

VOTE SOCIALIST!
NORMAN THOMAS
FOR PRESIDENT

Workers Age

Weekly Paper of the Independent Labor League of America

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Organized Labor Finds Its Voice in the Crisis

ONE of the few encouraging features of a situation otherwise so dark and disheartening is the vigorous stand taken by authoritative labor spokesmen and organizations against the pending scheme to regiment the people of this country thru a system of peace-time conscription. John L. Lewis has spoken in no uncertain terms for the C.I.O. William Green, speaking for the A. F. of L., has condemned the Burke-Wadsworth bill and has urged "voluntary action" as against "compulsion." The heads of five railway brotherhoods have taken a similar stand. The C.I.O.'s powerful United Automobile Workers at its recent convention unanimously adopted a resolution strongly condemning peace-time conscription as a menace to democracy and the rights of labor. And among the scores of thousands of appeals, protests and messages that have been pouring in on Washington during the last few weeks, reflecting widespread public opposition to the measure, expressions from labor and church organizations are predominant.

There is hope in all this, at that time when every glimmer of hope is most welcome. For nearly a year now, the men in high places in Washington, assisted by the war party thruout the country, have been trying to stampede the American people into a frenzy of panic and hysteria under cover of which anything could be put over. By playing upon the universal hatred of Hitlerism and the widespread bewilderment at Hitler's lightning successes in Europe, our propagandists of panic have scored a measurable degree of success. They have succeeded in working up a dank, heavy atmosphere of hysteria and confusion in which all sanity is choked off, in which all sense of reality is stifled. In such an atmosphere, it has not proved impossible for them—for the Administration and its interventionist confederates in both parties—to put over in the name of national defense a vast armaments program that has no meaning whatever except in terms of a foreign war in Europe or Asia.

It is not difficult for any one at all acquainted with military affairs to show that the Administration's "defense" program is a program of participation in a foreign war and not one of defense of the United States, or even of the western hemisphere, from invasion or attack. But to get this point over to the masses of the people has been difficult indeed, not only because of the widespread befuddlement and fear but also because no powerful group, with national standing and influence, has had the courage and the vision to speak up and tell the truth to the American people, still overwhelmingly opposed to involvement in a foreign war.

This has been especially true of organized labor, which should have been most articulate in denouncing the fraudulent "national-defense" program of the Administration and in laying bare its disastrous implications for the people as a whole and for the workers in particular. But until recently labor failed miserably in measuring up to its duty to itself and the country. With a few grumbles here and there, with a few pleas for "safeguards," it swallowed the President's program hook, line and sinker, and thus abdicated its great responsibility.

With the conscription issue, the tide seems to be about to turn. This issue has apparently dramatized to the American people the vast dangers inherent in the Administration program as nothing else could because it affects the people more directly and intimately than anything else does. The public reaction has been unmistakable. And spurred on, apparently, by the upsurge of feeling among the rank and file, the responsible spokesmen of organized labor have at last found their voice. It is a beginning that is most heartening—if only it proves really a beginning of a new attitude and a new militancy on the part of the labor movement!

Genuine Defense vs. F.D.R.'s Arms Program: A Contrast

President's Plans Have No Meaning Except Foreign War

THE need for a concrete definition of defense policy has been urged on the Roosevelt Administration since its beginning. The Administration has never formulated such a definition and it does not have one today in spite of unprecedented arms expenditures.

In the August issue of *Harpers*, under the title "Wanted: A Plan for Defense," Hanson Baldwin, military analyst for the *New York Times*, attempts to give a specific answer in terms of the current military scene to the question: "What are we to defend and how?" Mr. Baldwin assumes that the U. S. A. is interested in defense rather than in foreign expeditions, and bases his answer on hemisphere defense and its requirements.

In his capacity as reporter, Mr. Baldwin wrote an article for the *New York Times*, July 14, outlining, as clearly as available information permitted him, what the U. S. A. actually has in the way of a military establishment and what it seems by way of getting. By comparing Mr. Baldwin's estimate of what the U. S. A. ought to have and his report of what the U. S. A. is getting, it is possible to obtain some indication of whether the Administration's military plans make sense.

The over-all picture of Mr. Baldwin's plan for hemisphere defense is essentially the same as that described by other independent military experts. In the Pacific, it omits the Philippines, generally considered indefensible by everyone but the war-with-Japan enthusiasts in the Navy and State Departments. In both oceans, it includes numerous bases from Alaska and Newfoundland down to about 40 degrees south latitude, plus a watchful eye on Greenland and the Azores. In brief, the fundamental strategy of hemisphere defense is the possession of hemisphere bases from which to operate. Mr. Baldwin insists that if the U. S. A. does not hasten to negotiate for the use of South American harbors and airfields, hemisphere defense will be no more than a political catch-phrase.

Because any attempt to invade the western hemisphere must be accomplished by men and material transported across thousands of miles of open ocean, the defense of the hemisphere is primarily a naval

problem. Air power, which threatens sea power in narrow European waters, would not be effective unless it could first secure western hemisphere bases.

Naval Power

Naval power and naval needs can only be estimated in terms of the possible force an enemy or a coalition of enemies can bring to bear. Mr. Baldwin purposely takes an extreme view. He imagines the entire potential strength (built and building) of the German, Italian, Japanese and Russian fleets attacking the western hemisphere. He estimates their maximum total tonnage at 2,500,000. But not all of it could be used for attack. Behind the statistics Mr. Baldwin finds that: (1) some of Germany's relatively few ships are designed for the short distances of the North Sea; (2) the entire Italian fleet is built for the short distances of the Mediterranean and would have difficulty attacking across an ocean; (3) Japan's fleet is built primarily to be operated in Far Eastern waters; (4) the Soviet fleet is unseaworthy.

DEFENSE: Total U. S. tonnage built, building and planned is 2,611,670 (before the two-ocean fleet authorization). Mr. Baldwin believes that so long as this strength relates to the totalitarian powers is maintained, the U. S. A. has little to fear from an extremely unlikely attack by a coalition of totalitarian navies.

F. D. R. PROGRAM: The two-ocean navy, authorized by Congress, will raise total U. S. tonnage to more than 8,000,000. Construction would be completed between 1946 and 1949. Cost would be \$10,000,000,000 in addition to present naval expansion costs.

Should Britain be defeated, Mr. Baldwin believes her fleet would be at the bottom of the sea or in Empire ports. If the bulk of it should fall into Nazi hands, he thinks the U. S. A. should increase its naval building program. But Mr. Baldwin believes that there is a limit to this sort of thing. "We cannot in reason attempt to outbuild the world and to prepare to the fullest against every faintly possible contingency," he writes, "for to do so would be irremediably to weaken our economic

and perhaps our political structure before we even entered a war."

What Do YOU Say?

AS the last two issues of the *Workers Age* bear witness, our appeal for aid has not been entirely without results. The prompt assistance we have received from many of our friends and readers has enabled us to tide over two more weeks of the most difficult period we have experienced in many years.

But the emergency is by no means over. It is more acute than ever as we approach the end of Summer. The last few weeks are the hardest. If we succeed in surviving them, we have every reason to hope that we will reach solid ground by the Fall and reestablish the normal existence of the paper.

But until then, we must repeat our appeals to our readers and friends. If this paper means anything to you, if it has ever meant anything to you, if you believe that its voice should not be silenced in these days when courage and independence are so vital—then follow up your belief by action. DO SOMETHING to help us save the *Workers Age*! DO SOMETHING to help us tide over these critical weeks!

Every penny counts. Send in what you yourself can spare. Make collections among your friends or fellow-workers. Get subs. Pay up any money you may owe to the *Age*. But DO SOMETHING!

