NEXT WEEK THE PROBLEM OF **DEFENSE**

By WILL HERBERG

Workers Age

Weekly Paper of the Independent Labor League of America

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Behind the Headlines:

Our Attitude to the War: Yesterday and Today-II

By JAY LOVESTONE

(This is the second of three discussion articles by Jay Lovestone dealing with some basic problems of our attitude to the war. This article was written while France was still in the war.—Editor).

A FTER disaster befell the French at Sedan, Marx and Engels changed their attitude towards the Franco-Prussian War. The First International, the General Council of the International, issued a manifesto against the German ruling class and in behalf of the defense of France. This manifesto energetically protested against the German plan to annex Alsace-Lorraine. Marx and Engels were particularly vigorous in their support of the German radical, Johann Jacoby, who was taken in chains to the German fortress of Loetzen because, at a meeting in Koenigsberg, he protested against the annexation of French territory and proclaimed: "A few days ago we were waging a defensive war, a holy war for our beloved Fatherland, but today it is a war for conquest, a war to establish the hegemony of the Germanic race in Europe." How pointed, timely and prophetic!

The Address of the International further significantly declared: "Thus the French working class finds itself in an extremely difficult position. Any attempt to overthrow the new government with the enemy at the gates would be desperate folly. The French workers must do their duty as citizens, but they must not let themselves be dominated by the national memories of 1792 . . .

Mehring's own characterization of the above is very meaningful and adequate machinery exists for coping timely. He declared: "The Address met with a lively echo among the French workers who abandoned their struggle against the provisional government and did their duty as citizens, particularly the proletariat of Paris, which, organized in the National Guard, took a prominent part in the heroic defense of the French capital but did not let itself be blinded by the national memories of 1792 and worked zealously to organize itself as a class. The German workers showed themselves no less capable of carrying on their tasks . . . Liebknecht and Bebel in particular carried on this struggle with burning zeal and challenging courage. It is for this reason that the credit for it is chiefly connected with their fore the present war, but are of a names, and not on account of their abstention in July, as a widespread nature that permits reasonable conlegend would have it."

Mehring further says: "There is no doubt that Marx hoped that the French Republic would be able to offer successful resistance to the Prussian war of conquest."

On December 13, 1870, Marx wrote to Kugelmann: "It would appear that Germany has swallowed not only Bonaparte, his generals, and his army, but with them the whole system of imperialism which is now making itself at home with all its sores in the land of the oak and the lime ... The way in which the Germans have waged the war—the system of requisitions, the burning down of villages, the executions of the francs-tireurs, the seizing of hostages, and similar recapitulations from eral of Poland, a deficiency of 44% the Thirty Years War-has caused great indignation." Furthermore, in of food products existed, according the London Daily News, of January 16, 1871, Marx went on to say:
"France—and its cause is happily far removed from being lost—is fighting at this moment not only for its own national independence, but for the freedom of Germany and of Europe." Mehring thus characterizes the freedom of Germany and of Europe." Mehring thus characterizes France occupied wholly or in part by this statement: "This sentence sums up the attitude which Marx and the Germans when the report was Engels adopted to the Franco-Prussian War after Sedan.

Our categoric opposition to a Nazi triumph does not mean that we should dedicate ourselves to the cause of an Allied imperialist victory. Our resolute opposition to a Nazi triumph does not mean that we look forward to an Allied victory as the solution of the basic problems which are assumed to have increased the have periodically thrown Europe into the chaos of war. It does not in the least mean a blank check for or a vote of confidence in Churchill level already looms in this region, and Reynaud. Nevertheless, an Allied victory could not be as outrageous as that of the Nazis. Why? First of all, for Anglo-French imperialism there is no possibility of a lightning triumph. A military victory would at best take them a long time, leave them economically exhausted and a population of about 4,300,000, were saddled with political regimes discredited by costly failures and dearly- more or less self-sufficient in propaid-for belated successes. Then, no matter what shortcomings or failures we may find in the French and British labor movements, we must recognize that in these countries we at least have some labor movements in existence. In Germany, we have nothing of the sort today.

Surely, no one could be so idiotic as to maintain that a triumph for Hitler would be the signal for a rebirth of a genuine German workingclass movement to curb or crush the victorious Nazi imperialism. On the other hand, in England and France, a possible belated and thin victory country. Of 125 sugar refineries in totaled 80% of consumption. There (Continued on Page 4)

Nazis Force Crushing 'Peace' on France

Famine Threatens Millions in Europe

Effects of War and Severe Winter Cut Grain Crops to Lowest in Many Years

Populations in regions over-

run by the German armies are faced with a famine that may exceed anything ever known in the western world, according to a survey made recently by experts for the Commission on Polish Relief.

The survey covers the departments of northern France occupied by the Germans when the survey was made, Belgium, the Netherlands, Norway, Denmark and the Gouvernement General of Poland (the German-occupied area). It has convinced the experts that starvation conditions may develop in certain of these areas within two months. No with even the minor phases of the problem except in the Gouvernement General of Poland.

The estimates of the commission report from Nazi Germany, League of Nations reports and statistics of the various countries involved, as well as statistics obtained from neutral sources. All were compiled beclusions to be drawn from them conerning war-time conditions now. Devastation, inundations and other catastrophes that have occurred during this war only make the picture

HUGE DEFICIENCY IS SHOWN

For Norway, Belgium, the Netherlands and the Gouvernement Genthere was probably a sufficiency of 000 of the nation's 9,872,000 swine. a marked deficiency of meat and fats in normal times. War-time conditions shortage in this area. The starvation the experts believe.

Collectively, these five French departments, with a population of ducts of their own soil. The occupied areas of this region produced 12.5% of France's entire wheat crop. All of these departments, excluding the department of Ardennes, were among the seven greatest wheat producing departments of France. The ered by domestic production. Wheat potato crops of Pas de Calais and imports were necessary to cover 70% Nord were among the largest in the of the consumption. Barley imports

Agriculture Dept. Sees Wide Hunger

Washington, D. C. Europe faces one of the worst famines in history next Winter, according to Department of Agriculture experts.

A report being compiled by the Foreign Service Division of the Buro of Agricultural Economics discloses that wheat and other cereal crops are failing. The exact reduction has not yet been determined, but every European country is affected.

A spokesman for the Division said that Europe has never, in recent years, been able to feed itself and that the food shortage this year will be worse than ever before.

A severe Winter and an exceptionally late Spring have held up Spring officials are based on a semi-official planting, the Division's experts have found. Even in Russia, comparatively unaffected by the war, planting is estimated at 10% behind normal.

In many countries, particularly Germany, there has been a loss of acreage because of insufficient farm labor. Men who normally plow the fields have been sucked into the war

In the Netherlands, the opening of the dikes wiped out much arable soil. In Poland, the land was ruined by the Nazi invasion, and, in addition, many peasants were drafted by the German authorities for the Nazi war machine.

A large part of northern France and Belgium has been devastated. In the Danube basin, floods ripped open the soil and the crops there may be the smallest in recent years.

occupied area.

But these departments were not self-sufficient in meats and fats, havmade, statistics indicate that altho 15,620,000 head of cattle and 277, cercals, sugar and fodder, there was Rice was one of the commodities consumed in these areas to make up the deficiency of production over consumption. This area consumed about 75,000 tons of France's total 750,000 tons of imported rice on a per capita

SITUATION IN

Belgium, with a normal population of 8,400,000, had a food deficiency of 49%. Her imports of foodstuffs last year were nine times as high as her exports by volume, or five times as high in value. Only half of the entire production of cereals was cov-

Mexico on Eve of Elections

THE flood of scare stories about Mexico in the U.S. press is being greeted here with both ridicule and anger. Many Mexicans past few months. The oil settlement and the growing consumption of are convinced that Roosevelt is deliberately creating hysteria about Mexico as a base for an "attack" of the ground from under Standard on the United States to strengthen his internal position. They point out that in 1938 he inspired a similar propaganda. campaign about Latin America as a whole. Taking their cue from Washington, reporters and magazine writers see a plot in every sale of a German sewing-machine. Mexicans are astounded that such friends of their country as Mayor Maury

have become victims of this hysteria. Many of the "facts" revealed from here discredit themselves. For year is always uneasy for business. example, Arnaldo Cortesi's report in the New York Times, May 23, 1940, that "barrels of oil are being buried in the sand of isolated beaches" to refuel transatlantic submarines. Mexicans wonder if anybody in the United States knows how many barrels of oil it would take to refuel such a ship.

Both communists and Nazis are hard at work in Mexico. But their influence must be judged in the light of the general situation.

ECONOMIC CONDITIONS IN MEXICO

by the speed with which President | ers to lend money to the Bank for | Germany. That they are forced to Cardenas has applied his agrarian Communal Farm Credit. program, the economic situation has shown definite improvement in the mobiles, the current building boom fact that Mexico met its payment sugar are also indications of imto Sinclair in cash has cut much proving economic health. and Dutch Shell, who are the main GERMAN forces behind the economic boycott | INFLUENCE and the barrage of anti-Mexican

tion—before the joint claims com-

not reflected in official statistics. been stopped by Nazi decree and Temporarily, the urban population much of the good-will is being lost. suffers while the peasants make up | The Germans are under strict for centuries of semi-starvation. A control of their government officials definite sign of the success of the here because most of them are ex-

The increased sales of auto-

with Sinclair has helped and the gasoline, kerosene, beer, shoes and

The Germans have won sympathy here in a number of ways while the The peso did not suffer when the United States and the Allies have Senate passed the Townsend bill, won dislike. Germany and Italy altho almost everyone expected it helped Mexico (and themselves) in to. On June 30, Mexico will make the most serious crisis it has had for Most of the free German language its second payment to cover claims many years by purchasing oil or of U. S. citizens on land expropria- bartering for it. Britain and the ago had between 250 and 300 U.S.A. boycotted Mexico and tried students, have been suspended bemission has passed on a single claim. to wreck her economy. Most Mexi- cause of lack of students. Maverick of San Antonio should Tho prices have sky-rocketed during cans believe that, in spite of fine recent years, in the past three words from Washington, the State months prices have been stabilized, Department backed Standard Oil in in spite of the fact that election its anti-Mexican campaign. Mexicans still feel that the United States Prices of some key commodities now occupies more than one-half of have dropped in the past four their former territory and that the months. Mexico is importing no British, French and Americans have wheat this year and almost no corn. invaded Mexico in the past. The Production from collective farms | Germans, never having had an is increasing faster than private opportunity to invade Mexico, gain yields. All indications are that total on that score. Also, the Germans production has increased, and that have intermarried with Mexicans the peasants are eating more and while the British and the Americans therefore sending less to the have kept themselves apart and markets. Since Mexican statistics made no secret of their feeling that are based on crops arriving at the the Mexicans are an "inferior" race. markets, the increased production is However, intermarriage has now

