located primarily in Europe, Asia or Africa; they are centered right here on this continent, in this hemisphere.

To some extent, this view was shared by the Administration in the early days of the New Deal. Those were the days when Mr. Roosevelt's whole policy was directed, or at least so we were told, towards achieving prosperity by setting our own house in order, by taking advantage of the "open door at home" rather than in Europe or the Far East. Those were the days of the "Roosevelt Revolution."

For reasons that need not be examined here, this original New Deal philosophy did not last very long, nor was it consistent or complete even in its best days. Very soon, the President shifted to a new version of Wilsonian "internationalism" that in effect meant an ever more aggressive imperialism, an ever deeper involvement in European and Asiatic power-politics, an ever franker abandonment of the ideal of an American continental economy of welfare and security. With this basic change of orientation, everything else began to undergo a corresponding change, at a tempo that depended upon circumstances, but in a direction that was unmistakable. At home, it meant the scrapping of domestic reform, the launching of a "defense" policy of preparation for

foreign war, the whipping up of war panic and hysteria. Internationally, it meant the step-by-step consolidation of an Anglo-American war alliance covering Europe and especially the Far East. To this new orientation of imperialist Weltpolitik everything was sacrificed.

The Administration still continues to talk about the "defense of America," about "hemisphere defense," about "hemisphere unity." But it is really thinking and planning in terms of overseas involvements in Europe and Asia. At best, hemisphere policy is conceived of as a sort of backing and support for overseas adventures. Thus, in the destroyer-base deal with Britain, Mr. Roosevelt did not seem to be much concerned with the fact that in virtually overwriting Britain's continued domination of its colonial possessions in the Caribbean and off South America, he was gravely alienating the Latin American nation, who rightfully look forward to the end of Old World influence in this hemisphere. And yet it is upon close union and cooperation with these Latin American nations that so much of our security depends.

WHAT IS THE "REAL AMERICAN INTEREST"?

Perhaps the clearest indication of the entirely secondary importance assigned to this hemisphere in the scheme of Administration foreign policy is afforded by a very striking editorial in the Havana Conference in the New York Times of July 27, 1940. The editorial is headed significantly enough, "The Real American Interest." It reads in part: "The Pan-American Conference at Havana is discussing matters of large interest and importance, and the success of that conference is greatly to be desired, there is some risk that the very emphasis now being placed on pan-American relationships will tend to distract the attention and the thinking of the people of this country from the real danger with which we are confronted. . . ."

"We refrain from giving more active aid to Britain in her effort to check Hitler because we wish to avoid even the most remote risk of war. . . . But we will defend 'this hemisphere'; we will defend South America. . . . So if Germany both (Continued on Page 4)

Another View on the Destroyer Question

Says Attacks on FDR Methods Misdirected

By B. HERMAN

(This is B. Herman's second article discussing the destroyer transfer. The first article appeared in the last issue. —Editor.)

PART of the criticism of the Age of the destroyer transfer deals with the method employed by Roosevelt, that is, in effecting it without ratification by Congress. We have consistently opposed the tendency to greater concentration of power in the hands of the executive arm of the government as against the legislative branch. Certainly, it would have been far preferable and more democratic to have Congress ratify the treaty. Since Congress is overwhelmingly in favor of the treaty, the question is: Why wasn't this done? Here the Workers Age goes off on a wrong tack. The charge that Roosevelt acted like a totalitarian dictator is far-fetched, to put it mildly. The editorial of the St. Louis Post-Dispatch is quoted approvingly, comparing Roosevelt's action to "edicts forced down the throats of the Germans, Italians and Russians by Hitler, Mussolini and Stalin." Here, all sense of proportion is completely lost. What actually did happen? Before Roosevelt acted, he was positive that the majorities in both houses of Congress would back him up. To think that Roosevelt would have risked a Congressional censure and repudiation of his action sixty days before the elections is an absurdity on the face of it. What you have here in essence is an informal check-up and ratification. He carefully waited until quite reliable polls reported that more than 60% of the people favored the transfer. He knew that the press of the country—which is a free press, not a totalitarian-controlled press, and which is usually anti-Roosevelt—would support him on the question. He even went so far as to make quite sure that the opposing Republican candidate, Wilkie, would support the transfer. Nor could Roosevelt be completely ignorant that there was an election campaign in which he was a candidate for a third term, and that very shortly after his action, the electorate, in a rage at his Hitler-Stalin-Mussolini methods, could vote him out of office with gusto. Therefore, to compare his action with that of a Hitler forcing something down the throats of a helpless, enslaved and terrorized people is utterly fantastic. If you think that Hitler or Stalin acts in the manner described above, you have another guess coming. Hitler and Stalin go to regimented polls only after the Gestapo and G.P.U.

have made absolutely sure that not only will there be no opposition parties but not even an opposing vote. Then why did Roosevelt use the method that he did? Here, I have been unable to find any satisfactory explanation, except my own. I submit it for what it is worth, for discussion.