Italo-British War In Africa Grows

R.A.F. Attacks on Germany Claimed To Be Highly Successful; New Indian Plan

The war developed last week in East Africa where Italy began a determined invasion of British Somaliland, and headed towards Egypt, while around the island of Britain itself the intensity of the air fights increased. The R.A.F. claimed success of severe and ruinous bombardment of German industrial and shipping centers, while the German air force communique claimed to have continued its successful attacks on British shipping.

The Italian invasion of British African holdings was held by some to indicate that the Axis was turning away from an immediate invasion of Britain, while other observers considered this a diversion of labor dispersing British forces and making the task of the Germans easier. Noticeable lulls in Germany's air attacks on England led to the conclusion that vast preparations were going on in German-dominated Channel ports and behind the lines which might be the prelude to an attack.

In the Far East, Britain continued

its policy of avoiding friction with Japan by withdrawing fifteen hundred troops from interior stations in China to Hong Kong and Shanghai. Speculation was rife as to whether

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Referendum Demanded On Conscription Bill

Labor United in Stand Against Peace-Time Draft

A.F.L., Five Railroad Brotherhoods Join C.I.O. in Opposing Burke-Wadsworth Bill

Washington, D. C.

Organized labor's opposition to peace-time conscription was made virtually unanimous last week as William Green, president of the A. F. of L., and the presidents of five big railroad brotherhoods made public statements hostile to the Burke-Wadsworth bill now before Congress. John L. Lewis, president of the C.I.O., had already made known the C.I.O.'s firm opposition to the measure in a communication to the Senate and House Military Affairs Committees the week before.

Mr. Green's statement urged that the "American way" of "voluntary enlistment" be followed instead of resorting to conscription. He also scored the Burke-Wadsworth bill for its many objectionable features, and declared: "We cannot, therefore, give it our approval or support."

"The working men and women,"

Wheeler Asks Democratic Procedure; Defense Profit Limitation Fight Waged

The fight against the Burke-Wadsworth conscription bill, designed to introduce the draft in peacetime, shook the Senate last week, as Senators Wheeler and Vandenberg demanded a referendum and scored the administration sponsored hysteria around the bill. At the same time, isolationist and anti-administration forces in the Senate came within one vote of passing an amendment to the act authorizing the President to call out the National Guard for a year's training and possible service anywhere in the Western hemisphere or U. S. territories and possessions, including the Philippines. The amendment was intended to limit his power to send the guard beyond the borders of the

continental United States and its possessions. Administration spokesmen declared this would hamstring the Monroe doctrine, but its supporters warned that the power of the Executive was dangerously increased by the original bill and warned that the power of Congress to declare war would be effectively eliminated by it. It was also pointed out that hemispheric solidarity does not, in the main, rest on the possibility of sending National Guard punitive expeditions to South America, as were the Marines once, but in a progressive program of economic and social relationship.

DEFENSE FINANCING DEBATED

A new "amortization plan" for government financing of armaments plus an excess-profits taxing bill revealed the trend to make the American masses rather than wealthy interests bear the brunt of the super armaments budget. Powerful employer lobbies worked overtime at the capital to push their view that any sort of profit-limiting legislation served to hamper national defense. Testifying at House Ways and Means Committee hearings, Treasury Secretary Morgenthau, War Secretary Stimson, Assistant Navy Secretary Compton and William Knudsen of the National Defense Advisory Commission, urged this point of view on taxation. The amortization plan, as discussed approvingly in the Ways and Means Committee, would permit all expansion and construction of defense plants to be deducted from taxable earnings. In hearings on the excess-profits tax bill, Senator Clark uncovering the fact that proposed rates would bring about \$190,000,000 per year, declared:

"It seems to me that it is just a sugar coating to get people to swallow amortization. It is to convey the impression that we are soaking somebody to pay for this program when as a matter of fact it is just a drop in the bucket."

WHEELER DEMANDS REFERENDUM

In the Senate debate on the conscription bill, which began last Saturday, most startling proposal was made by Senator Wheeler, outstanding anti-war leader in the upper house, to put the question of conscription before the people of the United States and let them declare whether they were for it or against it. In a special statement issued by him, it was said:

"If the proponents of conscription are in favor of democracy and feel it is necessary to have conscription in order to save democracy they ought to be willing to submit the question to a referendum because that would be the democratic way to ascertain the public's reaction."

Senator Wheeler also declared that he would continue to fight for the voluntary enlistment plan with added inducements of a pay raise from \$21 to \$30 per month and reduction of term from three years to one.

The Chamber of Commerce also issued a statement in which it declared that conscription was vitally necessary but, referring to legislative anti-profit taxation, warned against giving up "our liberties."

In the Senate discussion, Vandenberg took exception to the position of the Administration's headman attempting to force thru the draft regardless of need or preparation. He declared that not until 1942 would the Army have sufficient equipment for 750,000 men. At present, the Senator stressed, we have a regular Army of 375,000 and a National Guard of 250,000, just a little short of the 750,000 mark. "Why then," he asked, "is it necessary to resort to extraordinary peacetime measures for additional men?"

The few days of discussion in the Senate was already marked by greatest tension, interruption and personal vituperation. While the Administration forces have already had to retreat in reducing the draft age to the 21-31 group, tremendous pressure is being exerted by them against the isolationist block, which in this instance is being joined by forces generally hostile to the Administration and opposed to the general increase of the President's power contained in the proposed legislation. Mobilization of anti-war forces thruout the country, suspicious of the direction of the Administration's foreign policy, and expression of its sentiments has served considerably to bolster the anti-conscription viewpoint in Congress.

THE FIRST LINE OF DEFENSE



from Justice

Employers Assail NLRA Under Cover of 'Defense' Action to 'Modify' Law This Session

N.A.M. Launches New Drive for Congress

Washington, D. C.

A renewed drive on the Wagner Act—this time under the slogan of "national defense" has been launched by the National Association of Manufacturers.

The attack on the labor act will be resumed when the Senate Education and Labor Committee begins consideration next week of House-approved amendments, sponsored by the Smith investigating committee. Some of these amendments, many labor leaders believe, would destroy the effectiveness of the act.

Four hearings will be held by the committee. The first will be attended by President Green, who supported some of the House amendments.

The other hearings will be given over to C.I.O. President Lewis, N.L.R.B. officials, and the N.A.M.

Indications are that the N.A.M. will develop an argument used with considerable effectiveness by Wagner Act foes in the House that business is afraid to expand to meet defense needs because of the Labor Board.

Lewis Sees Peril in War Preparations

Urges Nation Concentrate On Welfare of Masses; Labor Party on Way, He Says

Denver, Col.

"Some day labor will lose faith in the two major parties to the point where labor will go out and form its own party," John L. Lewis declared last week in an address at the annual convention of the International Union of Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers, a C.I.O. affiliate. Lewis accused politicians in power of ignoring the needs of labor.

He said that the nation was headed for war and fascism unless it turned to "bettering the conditions of its citizens rather than concentrating all its energies on war."

"The question today is whether the institutions of the U. S. in the future are to be defended by free men or armies of conscripts," he said. "There is no external foe that threatens America and no internal foe . . . except the possible loss of confidence by our citizens in their government because it will not heed their voices and redress their wrongs."

He warned Americans that "unless you rise up and make known your desires in every way possible left to you, you may find that this thing you abhor come upon you."

Knitgoods Workers Vote General Strike

Prepare for Action Against Boss Demands

Brooklyn, N. Y. AS the negotiations between the Knitgoods Workers Union, Local 155, I.L.G.W.U., and the United Knitwear Manufacturers League came to a standstill, the Executive Board of the union took action to authorize the calling of a general strike if the final conference did not lead to a renewal of the agreement. The strike would affect 5,000 knitgoods workers in the metropolitan area.