In spite of the dislocation brought collectivized farms has been the porters or importers and are suscepabout by the oil expropriation and greater willingness of private bank-tible to economic pressure from

contribute to a propaganda fund is no secret. That the Allies also have a common fund for propaganda here is less often mentioned. However, whatever sympathy

there is for the Germans does not mean that the Nazis can encroach on the sovereignty of Mexico. Neither the government nor the people would stand for it. When the war started, the reactions of movie audiences indicated sympathy for Germany. Today, in most Mexico City movie houses, there is overwhelming support for the Allies. classes, which until a few months

The Germans have stopped their underground support of General Almazan, the conservative candidate for president, because he is too friendly to the U.S.A. Since Avila Camacho has also expressed friendship for the U.S.A. and has supported President Cardenas's attack on Germany, the Germans cannot support him either. With the election only a month away, there is no possibility of their finding a "dark horse" who will be sympathetic to

Undoubtedly, it is less difficult for the Germans to work in Mexico since the Nazi-Soviet pact and the change in the communist line. The communist-influenced C.T.M. (Confederation of Mexican Workers) and the Communist Party were regularly "exposing" German activities until late last Fall. These exposes have stopped. There was (Continued on Page 2)

A STRIKING RESEMBLANCE



-Goldberg in the New York Sun

tellectually without sufficient ca-

Lewis repeated his attack on

In 1928, Mr. Lewis supported Hoo-

ver and in 1932 backed Roosevelt,

Early in 1933, he went over to the

New Deal. In 1936, Lewis's organi-

the C.I.O. and Labor's Non-Partisan

Administration began to develop

some time after and became public

had a great deal to say about

launching a third party, but in-

formed opinion never excluded the

The membership of the C.I.O., in-

cluding Mr. Lewis's own organiza-

tion, is overwhelmingly in favor of

a third term for President Roose-

velt, and many C.I.O. unions have

already expressed themselves in that

sense. Mr. Lewis's latest pronounce-

ment is bound to increase the ten-

sion in the leading councils of the

C.I.O., especially between Mr. Lewis

and Sidney Hillman, leader of the

stand were not slow in appearing

last week, both in Labor's Non-Par-

United States, whose policies are

fixed without reference to the needs

of American labor." The reference

was, of course, to the Communist

pro-Roosevelt forces.

the with a great deal of hesitation.

Lewis Defends Hoover Regime, Flays New Deal

Tells NAACP Meeting Recovery Began In '32, Was Then Blocked by Roosevelt

lands."

Philadelphia, Pa. | compute the sum total of denied

John L. Lewis, president of the opportunities, blasted hopes, deaths C.I.O., once a fervent champion of the Roosevelt Administration, made population have been compelled to a vigorous defense of the Republi- endure, because our politicians in can-Hoover regime and a sharp at- power were either too stupid or intack on the New Deal in an address delivered at the conference of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People held tion, its welfare and its institutions speaking, party leaders and delegates were gathering in this city for the Republican national convention to open here on June 24. Mr. Lewis's defense of the Hoover regime aroused considerable excitement and speculation in political and

The C.I.O. leader went to the defense of Mr. Hoover's record, as zations, the United Mine Workers, compared with that of the Adminstration of President Roosevelt. He League, were fervent supporters of nsisted that Mr. Hoover had noth- President Roosevelt, the U.M.W.A. ing to do with the depression of also contributing about half a mil-1929, that recovery was actually lion dollars to help reelect him. A under way when he was voted out rift between the C.I.O. leader and the of office in 1932, and that the policies and weaknesses of the New Deal had kept the country in eco- last year. Since then, Mr. Lewis has nomic disorder for the last seven

All of this tied in, too, with recent reports that Mr. Lewis had suggested to numerous people that Mr. the Republican fold. Hoover was perhaps the man in the best political position to attack the New Deal and its record—comparing his two depression years with the seven-year history of the Roose velt regime-and best qualified to deal with the pressing international

The labor leader said that all economists agreed that recovery from the world-wide depression actually began in 1932. The other democratic countries "went straight out of that depression" from that date, he said. They recovered employment for their people rapidly, most of them in the year 1934 and all of them by 1935, he went on.

"Mr. Roosevelt made depression and unemployment a chronic fact n American life," Mr. Lewis said. 'It was a slogan of the 1932 Presidential election that Herbert Hoover was responsible for that depression. As a simple matter of justice, let me say here and now that the workers of the United States realize that he had nothing whatever to do with it. It was laid on his doorstep when he came to the White House. "It is only the self-seeking poli-

ticians that blame Mr. Hoover. The policies he pursued, in cooperation with other nations, had a powerful effect in the start of recovery in 1932. The New Deal did not fulfill their promises or complete their undertakings; it was their policies and their weaknesses which have kept this country in depression for seven more years.

"And let me say that no man can the group.

Reich Terms Churchill Says Britain Will Fight On To End; U.S. Plans Hemisphere EconomicUnion France-with all hope of further resistance gone after the appeal for a separate peace by the capitulatory cabinet of Marshal Petain—bowed to the conqueror last week and signed the armistice terms dictated by Adolf Hitler and his generals in the historic railway car at Compiegne, where Marshal Foch on November 11, 1918 presented terms of armistice to the defeated Germans.

The provisions of the armistice agreement were not made public but, as unofficially revealed in London they were ruthless and humiliating in the extreme, far beyond the example of Versailles. They were apparently designed not merely to remove France as a belligerent but to subjugate it completely, to use it as a support in the war against Britain, and, after the war, to incorpo-

ITHE selection of the Republicans, Mr. Knox and Mr. Stimson, as Secretaries of the Navy and War respectively, has a poisonous significance. They are both ardent tom-tom beaters for war. Mr. Stimson has been raising his voice for us to repeat the follies of 1917 and 1918 in a steadily increasing clamor. . . . Mr. Knox has been preaching armed intervention for months. This choice leaves no doubt whatever about the President's own intentions. If he is not stopped, he is going to take this country into bloody war as soon as possible, whether it wants to go or not-and with about 85% majority, it doesn't want to go."—Hugh S. Johnson, New York World-Telegram, June 21, 1940.

rate it as a subordinate part of a German - dominated Europe. The terms included complete disarmament of France, surrender of arms and stocks of materials (including the navy and air force), occupation of most of the country, rigid military and economic control, and some pacity to do anything about this sort of immediate payment or inproblem which is more menacing demnity. All German refugees who to the internal stability of the nahad fled to France were to be turned over to the Gestapo. It was underhere last week. While Mr. Lewis was than all the dictators of foreign stood that an openly pro-German government, consisting of elements around Laval, Flandin and Petain, Roosevelt in his remarks before the would be set up in France, alto-Republican platform committee the gether subservient to Hitler; and that the country would be thoroly fascisized, the labor movement suppressed, everything "coordinated." France would thus be reduced to a second-rate or third-rate power in

the German constellation. The armistice with the Reich would go into effect and fighting cease, the French emissaries were told at Compiegne, only after a similar armistice had been negotiated with Mussolini. As the week ended, the French envoys were on their way to Rome for that purpose. An important aspect of the Franco-German armistice was the fate of the French navy and air

reserve value.

All indications last week, the forty-second week of the war, were that the final and most far-reaching aspect of the conflict was about to begin—the Campaign of England. In a report to the House of Commons, Prime Minister Churchill stated emphatically that he did not regard the war as lost and that Britain would Repercussions of Mr. Lewis's fight to the bitter end. Informed quarters believed that the German assault would consist of three tisan League and the C.I.O. In the phases-first, air raiding; then air former, E. L. Oliver resigned as ex- and submarine attacks on British ecutive vice-president in a letter shipping to cut communications and which charged that the League was establish a counter-blockade; and overwhelmingly opposed to Mr. finally, a possible attempt at inva-Lewis on the political issue and that sion of the British Isles. On the the latter's support came from a British side, the main effort would minority predominantly composed be directed towards beating back of "individuals affiliated with or German air attacks, maintaining the following the leadership of organ-blockade, bombing German military izations controlled from outside the and industrial centers, warding off attempts at invasion, reorganizing and reequipping its armies, and holding out until German reserves were exhausted and German energies began to flag. After a careful In New York City, leaders of survey of the entire situation. Fleteighteen C.I.O. locals joined in a cher Pratt, well-known military writer, came to the conclusion last week (New York Post, June 21, 1940) that "if Britain holds out till Fall, she'll last forever." He gave her an "even chance to withstand German attack" for that period. "The

fleet. Nothing definite was known, but in Washington it was believed possibility that he might return to that Britain had taken over the bulk of the navy intact, altho because of the difficulties of servicing and munitioning, this acquisition would probably have only a short-term or

telegram to Mr. Lewis expressing "deepest consternation and disappointment" at his address and demanding that it be made clear that Mr. Lewis's views "do not represent the C.I.O." Locals of the United Retail and Wholesale Employees and Axis probably has stocks enough

the Textile Workers Union composed ... to last till the turn of the year," (Continued on Page 4)

Employers Hit Labor Under 'Defense' Cover

Demand Relaxing Standards as Concession

By R. W.

COME weeks ago, when President Noosevelt first launched his super-armaments preparedness drive. labor leaders who kept their heads and did not allow themselves to be overcome by their emotions, immediately recognized that a great danger threatened the labor movement. From experience in this and other countries, it was not difficult to see that, under cover of nationaldefense emergency, an assault would be launched by the employing class and their allies in the government to break down labor standards and to rob the workers of their gains and achievements of recent years. In the name of "patriotism," a reactionary Blitzkrieg would be let loose against

ROOSEVELT'S ASSURANCES

As soon as these disquieting fears began to be expressed, President Roosevelt undertook to reassure the workers by a statement that the Administration would not allow any retreat for the social achievements of the New Deal. Most workers, on reading the President's statement, heaved a sigh of relief; in these columns, however, we expressed our doubt and warned that, despite what the President said, the crusade against labor standards was getting under way and the labor movement had better wake up and do some

thing about it. Subsequent events have confirmed our fears and turned the President's promise into a mere scrap of paper. The June 8 issue of the Journal of publication, shows very clearly which way things are heading. "Altho the Administration opposes the relaxation of labor legislation to facilitate national defense," it reports, "the Wages and Hours Division of the Department of Labor is studying plans for meeting situations likely to arise in the defense industries." New industry committees, it goes on to say, may be appointed in the armament industries "to adapt wage and hour regulations to their special needs", and "in an industry which affords extensive overtime, the wage minimum might be made lower than would otherwise be the case." In other words, under cover of national defense, the wage-hour law may well be used to lower wages and increase

REACTIONARY

is just beginning to get under way. get these "concessions"—to be taken suspend the Walsh-Healy Act by as- without delay. surances that the Secretary of Labor already had power to do so and was already exercising that power. President Lewis of the C.I.O. has publicly protested against anti-labor provisions included in some of the defense bills, especially the Vinson naval-shipbuilding bill, which practi-

Europe Faces Famine in **Coming Year**

(Continued from Page 1)

was a near sufficiency in oats and a sugar deficiency of 15%, and of meats 10%. Other essential imports included rice, cheese, fish, fruits and coffee. Heavy fodder imports were