ASTUTE ELECTION STRATEGY

Roosevelt acted in the manner he did as a remarkably astute piece of campaign strategy. Knowing that the country was overwhelmingly in sympathy with England and in favor of the transfer of the destroyers, he could knock the ground out from under the feet of all opposing candidates by acting with apparent "boldness," taking the initiative, cutting corners, acting alone (which, as I have shown, is on y apparent and not real), taking sole responsibility for an action he knew was popular, and acting while other candidates could only talk. Thus, Wilkie can only talk about aid to England. Roosevelt does it, dramatically, like a man of great courage and assertiveness. Norman Thomas can only talk about his hope for a British victory and about his sympathy for England. But he opposes the transfer of the destroyers to England. To the average voter, therefore, he appears not only as a talker while Roosevelt acts, but a timid one, at that. Jackson's reference to the precedent set by Jefferson, is a shrewdly calculated move. Millions go to the polls in November convinced that they are voting, not for a Hitler or a Stalin, but a combination of Thomas Jefferson and Paul Revere. More than that. With a little political imagination one should be able to foresee possible developments of the next few months. A Nazi invasion of England is attempted. There are three possibilities: (1) The Nazis are driven back. Hosannas of joy go up. Roosevelt is the great hero of the occasion. By his bold action, the American destroyers were sent over which drove back the invading hosts of barbarism. How does Wilkie then look, who argued about "trifles," about long debates in Congress, about delays and dilly-dallying? How does Norman Thomas, who opposed the sending of the destroyers altogether, then look? (2) The battle is raging on the English coast. Newspapers flash the accomplishments of the American destroyers in blowing up boatloads of Nazis. Paean of praise for Roosevelt! He acted in the nick of time! (3) The Nazis are victorious. More paean of praise for Roosevelt! He didn't let

"The Ramparts We Watch": Norman Thomas and The S.P. War Stand

Correspondent Sees Conflict in Positions

New York City.

Editor Workers Age:

ON the subway this morning I met a member of your organization, who commented on Norman Thomas's article, "Socialists and the War," in the Workers Age for September 28, 1940.

He said: "I see you people in the S.P. are now lining up for military preparedness."

"Wrong," I answered. "The Socialist Party remains utterly opposed to capitalist armament."

"But Thomas favors it!"

"He is expressing his individual opinion. He expressed it at length in articles in the Call during June, but thereafter our National Executive Committee met and refused to advocate capitalist armament. To be sure, it used certain phrases that point in that direction, but the wide gap between its resolution and Thomas's open advocacy of capitalist armament is obvious."

"Isn't your N.E.C. likely to go further in that direction?"

"The chances are strongly against it. But even if it did, its action would be invalid. After all, the Socialist Party has a constitution, and that constitution provides that the party's Declaration of Principles is the expression of party doctrine. The Declaration of Principles, as revised in 1936, contains an anti-war and anti-preparedness statement, under the heading, 'Oppose Warfare of Capitalism.' It declares: 'War cannot be tolerated by socialists, or preparedness for war.' That is the supreme doctrine of the Socialist Party, unalterable by any individual or any committee. The Socialist Party remains unconditionally opposed to capitalist armament."

"Well, even if that is still your official position, don't many of your members favor a change?"

"Some do, but the decisive majority oppose it. The July-August issue of our internal organ, Hammer and Tongs, contained a superbly reasoned article by Bella Kussy, which took up all the arguments that have been offered in support of a change, and demolished them so easily that it was pitiable. To sup-

port capitalist armament is to support capitalist war, and the Socialist Party unequivocally opposes both."

SAMSON HORN

The Editor Replies:

WE are glad of the opportunity of presenting the viewpoint of our correspondent on the position of the Socialist Party on national defense. On this question, as our readers are aware, the stand of the I.L.L.A., as embodied in the resolution recently adopted by its National Committee, is essentially the same as that of Norman Thomas, which our correspondent criticizes so sharply.

Without wishing to initiate any controversy, we might also add that the stand of the National Executive Committee of the S.P. is far more equivocal than our correspondent seems ready to admit. If the N.E.C. did not adopt Thomas's position, it likewise refused to reject it—and after all, Thomas is chairman of the party and its Presidential candidate.

Furthermore, there are sections of the N.E.C. resolution that are intelligible only in the framework of some such positive position on national defense as is advocated by Norman Thomas. The resolution, for example, speaks of "genuine defense of American democracy"; it criticizes the Administration for not "answering the questions of what we are to defend and how," and for "pouring out billions of dollars for military supplies of uncertain value for defensive purposes. . . . Indeed, the resolution of the N.E.C. even goes on to declare: 'Only a defensive program which goes hand in hand with a program of rapid and democratic socialization can be effective against both the military and economic assaults of European totalitarianism.' All this is very true, but what meaning has it in terms of an attitude of blank opposition to national defense (except under socialism), which, according to our correspondent, is the position of the Socialist Party?"

Marx-Engels and Imperialism

Philadelphia, Pa.