The agreement between the union and the Association expired on July 15, 1940. Since then, discussions and conferences have been going on between the two groups. In the meantime, shops have been operating under the same conditions as in the old agreement.

The union has asked for the renewal of the agreement in force plus a week's vacation with pay instead of the three and one-half legal holidays. The employers countered with a series of demands which, clause by clause, would destroy the labor standards won by the workers over many years of struggle and would completely nullify union conditions in the industry.

In his report to the Executive Board, Louis Nelson, manager of the union, stated that the union's position was sound and reasonable and that the employers were not cooperating toward a solution of the present dispute. "Their demands show that they cannot or will not understand that the knitgoods workers will not turn back to the open shop conditions of former years. We will not permit the return of sweatshops to our industry," he said.

With open conflict threatening in the knitwear section of the industry, a peaceful solution seemed imminent in the textile-knitted-fabric section. The negotiations committee reached an agreement which was to be ratified by both sides. A meeting of textile fabric workers has been called to act on this agreement.

The outstanding feature of this agreement is that, instead of a multitude of agreements with individual employers, there will be one uniform agreement in the industry. The employers will act thru their Association of Knitted Fabrics Manufacturers. The agreement will run for a two-year period, to terminate on July 15, 1942. This section of the industry in the city is about 90% organized.

The provisions of the new agreement will have important repercussions in the entire country since it will tend to introduce uniform basic conditions in the industry. The new agreement provides machinery for

Defense vs. FDR Program A Contrast

(Continued from Page 1) be nearly as great even if the U. S. A. should lose control of the sea. What might happen is that a small expeditionary force might make a landing and force a land battle.

Therefore, the U. S. A. has no need for a large army. To garrison naval, air and army bases already established or which may be established, the regular army might require 125,000 to 150,000 men, with the heaviest concentration in Panama, Puerto Rico, Hawaii and Alaska. The regular army must provide a nucleus for coast and anti-aircraft defense, and officers and instructors for the National Guard and for a mass army should one ever be needed. It must provide eight to fifteen men for every plane in the air force. The regular army should also include a highly trained, fully equipped field force of perhaps 150,000 men ready to be dispatched to any part of the hemisphere. Every possible lesson should be taken from the performance and equipment of the Nazi army.

DEFENSE: The regular army, according to Mr. Baldwin, need be no greater than 400,000 men, if that large, and it should be built from voluntary enlistment.

F. D. R. PROGRAM: By September, the army hopes to reach an enlisted strength of 375,000, a figure in line with Mr. Baldwin's reasoning. But the President, the War Department, Colonel Julius Ochs Adler and the Military Training Camps Association also hope to have conscription by September. Plans

Labor United in Stand Against Peace-Time Draft

(Continued from page 1) the western hemisphere, our homes and our homeland." The stand of the heads of the five big railroad brotherhoods was embodied in a letter addressed to the Senate and House Military Affairs Committees. "Compulsory military service in times of peace," said the letter, "is the very antithesis of freedom." The letter was signed by Alvaney Johnston, Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers; D. B. Robertson, Locomotive Foremen and Engineers; J. A. Phillips, Brotherhood of Conductors; A. F. Whitney, Brotherhood of Trainmen; and T. C. Cashen, Brotherhood of Switchmen.

impartial adjudication of disputes, one week's vacation with pay, and conferences in case a devaluation of the dollar leads to a rise in the cost of living. The agreement provides for wage increases for the workers and extra pay for workers employed on the third shift (from 1:00 A.M. to 8:00 A.M.). These workers will work 3 1/2 hours and be paid for 40 hours. The employers thus recognize the hardships involved in working those hours.

Workers called in to work will receive one-half day's pay if the employer does not provide work. The minimum scale for brushers, steamers, mappers and sheavers will be \$10.00 per week on the first shift and \$21.00 on the second and third shifts. The agreement also provides that there be no increase in the machine load. Knitters on cotton are to receive an additional five cents per hour increase during the second

"Deportation" Ruling Perils Civil Liberty

N. Y. Court Backs Case Against Reliefer

New York City CONDEMNING the decision of the New York State Court of Appeals in sanctioning the forcible deportation of a relief recipient to another state as a blow to the Constitution and an entering wedge for renewed attacks against labor and liberals, David L. Glendenin, national secretary-treasurer of the Workers' Defense League, which carried the case up to the higher state court, announced recently that the Workers' Defense League would appeal the case to the United States Supreme Court. The court's decision was handed down on July 24, 1940.

"This is a fight to the finish for the rights of labor and of the submerged and impoverished, which means the vast majority of our populace," Mr. Glendenin stated. "Labor must realize the menace of the situation—the implications to labor of the extension of this principle of the right of counties and states to ride roughshod over the Constitution and to set up different classes of citizenship. If this decision stands and New York can force this family to return to its former abode, then, as Councilman Harry W. Laidler warned recently, 'any state can claim the right to deport any family for a host of reasons, and the fundamental right of free movement in America will be denied here, as it has been denied under totalitarian governments.'

"We urge all labor unions and all liberal organizations to protest against this decision and to join with us in fighting against it. The decision of the Court of Appeals upholds the 'deportation' of Rosario Chirillo, Westchester shoemaker, and his family to Wooster, Ohio, because they accepted three months relief from the state. The Workers' Defense League, handling the case for the Chirillos thru Morris Shapiro, its national counsel, carried the appeal to the Albany court after County Judge Frank H. Coyne, of White Plains, had ruled that the county could forcibly remove the Mamanonek cobbler, his wife and three of their four children to Ohio because they accepted three months relief from the state.

"Naturally the Workers' Defense League, which carried this case to the Court of Appeals, is profoundly disturbed that the court ruled against us in what Solicitor General Henry Epstein called 'the most important case since the Dred Scott decision.' We are aghast that this attempt to deprive citizens of their liberty in contravention of the Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution has been thus upheld.

"The forcible removal of a small and unwealthy family from one state to another may not seem important in itself, except to those involved, who must again tear up their home roots and seek new homes elsewhere, despite constitutional guarantees of freedom of residence. It is in the far-reaching implications of the county's and state's action that the importance of the case lies, and in its potential menace to all citizens of liberal or labor cast of mind, who are rendered subject to deportation to other states or to a foreign country at the whim of authorities or officials with whom they may be unpopular. As Mr. Shapiro said in arguing the case before the Court of Appeals: 'Without the right of freedom of residence, racial groups might be confined to ghettos, virtual penance might be reintroduced by confining poorer sections of the population in geographically limited areas, and passports, identification

photographs and fingerprints insisted upon for these traveling from state to state or indeed within the state.' The prevailing opinion was written by Associate Judge John T. Loughran who was joined by Associate Judges Albert Conway and Charles B. Sears and Chief Justice Irving Lehman. A separate opinion was written by Chief Justice Irving Lehman, in which Associate Judges Loughran and Sears concurred. Judge Edward R. Finch wrote the dissenting opinion, which was concurred in by Judge Harlan W. Rippey and Judge Harry Lewis.

Conscription The most immediate issue in the Administration's military activities is peace-time military conscription. In a review of Tobin and Bidwell's "Mobilizing Civilian America" in the Times of July 14, Mr. Baldwin by implication answers the question of whether an army can be raised without conscription: "The authors discuss the mobilization of man power at some length, and show, incidentally, (something that is now generally forgotten in the discussion of another conscription bill) that 563,000 volunteers enlisted during the first five months of the World War, and 1,300,000 volunteers were recruited up until August 1918, when volunteer recruiting was stopped."