During the World War, the Commission for Relief in Belgium furnished food to 2,200,000 persons in the occupied area of northern France ished by the war, with an antici-580 metric tons of foodstuffs were totaled 3,894,941 metric tons for 7,279,000 persons.

in Belgium and northern France pendent upon the availability of during the World War with the cooperation of the Germans and the of Denmark, is fodder for the cattle Allies. The desperate nature of the which will produce dairy products, present conflict makes such coopera- meats and hides. Denmark's pre-war tiou unlikely for some time, officials population, which is probably her of the Commission for Polish Relief present population, was 3,777,000

HOLLAND AND

SCANDINAVIA The Netherlands, with a normal population of 8,639,000, had a peacetime sufficiency of 67%. Among the commodities which she lacked were 66% of the country's entire wheat sion official said that this might be consumption, 50% of the entire barley consumption and 40% of the sugar requirements. Large fodder cereals brought into the Scandinaimports, as well as imports of fruits

and coffee, were necessary. These imports were essential to maintain the position of the Nether- tries as well as in other Germanlands as an exporter of nearly 60% of her butter production and of a with the reduction of imports of heavy exportation of other dairy fertilizers. These imports totaled

The available statistics show that countries in 1937. the plight of Norway is probably very serious. With a population of Poland, which had a normal popu-2,900,000, Norway had a sufficiency lation of about 11,500,000 before this of only 43% in foodstuffs. She im- war, is now estimated to contain ported 92% of her entire rye consumption and 70% of her wheat consumption. Nearly 100% of her sugar requirements had to be furnished cluded in the present Gouvernement

from abroad. As in the countries already mentioned, the imports of fodder played trial character. an important role in the nation's fishing fleet was probably dimin- the previous three years.

cally countermands the Public contracts Act and the Fair Labor

Employing-class spokesmen in and out of Congress cry out in holy horror against the "selfishness" and "unpatriotism" of the workers who want to preserve their living standards. But they have not a word to say about the attitude of big business in this crisis. This attitude is expressed in classical form by Carlton Shively writing in the New Yerk Sun:

"It will nevertheless be difficult for many Americans to understand how Britain can expect anyone to make the tremendous extra productive effort required by war without some stimulus other than the vague one that it is necessary to save the country. The first thing that capital will require to work harder in war time is some assurance of a larger

Read these words again and still again! For the eminently "patriotic" employers and capitalists, saving the country is only a "vague" consideration, by no means stimulus enough for them to make the "extra productive effort" (as if they, and not their employees, really did the work!). But apparently it's not too "vague" a "stimulus" for young men to be sent out to give their lives on the battlefield!

The employing class talks "patriotism" but it means profits-and it the American Federation of Labor, Commerce, a very well-informed gets them too, with the help of the government. The House Naval Affairs Committee, acting on a request of the Navy Department, has approved a bill replacing competitive bidding for naval contracts by direct negotiations and providing for advance payments of 30% of the contract price on naval business. In limit on profits has been "relaxed" and a move is now under way to movement. establish a cost-plus system for aviation construction. And the proposal to levy a special tax on excess assumed the right to suspend naprofits in war industry has been Means Committee.

big business by stating that in return for a rapid expansion in union or any of the unions that were is what I appeal to you for. production "undoubtedly industry affiliated with the original Comwill demand many concessions in mittee for Industrial Organization, THE ONE CENT the way of tax exemptions, amor- and that such a right can be exer- ASSESSMENT tization policies, relaxation of labor In Congress, the reactionary drive laws, etc." And big business will the Executive Council.

Standards Act. A number of A. F.

of L. leaders have made similar protests.

income."

PROFITS ABOVE

PATRIOTISM

Some Problems in AFL

David Dubinsky and Matthew Woll Discuss Three Crucial Questions

(We publish below the exchange of opinion on immediate reaffiliation of the I.L.G.W.II. to the A. F. of L. that took place at the recent convention of that union organizations. Read the recunion in this city. Mr. Dubinsky made his remarks on May 27, the opening day of the convention. Matthew Woll, third vice-president of the A. F. of L., spoke tional and international unions, I on May 29. The actual controversy was happily solved thru the convention de- think in 1938, where it was made cision to reaffiliate on receipt of a letter from President William Green to the clear that the funds of the A. F. effect that the Executive Council of the A. F. of L. had already taken action to of L. had diminished by reason of remedy two of the grievances referred to by Mr. Dubinsky. But the issues touched the organizations having left its upon in this impromptu debate are of such wide interest and importance that fold, and thus it was necessary for we think it very much worth-while to present this material to our readers .--

Dubinsky Points Out Certain Evils:

ET us now examine our future position in the American labor for thirty-seven years, we began to function as an independent international union less than two years ago. We are frank in stating that Woll Answers for this position of isolation is not a permanent solution for our union. We know that there is strong senti ment in our ranks that we rejoin the American Federation of Labor There are, however, important and serious obstacles which block the way to such reaffiliation and we have no hesitation in stating them.

These are the three points: 1. The American Federation of Labor has levied a monthly one-cent assessment to fight the C.I.O. Because of its refusal to pay this assessment, the Typographical Union, one of the oldest unions in was suspended. It will not be consistent with our policy to contribute money to fight the C.I.O. As long

as the assessment stays, it is an obstacle in the way of rejoining the A. F. of L. We are ready to pay, not one cent, but five cents and even more, in monthly per-capita, but for constructive purposes. We will not some cases, the 10% or 12% top pay a single cent to perpetuate the good-will, appeal to them as their division and to wreck the labor friend to come in with us and bring 2. The Executive Council of the

also been shared by certain imcised only by a conviction, not by

dividuals who should have had no place in our movement to occupy important positions in national and international unions and discredit

the entire labor movement. These reasons, in my judgment, movement. After being affiliated with explain why we cannot, at least for the American Federation of Labor the present, rejoin the American Federation of Labor.

The Federation:

A ND may I ask more of you if you are anxious for peace? All of these ways have been tried now since 1936. Over three years of effort by various committees and various means, including the President of it is within your decision, to follow the field of your organization. Ask a different method, and I am confident if followed, it will do more to hasten peace than any other way to fight the C.I.O. organization? I know of, and that is by reaffiliating to the American Federation of La-

And there, in the councils of the American Federation of Labor, appeal to the other organizations to come with us-yes, you who are friendly and have been associated with them from the inception until they formed their dual organization, you who have their respect and about harmony and unity.

I should not make that request or American Federation of Labor has suggestion if I considered that any other method might be open to tional and international unions. It accomplish that end. But I urge it "postponed" by the House Ways and has been our contention, which has upon you because the world is afire, labor, free labor, is in danger the On May 20, the Wall Street portant leaders within the A. F. of world over, including labor within Journal presented the program of L., that constitutionally the Council our midst, and desperate situations had no authority to suspend our require desperate means. And that

I am aware of the report of your Executive Board, and of the state-3. Under the cloak of autonomy, ments of your president, indicating Congressional leaders were only out of the hide of labor-unless the the American Federation of Labor first of all that the one-cent assessdissuaded from offering a bill to labor movement gets into action has been derelict in its duty to the ment per member was levied for labor movement by permitting in- purposes of fighting other trade-

Mexico on the Eve of the Presidential Elections

Economic Conditions Improving, Political Relations Tense

(Continued from Page 1)

never as much Nazi activity as the communists claimed before the pact and now there is more than they

COMMUNISTS IN MEXICO

The influence of the communists in Mexico has been greatly overplayed in the U.S. press. After their change in line in 1934, communists now has been a loyal "fellowwormed into key positions in the

from 1914 to 1919. A total of 1,091,- pated reduction in the catch that by the communist-controlled teachers may be expected. Like all Scandisupplied in this region. The food navian countries, Norway was norsupplied for Belgium by this agency | mally self-sufficient in meats and fats.

In Denmark, agriculture is an in-Relief activities were conducted dustry and, like all industry, is deraw material, which, in the instance and her degree of food self-sufficien cy was 103%.

But with the British blockade cut ting off the country's main supply of maize and oil cake imports for cattle fodder, which totaled 1,200,000 tons in 1937, the early slaughter of herds seems inevitable. A commisexpected by the first of the year. Denmark imported one-half of all vian countries.

The yield of agriculture production in all the Scandinavian counoccupied areas is likely to decrease products, potatoes and vegetables. 1,000,000 tons in the Scandinavian

> The Gouvernement General of 30,000,000 persons. While the for- press of the communist composition mer Polish nation had a surplus of 5% in foodstuffs, the part now in-General is only from 60% to 70% self-sufficient because of its indus-

Crops in all parts of Europe were economy. While the fish catch of affected adversely by the extreme Norway amounted to 872 pounds per | cold and in nearly every instance person a year before the war, of cereal production is considered by which 22% was exported, Norway's the experts to be well under that of

the same manner as they got their government jobs in Washington during the same period. However, the "purge" has already begun. Government officials realize that neither Avila Camacho nor Almazan would tolerate them as Cardenas has. The head of rural education has just been discharged by the secretary of public education, who until traveler." He wants to keep his job and is beginning to weed out his communist subordinates. A threat union to call a general strike on

eachers unions. tion ordered and carried out by secretary in place of officials who taken the same stand. had some reputations for their work

behalf of the discharged man is

meeting resistance from the state

ments. Several state organizations of the teachers union have repudiated the editorial workers and movie operators passed resolutions against the Nazi-Soviet pact. Pina Soria, C.T.M's pro-pact stand. The government quietly forced the C.T.M. to El Popular as its official organ, and Lombardo Toledano was forced to resign as editor. The paper continues as the semi-official organ of the C. T.M., however, under the editorship of another "fellow-traveler," Alejandro Carrillo. In the early days predominated. Now El Popular claims to give news from both the

Allied and German sources. Much has been made in the U.S. of the Spanish refugees. However, now that they are out of danger from the G.P.U., many of the refugees who left Spain as communists have become anti-com-Russians in Spain, which has increased anti-communist sentiment. But the Russian invasion of Finland help.

Department of Public Education in | has done more than anything else to weaken whatever popular support the communists had.

GOVERNMENT POLICY

To meet the European crisis Mexico is pledged to support whatever action is decided upon by the American nations. In addition. Cardenas warned recently that any elements attempting to endanger Mexican neutrality "would be dealt with strongly according to law." A closer watch at the borders has been ordered. No more European tourists are permitted to enter Mexico. The government has created a counterespionage service and reports of caches of arms and landing fields in The Communist Party has also the jungles are immediately inbeen weakened by the reorganiza- vestigated. Cardenas's bitter attacks against Russian and German aggres-Comintern agents here. Virtual un- sion have been heartly seconded knowns were made chairman and by the country. Avila Camacho has

Avila Camacho, who is supported in the agrarian and labor move- by most of the organized progressive forces, will doubtless win the election on July 7. However, Mexico's next administration is bound to communists. The national unions of differ considerably from the present one since both candidates are much more conservative than Cardenas. and both would eliminate Lombardo representative of the C.T.M. at Toledano and reorganize the labor inter-American labor gatherings, movement. Former President Portes resigned as secretary to Lombardo Gil is an influential backer of Toledano in protest against the Camacho. Portes Gil and Matthew of authority in labor, then what Woll met early this year in New York and discussed a reorganization withdraw its designation of the daily of the labor movement which would merge the C.T.M., the C.G.T. (General Confederation of Workers) and the C.R.O.M. (Regional Confederation of Mexican Workers). This would give the A. F. of L. a mass base upon which to attempt to rebuild the Pan-American Federaof the war, pro-German headlines tion of Labor. Avila Camacho until now has tacitly accepted communist support. However, it is probable that he will repudiate it in the near future.