Editor Workers Age:

THERE are some points concerning the socialist attitude on war which suggested themselves to me as I read your provocative series in the Age. What was the Marx-Engels position on capitalist or imperialistic expansion? Did they always support capitalist development against feudalism? If they did, they did to support imperialism—at least the expanding period during which they lived. Furthermore, if they did support it, then the only primary consideration must have been the "economy" criterion, since as far as we know, some native islanders may have been far happier alone, and they may have enjoyed more freedom undisturbed than they did when "enlightened" capitalism came. I suppose that socialists would have had to support apologetic horror sweep thru Europe since he broke down feudal barriers. It is upon this basis that he Cannon-Trotskyites, as you know supported Russia ("superior economy," "property relations of the 'other Revolution'") against Finland. Is such a position justified by actual exegesis anywhere in Marx-Engels, or are there times when these men, because of other factors possible consequences to the labor or democratic forces, etc.) even supported a less advanced economy against a more advanced one? I omit from discussion, of course, our present-day support of "feudal" colonies against imperialism since this is a period of capitalist decline.

Incidentally, Bamford Parkes, in his book, "Marxism: An Autopsy," has some strange passages dealing with Marx-Engels' "imperialistic" utterances on the Danes, Czechs, Poles, Italians, Mexicans, etc. They advocated American seizure or annexation of Mexico.

SYDNEY WALLACE

The Editor Replies:

THE position of Marx and Engels on the questions referred to by our correspondent was by no means clear and certainly not consistent. At various times in their lives, under various circumstances, they naturally held opinions that varied widely and that were hardly reconcilable with earlier views. Yet, by and large, there were certain leading ideas to which they held more or less consistently throughout the years.

Marx and Engels judged everything from the point of view of what they called the "European revolution," by which they meant the European bourgeois-democratic movement against the Old Regime, merging into the modern socialist movement against the rule of capital. The chief enemy of the "European revolution" they saw in Czarist Russia, but also at times in Austria, Louis Napoleon, even on one quite exceptional occasion, in Great Britain. In the early part of their public activity, they adopted very empha-

tically an extreme "economistic" standpoint: the more advanced the industrial conditions, the more favorable to the "European revolution." At the same time, they noted with indignation how the minor Slavic nationalities, the Czechs, the Slovenes, the Yugoslavs, etc., were allowing themselves to be used by European (Russo-Austrian) reaction against the revolution. This combination of circumstances led them not only to welcome the extension of modern industrialism to backward regions no matter how ruthlessly that was accomplished (yes, they did advocate United States annexation of Mexican lands!), but also to deny the minor Slavic nationalities any legitimate national aspirations. The best thing for them was to be absorbed into a German culture-state. (Engels makes this quite clear in "Revolution and Counter-Revolution in Germany.") Their attitude to the Danes in the 1848-51 period was somewhat the same and motivated by similar considerations; they urged a national German war against Denmark to recover Schleswig-Holstein—such a war, they felt, would unite Germany and bring the revolutionary party to power.

At the same time, Marx and Engels valiantly championed the Polish national-revolutionary movement, primarily because it was aimed at Czarist Russia, the citadel of European reaction. A Polish victory would be the end of Czarism, they felt.

As time went on, Marx and Engels lost their crude "economistic" attitude; they no longer maintained that an industrially more advanced economy must always be supported against an industrially more backward one or that the extension of modern industrialism to backward regions in itself justified the acts of aggression thru which it was accomplished. This is indicated in Marx's writings on China and India in the third quarter of the nineteenth century. But it is especially clear in their views on the Irish question, for they vigorously supported Irish nationalism against British imperialism, and Britain was certainly the most advanced industrial country in the world at the time. It was in this period that they began to develop the idea that the imperialistic imposition of modern industrialism on backward regions, while it destroyed their backwardness, at the same time also distorted the "normal" economic development of these regions and in this way did great damage to the peoples inhabiting them. In this period, they also laid considerable stress on non-economic factors, on the right of peoples to determine their own destinies, etc.

It may also be worth noting that upon repeated occasions, Marx and Engels supported Turkey, the most backward of European states, against Czarist Russia. Here the motivation was obvious: Russia was the bulwark of European reaction. Of particular interest are two remarks of Engels on the colonial question. In 1882, he chided Edward (Continued on Page 4)

the British down. He certainly did all in his power to help beat back the invasion. And having secured the ring of bases in Newfoundland and Guinea and a promise that the British fleet would never be surrendered to Hitler, more praise of his foresight and ability to act in a critical situation. The net result is a widespread feeling of Roosevelt's "indispensability," which is the very point that he is trying to prove. What he is attempting to do is to show that no one else is of his stature, ability and determination to act to lead America thru the difficult times ahead. Profounder thought and understanding of socialism as the only real and basic solution for these troubled times ahead are swept aside in a wave of immediate action in assisting to repel a Nazi invasion. That we are able to keep our heads, to think and understand more deeply, and not to lose sight of the need for an independent working-class socialist solution, does not mean that everybody can do that in such critical situations. The one fact alone that the census will probably reveal 12,500,000 unemployed in the U.S.A. shows that even if Roosevelt were a combination of Thomas Jefferson and Paul Revere, he could not solve the basic problems of unemployment, poverty and misery short of socialism.