In his Harpers article, Mr. Baldwin discusses conscription more fully: "Conscription in time of war can be justified. But at a time like the present it cannot be justified on a basis of hemisphere defense, for no such mass of men as conscription would provide can effectively be used in this hemisphere—with one possible exception: If we were preparing for a death struggle with a Japanized Asia and with a completely Germanized Europe in which all the navies and merchant marines and shipbuilding facilities of the continent were in German hands—a possibility which we have previously discussed and considered to be most unlikely.

"Events do not warrant the painting of the international picture in such black overtones as this. But whether or not conscription is genuinely needed, it should never be endorsed except after careful consideration and with an understanding of the basic change in our lives and our customs that it will entail. Invocation of a compulsory-service act has many arguments in its favor, but it should be clearly understood that its adoption would create a profound, lasting and inescapable change in the economic, social and political life of our country and might well retard the growth of our civilization. A measure of such consequence if enacted in time of peace may become a permanent part of our institutions; it should not, therefore, be considered by Congress in this era of hysteria, but, if intended as a permanent measure, only in a time of calm calculation. On the other hand, if conscription is needed merely as a temporary emergency measure to last for the duration of the emergency, then the emergency ought to be defined; if the international picture is black enough to warrant conscription, then the President should declare a state of national emergency or Congress should declare a state of war."

Business Profits Score Big Rise Over Last Year

37% More For Second Quarter of 1940, Reports From 300 Companies Show

New York City PROFITS of the first 300 companies to report for the second quarter of 1940 were 37% greater than a year ago, the Associated Press said last week.

Earnings of the group rose to \$319,829,000, compared with \$232,688,000 in the April-May-June quarter of 1939. Excluding the relatively stable profits of the American Telephone and Telegraph Co., net income of the group was 43% greater than the same period last year.

year of the agreement as compared with the first year. The first and second shifts are to work 40 hours in a five-day week; the third shift will work 3 1/2 hours in a five-day week.

Stamp Plan Is Held Boon to Unemployed

Los Angeles, Cal. Editor, Workers Age:

AS a reliever of not inconsiderable seniority, I recoil in pained surprise at the action of my fellow-relievers Berger, Whitmore and Pearson in issuing a blanket condemnation of the food-stamp plan. To state (Workers Age, July 20) that the real purpose of the plan is to raise food prices is an oversimplification. Actually, the real purpose is to justify some of the machinations of the A.A.A. The stamp plan is a variation of the plowing-under gag and is aimed at the same result—stabilization of prices of surplus commodities—but, socially, it is much more desirable. We might as well accept the fact that never again in America will farm products find an uninflected market (one of the contradictions of capitalism) and if, in the process of establishing artificial prices, the unemployed are tossed a few crumbs, it's just so much gravy for us.

In their anxiety to make a case against food stamps, Berger, Whitmore and Pearson overlook the fact that the purchase of stamps is entirely optional and voluntary. Further, the plan bears no relation to the voucher system. The variety of foods obtainable with orange stamps is limited only by one's culinary imagination. The blue stamps, which are free, can be applied to the purchase of a limited but useful list of surplus staples and, if they replace surplus-food depots, that is all to the good. These depots were open only to direct relief clients and not to W.P.A. workers and much of the junk they handed out was inedible.

Contrary to the contention of your correspondents, there is no discrimination in price and quality of food and you can shop around to your heart's content. I am mystified as to the "dangers" that lie in being identified as a relief client so I can't answer that one but as for the point they make so much of—that the stamp plan will be used as an excuse to cut relief—can it be that they need be reminded that the authorities need no excuse to cut relief, that relief standards are dependent upon the organization and the militancy of the unemployed?

In the six months that food stamps have been available in Los Angeles, I have heard but one of my W.P.A. colleagues raise an objection. He asked: "Why should I buy food stamps? The bookies won't take them, will they?" But if I knew Brooklyn (ask me—do I know Brooklyn?), even this objection won't be valid there.

RUD COOK

photographs and fingerprints insisted upon for these traveling from state to state or indeed within the state." The prevailing opinion was written by Associate Judge John T. Loughran who was joined by Associate Judges Albert Conway and Charles B. Sears and Chief Justice Irving Lehman. A separate opinion was written by Chief Justice Irving Lehman, in which Associate Judges Loughran and Sears concurred. Judge Edward R. Finch wrote the dissenting opinion, which was concurred in by Judge Harlan W. Rippey and Judge Harry Lewis.

3 Months NLRB Poll Results

Washington, D. C.

THE National Labor Relations Board recently made public an analysis of the results of elections conducted under its direction during the three-month period ending June 30, 1940.

Tabulated results for the three-month period are:

A. F. of L.: participated in 272 elections, won 131, polled 43,906 votes.

C.I.O.: participated in 236 elections, won 152, polled 124,189 votes.

"Independents": participated in 63 elections, won 32, polled 26,417 votes.

All unions appearing on the ballot were rejected in 76 elections, and 10 additional elections were indeterminate. Votes against all unions totaled 32,812.

Breaking these figures down by organizations, we have:

A. F. of L. unopposed: Of 128 such elections, the A. F. of L. won 83 and lost 45. The vote was 9,491 for and 4,616 against.

United Labor Action Achieved in Paterson

AFL, CIO Unions Agree to Avoid Conflict

By CARL HOLDERMAN

Paterson, N. J. PEACE between unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor and unions affiliated with the Congress of Industrial Organizations has been achieved in Paterson, N. J. Jurisdictional disputes and raids by one faction upon the other have been outlawed as a result of promises by each group that neither will invade a field wherein the other has already organized or is in the process of organizing the workers. This is the accomplishment

of the gentlemen's agreement, or, as it has been termed, the "non-aggression pact" entered into by the two labor groups earlier this year, at a conference called by Walter Lotte, acting mayor of the city of Paterson.

The immediate purpose of the conference held in March was to deal with two current jurisdictional controversies between A. F. of L. and C.I.O. unions which disrupted the industrial peace of the city and threatened to develop into a widespread struggle on the Paterson labor front. One of the immediate points at issue was the A. F. of L. strike and picket line around a cleaning and dyeing plant where a C.I.O. contract was already in existence and where the majority of the workers were C.I.O. members. The other problem concerned the signing of an agreement between a clothing company and an A. F. of L. union immediately after a similar C.I.O. contract had terminated. This action resulted in the replacement of local C.I.O. workers by outside A. F. of L. members.

Skirmishes on the picket lines, involving police interference, made the situation so tense that the city officials were prompted to call a conference between the rival organizations. The conference was attended not only by representatives of the unions involved in the two cases, but also by local and state C.I.O. and A.F. of L. officials. Steps to settle the two issues on a temporary basis, to be followed by a permanent accord, were rapidly agreed upon. Encouraged by this success, the conference proceeded to discuss methods to avoid further misunderstanding and bring about lasting peace between the local A. F. of L. and C.I.O. organizations in Paterson.

It should be emphasized that the rank and file of both groups of labor in Paterson had for some time been demanding peace and unity in the labor movement. In 1938 the Central Trades and Labor Council of Passaic County, of which Paterson is the leading city, established a unity committee with the prime purpose of working for county, state and national labor unity.

When the two controversies arose, both groups of local labor leaders recognized the dangers of larger factional disputes to the detriment of local industries and organized labor. These leaders therefore resolved to do all within their power to maintain labor peace.