Unless the U.S.A. opens its borders for arms and planes to rebel forces, there will be little violence after the election. Cardenas has a firm hold on the Mexican people and the army itself is much more munists. The former Spanish a national army than it ever was in Minister of National Defense, In- the past. Any attempt by foreign dalecio Prieto, recently published a agents to capitalize on the election pamphlet denouncing the role of the would unite the country solidly behind Cardenas against the person or group who accepted such outside

the organizations remaining to double their contributions in order that we might take full advantage of organizing possibilities. The meeting realized it had no power to levy. It asked for a voluntary contribution, and it was had with but one exception, the International Typographical Union. Then, at the following convention, that assessment was levied under the constitution, not to fight the C.I.O., but to take advantage of the organizing possibilities presented, and to make up for the deficiencies of income that we had experienced when over 900,000 members of the A. F. of L. left its fold, making no further contribu-That is the history, that is the purpose, that is the objective of that

ord of the A. F. of L. Find that a

special meeting was called of na-

assessment, and not to fight organized labor. And have we succeeded in doing it? Was that money well spent? First of all, what field these United States. It is within have we invaded? Yes, there were your keeping, it is within your will, possibilities presented of invading your president, what was the position of the A. F. of L.? Did we want for the workers in all fields where Certainly not.

No, we were merely taking ad-

vantage of the possibilities of organization. Well, what are the results that

we accomplished in the field of organization? As I stated, at the time the suspension took place, the A. F. of L. had 3,472,000 members. The suspension involved 982,343 members, and that was a serious blow to the income of the A. F. of L.

And yet, what has happened despite that? And what did we do with that assessment? We did s well that, despite the fact that if you deduct the 982,000 from the 3 432,000, it left us only 2,490,000 members, yet today, what have we in the organization of labor? Paid up membership, reported at the last convention as 4,006,354 members.

I don't want to see a single organization destroyed. I do want to be of the C.I.O. within the folds of the A. F. of L. We want their affiliation, their cooperation, their unity their strength, their power.

QUESTION OF POWER

Bear these considerations in mind in dealing with the first obstacle referred to. Then the question of suspension, the suspension power of the Executive Council.

I am one of those who do not be lieve that the Executive Council should have such power without first having consulted a convention of the American Federation of La-

Bear in mind first of all that what the Council did on that occasion was an emergency, and I hope that that emergency may soon be removed, and that we may again go on in an orderly, voluntary way. I fear this power as much as anyone else. You have less to fear than I.

You are a large organization that cannot be excluded in any considerations. I represent a small union, that may be easily swept aside. And that is the security that comes to us by a constitutional restriction upon powers of those exercising administrative authority, whether it be moral and financial support to the in trade unions or in governmental

PROBLEM OF RACKETEERING

Now, as for the third obstacle that we have within our midst. I agree in the condemnation of those who use their power of influence and authority within the American labor movement to selfish ends or selfish purposes, for the purpose of self-aggrandizement, as well as selfprofit.

But why condemn the American Federation of Labor for that? Realize what you are doing. If the A. F. of L. is to be condemned for not having rid some of these national and international unions of mer that should not grace us in positions power would you give to the Executive Council of the A. F. of L. to accomplish that end? Would you en trust that power to the Executive Council, to say to the affiliated or ganizations: "We think your presi dent or your secretary or one of your organizers, or one of your local unions, is not worthy of trust within the labor movement and you must dispose of his services, or else we will exercise what-power of suspension or revocation?" Is that not your second complaint, and would you foster a power in the hands of the Executive Council that would even go into the internal affairs of each and every organization?

Let us analyze these matters and see where we are going.

And then, since when have we police power? Since when are we to judge a man's honesty and dishonesty, his qualifications or his disqualifications for office? Is that not a prerogative of the membership

(Continued on Page 4)

Red Caps Score in **Vital Pay-Tip Fight**

Federal Court Sustains Union Contentions

By ERNEST CALLOWAY

Chicago, Ill. AVING the way for a complete not constitute wages, and ordered roads argued that each of the Redpany to pay its 41 Red-Caps apliquidating damages.

The wage-hour law suit, the first of its kind passed on by the United States district court, favored the stand taken by the Transport Service Employees Union when Judge Atwell ruled: "If the Congress, familar as it is with tipping, meant for tips to be included in wages the law would have so provided.'

Altho one of the lesser wagerecovery cases, this momentous E.A. and denied a second motion of federal court decision will have tremendous effects upon the major suits involving approximately 2,700 Red-Cap employees before the employees and "others similarly district courts at Chicago, Cincinnati, Boston, Cleveland and Washington, involving \$5,000,000 in back Standards Act. This favorable ruling wages and liquidating damages. The decision is also immense importance the tipping system prevails.

For some time, the railroads have Read the record and see the co- felt that they were holding a "hot "tip-wage" fight with the Associaoperation extended by A. F. of L. potato" in the form of the wagemonths ago by the United Transport to check this growing liability and Service Employees Union under the primarily to stop the terrific dards Act. As a result, they have wholesale the "Cincinnati Plan" of means of liquidating this fast- to Red-Caps by placing a 10-cent accumulating liability, a liability charge upon passengers for each which was recently discovered by piece of luggage handled by a Redthe high-salaried legal minds of the Cap.

railroad industry to be more fact

than fancy. On April 5, 1940, the first preliminary ruling was made on the nation-wide victory for the many suits. Judge Phillip Sullivan, United Transport Service Employees in the Northern Illinois District of America in its \$5,000,000 wage- Court at Chicago, denied a motion recovery suits against a number of of five railroad companies to dismiss railroad companies, Federal Judge the suits on the grounds that the William H. Atwell of the United complaint against them "fails to States District Court at Dallas state a specific claim . . . upon which Texas ruled recently that tips do relief can be granted." The railthe Dallas Union Terminal Com- Caps bringing suit, as well as each of the other employees, should be proximately \$44,000 in back wages required to file with the court a and an additional \$44,000 as statement of the total amount he received from the railroads, the total number of hours worked, and the total amount for which he was asking for back wages. Attorneys for the United Transport Service Employees Union argued that the information sought by the railroads was unnecessary since it was

A second preliminary ruling was made by Judge Sullivan which upheld the contention of the U.T.S. the railroads. This ruilng established the right of maintaining a representative suit in behalf of situated," in conformity with Section 16 (b) of the Fair Labor in behalf of the union and the imminent probability of a victory placed the Red-Caps in a very advantageous position for the first time during the whole course of the tion of American Railroads. The recovery suits instituted seven railroads, in their nation-wide rush provisions of the Fair Labor Stan- accumulation of penalties, adopted been strenuously seeking ways and paying the 30 cents minimum wage

already in their possession.

Knitgood Union Navy Measure Parley Backs Voids Right

Brooklyn, N. Y. SHOP chairmen's conference of A the Knitgoods Workers Union, Lthat Section 6 of the Vinson bill I.L.G.W.U., last week authorized (H. R. 9822) to expedite ship buildsee whatever the membership may the leadership of the union to call ing repeals the Lloyd-LaFollette Act a general strike in the industry if of 1912. This removes from governpeaceful negotiations for the renewal ment employees the right to join la-

of the present agreement failed. its demand that responsibility for apply only to employees in the Navy the jobbers in the industry." "They who profit most," he pointed out, "must be made to shoulder their share of responsibility." Mr. Nelson further stated that the present demands of the employers would, in essence, lead to the smashing of all the gains of unionism in this industry. "The union," he stated, "will not permit the conditions and hours won over years of hard strugggle to

be whittled away by the employers." Charles S. Zimmerman, vice-president of the I.L.G.W.U. and manager of the Dressmakers Union, pledged the support of the General Executive Board as well as of his local union to the Knitgoods Workers Union in the event of a general strike. Mr. Zimmerman reported that the convention of the I.L.G. W.U. held in New York City a fortnight before had adopted a resolution pledging full organizational, Knitgoods Union. He also pointed out that the convention was "proud of the accomplishments of the Knitgoods Union and wholeheartedly

Should the Knitgoods Union have to call a strike, thousands of dresset line and give them active support, Zimmerman informed the chairmen. groups. conference unanimously

adopted the resolution in its behalf."

and stabilizing force in our industry, the knitgoods workers." our union leadership is not interbecause of the stubbornness of the the New York organization.

General Strike | Of Employees

TT has not been generally noted bor unions of their own choosing In his report on the negotiations and the right to petition Congress with the employers, Louis Nelson, individually or collectively on matmanager of the Knitgoods Union, ters affecting their own welfare. As stated that "the union will continue now phrased, the bill will supposedly working conditions be placed upon Department, but it may be the opening wedge to hamstring all the labor legislation. It is a contradiction to repeated assurances of the President that the rights of labor will not be interfered with during the nationaldefense program. This bill has pas-

> Senate Naval Affairs Committee. The "Fifth Column" panic seems to be responsible for rushing thru Congress legislation which labor, liberal and peace groups have successfully opposed for years. The registering and finger-printing of aliens, for example, has been talked of for five years or more and, despite its ardent support by patriotic groups, has been consistently rejected by Congress because of vigorous opposition.

sed the House and is now before the

The Smith bill (H.R. 5138), known as the "omnibus anti-alien bill." passed the House during the last session. Recently, it was reported out by the Senate Judiciary Committee and is now on the Senate calendar. Its sponsors freely predict its passage altho it has been opposed by the visa section of the State Department, the Commissioner of Immigration, the American Federamakers would join them on the pick- tion of Labor, the Congress of Industrial Organizations and peace

adopted a resolution which reads in ment's notice to form our ranks on the picket lines and thru the picket "We know that as a constructive lines obtain our just demands for

Meyer Edelson, a representative ested in bringing chaos and disorder of the Philadelphia Knitgoods Workinto our industry. If we are forced ers Union, pledged the support of the to call a general strike, it will be Philadelphia knitgoods workers to

employers and the arbitrary position | The conference further pledged adopted by them. . . . We therefore to continue the drive in behalf of authorize and give full power to our the workers of Gantner and Mattern, leadership to take the necessary a knitgoods firm on the Pacific Coast steps and we stand ready at a mo- which has locked out its workers.