Therefore, instead of being a piece of Hitler-Stalin throat-stuffing, the action of Roosevelt is a very clever and effective maneuver in election strategy. Already, Raymond Clapper, who is certainly no supporter of Roosevelt, acknowledges Roosevelt's gains in his action on the destroyer transfer. For us to denounce as "totalitarian" that which, on the contrary, appears to millions of people to be quite legal, anti-Hitler in its content, and an act of support to British democracy facing a Nazi invasion, will not carry conviction. I think that the tendency to characterize every once in a while some measure of which we disapprove as "fascist" and "totalitarian" is in-

correct and misleading. This mania for itself even when a measure is adopted overwhelmingly by Congress, no less than when it is put over by Roosevelt alone. And then what are we to think of those hundreds of unions which mistakenly give support to these very measures? Are we to regard them as "social-fascist"? Here we tread on dangerous ground. For years, we condemned the insanity of the Stalinists who, in their "third period," called everyone who didn't agree with them a fascist. First, Hoover was a fascist to them, and later Roosevelt, until they swung over to the People's Front line. The real fascist organizations they were unable even to see, much less fight. I don't think we should fall into that error, even in a milder form, just because measures are adopted that we may regard as anti-labor. Since when does even the "purest" of bourgeois-democratic regimes act in a manner that meets with the unqualified approval of a socialist? To give a simple illustration, bourgeois-democratic governments from time to time have broken strikes—as undemocratic and anti-working-class an action as we would condemn. Yet we have refrained, in spite of our condemnation, from using the term "totalitarian" and "fascist" in such instances. If that were not the case, we would have to regard Mayor Kelly of Chicago, the hero of the Memorial Day Massacre during the steel strike, as Fascist No. 1 in America today. Fascist regimes do not merely break strikes—they abolish strikes, and unions as well. The distinction is not a minor one. Restrictions on working-class democratic rights are an everyday phenomenon under bourgeois-democratic rule. We fight such restrictions, but we do not throw together in one pot, because of that, the parties of bourgeois democracy and of fascism.

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WILL HERBERG, Editor

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A U.S.-RUSSIAN ALLIANCE?

In widely different quarters—in quarters as far apart as Earl Browder's Daily Worker and Captain McCormick's New York Daily News—the idea has been broached recently of a Russo-American alliance as the best way of stopping Japan in the Far East, especially now that Japan has formally joined the Berlin-Rome Axis. We are not at this time going to comment on the feasibility of the idea, which we think to be very slight indeed under present circumstances. We want at present to examine the proposal for what it is worth.

Obviously, the whole idea of a Russian alliance is predicated on the notion that the United States has vital interests in the Far East to protect against Japanese aggression. Russia, it is argued, is in very much the same position so that there is, to some degree at least, a "natural" identity of interests which can be made the basis of a profitable alliance. But this whole line of argument, it seems to us, is radically false. The American people have no vital interests of any sort in the Far East that require protection. The profit interests of privileged groups of American bankers and business men are not the interests of the American people and are not worth the expenditure of a single drop of American blood, or the loss of a single American life.

The American people need no alliances in Asia to protect any really vital interests of theirs because these interests are located not in the Dutch East Indies or French Indo-China but right on this continent, in this hemisphere. The only effect of such alliances would be to throw the United States beyond hope of redemption into the welter of Asiatic ambitions and rivalries and render our ultimate involvement in a war in the Far Pacific well-nigh inescapable. From the standpoint of the mass of the American people, we have no interests whatever in the Far East that would justify our plunging into such a series of suicidal adventures.

Let us never forget that as long as we stay within this hemisphere and maintain a system of defense rationally planned to meet the needs of real defense, we are virtually impregnable; there is nothing we need fear either from across the Atlantic or from across the Pacific. But the moment we abandon our hemisphere security by commitments and alliances in other parts of the world, we are in a precarious position indeed.

It is fundamentally from this standpoint that we reject the idea of a Russian alliance for America. (The question of an Anglo-Russian alliance, be it noted, is an entirely different matter, and should be judged in its own terms, on its own merits.) But there are two other considerations that deserve to be taken into account and that point in the same direction. If American defense is to have any social significance and effective power at all, it must be the defense of an expanding and dynamic democracy against the challenge of totalitarianism. What an indecent mockery it would be, indeed, if, in defense of democracy, we struck an alliance with the world's bloodiest totalitarian despot, Joseph Stalin! Hard-boiled imperialists, who are frankly concerned with little else than dominion and profit, may take such an alliance in their stride, but what sense can it make to those who are thinking in terms of preserving and defending democracy?

A Russian alliance, finally, would inevitably tend to boost the stock of the Stalinists in our midst, tend to rehabilitate them and restore them to favor in many quarters. Perhaps it would even result in a new version of Popular Frontism. And those of us who recall the deadly effects of the Popular Frontism of a few years ago upon the labor movement and in liberal and progressive circles generally cannot but look upon such an eventuality as an unmitigated disaster.

The United States should maintain normal diplomatic relations with Russia as with every other country. But no alliances with Russia any more than with Great Britain! Defend America in America, in this hemisphere!

A LESSON FOR LABOR

There is a valuable lesson for labor in the curious happenings in Washington during the last few weeks in connection with the question whether government contracts should be granted to violators of federal labor laws.