As a result of the recent conference, representatives of both factions agreed to a declaration of principles designed to halt all jurisdictional disputes between A. F. of L. and C.I.O. unions in Paterson. Although the agreement was verbal, the acting mayor was authorized by both parties to issue a statement pertaining to the principles agreed upon. It reads in part:

"Whereas, certain labor disputes have arisen in the city of Paterson which are generally described as jurisdictional disputes; and

"Whereas, the elimination of said jurisdictional disputes will redound to the great benefit of industry, labor, and the general public;

"Therefore, I, Walter Lotte, acting mayor of the city of Paterson, am pleased to announce, as a result of conferences had with the leaders of organized labor representing the American Federation of Labor and the Congress of Industrial Organizations, that from and after the date hereof, jurisdictional disputes will be eliminated in the city of Paterson.

"Both organizations have agreed that industries or commercial establishments which are now organized by either organization shall not be invaded by the other organization for the purpose of changing the affiliations of said organized industries or commercial establishments. . . . In the future, if either of the aforementioned organizations shall have commenced organization efforts in any of the industries or commercial establishments, the consummation of said organization efforts shall not be hindered by the other. . . ."

The A. F. of L. and C.I.O. groups have each designated special committees whose function it will be to cooperate and jointly to prevent any violation of the spirit as well as the letter of this agreement.

Organized Labor and the Defense of America

Freedom, Welfare Bulwark Against Fascism

(These paragraphs are from an editorial in the July 12, 1940 issue of the Minneapolis Labor Review, official weekly publication of the Central Labor Union, A. F. of L., of Minneapolis, Minn.—Editor.)

TO defend America and keep it America—that is the problem. To save America from the foe within while erecting a defense to repel any foe from without is what complicates the problem.

That internal foe most to be feared is the capitalist who would rather have a Hitler or a Hitler government than to permit a condition where a more fair and equal distribution of wealth brought near the cooperative commonwealth.

They were the people who enslaved Norway, betrayed France, will crucify England if possible, and assisted in the debacle of the other lands crushed under Hitler's heel. We have them here.

It is true that airplanes and tanks and submarines and airplane carriers are needed for defense under modern ways of mass slaughter. But after all, it is the fighting heart or the lack of it of the men who will operate these machines of war that will determine the outcome.

Regimentation and enslavement do not develop courage, endurance and refusal to surrender to the enemy.

Abraham Lincoln's boast that no foreign foe could ever drink out of the Mississippi will be guaranteed when the fruits of the labor of the workers in city and country, and the opportunities to labor and produce are made available to all.

What of the people on W.P.A. and on relief? These people, who have been so unjustly taunted and jeered at by the coupon-clippers and their tools, of a sudden are called upon to transform themselves into heroes and die for their country. Is heroism inspired by reminding them that in America those in want receive more relief than in any other country, and those doing made work are better paid than in any other land?

We think not.

Life on relief and W.P.A. is too crushingly hopeless to inspire men to fight to protect it when they know the only reason for their being on relief and W.P.A. is to maintain the status-quo of world-wide financial and industrial cliques that, with complete power of government in their hands, again and again turn a world that is a beautiful garden into a slaughter-house.

The minds of these folks have not been disabused on the injustice visited upon them by jeering at them about leaning on shovels and not wanting to work.

It should not be imagined for a second that we have the false idea that all workers not on W.P.A. or relief enjoy a life of economic security and happiness. The lot of all too many who toil is all too sad.

There are not enough millionaires in America to defend it if you could persuade them all to fight, and dollars are useless in war where there is not a fighting heart that has developed from a realization that there was something worth while to defend.

So, in any defense plan, the workers play an important part and the most important part. It is declared that three men are needed back of the lines to keep every man on the fighting line supplied and equipped.

If you say the workers of Germany are enslaved and they fight courageously, remember that they have not forgotten the starvation imposed on them by the Dawes Plan and the Young Plan. They are scientifically enslaved and the starvation the Allies visited on Germany made their enslavement possible.

To defend America we do not have to think, and no one should even dream, of conquest abroad. To make America secure beyond any attack that may be hurled against it, it is necessary only to give industrial and economic justice to those so long denied it.

Shorten the hours so that all may have employment. Increase the pay, so that there may be a sufficiency and economic security for all. This is not only a just thing to do. It is a very sound thing to do. Building war machines is going to place a heavy burden of taxation on the people of this land. The more who are permitted to work and produce, the more wealth will be created, and the greater part each receives of what he produces, the lighter the taxes will rest on all, the greater general satisfaction there will be, and the stronger the defense of the nation becomes.

It is easily possible for every family in America to live in a home they know will always be theirs, to enjoy the right of education, travel and recreation. The conquest of poverty is easily possible here. That is the only campaign of conquest in which we should be interested. When that conquest is made America will be impregnable.

With economic justice and security prevailing, if the defense of the land makes sacrifice necessary be assured Americans will be as ready to sacrifice today as they were at Valley Forge.

In such a condition a Fifth Column could never be erected, let alone stand for even a second.

We believe America is in a critical and dangerous situation due to developments abroad. We feel that what has happened in Europe proves not only the need of modern war machines for defense; it makes imperative the establishing at the earliest possible moment of a state in America for all, a hope in America for all thru industrial and economic justice. Millions of workers live better here than any workers in the world. That should be and can be true of all workers.

Organized labor will aid in giving this nation its best possible defense by uniting its forces of A. F. of L. and C.I.O., and insisting that youth particularly be afforded a hold on life, not just a chance to die in battle—that workers who have waited so patiently in relief lines and accepted the meager living from W.P.A. be made room for in industry thru establishing shorter hours.

Unless those who are marshalling the forces for defense see the need of doing the things we have pointed out here, America will not be given that defense it needs, not because the people do not want to defend America, but because those who are marshalling defense do not understand how to build it.

Labor Hits New Scheme For Company Police

Warns Against "Industry Defense" Bill

New York City.

LABOR leaders are becoming increasingly aware of the menace to the rights of the workers and their organizations involved in certain legislation now being pushed in Congress by interests striving to take advantage of the current hysteria, Labor's Anti-War Council pointed out in a statement last week.

Special attention was voiced against a measure introduced by Senator Sheppard at the request of

Texas business men, calling for the establishment of a "National Industrial Defense Corps." The bill was considered at a hearing recently before the Senate Military Affairs Committee. It would authorize the enlistment and arming of picked workers in factories, who would be supervised by military agencies. Their job would ostensibly be the "detecting and reporting of acts of sabotage and sedition," and "suppressing armed insurrection."

Vice-President Fred C. Laudemann of the International Association of Machinists termed the bill a "most menacing one."

"Its motives may be worthy, but we fear that such legislation would open the door for undercover men, labor spies and anti-union guards, to operate against the unions," Laudemann said. "It is directly contrary to the LaFollette-Thomas bill, which has already passed the Senate and which would outlaw labor spies and industrial armies."

"We are, of course, anxious to do all we can to support the government's national-defense program, but there is absolutely no need for legislation of this kind, which could be used for the wrong purpose."

Significantly, only army men, representing chambers of commerce, testified for the bill. Each claimed the proposed corps would be used solely to guard against sabotage, but several committee members voiced fear that they might be turned into strikebreaking fronts. Senator Sheppard himself said that while "something must be done to prevent sabotage in plants," he wanted to hear from labor before action is taken on the bill.

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American Youth Wants No Foreign War Involvement

Youth Anti-War Group Secretary Explains Stand

By FAY BENNETT

(Fay Bennett is executive secretary of the Youth Committee Against War.—Editor.)

Arguing for universal military conscription in the New York Times recently, Professor James Angell McLaughlin of the Harvard Law School discussed five points which, he said, were fallacies widely held to be truths among young Americans.

These were: (1) "Isolationism"—the belief that what happens outside the territorial United States is of no concern to us; (2) pacifism—the belief that no lasting good can come out of violence; (3) distrust of our own institutions—the belief that American democracy is too corrupt to be worth defending; (4) distrust of the British—the belief that British imperialism is as ruthless as Nazism; (5) discrediting our participation in the last war—the belief that since America did not profit in the last war, she would not gain from entering this one.