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The United States Can and Must Stay Out of the War

By WILL HERBERG

THE United States finds itself in a situation almost without parallel in the entire world. For, geographically and economically, it has virtually achieved that continental integration for which Europe has been striving so painfully and so vainly for over a century. Continuous sound functioning of our economic machinery on an expanding scale is quite possible on the basis of our domestic resources, as yet widely untapped, if only our economy is operated on the principle of welfare rather than private profit.1 Not any inescapable needs of our economy considered as a technological system but the special interests of powerful exploiting groups in this country are the driving force behind our far-flung financial and commercial entanglements and our imperialistic ventures in all parts of the world. If the interests of the masses of the people constitute the decisive consideration, then it is for us to look to the "open door" at home, in this hemisphere, rather than in Europe or the Far

OUR MILITARY

In a military-political sense, too, the United States is so situated that it can keep measurably free of foreign entanglements, if only it is determined to do so. Let me quote the significant words of Hanson W. Baldwin, military writer for the New York Times and author of the well-known military survey of Europe, "The Caissons Roll."

"In the mounting volume of war talk, an important hypothesis is frequently advanced," he writes in his article, "Impregnable America." in the July 1939 issue of the American Mercury. "Suppose that we as a nation decided to remain strictly at home, refusing utterly to be drawn into a war, could we do so, in a military sense? This is a hypothesis well worth exploring in detail. A definite answer to the question, if conveyed effectively to the American people, might well influence our national thinking on the war issue; at least, it might remove the deepening flush of hysteria from the discussion.

"I believe that continental United States, even without the extraordinary measures adopted by Congress [in 1939.-W. H.], is wellnigh impregnable. So are its outlying possessions, except the Philippines, Wake and Guam. Such impregnability can be brought to a point of completeness with relatively small additional effort. By military impregnability, I mean defense facilities strong enough to resist successfully major attacks for an indefinite period....

"If we go beyond our borders into distant seas, we face an end, in treasure, human life and national destiny, which no living man can profoundly true that fascism could measure of security, welfare and foresee. By frittering away our come to power in this country only great strength in foreign theaters, as a result of the utter bankruptcy we may well destroy that impregnability which today means nomic, social and political, and not certain security for the American as a result of foreign propaganda or castle. If we are determined to remain at home . . . , we can do

Mr. Baldwin's conclusions are substantially confirmed by practically every important military authority who has considered the question in recent years. Nor have the elements of the problem changed essentially in the course of the last year or two, despite the scare-head publicity about "secret weapons" or the Blitzkrieg successes of the Nazis true that, "if we are determined to remain at home, we can do so," from a military standpoint as well as economic.

There are those who recognize that America does not stand in much danger of being invaded or conquered by military force but who believe that the military triumph of Nazism in Europe will so enhance, its prestige and ideological power as to bring about the triumph of fascism in this country. There is no decision in which the Supreme Court doubt that the dynamic, expansive drive of fascism would be greatly enhanced by a German victory, as I have stressed in the first article of this series. But even under such circumstances, it would still remain

1. See Jerome Frank's "Save America First," Book I, Section IV, especially Chapters 14, 15, and 16; Stuart Chase's "The New Western Front," Chapter VII, Charles A. Beard's "A Foreign Policy for America," pp. 150ff.

G. D. H. Cole, the well-known British socialist economist, has described the situation very well in the following words: "The American problem is in its essence far simpler than the corresponding problem in Europe because of the greater self-sufficiency and better balance of the American productive system. Fundamentally, all that America needs in order to ensure a resumption of progress is a sufficient willingness to raise the standard of life of her own people to a point adequate to absorb the immensely increased production of which both her industries and her agriculture are capable. She can, given an adequate determination to bring about this rise in purchasing power, at least temporarily reconstruct her economic life largely in independence of

In view of these facts, President Roosevelt's attempt, in his recent address at the University of Virginia, to rather a distorted, caricature version of as two conditions maintain: it, a "helpless nightmare" must be regarded as a particularly lurid piece for the transit of the United States of irresponsible scare-mongering.

the rest of the world.'

2. Mr. Baldwin's recent article in the New York Times of June 2, 1940 has no bases in this hemisphere from sustains his earlier conclusion in gen- which to operate."

SOWING THE WIND



(These paragraphs are from an editorial in the Washington Post of May 25, 1940.—Editor.)

THERE is an increasing amount of highly inflammatory talk about a socalled "Fifth Column" in the United States . . . One might imagine, from the character of some current observations, that this country is already at war with Germany and that self-defense is being materially whelm us. hampered by subversive elements within our gates.

It would be well to get this picture in perspective. For there is certainly no indication of national strength, but only of hysteria, fright and weakness, in much of the present emotional outburst. A people which is strong, and quietly confident of its internal unity will not shriek despairingly from the housetops as some Americans are now doing. Such procedure can only convey the impression that our democracy is sunk in hopeless apathy and rotten ripe for dissolution.

Undoubtedly, there are foreign agents in this country, working actively for alien governments, who should be-and are being-closely watched by F.B.I. and secret-service operatives. Around some of these agents, a web of evidence has already been collected. At the psychological moment, they can be arrested and called to account for their

One might believe, to listen to some current assertions, that all who are not now feverishly pro-Ally aretherefore pro-German, "Fifth Column" in their outlook. The use of the phrase in that connection is ominous. It implies the undermining of an essential safeguard of democracy, which is the protection of minority opinions—no matter how unpopular and unwelcome they may be.

of our domestic institutions, ecobeen-the fight against unemployment, poverty, demoralization, despair. If we can so reorganize our

freedom for all, we will have no be made into an instrument of polireason whatever to fear the advent tical repression, as of course it must of fascism in this country no matter | become in every belligerent counwhat happens in Europe. If we ideological prestige. Our first and can't remodel our social order along foremost line of defense against such lines as to make democracy fascism remains what it has always work and open a way out of the hopeless blind-alley of crisis and decay in which we find ourselves today, we will be faced with disaster and economic and social system as to totalitarianism in any case. For us, the publisher or not, will be subprovide jobs for those who are able the great issue will be decided here. and willing to work, opportunity and in this country, on this continent, a future for the youth, and a and not in Europe or Asia. So from

the Blitzkrieg successes of the Nazis in Europe.² It is still fundamentally true that, "if we are determined to **Blow at Civil Rights**

Jehovah's Witnesses Victims of Hysteria

PREARIEST development of recent weeks in Washington's war psychosis was the eight-to-one decided that two young members of Jehovah's Witnesses had to salute the American flag in spite of their conscientious religious scruples against so doing-scruples which have no relation to their patriotism. The decision is regarded as a startling example of the anxiety of the court's new "liberal" majority to please its maker.

FAREWELL TO

LIBERALISM Most depressing aspects of the decision was the fact that it was written by Justice Felix Frankfurter. Only three days earlier, Senator George Norris, in the course of a noble denunciation of anti-alien hysteria. had read into the record the propriateness of various means to wonder, in view of the precedents famous attack against the Palmer raids of 1920 signed by twelve eminent lawyers, among them Felix Frankfurter. Senator Norris had also recalled Harlan F. Stone's protest

eral, tho in a more technical, less obvious manner. Compare also 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

dub such economic self-sufficiency, or any aggression from abroad just as long "1. That the Panama Canal is open

> fleet: and "2. That an aggressor from abroad

Washington, D. C. | against the raids; Justice Stone | wrote the dissenting opinion in last author will need more than his long week's case. Justice Owen J. Roberts, who voted with the majority, participated in the Palmer drive as WAR KILLS a prosecuting attorney in the east- DEMOCRACY ern district of Pennsylvania. Among the organizations that sponsored amicus-curiae briefs in support of the non-saluting defendants was the American Civil Liberties Union, of were also recalled by Senator ties.

whose national committee Felix Norris during his address. Chief Frankfurter was a member until Justice Hughes said: he was elevated to the bench. Another organization was the Committee on the Bill of Rights of the fed the autocratic appetite. And, American Bar Association.

furter referred to the flag as sig- everyone else knows, we have seen nifying, among other things, "ab- the war powers, which are essential solute safety for free institutions to the preservation of the nation in respective state A.L.P. executives. against foreign aggression." Later, time of war, exercised broadly after he defined the issue in the case as the military exigency had passed and whether school districts are to be in conditions for which they were barred "from determining the ap- never intended, and we may well the annual Easter conference of the evoke that unifying sentiment with- now established, whether constitu-

be no liberties, civil or religious." In his dissent, Justice Stone survive a great war, even victorseemed to be aiming at these phras- iously waged." es when he wrote: "History teaches lic good, and few which have not

helpless political minorities."

this angle, too, we can stay at home if we are determined to do so.

WHAT WAR

WOULD BRING eign war, in Europe or in Asia, would be the worst possible calamity that could befall the people of this country today, and the labor movement above all. It would bring along with it a rigid system of universal regimentation and military dictatorship-already outlined in the M-Day plans and only waiting for the declaration of war to be put into complete effect—a system that would automatically deprive the masses of the people of their democratic rights and civil liberties, and labor of all its hard-won gains of recent years. Wages, hours, the Wagner Act, protective laws for women and children, even collective agreements would be put at the absolute mercy of military agencies, to be swept away at their arbitrary will. Involvement in foreign war would mean not only a vast outpouring of blood and treasure, but a wave of ruthless reaction and authoritarianism, accompanied by wild jingoistic hysteria and war frenzy, that would drive the country back many decades. It would bring wide distress and impoverishment, permanent reduction of living standards and further dislocation of our economic system. It would root out the most promising elements of American life, those elements of freedom, welfare and democracy that we cherish as the point of departure towards a better America. It would be the sum-total of disaster for the Ameri-

One need but note the tidal wave of jingoistic hysteria and reaction that is beginning to gather at the present time at the mere talk of war to get an inkling of what we would be in for should war over-

ing interests of the peoples of war-And determine to stay at home sanity and reconstruction in the because we don't want the Allies to dustry at their disposal. American we must. For involvement in a for- | post-war period would be destroyed,

and all would go down to ruin and the U.S.A. to be drawn into the war, barbarism together. If America which these measures would manimanages to keep out of the blood- | festly do. We see no point in trying | tion. They have ample funds with bath in Europe, it may still be able to play a powerful part in saving such a way as to drown the United United States is helping the Allies the world from utter ruin after the States along with it. That is why

eign war. We all want peace; none tration, is a formula of war involveof us are for war. It is necessary also to adopt policies that make for | dent has led the country step by step peace and avoid policies that make to the very brink of war, to the point for involvement in war. We must where even the pretense of official not permit ourselves to be so overcome by our indignation and sympathies that we take steps that will end only with our being swallowed up in the slaughter. We cannot and must not so gear our own economy to the war needs of the Allies that we become increasingly dependent on the fortunes of war in Europe and thus lose our invaluable adtry. In short, keeping out of war America Out of War! means keeping out of war entangle-

ABOUT HELP TO THE ALLIES

Nor would America's participation | answer this question from the stand- | papers and a fervent friend of the in the war advance the more abid- point that it is our paramount duty Allies, pointed out as far back as to keep America out of war. If we stricken Europe. For it would mean object to certain Administration the Allies than we are doing? We that the last potential force for measures to aid the Allies, it is not be aided but because we don't want to save Europe from drowning in war. That would be a genuine service to mankind. we object to the Roosevelt policy of "measures short of war." The for-But it is not enough to want mula, "measures short of war,"

peace and desire to stay out of for- as put into effect by the Adminisment. Under this policy, the Presineutrality has been abandoned in favor of a "non-belligerency" that means participation in the war in everything but the outright military We are emphatically of the opinion

that the interests of the American people—the interests of the masses of the people, that is, and not the entrenched vested interests-should vantage of continental integration be the guiding line of American and independence. We must bar the policy. This is not narrow nationalway to war credits and war loans ism, but the truest form of inso as to prevent the emergence of ternationalism. For to us true ina powerful financial interest in this ternationalism begins at home. It actly what does this mean? Which country pressing for measures of begins with an honest and responncreasing involvement. As Senator sible attitude to your own people, material has been exported to Ger-Wheeler has well said, it would in whose interests are paramount. the end be both cheaper and safer True internationalism for us means two weeks ago, to Italy. The effort to for us to make outright gifts of a true and sincere regard for the stop the export of war materials to food and supplies to the Allies than welfare and interests of the Ameri- Japan has been repeatedly blocked to permit the rise of a system of can masses, which today can be by the Administration, for reasons war loans and credits in this coun- summed up in one phrase: Keep best known to itself. Who else is

But what about helping the that it is not giving already? As demand is certainly so vague as to Allies? We want to see them win, Raymond Clapper, political com- be meaningless. and Hitler defeated, don't we? We mentator for the Scripps-Howard

May 10: "What more can we do for have placed our entire aircraft inarmy and navy orders give way to Allied orders. The Allies can have the latest models that are in producwhich to buy these planes. . . . The to the limit." Since then, of course, the scope and volume of American aid have been greatly widened.