On the face of it, there would seem to be little ground for dispute. Obviously, firms knowingly and persistently violating federal laws—and labor laws are laws just like any other—should not be rewarded with lucrative government contracts; on the contrary, the threat of withholding contracts might legitimately be used to bring about obedience to law. But in practice it did not work out that way at all. The Administration refused to sponsor Congressional action to bar labor law violators from federal contracts, nor did the President see his way clear to accomplishing the same thing by executive order. When defense came to constitute the major portion of government orders, the issue became even more acute.

All sorts of negotiations went on behind the scenes. Finally, it seemed as if something was about to be done at last. The Defense Commission, thru Mr. Hillman, issued a statement that government contracts "should not" be given to firms infringing the Wagner or the Wage-Hour Acts. Army and navy spokesmen followed with similar statements of policy. Finally, upon request from Defense Commissioner Hillman, Attorney General Jackson gave out an "informal" opinion that in determining who were or were not violators of the Wagner Act, the findings of the National Labor Relations Board must be considered "binding and conclusive . . . unless and until reversed by a court of competent jurisdiction."

Then things began to happen. Among the firms affected were some of the most powerful—and most labor-hating—concerns in the land, and despite all their wailings, they are still far from helpless, especially in these days of "national defense." The heat was immediately turned on. The Smith Committee sprang into action. A violent campaign was launched in the press. The Defense Commission, the citadel of big-business reaction in the very heart of the government, did not fail to come to the aid of the interests with whom it is so closely associated. Soon the wheels began to turn backward. Commissioner Knudsen repudiated Commissioner Hillman, and the latter had to take it and like it. Army and navy heads piped up asserting that it was not for them to enforce the labor laws and stressing that in their purchasing only considerations of "national defense" would count. Finally, Attorney General Jackson—rather an adept at concocting "opinions" to suit the taste of the White House; remember the "opinion" on the destroyer transfer?—proceeded to eat his own words and ruled that "binding and conclusive" really didn't mean "binding and conclusive" after all. And that was that.

In short, what had been a policy, and an important one, just vanished away into nothingness. The big boys had turned on the heat where it really counted.

Isn't it about time for labor to ask itself the question quite seriously as to who is really master at Washington?

WAR Department officials estimate that 20% of the total national production for the next several years will go to defense.—New York Times.

THE first American victim of the war crisis has been the New Deal program of progressive legislation. The second victim is likely to be, in large measure, civil liberties.—Max Lerner, Nation, Sept. 21, 1940.

Socialist Policy on the War

The Nature of the War

By BERTRAM D. WOLFE

In the first article, I discussed the general nature of fascism. I tried to show that it grows out of capitalist decay; that monopoly and imperialism lead to gigantic and universal wars; that economy becomes armament economy, life becomes militarized, war becomes the central feature of the life of the state, the total economy and the total political and social life become focused on war; that this trend towards totalitarianism has been developing with increasing rapidity in all countries for a half century; that it led to the first and second world wars; that each of those wars enormously accelerated the trend to totalitarianism; that we cannot count on the British government or ruling class, any more than we could on the French government or ruling class of yesterday, or the German government and ruling class of the twenties, to stop that trend.

We saw, too, that the United States in the past few months has been developing features of totalitarianism faster than any other country. (That does not mean it has gone farther, but that it is going faster: we must not confuse how far with how fast.) In fact, in many respects we have already travelled farther than England, even though we are not now officially at war. And we saw, finally, that the main danger of totalitarianism in a country like the United States does not come from "admiration" of a victorious Germany, nor from danger of conquest, but comes from within our own land. Nor does it come mainly from the burlesque totalitarians like the Brownings and the Kuhns, but it comes from the direction of our economic development, the measures of our government, the trend towards gearing our life to arms economy, the super-colossal military budget, the conquest of our share of the world's Lebensraum, the spread of war propaganda and war hysteria, the preparations to enter the war, under the deceptive slogans of "aid to Britain," "defense of our shores," "defense of the western hemisphere" and "defense of the status-quo in the Pacific."

IS THIS WAR OUR WAR?

From the differences in our National Committee on the nature of fascism follow differences on the nature of the present war. According to various supporters of the majority resolution, this is a "war for democracy"; it is "a war to stop Hitlerism"; it is a war not desired by the ruling classes but by the working classes; we have not only our preference as to which side we would prefer to win, but one side is literally OUR side and this war is OUR war. This is a far cry from our declaration at its outbreak that "this is not our war."

To avoid possible misunderstanding or deliberate abuse, let me state at this point that there is no one in our ranks, on either side, who would prefer a victory of the present Germany to a victory of the present England; there is none who, forced to choose between those two outcomes, would not prefer the latter to the former.

Our differences lie elsewhere: on the question of whether the victory of either side can put an end to the trend toward totalitarianism; on our estimate of the Churchill government; on the question of the exact value of the British government and ruling class as instruments for struggle against Hitlerism; on the question of what kind of war this is; on the question of American intervention or non-intervention; on the role of the socialists, of the working class, of the colonial peoples; on the proper tactics to be pursued by our organization in relation to certain current slogans in America.