As an official of the Youth Committee Against War, which represents over two million young Americans organized against American involvement and conscription, I should like briefly to state our point of view.

1. "Isolationism": The great majority of American young people are profoundly aware of and concerned with the interrelation of foreign and American affairs. We cherish our own democracy and we realize that a blow to democracy anywhere endangers it in this country. We know that each fascist victory poses new and challenging problems for those of us who wish to preserve free institutions. We are far from convinced, however, that American intervention abroad will contribute anything to the salvation of European democracy, and we are extremely fearful lest our own democracy might disappear in the process.

One of the freedoms we are most eager to preserve is precisely the American freedom from the military regimentation that Professor McLaughlin urges. We are opposed to conscription, not because we do not value democracy, but because we feel that a precious part of democracy would pass with the adoption of universal military service.

2. Pacifism: It is true that a large number of young people are pacifists, that they have sworn themselves against violence in any form, and we believe that if the history of modern war does not prove their contention, it at least does not disprove it. However, the vast majority of us are not pacifists. We are willing to defend our freedom, but we do not believe that conscription is necessary for true American defense. In this we are backed up by any number of military experts, who hold that a modern army is best built of men of long technical training and experience, not by conscripts with eight months in a drill squad. But our reasons, as I say, go deeper than this. We feel that our conscription we would lose the valuable heritage we may be called on to defend.

3. Distrust of our own institutions: The only institutions which most young people distrust are those that have denied the American way of life to millions of our people. These we might name as poverty, unemployment, insecurity, suppression of civil liberties. To those institutions that have made America a great democracy we are deeply loyal, and we find it difficult to believe that

College Students And the War

THE upshot of this hard thinking [on the part of college students] has been no original arguments, but a firm faith in the standard isolationist position. Nothing worth the sacrifice is to be gained by death in foreign lands. . . . An adequate naval and air establishment, buttressed by a thoroughgoing system of pan-American cooperation, would make Hitler keep his distance. . . . Our belligerence would not aid the cause of democracy the world over. If we go to war and forfeit our liberty, God knows if we will ever get it back. . . . Better to remain at peace and assure the existence of at least one powerful democracy after the holocaust is over." "College Students and the War," by Irwin Ross, New Republic, July 15, 1940.

Professor McLaughlin takes seriously the proposition that any large number of young people "distrust" democratic institutions.

4. Distrust of the British: Like many Americans, we distrust the statesmanship and diplomacy that have led Britain into a situation where war seems to be the only alternative to conquest by the Nazi armies. But I think it would be no exaggeration to say that most young Americans admire the spirit of the British people and sincerely hope that Britain will emerge a free land, able to make further contributions to world culture. Most young people do not admire British imperialism; but they regard it as an unfortunate chapter in the history of the British people. This attitude

Let's Learn from the Spanish Civil War!

French Collapse Confirms Earlier Lessons

By D. BENJAMIN

(This is the fourth of a series of articles by D. Benjamin on policy on the war. Since they are discussion articles, they represent the views of the writer himself and not necessarily those of this paper or of the I.L.L.A.—Editor.)

THE working class must take to heart certain basic lessons to be learned from the Spanish civil war and the recent developments in France.

The Spanish civil war (1936-39) was a dress rehearsal and a forecast of the present European war. In many ways, it was the first stage of that war. German and Italian fascism were using Spain as a battleground in an effort to gain certain footholds and advantages over British and French imperialism. Russia was then playing ball with the latter. Intertwined with this conflict was the conflict between Franco and the Loyalists.

In the early stages of that war, when the Spanish workers and peasants relied upon their own organizations, power and fighting ability, the greatest gains were made both against domestic and foreign fascism. As the Loyalist

is hardly equivalent to "distrust of the British."

5. Discrediting our participation in the last war: We definitely do believe that America's participation in the last war was a mistake, and that belief certainly contributes to our consideration of what might be gained from intervention in the present one. This is a legitimate use of the past in evaluating the present. However, we feel that we are examining the present situation on its own merits, and that is by far the larger factor in determining our attitude.

Professor McLaughlin's interpretation of our case against conscription is neither accurate nor adequate. We are against conscription because we are opposed to intervention abroad, and we believe that the temptation to go to war would increase greatly in the presence of a huge conscript army. We are against conscription because it means a break with one of America's finest traditions—the absence of the martial spirit and the brass-hat psychology. We are not impressed with the argument that anything is democratic merely because it is universal.

We are, as I have said, only too eager to defend our democracy. But we think that only limited minds conceive this defense entirely in terms of armaments and military power. We believe more important than arms is the fight against poverty and social injustice, the fight that, if won, will make this country impregnable to the anti-democratic ideas which have been responsible for the demise of so many democracies. In the emphasis on arms and conscription, we note a dangerous tendency to abandon this other fight. If it is abandoned, our democracy and free institutions will pass out of existence before Herr Hitler ever has a chance to challenge us.

forces, under pressure from Russia and its Spanish Stalinist agency as well as from its liberal capitalist allies, turned toward reliance upon the "great democracies," England and France, defeat became their reward instead. England, under Chamberlain-Eden, France under Blum-Daladier, laid down the policy of "non-intervention," thus allowing Hitler-Mussolini to go on with their destructive work unchallenged.

The British and French "democratic" imperialists preferred to see fascism victorious in Spain rather than take the chance of a workers' socialist Spain. Class blood was thicker than even inter-imperialist rivalry. The "great democracies" proved then that they were incapable of fighting Hitlerism.

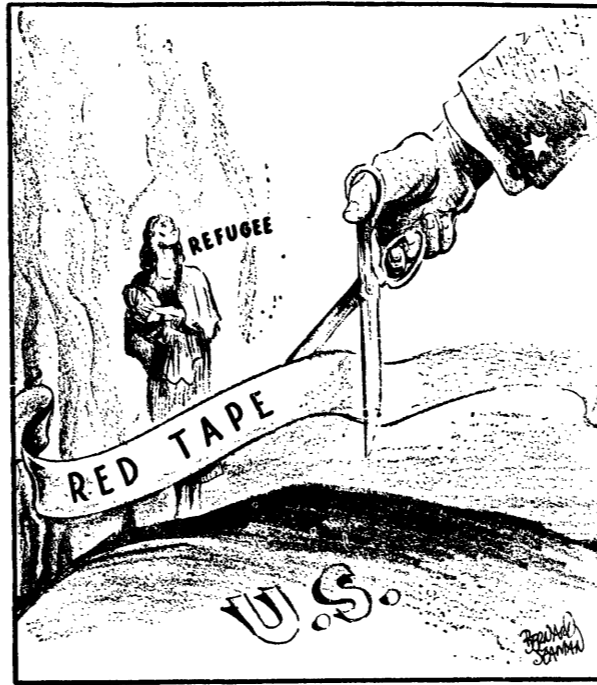
The attitude of "win the war first and after that make your reforms"—imposed upon the fighting Spanish workers and peasants by the Spanish Stalinist party, the right-wing socialists and anarchists, and the liberal bourgeoisie—proved to be the road to defeat. It demoralized the fighting Spanish working masses and undermined their morale. That policy made it impossible to build fires in Franco's rear. In the early stages, when land was seized by, and legalized for, the peasants, when workers were allowed to take over factories, and so on, the masses were fired with enthusiasm and fought with inspiration. The heroic defense of Madrid, the defeat of the Italians at Guadalajara, the holding of Catalonia, showed what could be done. Military policy could not be separated from social, economic and political policy. Basic social and economic reforms proved to be mighty military weapons. Too bad that the Loyalist government did not free the Spanish colonies! The latter then could have been turned into a reservoir of strength for the Spanish revolution.