Let us consider the proposals advanced by the group recently set up by William Allen White and others to help Britain and France, the Committee to Defend America by Aiding the Allies. According to a report in the New York Times some days ago, the local chapter of this committee is sponsoring a four-point program as follows:

1. "To supply planes to the Allies." But that is already being done to the greatest degree possible under the circumstances.

2. "To make available \$100,000,-000 for clothing and food supplies for refugees." This is a matter of humanitarian relief and deserves hearty support.

3. "To stop the export of war materials to aggressor nations." Exnations are referred to? No war many for many months-nor since meant? Russia? Thru his extraor-There is, furthermore, a lot of dinary powers the President is loose thinking and deliberate confusionism on the question of American aid to the Allies. What aid can Russia, altho other considerations the United States give to the Allies | may soon reverse this policy. This

(Continued on Page 4)

Australian Regime Tightened in War

Censorship Extended to Political Issues

(By Our Australian Correspondent) | ship all manuscript before publica-Sydney, Australia

April 24, 1940.

P till the present, censorship of publications in Australia has been concerned mainly with supressing items that might be of value to the enemies of the Allied powerstroop movements, shipping news and

try as war tension increases.

A start is to be made, a fortnight hence, on Stalinist newspapers, pamphlets, books, leaflets, etc The minister states:

"Communist pamphlets and leaflets, whether bearing the imprint of jected to the same rule. In future, communist publications will not only be called upon to submit to censor

His decision is important as portent; it reverses the trend of recent Supreme Court decisions protecting the civil rights that local Hitlers thruout the country sought to violate. In the immediate situation, it gives comfort to those who are making "national unity" the excuse for demolishing civil rights right of free speech. Such protests and decent living standards. The opinion is already known as the "Frankfurter decision" and its liberal record to live it down.

Appropriate for the times are the remarks of Charles Evans Hughes

"We went to war for liberty and democracy, with the result that we thru a fiction, permissible only beout which there can ultimately tional government as heretofore maintained in this republic could

While the two children of us that there have been but few Jehovah's Witnesses were cominfringements of personal liberty manded by the Supreme Court to Parliament, the new party has so by the state which have not been salute the flag, other members of far the support of five members and justified, as they are here, in the the sect were conspicuous victims two senators. name of righteousness and the pub- of less eminent guardians of Ameribeen directed, as they are now, at Witnesses, the indiscriminate aceign aggression" and "unifying distributing "Nazi" literature sentiment" is no surprise, tho his actually copies of their publication apparent decline as a civil-liber- containing a bitter attack on Hitler. tarian is. Justice Frankfurter has During recent months, seventeen been one of the most active and most members of the sect have been exemotional under-cover advocates of ecuted in Germany for their opposiforeign intervention in the capital. I tion to war and to the Nazi regime.

tion; they will not be permitted to write at all upon certain subjects. Heavy penalties will be imposed for infringement of these new rules.

"The totally prohibited subjects of Congress. will include the war, comprehensively including, of course, recruiting and training. They must not mention Russia and its government. They will not be permitted to make any Last week-end, however, the min- reference to any strike within the ister in charge of censorship an- Empire or any Allied country, or to

industrial unrest, real or imaginary "In short, unless they make a miraculous change and turn to a patriotic service of the country which nourishes them, the communist papers are going out of business."

In the list of publications to be subjected to the above restrictions, only Stalinist journals are mentioned, but nobody can doubt that the proscribed list will be lengthened if the government is successful in its initial effort. It is significant that Common Cause, official paper of the Miners Federation, led by Stalinites, comes under the ban

It will be sufficient, apparently, to be opposed to the war and to engage in the class struggle to be designated as communist and be suppressed

The Australian Council of Trade Unions, sitting in congress at Sydney, has already uttered a strong protest against this violation of the will increase in volume as labor organizations meet and consider the matter.

Those sections of the labor movement which regard the Communist Party as an instrument of Russian foreign policy rather than a working-class political party will also fight the censorship restrictions. knowing well enough that it is but before the alumni of the Harvard the prelude to a more widespread Law School on June 21, 1920, which suppression of working-class activi-

Another split has occurred in the New South Wales branch of the Australian Labor Party (A.L.P.) The breakaway has more than a local significance because this state is the largest and most populous in the fed-In his decision-Justice Frank- cause the courts cannot know what eration and the split affects, also, members of the Federal Parliament. who are subject to control of the

The supporters of the erstwhile state labor leader, J. T. Lang, having failed to obtain a majority at party, thereupon denounced the party as being controlled by the Stalinites and formed a new party entitled the Australian Labor Party Non-Communist. The new party has the support of nine out of thirtytwo members of the New South Wales Parliament. In the Federal

It is true that since the last split can liberty. In the case of the was healed, the Stalinites have exercised a large measure of control over cusations of "Fifth Columnist" are the A.L.P. This control, however, But in Washington, Justice particularly ironical. One group was is of a precarious nature and has to Frankfurter's concern with "for- driven out of Del Rio, Texas, for be worked with the utmost secrecy and opportunism to be retained. It is obvious that, since every Labor parliamentarian feels called upon to denounce Stalinism publicly, the Stalinites in key posts in the party could not hold their positions very (Continued on page 4)

Becomes Law In Congress Plan We Want?

Washington, D. C. THE century-old Monroe Doctrine, which has always been regarded as an American declaration of policy, has now become law with the passing of the Pittman-Bloom resolution by both houses

The resolution dces not mention Germany, but it is interpreted to mean that if any of the British, Dutch or French possessions in this is inevitable—that the best defense hemisphere should be claimed by is offense and that we should war, the United States would not aid of England and France in Eution declares:

not recognize any transfer, and war and those who want to help would not acquiesce in any attempt now by sending military aid to to transfer, any geographic region of the western hemisphere from one non-American power to another non-American power."

2. "That if such transfer or attempt to transfer should appear arises when certain men clamor likely, the United States shall, in for national defense but do not addition to other measures, immediately consult with the other they belong. Or, worse, they clamor American republics to determine for national defense for one reaupon the steps which should be son but are actually thinking taken to safeguard their common about the other. interests.'

Observers here are baffled by the phrase "in addition to other measures." Does it mean war? Is this an effort to write into statute a declaration of foreign, military and naval policy? If so, how far does it go? To be specific, should declare war on a non-American state the United States pledged to go to its aid?

some solid thinking on it.

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Monroe Doctrine What Kind of **Defense Do**

By JOHN T. FLYNN

MOST of the confusion about the national defense program arises out of the wholly different objectives which the various advocates of national defense have.

One group believes that America may be imperiled when this war is over thru attacks upon this hemisphere by the totalitarian powers.

Another group believes that this Germany as a result of the present therefore act quickly to go to the recognize any such charge of rope with everything we have. This sovereignty. The proposed legisla- latter group is divided into two schools-those who want to help 1. "That the United States would with everything we have short of whatever extent we can.

Now, among reasonable men a good-certainly a plausible-argument can be made in support of all these positions. The trouble disclose to which of these schools

There are men who say frankly and honestly: "Is it not better to fight the dictators in Europe rather than wait until they come here and have to fight them on our own soil?"

You can argue this point with a man like that who discloses frankly any western hemisphere republic that the country arm. He wants and the war comes to its shores, is enables us to send ships, planes, the kind of armament which guns to Europe.

But it is difficult to argue with These questions bring us back to the man who yells for national whether the United States could or defense, talks about the danger of should protect the entire hemisphere invasion, sees planes swarming unless there is a common foreign over our country from Greenland policy for the entire hemisphere. and Brazil and the West Indies, This is a question we may have to but while talking that is actually face soon and we might as well do thinking about raising armaments to send to England and France.

If we are planning to send naval and air and munition aid to the Allies, then we have to proceed along one course. If we are planning to protect ourselves in this hemisphere from a German invasion, we have to follow a quite different course.

In one case, we have to prepare for an aggressive war on foreign soil. In the other, we have to prepare for a war to defend our own

(This article is taken from the New York World-Telegram of June

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WILL HERBERG, Editor

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F.D.R.'S "NATIONAL SERVICE" PLAN

NOTHING shows more clearly the terms in which President Roosevelt is thinking these days than his startling proposal to instal a plan of universal government service for the youth of America. It has apparently become Mr. Roosevelt's settled conviction that totalitarianism in Europe can be fought only by copying it here in this country.

For totalitarian in essence this universal-service plan undoubtedly is. In inspiration and principle, it is no different from the German system of compulsory youth service. No more un-American, more undemocratic scheme could be conceived by the most rampant "Fifth Columnist".

It is not simply a plan of universal military service or universal military training that Mr. Roosevelt proposes, nor is it justified by him in military terms. Mr. Roosevelt's conception goes far beyond that. It is apparently now his belief that the government OWNS the youth of the country—its entire population, in fact. Mr. Roosevelt also believes that it is the business of the government to inculcate "discipline" into the people riched, constantly used and constantly supplemented in -that is, to create a monolithic mind-and to do this by means of the light of that use and enrichment. semi-military regimentation. It is hardly necessary to point out how widely at variance these notions are with the underlying tradition of American democracy.

It is a totalitarian idea that the youth of the country belong to the state to do with as it will. It is an idea more totalitarian still that it is the mission of the state to instil "discipline" into the people. These ideas are rooted in the totalitarian conception of the state as the great and all-absorbing super-master of society, instead of being merely one type of social institution among many, with vital tho definitely limited functions. Such a conception is foreign to everything democracy stands for.