For the National Committee majority, this war is on the Italo-German side, a war of aggression, but a war against Hitlerism on the part of the Allies. They maintain that in the Allied countries, the masses forced the war on a reluctant ruling class.

THERE ARE TWO WARS

The picture is a false one. There are two wars being confused here. First, there is the war of the conscious masses against totalitarianism, one's native land as well as that of the "enemy" country. It is a war we have carried on from the day Hitler rose to power and even earlier. It is a war which the ruling classes of France and England did not desire and do not desire. In that war, they helped Mussolini and Hitler in Ethiopia and Spain. It is a war they sabotage even now when they are engaged in their war. It is a war which requires freedom for the colonial peoples, which requires social revolution in Germany, which requires revolution in the conquered countries. It is a war in which the French ruling class was defeatist even when they were fighting their own war of power-politics for the continued domination of Europe and Africa. It is a war in which the ruling class of England, which now looks so "revolutionary" to some of our majority, is also defeatist. The French ruling class preferred to see the defeat of France rather than socialism in France. They would rather see the defeat of France than to summon the French colonials to struggle for their freedom. Even De Gaulle, who fights on, would rather lose out than unleash a war for free-

dom in Africa. It is a war in which the British ruling class would rather see defeat than see a free India, a revolution on the continent of Europe, socialism in Great Britain. It is the war of the Third Camp, of the masses in all countries: in underground Germany, in conquered France, Holland, Belgium, Norway, in unconquered England, in all the colonial lands, against totalitarianism at home and abroad, against conquest and subjection, for socialism and freedom. It is a war which was sabotaged by the Allied ruling classes before they began their own war, which was parodied to line up the masses in their war, which the French ruling class betrayed yesterday rather than risk its being fought and possibly won, which De Gaulle refuses to help bring into being today, which Churchill will betray if it comes to that, tomorrow.

It is the war which we will have to engage in tomorrow and henceforward, regardless of who wins the other war, regardless of which side is victorious, or if stalemate continues. It is the only war which can free the conquered continent, which can free the German people, which can guarantee that the present war—their war—does not sow the seeds of yet other world wars. In short, that and that alone is our war.

To carry it on successfully, we must not cease it with their war; we must not cease it when their war begins, nor can we cease it when their war ends with one peace or another; in fact, it requires a struggle to replace the defeatist French ruling class and the potentially defeatist British ruling class by its own reliable working-class government if defeat and treachery are to be prevented and victory assured. It is to the interest of the ruling class to pretend that their war is our war in order to stop our struggle and strengthen theirs. But it is to our interest to make clear where they differ and diverge, how far we can use the fact of their war to further ours and how far they attempt to use the fact of our war to further theirs and blunt ours.

The National Committee majority, by confusing the nature of fascism, makes the war of the Third Camp, the war for socialism and freedom, coincide with the war of the camp which on a world scale represents merely the "lesser evil."

"For Hitler, and for the world as a whole," wrote Comrade Lovestone on June 1, 1940, "this war will spell for some time either total prestige or total ruin of fascism. Should he win, fascism would win tremendous glory. Should he lose, there are many reasons to believe that fascism will lose all, not only in Germany and Italy, but in all countries."

I cannot agree with this view. I believe that fascism arises from capitalist decay, from monopoly, im-

perialism, super-armament, arms economy, gearing of all life to war. The first world war, that it ended with an aborted revolution and the victory of the less militaristic and less aggressive side, enormously accelerated that development. The second world war, whoever wins, except the Third Camp, will further accelerate that trend. Peace will be a mere breathing spell; the breathing spell will become shorter, the militarization and totalitarianism deeper and more universal, dominant now in one country now in another, but the trend to decay and the gearing of all life to war will continue to mount in all lands, until the other war, the war for socialism and freedom, is victorious.

THE LION BECOMES A DOVE

According to Comrade Lovestone, the British ruling class has somehow lost its power to impose its own imperialist terms even if "German military power and economic strength collapse." Why is that? Has it lost its nature? Has the leopard changed his spots or the lion his carnivorous habits? Or has the Third Front already displaced it in England? Or is Churchill a camouflaged socialist, and India free and Halifax a prophet of revolution? The Independent Labor Party does not think so and continues its fight on two fronts to convert their war into our war, a revolutionary war on the European continent and in England and Germany and the conquered lands, a war for freedom and socialism. The majority is confusing two wars, ours and theirs, and our war (or at least our organization and those who listen to it) is likely to get lost in the shuffle.

AMERICA OUR TESTING GROUND

But actually, that is not the worst of the confusion. The fact is that we live in America, that if any one listens to us, if our analyses have any practical significance, it is here in America. The line of the Independent Labor Party seems to satisfy both of us. (Why, I shall discuss later.) The line of the P.S.O.P., which to my mind is identical with that of the I.L.P.—and the leaders of the I.L.P. think so also—does not seem to satisfy our National Committee majority. But, after all, the lines of these parties are made by their own people. It is our line which applies first of all in America. Here the real meaning of the majority's new line on the war is revealed. This will provide the real test of the value of our line, if adopted, to the American masses insofar as they may listen to us, and the right of our organization to ask that it be listened to. With this question, we will come to the heart of the controversies which divide us.