The P.O.U.M. was correct in its policy of fighting Franco and the fascist invaders and yet, at the same time, fought incessantly, publicly and vigorously for a basic change in the political set-up, to eliminate Russian influence, the paralyzing influence of the "democratic" bourgeoisie, and the stranglehold of the Stalinists, right-wing socialist and right-wing anarchist leaders. The difficult and complicated job of substituting a real united front of the trade-union forces together with the P.O.U.M. and left-wing elements of the anarchists and socialists was carried on in the midst of the civil war, in the midst of actual invasion by Mussolini and Hitler, because it was considered an organic part, a prerequisite for, more effective resistance, for victory over Franco-Hitler-Mussolini.

LESSONS FROM RECENT FRENCH DEVELOPMENTS

The basic cause for French capitulation to Hitler in the present European war lies in the fact that "democratic" imperialist capitalism is incapable of fighting fascism, does not want a finish fight against its own last refuge. As the British Independent Labor Party put it in

SLASH IT...!



from Justice

Marx and Engels on The Question of War

Interests of Labor Always Held Paramount

By DONALD GRAHAM

(Concluded from Last Issue)

I THINK it is clear from all this that the position of Marx and Engels is applicable to the present stage of the European war. Wherever Hitler has won a victory, there the devastating effect upon the labor movement has been greater than that of any victory by the absolutists of Marx's time. Does this mean that the "social-patriots" of the last war who quoted Marx's and Engels' position in 1870 to justify their own slavish support of their imperialism in the war were correct? Of course not! Even as early as 1892, after the alliance between Czarist Russia and the French Republic had been effected against Germany, Engels wrote in the Neue Zeit in an article entitled "Socialism in Germany": "No socialist, whatever his nationality, can desire the triumph in war of either the present German government or of the French bourgeoisie republic, and least of all of the Czar, which would be equivalent to the enslavement of Europe." This position continued to be the position of all revolutionary socialists in the last war—for the line-up of powers did not materially change. When the German social-democrats in 1914 tried to justify their support of the Kaiser's war, they quoted Marx and Engels to the effect that Czarist Russia was the main enemy threat-

ening the "enslavement of all Europe." What they neatly overlooked was that the partners of Czarist Russia were the bourgeois democracies—France and England—and that the workers had nothing to gain from a victory of either side. The "social-patriots" in France claimed to be defending French democracy against Prussian militarism—was this not Marx's policy in 1870? They forgot that they were marching together with Russian absolutism. But the most ludicrous position of all was that of Plekhanov, who maintained that he was correct in supporting a victory for the Czar—for wasn't Marx at one time in favor of victory of Bismarck? He merely overlooked that Marx favored a German victory as against Bonaparte, and that with the removal of Bonaparte, Marx was for a defeat of this same Bismarck!

The last war was a fraud, and the "social patriots" in all warring countries contributed their best efforts to putting over that fraud. Each socialist party came out for the victory of its own imperialism, and each quoted Marx's war position. Now it is true that Marx was for the victory of one side in a particular war, but he certainly never was for the victory of both warring countries at the same time in any war. The "social-patriot" position of the leading parties of the Second International, each one for a victory of its own bourgeoisie, indicated the degree of national degeneration and desertion of internationalism of that movement.

In the struggle between the internationalists and the chauvinists in the socialist movement during the World War, I fail to find a single internationalist who answered the "social patriots" quotations from Marx by saying: "Marx was wrong. The proletariat can never support its bourgeois government under any circumstances." Indeed, they did not even argue that Marx had been cor-

rect in 1870, but that no war for defense was possible in 1914. On the contrary, Lenin asserted that if the war between Austria-Hungary and Serbia could be isolated, it would have been proper for the Serbian internationalists to come out in the defense of their country, that if the war between Germany and Belgium were an isolated one, it would have been similarly correct for the Belgian socialists to support their government and defend their country. But when, back of Serbia stood the absolutism of Russia, to call the Allied imperialisms "progressive" was ridiculous. What is significant in this for the present discussion is the dogma that "one can never support a bourgeoisie, no matter how 'progressive', or the theory that 'ONLY' proletarian opposition is progressive."

"RESISTERS" AND "APPEASERS"

The significant thing is the interconnection between the "resisters" and the "appeasers"—the Reynauds, who find it possible and necessary to work with the Petains and Weygands themselves. In England, you have it today in the Churchillists working with the Chamberlains, Hoares, Lloyds and Gorts. The important thing is not that an individual bourgeois leader may be found who means resistance to the end, but rather that the Reynauds and Churchill, the Edens and Daladiers, as a class, work in a certain way; have their particular roots, connections, ideology and class blood; do not object to Hitlerism as a system; are intent only upon defending their own empires; will do nothing to jeopardize the existence of the capitalist and imperialist system as such; will not resist but will rather in time turn to totalitarian methods at home; will not make basic changes necessary for an effective fight against Hitlerism and its invasion. We must understand the bourgeoisie, imperialist class today in the period of declining, warring, authoritarian capitalism, and realize that from this class cannot come leadership for the fight against totalitarianism, domestic or external. This is the basic lesson from French and Spanish experience, and must be applied by British and American labor before it is too late. Only independent working-class action and leadership can tackle the biggest problem of today with any chance of success and victory.

Why No Democracy in The Soviet Union

Burocracy Held Needed for Backward Land

By F. B.

(This is a discussion article on the subject, "Socialist Fundamentals Re-examined." The views expressed are therefore not necessarily those of any one but the author.—Editor.)

IN his article, "Basic Dilemma of Socialism," Will Herberg complains that Marxism does not give the necessary tools to understand why the Soviet Union is not democratic. It seems to me that the tools are supplied by Marxism but that they have not been used by us. First, democracy must be defined.

A democracy of two different types has grown up in the United States. One is that political democracy, which now survives only in farming districts where there is no great concentration of wealth. This democracy was exercised by small owners who, with their business relations already determined, decided certain limited public questions democratically. They decided how much money to spend on schools and roads and taxed themselves to obtain this money.

The second type of democracy, that of the great cities, is no longer political, except in form. The actual control of money and public policy has long since passed out of the hands of the people. Rather this second type is social democracy. It signifies the freedom of the individual to spend his time outside of work as he sees fit. In fascist countries, the leisure time and home life of the individual are commanded by the state. Under fascism, both types of democracy disappear.

WHY NO DEMOCRACY IN SOVIET UNION

Why do not these forms of democracy exist in the Soviet Union? Why were they not widened into socialist democracy? Socialist democracy I take to be the decisions of all questions at issue by all the people concerned in each decision, including the freedom of the individual to decide personally all things which can be individual.

Such democracy was impossible in the Soviet Union. After the 1917 revolution, an overwhelming majority of the people had no idea of socialism at all. The peasants had rebelled to get land and, as Lenin pointed out, were headed for capitalism. Socialism was a completely meaningless phrase to 80% of the population. If these persons were to be maneuvered into socialist forms, a living force—in other words the Bolshevik party or bureaucracy—had to do the maneuvering. In the nature of the situation, there could be no democratic way of accomplishing the change.

Among the workers also it was probably impossible to have democracy, for in a backward country socialism does not mean an immediate economic gain of any appreciable magnitude to the individual worker. It may even mean a loss for a time. The profits which the capitalists gain by exploiting the workers they

put back into production to quite an extent. It is probably more than human nature can endure for the workers deliberately to exploit themselves until their economy is built up. The Bolshevik bureaucracy took the place of the capitalist exploiter in keeping the workers to their track and in taking away from their direct use the results of their work.