Mr. Roosevelt's ominous proposal betrays utter lack of faith in democracy in this crisis. Freedom and democracy, according to Mr. Roosevelt and his school of thought, are all very well in "normal" times, but definitely out of place in periods of crisis; in such periods, they had better be shelved—"temporarily", of course!—in favor of the more "efficient" system of authoritarian dictatorship. If that is true, we might as well shelve freedom and democracy for good, for we are not likely to experience any "normal" times for many long years to come. If that is true, we had better abandon all idea of freedom and democracy at once as a snare and a delusion, a broken reed on which no one can rely.

We do not think so. We have faith in democracy. To defeat totalitarianism it is not necessary to imitate it, and if it were it wouldn't be worth it. In a truly popular cause, broad and genuine democracy can prove just as efficient as totalitarianism and can defeat it on its own ground.

Mr. Roosevelt's proposal is a startling evidence of the discredit in which the democratic concept is held in official circles in Washington today, of the degree to which totalitarian ideas have permeated the thinking of influential groups everywhere. That is the big danger confronting this country at the present moment.

OUR ATTITUDE TO THE WAR-II

(Continued from Page 1)

for the present ruling classes does not exclude these labor movements exercising real influence towards a less onerous peace.

Again, should the Allied powers win—and they can win only after a protracted exhausting struggle and war of attrition—divisions and con- Marxism does not have all the answers. It does enlarge flicts will arise in their own ranks over peace terms. Here there are many the range of questions and the outlook for answering to be satisfied, more than one country to be restored, more than one them. voice to be heard—certainly more than one fist that counts. This is a AS A THEORY OF situation that is not as conducive to as horrible a peace as a victory HISTORY AND SOCIETY for the Hitler Reich would certainly bring.

Should Nazi imperialism score a lightning victory—the only sort of victory it possibly could score—there would be no problem of divided counsels, of conflicting interests in the victor's camp, of voices to be reckoned with in the settlement. Here only Hitler's fist really countsa fist with still more prestige and power, more dreaded than ever, precisely because of the lightning triumph. None can deny that such a situation is the more likely to breed the more damnable and cursed

I repeat: We do not advocate an Allied imperialist victory, but we loathe still more a Nazi triumph. The only peace settlement we like and seek is a socialist peace. But in our desiring and working for such a genuine and lasting peace, we fully realize that actual conditionsbitterest reality—reveal the menace of a Nazi victory as the greatest obstacle—the main force and danger menacing our aims and goal.

Let none arrive at the unwarranted conclusion that Generals Weygand and Ironsides are to make a working-class revolution in Germany. In the last resort, that must be the job of the German proletariat. To fighting each other under other conditions. It is true that the FINAL think that anything else or any other force could replace the revolutionary power of Germany's working class is sheerest nonsense. Yet, it is true that a Hitler triumph would totally preclude the likelihood of a successful social revolution, while a Nazi debacle would offer fertile soil for a proletarian revolt—despite any desires, maneuvers, or moves to the contrary by the Allied ruling classes. Anent this, let me cite the following timely finding of Jon Kimche of the Independent Labor Party of

"Since the remilitarization of the Rhineland there have existed only two ways of defeating German fascism. One was by means of a gigantic civil war within Greater Germany, which would have rallied Mussolini and other reactionaries to Hitler's aid and in which world labor would have to come to the aid of its comrades and which would thus also have become a world conflagration. The other was that, owing to Hitler's to one bourgeois camp against another under specified conditions, with threat to the British Empire, British imperialism would be compelled to definite limitations. do what it had so much avoided to do. fight against German fascism' (Left, May 1940).

Nor should anyone be shocked by the idea that a disaster inflicted by one ruling class upon another may be of real help to the working people in the defeated country. History's evidence in confirmation of this is legion. Examine the background and soil of the Russian Revolution. More than that: there are occasions when outside forces do perform certain urgent preliminary tasks unfulfilled by the proletariat itself. I refer to Nazis Force "Peace" on France Engels's condemnation of French chauvinism in 1870. Said Engels: "Badinguet (Bonaparte) could never have begun this war without the chauvinism of the masses of the French people, the bourgeoisie, the petty bourgeoisie, the peasants and the imperialist slum-proletariat created by Bonaparte and Hausmann in the big towns and recruited chiefly from the peasantry. Peace between France and Germany is impossible so long as this chauvinism has not been crushed, and thoroly at that. One might have expected a proletarian revolution to undertake this task, but now that the war has begun, the Germans have no alternative but to do it themselves and at once."

We can well apply this method and lesson to the present crisis. Substitute Hitler for Bonaparte, German chauvinism for French, fascism for Bonapartism, a proletarian revolution in Germany for one in Franceand you have the 1870 picture substantially reproduced in 1940, today.

In attempting to safeguard their social system and to preserve their privileges to the greatest extent, the ruling classes are often compelled to take certain steps, to resort to certain measures, that in themselves are not harmful or may be even beneficial to labor. I need but cite as problems of hemisphere defense took historic evidence of this truth the great British Reform Bill of 1832 and first place. After action by the Sethe social legislation program inaugurated by Roosevelt during the pro- nate and the House, the United gressive phase of his New Deal. The primary concern of the British ruling class was the stabilization of their privileged position and the maximum preservation of their privileges. Nonetheless, the British working ritory in the western hemisphere class gained considerably thru this legislation. Roosevelt succeeded, thru now belonging to a non-American some of his social legislation, in lending stability to the capitalist order in power, that is, any French or British

Socialist Fundamentals Reexamined:

The Basic Core of Marxism

By BERTRAM D. WOLFE

(We publish below the address delivered by Bertram D. Wolfe at the recent symposium, "Marxism Reexamined," held in New York City under the auspices of the Independent Labor Institute. The paper presented by Will Herberg has already been published in these columns. The contributions of Herbert Zam, Lewis Corey and Jay Lovestone will appear in early issues.—Editor.)

THERE are fashions in social thought, as in other L things. Today, it is open hunting season against Marxism in the same camp which only yesterday was swallowing Marx neat without so much as a chaser. I think we cannot talk of the failure or success of Marxism. I think it is sounder to talk of the usefulness and validity—or lack of them—in Marxism as an instrument for dealing with the problems of our time. To decide whether it can be regarded as a useful instrument, I think it desirable to give a brief description of Marxism in summary form.

It is a nineteenth-century sociological synthesisprobably the greatest theoretical synthesis made during the nineteenth century. It represents on the whole for sociology something similar to what Darwinism represents for biology. Both of them to be effective and useful today must be constantly revised, constantly en-

If one compares a Marx with the other great sociological figures of the nineteenth century, the Spencers, the Comtes, the Mills and the like, one sees these other figures receding like the landscape from the rear platform of a train, but one sees Marxism still with us as a banner and even a household word. This at least indicates that Marxism has a certain relevance to our outlook and the needs of our time.

Roughly, Marxism consists of five things: a worldview or Weltanschauung; a theory of history; an analysis of capitalist society; a guide to politics or social action; and a forecast, vague and tentative, of a coming social order.

MARXISM AS WORLD VIEW

As a world view, it is generally summed up in the two words-"dialectical materialism." Here the cruelest parodies and abuses have taken place. It has been made a stake at which to burn, a shibboleth to which to cling, a sophistic by which to justify every twist and turn, every act and misdeed, a straightjacket for science and for art, and an esoteric mystery. But it remains true that dialectical materialism is a synthesis of the great streams of classical philosophy of the preceding centuries. It is not a collection of "thoughts" or dogmas. It is an instrument for thinking, and as such, needs use, refinement and constant correction.

As a mode of thought, it lays emphasis upon change. It reminds us that in every structure there are processes, that stability is relative, that conditions are historical in their origins, in their course and in their outcome. It warns against too simple thinking, too static, too much in isolation.

That is not to deny the value of considering things statically and in isolation, but to remind us that there are certain points where that kind of thinking breaks down. It reminds us also that change is not merely gradual, but at certain points also sweeping, fundamental, transforming change.

I maintain that conceptions such as these are hints for clearer thinking, and who willfully rejects them. impoverishes his own thought, and in an epoch so rife with change as the present, hinders himself from grasping some of our central problems. As a mode of thought,

As a theory of history, Marxism has literally trans- positive and negative lessons. formed historiography. It has brought the masses on to

the scene of history, introduced modes of production, economic conditions, developmental approaches, and other considerations, bringing history closer to science. I quote here from the article on History in the Encyclopedia Britannica, which cannot be charged with excessive partiality: "It is an exaggeration of the theory which makes it an explanation of all human life, but the whole science of dynamic sociology rests upon the postulate of Marx."

As an analysis of capitalist society, it could not and did not foresee in detail twentieth-century capitalism. Still less could it foresee the nature and structure of a future socialist society. But it did represent a first approach to capitalist society as something historically evolved, historically conditioned and historically limited. As such it is still effective.

It did consider and work out better than any other theory a law of development of capitalist society. It did contribute the only theory of crises which will stand the test of the twentieth-century crises, and it did foresee in long range the fact that free competition would give way to or would beget its opposite, monopoly, in the course of its natural development. These things are in the main borne out and not refuted by subsequent developments. Moreover, they give the basis for consideration of the major problem of the present era, the problem of the development of capitalism from free competition to monopoly imperialist capitalism.

NEW PROBLEMS OF OUR DAY

That raises a series of new problems to which Marx did not have the answers, nor should the answers be sought in his writings: the problem of the socialization of production; the problem of the fusion of state and industry; the problem of the nature and course of socialist ownership; the problem of democratic control and distribution; the problem of the relation of consumers to a society of producers; the problem of the fate of small-scale industry in a general large-scale system; the problem of preserving freedom, innovation, heterogeneity, in the midst of growing uniformity, growing standardization.

I say Marx had no ready-made answers to any of these questions. His merit was to foresee and raise some of them, and to suggest a direction in which we might possibly look for an answer. It is our contemporary task to look for the answers and to find them.

I have touched upon three of the main constituents of Marxism. The fourth is a consideration of Marxism as a guide to social action. Here I join issue somewhat

Marxism, as it was a scientific theory, had necessarily to "change its face," as Engels said, with each new discovery, to change, to enrich, to correct, its generalizations about social action, especially with each dramatic experience of social change and revolution.

If we examine the lessons from the post-war period, do not see Corey's generalizations issuing from them.

The German revolution—if we ask why it failed and there was a German revolution-we have to find the answer in the failure to use political power for economic transformation; in the employment of gradualism in a time requiring revolutionary change; and in of actually procuring this aidthe failure to use power in the form of a revolutionary dictatorship, the failure to dismantle the old military machine, the old burocratic machine, the old economic basis of the old German life. These are the roots of the course that went from Ebert to Hindenburg to Hitler. Austria teaches us no other lesson. And Spain, the last to offer itself, teaches no other lesson. If we want to continue to use Marxism scientifically, as the living Marx did and as living Marxists must, then we must thus at once both a trap and a three articles on our policy on the war. derive cur lessons from these latter-day revolutions— fraud. For, in the last three The first article was entitled "It DOES

(Concluded in next issue)

Does that belie the fact that the labor movement did gain much at the same time? Evidently there are historic moments when the working class Australian Rule of any particular country or the international labor movement as a whole Is Tightened finds itself in a position where, in behalf of its own fundamental interests, it throws its weight CONDITIONALLY, INDEPENDENTLY, of In the War course, in one direction or another—towards one force as against another. It is this strategic approach that socialists must now consider.