Marx-Engels on Imperialism And Colonial Question

(Continued from Page 3)

Bernstein because "in the Egyptian affair you seem to me to have taken the so-called National party [of Arabi] too much under your protection. . . . In my opinion, we may very well come out against the brutalities of the British without taking a stand in solidarity with their military opponents of the moment [in Egypt]."

In the same year, he communicated to Kautsky some ideas on the entire question that are of immense theoretical interest. In discussing the future of colonies under socialism, he wrote:

"In my opinion, the colonies proper, i.e., the countries occupied by a European population, Canada, the Cape, Australia, will all become independent; on the other hand, the countries inhabited by a native population, which are simply subjugated, India, Algiers, the Dutch, Portuguese and Spanish possessions, must be taken over for the time being by the proletariat and led as rapidly as possible towards independence. How this process will develop it is difficult to say. India will perhaps—indeed, very probably—produce a revolution, and as the proletariat emancipating itself cannot conduct any colonial wars, this would have to be given full scope; it would not pass off without all sorts of destruction, of course, but that sort of thing is inseparable from all revolutions. The same might also take place elsewhere, e.g. in Algiers and Egypt, and would certainly be the best thing FOR US. We shall have enough to do at home. Once Europe is reorganized, and North America, that will furnish such colossal power and such an example that the semi-civilized countries will follow in their wake of their own accord. Economic needs alone will be responsible for this. But as to what social and political phases these countries will then have to pass thru before they likewise arrive at socialist organization, we today can only advance rather idle hypotheses. I think. One thing is certain: The victorious proletariat can force no blessings of any kind upon any foreign nation without undermining its own victory by so doing. Which, of course, by no means excludes defensive wars of various kinds."

Lenin's position on imperialism and the colonial question is well known, but it may not be amiss to call attention to some remarks of

this that may startle our orthodox Leninists. As late as October 1916, Lenin actually declared that "it is NOT our duty to support EVERY struggle against imperialism; we will NOT support the struggle of the reactionary classes against imperialism; we will NOT support an uprising of the reactionary classes against imperialism and capitalism."

Exactly what he meant by this he did not elaborate in that article.

Some years before, at the outbreak of the Russo-Japanese war, Lenin had also made a distinction between a "progressive" imperialism and a "reactionary" imperialism. Explaining why social-democracy as a whole wished for a victory of Japan over Russia altho both were imperialist powers and the war was thoroughly imperialistic, he wrote in January 1905:

"The class-conscious proletariat cannot close its eyes to the revolutionary task carried out by the Japanese bourgeoisie in its destruction of [Russian] absolutism. The proletariat is hostile to every bourgeoisie and to every expression of the bourgeois order, but this hostility does not do away with the duty of differentiating between the historically progressive and the historically reactionary representatives of the bourgeoisie. It is, therefore, quite intelligible that the most consistent and determined representatives of international social-democracy, Jules Guesde in France and Hyndman in England, should unhesitatingly express sympathy for Japan, which is dealing such blows to Russian absolutism. With us in Russia, there are naturally some socialists who are confused on this question. The Revolutions Rossiya has rebuked Guesde and Hyndman, declaring that a socialist can be only for toiling Japan, for the Japan of the working people, but not for bourgeois Japan. . . . Guesde and Hyndman have not taken the Japanese bourgeoisie or Japanese imperialism under their protection, but, in view of the clash of interests of two bourgeois countries, they have correctly indicated the historically progressive role of one of them. The catastrophic misfortune of our worst enemy (Czarism) can only mean the approach of Russian freedom. It foreshadows a new revolutionary upsurge of the European proletariat."

VOTE SOCIALIST!

End Hunger in the Midst of Plenty!
Jobs and Security for All!
Keep America Out of War!
For Socialism, Peace and Freedom!

Vote for
Norman Thomas and Maynard Krueger
for President and Vice-President

Administration Line And War Crisis

FDR-Willkie Course Perils Real Interests

(Continued from Page 3)

bards or invades the country from which we derive our language, our political institutions and traditions, much of our culture and racial stock, we will ignore it because this is one of 'Europe's wars'. But if Germany so much as lays a finger on Uruguay, we will act at once.

"There is no reason to believe that this is the policy which the Roosevelt Administration really desires to pursue; but it is the policy which its 'isolationist' critics . . . want us to adopt."

The New York Times, it should not be forgotten, has notoriously been the semi-official spokesman of the Administration on foreign affairs. That it now supports Willkie is another indication of the fact that on these questions there is no visible difference between the two old-party Presidential candidates. Whatever I have said here about Roosevelt applies with at least as much emphasis to Wendell Willkie, except that Mr. Willkie has not been in a position where he could put his policies into effect.

WHAT THE ROOSEVELT POLICY MEANS

It is in this setting that the Administration's "aid-short-of-war" program should be examined. Whatever we may think of the soundness or desirability of any particular act considered in isolation, we must recognize that this act and others like it are but parts of a definite war-involvement policy, and that they must be judged as such. Even if we approve the act in itself—the scrap-iron embargo on Japan, for example; or, in the view of some of us, the destroyer transfer—we cannot but condemn the general policy of which it is a part. What that policy is indicated with startling clarity in the following quotations from two responsible, authoritative journals, one on each side of the water.