Here a a few words are in order about the historic slogan dramatized by Karl Liebknectt: "Our enemy is at home." This slogan continues long once the spotlight of publicity valid. Churchill is the enemy of the British working class. That, however, was focused upon them and their does not exclude the British working class having other enemies as well. activities Nor does this exclude the possibility of another enemy being more dangerous at a particular historical moment. Likewise, this does not exclude both enemies lining up against British labor under certain conditions or apart altogether from the Stalinist enemy of any working class, in the big industrial countries, is the enemy at home. This, however, does not mean that, on the road to the working class of any such country settling scores with this enemy, it may not be

compelled to fight other enemies beforehand. I remind our readers of Marx's attitude to Czarist Russia as the gendarme of European reaction, of the attitudes of Marx and Engels towards the Franco-Prussian War, of the readiness of Lenin to fight alongside of Kerensky in defense of Petrograd against Hitler's predecessors, and of the readiness of the Soviet government to continue in the war as an ally of France and England against German imperialism in 1918. We had, in all these instances, the proletariat facing common enemies but having different aims than those of their momentary bourgeois partners. Likewise, we had the working classes rendering such aid

Furthermore, it is entirely permissible for the working class to utilize the resources of its own ruling class especially for the purpose of defeating a force and destroying an obstacle which, if triumphant, would wipe out every vestige of labor organization in the leading countries of Europe. A Nazi imperialist victory is precisely such a force.

(Continued from Page 1)

threatens in a dozen different ways.' In preparation for the decisive itself practically into an armed consider this and other problems. camp. There was talk of arming the entire population and of integrating the program of defense. The British cabinet at Bordeaux and recognized Committee set up in London by Gen-

eral Gaulle. took place last week in the western hemisphere as well. In Washington, and Italy that they could not include in the spoils of war any ter-

would refuse to recognize such he added. "Beyond that, famine transfer and would not permit it to be effected. A conference of the American republics to meet without struggle ahead, Britain was turning delay was called by Washington to At the same time, President

Roosevelt announced plans of every group and organization into launching a gigantic pan-American economic cartel under a \$2,000,000, government broke with the French 000 Inter-American Export Corpora tion, with the main purpose of conthe provisional French National trolling the exportable surpluses of the two continents, maintaining prices, and preventing Germany and Developments of vast significance its satellites from consolidating an economic influence in Latin America. An indication of what the hemisphere cartel might imply was given last week in the reported request of Uruguay, said to be the velt announced the appointment of tain good relations with Russia. why should it be condemned in the America, for a trade treaty with Frank Knox, both pro-war Repub- German minister to Bucharest, King the failings of a few? the United States that would overcome its present economic dependence on Europe.

(Continued from Page 3)

The truth is that Lang and Company have long been discredited and issue, they could not reestablish their control over the A.L.P. They have merely used the Stalinist control problem as a convenient issue on which to break away and form a party over which they have undisputed control.

The main result of the split is that the rosy prospects of Labor Party victories in both the federal and state elections to be held within the next twelve months are virtually wiped out. Labor victories would have affected materially the extent of Australia's participation

relieve the United States of the prospect of danger in both oceans, made headway in certain official quarters last week.

The whole country was startled when President Roosevelt, at a press conference, indicated that a scheme of compulsory "government service" for young men and women was being studied and would be laid before Congress in three to six weeks. This proposal was immediately attacked in various quarters, particularly by labor spokesmen, as unnecessary and as an adaptation of the Nazi scheme of youth labor an idea. In the upper house, Senator ive-service draft from among the President's plan, was likewise criticized on military and political grounds.

Another sensation was produced Henry L. Stimson and Colonel the United States and in helping the ruling class to weather the storm. colonies, because the United States peasement" towards Japan so as to leaders, gathering in national con- a major part.

War Casts Its Sinister Shadow Before It...

WE certainly are getting our lesson in rapid-quick time of what war would mean to democracy and the one-time ideals of the New Deal. We are not at war yet, but already:

"MAINE CROWD BEATS TWO WHO FLOUT FLAG-Jehovah's Witnesses Members Refuse to Offer Salute.'

"ARREST THREE IN TEXAS FOR DISTRIBUTING PACIFIST LITERA-

"MEN BEATEN IN ARKANSAS, HANDING OUT 'UN-AMERI-CAN' PAMPHLETS."

"SINGLE MEN DROPPED FROM RELIEF ROLLS—Told to Enlist As

"LOWER INCOME-TAX EXEMPTIONS PLANNED FOR DEFENSE FUND-Lower and Middle Brackets Will Pay More-Excess Profits Tax Measure Postponed."

U.S.A. Can and Must Stay Out of War

Is in Unique Economic, Military Position

(Continued from Page 3) measures, short of war, to assure the fullest possible support to the Allies." An omnibus cluase like this, unless specifications of some sort are

included, is nothing but rhetoric,

used either as propaganda or as a

cover for diplomatic intrigue. There are those who talk heatedly about credits and loans to the Allies, as if the Allies lacked the financial resources with which to buy supplies loving people. The Executive Council in this country. As a matter of fact, of the American Federation of Labor the Allies have at present about does not see how the entry of the thirteen billion dollars worth of purchasing power available in the war would serve the cause of peace. thanks to our gold-purchasing steadfastly maintain our neutrality, policy, and this buying power is we will be in a better position to aid only being used at the rate of less in the reconstruction of Europe than a billion dollars a year. Even when the war is over. if this rate is greatly increased in coming months, the Allies have obviously enough purchasing power here to last for years. It is absurd to argue as if Britain and France were being strangled by our refusal

to grant loans and credits, and yet

that is the way many people do

THE ADMINISTRATION FOREIGN POLICY

The truth of the matter is that Allies is not so much for the purpose which is already being given to the greatest degree possible—but rather | maintain peace and democracy at for the purpose of whipping up sentiment for greater and greater involvement in war, to the point of outright military participation. The totalitarian aggression in Europe. formula, "measures short of war,' as used by the Administration is years but particularly since the out break of hostilities last September, the Administration has followed a consistent policy making for American embroilment in war. The for eign policy of Mr. Roosevelt's second term has been essentially a policy of forcing America into the tangled conflicts of European powerpolitics, with the purpose of having this country serve as an unofficial, unavowed but nevertheless very real ally of Great Britain in the Far East as well as on the European continent. That the President is definitely thinking in terms of military participation in the European war, perhaps by fighting Japan in the Far Pacific, and that all his foreign policies can be understood only in that light, is made manifest n the semi-official "American White Paper" and is today no longer denied very energetically even by Mr.

Roosevelt himself. Despite the high-powered propaganda, emotionalized according to the latest techniques, to which the country has been subjected for many months, the great mass of the American people are still almost unanimously opposed to involvement in war, altho almost as unanimously they sympathize with the Allies. The mass of American people emphatically endorse the sentiments expressed in the very fine statement issued on May 15 by William Green on behalf of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor during the regular quarterly

sessions of the Council: "The Executive Council of the

vention at Philadelphia, promptly read the two out of the party. In the country at large, Mr. Roosevelt's not be trusted, those who are move was generally interpreted as the first step in setting up a coalition "war cabinet.

The diplomatic situation grew tenser last week in central and eastern Europe Reports of a serious straining of relations in the Berlincamps, thus essentially a totalitari- Moscow Axis multiplied. Informed quarters in Rome stressed that a Burke introduced a bill for a select- great game for strategic positions in Europe was going on which might male population of the country be- put the Berlin-Rome Axis in "potween 18 and 65. Those selected for tential opposition" to Russia. Meanmilitary training would serve for while, Russia concluded the military eight months; some defense service occupation of the Baltic countries, would be required of all. This pro- setting up a puppet "workers govposal, the widely different from the ernment" in Estonia after a mock 'revolution."

Rumania, the focus of clashing nterests in the Balkans, moved towards a definite rapprochement with during the week when Mr. Roose- Germany, altho trying also to main-After several conferences with the public trust as a whole because of licans, to the cabinet posts of Se- | Carol announced the formation of a cretary of War and the Navy re- new totalitarian party and governspectively, in place of Woodring and ment along Nazi lines, in which the

American Federation of Labor ex-4. "To take any other necessary presses the feelings of all American workers when it condemns unreservedly the invasion of Holland, Belgium and Luxembourg by Nazi Germany.

"Our sympathy goes out to the innocent, peace-loving peoples of these nations who have been victimized by the superior force of Hitler's war machine.

"We in America are a peace-United States into the European United States, to a great extent On the contrary, we feel that if we

"On behalf of the workers of this country, we make the flat declaration that the United States should remain out of the war.

"We in America are devoted to the cause of freedom and democracy. We are shocked by what is going on in Europe. But we do not see how the cause of democracy could be furthered by our involvement in a foreign war.

"The opposite is true. Democracy and freedom on this earth would be most of the propaganda of aid to the jeopardized if the United States vere to go to war.

"Our function as a nation should be and must be to safeguard and home by maintaining strict neutrality regardless of our sympathies and feelings toward the victims of

(This is the second of a series of Make A Difference Who Wins." third article, dealing with the problem of national defense, will appear in the next issue.—Editor.)

Dubinsky, Woll Discuss Some A.F.L. Problems

(Continued from page 2) of the organizations involved? Have we not advocated the right of wageearners to select their own represen-

Oh, they may make mistakes, they may select men unworthy of confidence and of trust, but how would you overcome that without at the same time stultifying the principles upon which we are founded as a voluntary and democratic organiza-

And then, furthermore, let a trade union suspend or expel its officers because of dishonesty, and that man enters the court and if you are unable to substantiate that claim by valid proof, not only have you indicated error on your part, but you have laid your organization open to damage and libel suits combined.

All of these factors must be considered. It is not what we wish or will; it is what we are compelled to act upon.

We have within our own labor movement those with whom I would not care to associate or those to whom I would not want to trust my welfare. But that is not for me to say. But, pray, where is the movement that is without those who candishonest, those who are corrupt, those who are racketeering elements?

Do you not find it in our educational institutions? Do you not find it in business? Then read over the calendars of our courts; yes, look at the S.E.C., organized to prevent business crookedness and fraud upon the public generally. Yet would we condemn every business man? Or in the highest moral institutions, the church, no matter whether of your faith or my faith, have we not there people who are equally false to the high principles, the high code of morality, that is

preached day in and day out? And so why should the labor movement, the least educated, that has come up from slavery and only recently obtained its freedom, why should it be so harshly judged and

Other considerations enter into that. And so, I ask you likewise to Sentiment for a policy of "ap- Edison, who resigned. Republican once-banned Iron Guard would play determining what shall be your decision in these matters.