The first is from the highly respected London Economist of July 6, 1940.

"There is almost universal qualification [in the United States] that aid must stop short of war . . . the delusion that hostile acts can be taken with impunity. Or there is the determination of Americans that, even if they are dragged into the war, they will not send an army to Europe. . . . These hesitations and inconsistencies will disappear. . . . As has often been pointed out in these columns, it is not the direction in which American policy is evolving, or even the goal at which it will arrive, that is in doubt, but only the speed with which it is moving."

The second is from the August 24, 1940 issue of the Army and Navy Journal, published in Washington, D. C.:

"Only the blind can fail to see that the United States is moving rapidly towards participation in the world struggle. Measures short of war have been expanded to measures at the point of war. . . . The inevitable conclusions to be drawn from these developments is that the United States has moved to the point where it is committed to assist the British Empire in the war with Germany."

All of us would do well, it seems to me, to ponder the significance of these words.

WHENCE THE MENACE TO AMERICA'S PEACE?

In this light what are we to think of B. Herman's remark in his article in the last issue of this paper to the following effect:

"But who is it that menaces the 'peace and security of the American people'? Obviously, it is Hitler. . . . The danger of the U.S.A. getting into the war does not rise because of a process of such gradual steps [as the destroyer transfer]. It is entirely conceivable that the U.S.A. could refrain from any aid to Britain whatsoever . . . and then awake one fine morning to find itself involved in war with Hitler, because Hitler had become ready for it. What is overlooked entirely is that it requires at least two to make a war. You can defeat at home all those who are in favor of American involvement in war, but you have not thereby solved even half the problem."

Two very different problems are confused here—American involvement in the present war in Europe or Asia, and a possible war in the future in resistance to an attempt by a victorious Hitler to invade the western hemisphere. To meet the latter danger—and it is a danger to be guarded against even if it is quite remote—a program of genuine hemisphere defense based on close economic and political cooperation of all the American nations is necessary. Such a program must be rooted

in a full appreciation of the fundamental fact that the virtual impregnability we enjoy as long as we remain within this hemisphere would be seriously jeopardized, if not altogether lost, the moment we allowed ourselves to be drawn into a war outside its limits. If we make the proper preparations, economic and military—and stay within this hemisphere—there is nothing we need fear; no matter how flushed he may be with his triumph in Europe, which is still very far from certain, Hitler will be unable to make any serious moves against us."

Quite different is the problem of involvement in the present war in Europe and Asia. Here it is obvious—and both Herman in his article in the last issue and Ross in his article in the one before stress the point—that Hitler does not want American participation, which could only be against him, and will not do anything to provoke it, no matter what his future plans may be. As far as the present war goes, full and official American military involvement—this country is already involved to a considerable degree economically and diplomatically—will come about, if it ever does, either because the Administration is intent upon such involvement or because, no matter what its intentions may be, it takes such steps of "aid short of war" that ultimately make involvement inevitable. (That certain programs of "aid short of war" can lead to that conclusion I have already shown in my article in the last issue of this paper.) It is therefore not true that, AS FAR AS THIS PRESIDENTIAL WAR IS CONCERNED, it is Hitler that menaces the peace and security of the American people. No, the menace comes rather from the war-making foreign and "defense" policy of the Administration—a policy, let me stress, that is completely endorsed and shared by Mr. Willkie.

Of course, the two problems—the problem of the present war and the problem of a possible future war to meet an attack by a victorious Hitler—are not totally unconnected. A British victory over Hitler would obviously eliminate the problem of a German threat to the western hemisphere, and in that sense we have an undeniable interest in a British victory, in addition to all other considerations. I agree entirely with the following words of Norman Thomas uttered in a recent radio address from Los Angeles (September 21, 1940): "With all my heart, I hope that the English will repulse the Nazi invader. A free and powerful England will, of course, enormously lighten the problems which America must face."

A DANGEROUS POLICY

But it is emphatically not true that the best and surest way of warding off a problematical Hitler attack of the future is for us to get into the European war today. On the contrary, as any objective survey of the situation will show, that would be the worst possible course of action from the standpoint of genuine national defense, for it would compel the United States to sacrifice all the tremendous economic and military advantages of its virtually impregnable position in this hemisphere. From the strictly military standpoint, not to speak of even more significant social and political considerations, it would be a disastrous blunder, a veritable crime.

If that is so, if we simply cannot afford on grounds of prudence and high policy, to get involved in the present war in Europe and Asia, it is also true that we cannot afford to take any steps—no matter how helpful to Britain—that bring with them clear and present danger of such involvement. But that is exactly what the Administration is doing.

2. Compare the statement of Brigadier General George V. Strong, the General Staff's director of war plans, in the New York Herald Tribune of June 10, 1940:

"Under present conditions and in view of the present development of weapons, this hemisphere is safe from any aggression from abroad just as long as two conditions maintain:

"1. That the Panama Canal is open for the transit of the United States fleet; and

"2. That an aggressor from abroad has no bases in this hemisphere from which to operate."