The Bolsheviks took the risk of replacing the capitalists in the Soviet economy. The social-democrats were against this. Unlike Lenin, they had not calculated the peasant economy in labor terms and values. They lacked the boldness to think they could run the country in the name of socialism better than the capitalists. The Bolsheviks thought they could.

The test of the Bolshevik revolution is the comparison of the Soviet Union regime as a whole with capitalist forms. To the question of the relation between democracy and socialism, the Russian experience does not bring an answer. This question has to be discussed on its merits for specific countries.

DEMOCRACY AND SOCIALISM

IF socialism comes to a country as the result of the conviction of the majority of the people or of a decisive minority, which nevertheless does not become a bureaucracy but continues doing its daily work, democracy is compatible with socialism. No living persons, no bureaucracy, will be enforcing the form itself in that case. Rather, the main outlines will exist in the popular consciousness and determine actions. Each worker will know how his business is going run, how much of his wage is being directly to himself and how much to public purposes. There will be no hidden sales tax as in the Soviet Union. There can be democratic decisions of public policies and of smaller questions in the factory and other spheres.

But where the economic outlines of socialism, the means of determining how much one man's work is worth per hour, how much the taxes are, and so forth, do not exist in the popular consciousness, there is no possibility of democracy. The socialist forms must be enforced by those in whose minds they exist. The grain must be taken from the peasants to feed the city, the sales tax must be put on the bread unbeknownst to the worker, and the whole mechanism concealed in ways comparable to the mystery which surrounds values under capitalism. In order to keep popular confidence in the regime, a considerable regimentation of individuals outside their work is also necessary.

In the United States, I believe we can only have a democratic socialism or fascism. The democratic socialism would include both the social and political democracy developed under capitalism and extend these and would add economic democracy. A bureaucratic socialism has no economic function among us, although it had such a function in Russia.

rect in 1870, but that no war for defense was possible in 1914. On the contrary, Lenin asserted that if the war between Austria-Hungary and Serbia could be isolated, it would have been proper for the Serbian internationalists to come out in the defense of their country, that if the war between Germany and Belgium were an isolated one, it would have been similarly correct for the Belgian socialists to support their government and defend their country. But when, back of Serbia stood the absolutism of Russia, to call the Allied imperialisms "progressive" was ridiculous. What is significant in this for the present discussion is the dogma that "one can never support a bourgeoisie, no matter how 'progressive', or the theory that 'ONLY' proletarian opposition is progressive."

Nor does this mean that the People's Front policy of the Stalinists and social-democrats from 1935 to 1939—a policy of giving up in the struggle for socialism and supporting the bourgeois-democratic governments as the means to fight fascism—was correct. Just the contrary: the super-patriotism of Communist Party of France, the slogan of the People's Front, "All power to Daladier," the subordination of the working class to the program, policies, leadership and interests of the bourgeoisie helped to establish that treacherous regime full of Cagoulard, Croix de Feu and other fascist elements, which led to the French debacle in this war.

Some people are afraid that if, in a situation in which Hitler threatens with destruction the last free labor movement in Europe if he crushes England, that if in this situation one desires an English victory, this signifies, forsooth, that you should always have been for Churchill, and must be for him forever after. It is as tho the conclusion to be drawn from the fact that the Russian revolutionary Marxists marched together with Kerensky against Kornilov is that they should have supported Kerensky before Kornilov threatened and should have supported Kerensky after Kornilov was destroyed. Trotsky aptly remarked on one occasion that it is correct for the working class, under certain circumstances and for its own interests, to march together with even the devil's grandmother. But now the Trotskyite and semi-

Trotskyite Socialist Appeal and Labor Action tell the British workers faced with complete enslavement by Hitler that it is against all sacred principle to fight together with the devil's grandmother! A petty dogma is trotted out—the proletariat only marches with itself. They are told: Don't worry about Hitler—your main enemy is Churchill and Bevin! Verily, the Cannonites and Shachtmanites would regard Marx, if he were around today, as a "choir-boy singing in the chorus of imperialism."

Let us not fall in the trap created by the abuse of Marx's war position by the "social-patriots" of the Second and Third Internationals—because they quoted Marx for chauvinistic ends, Marx must have been wrong. Nor should we fall into another, related type of error, that because the theoreticians of the Second and Third Internationals referred to Marx and Engels of 1870 in order to justify their own chauvinism, this means that a situation can never arise in which Marx's policy is in some measure applicable. For Hitler today menaces the labor movement of England not less, but more than Bonaparte did the German working class of 1870 or Bismarck did the French Republic.

Stalinist 'Fifth Column' in Norway

THRU International Workers Front Against War connections in Stockholm, we have received the following piece of significant information about Norway:

"Stockholm, July 1, 1940.

"A friend of mine, who remained in Oslo until May 20, reports the following: The mutinies amongst Austrian soldiers in Norway have actually taken place and were not merely a report of the British propaganda service. Many Austrian soldiers were shot and a great number imprisoned.

"The Communist Party of Norway sent a delegation to the German commander-in-chief during the early days of the invasion to express the loyalty of the C.P. toward the invaders. The communist paper, Arbeideren, is still being published and its content is in no way different from the Nazi papers. . . ."

What Getting Into the War Would Mean to America

By BURTON K. WHEELER

ONCE again the bands are playing. Before we join the army, let's find out what it's all about.

Those who want the United States to get into the war tell us we must do it to preserve democracy and Christianity and freedom and enlightenment. Well, will we preserve democracy and Christianity and freedom and enlightenment by going into the war?

The very first thing that happens to a democracy in war time is the suppression of all free speech. It should be remembered that every foreign accent becomes the sound of the devil, every white-collar worker and factory hand and farmer—all faced with higher and higher costs of living—soon find themselves accused of aiding and abetting the enemy whenever they ask for a higher income.

DEMOCRACY FIRST WAR CASUALTY

It has been well said that the first casualty in war is truth. Well, the next is the democratic process. There is great work to be done on behalf of democracy here. What about self-respecting jobs for 10,000,000 unemployed? What about the work of eradicating poverty and disease among that large section of the people so truly described as the underprivileged one-third of our nation? What will happen to all our great plans for reconstructing happy and useful lives for these millions

If the United States becomes involved (Continued on page 4)

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WILL HERBERG, Editor

Vol. 9. SATURDAY, AUGUST 17, 1940. No. 31.

VOTE SOCIALIST!

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

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Norman Thomas and Maynard Krueger
for President and Vice-President

F.D.R. CALLS FOR REPRESSION

PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT, in a message to governors of states last week, suggested that Congress and state legislatures enact laws to deal with "subversive activities, with seditious acts, with those things which slow up or break down our common defense program."

If there is one thing on which all liberals and progressives have hitherto been as one, it is opposition to the utterly vicious type of legislation that goes by the name of "sedition" acts and "subversive activities" laws. Probably the most deplorable aspect of our participation in the World War was the wave of reaction which precipitated the adoption of just such laws by a large number of states. The effects of that dreadful fit of jingoistic hysteria have not yet disappeared.

In those days, repressive legislation came after war was declared, when the whole country had already lost its head. Mr. Roosevelt, however, is impatient. The United States is not yet in the war—indeed, we have been promised in the party platforms that we will stay out—but already the repressive laws are called for!

What is the need of such laws? "Seditious" or "subversive" activities, if they are overt acts, are surely punishable under the criminal code; if they are mere agitation or expressions of opinion, are they not protected under the constitutional guarantees of free speech? And what are "things which slow up or break down our common defense program"? Strikes or labor struggles in defense industries? Opposition to the Administration "defense" program as a fraud that pretends to be directed towards the defense of this country against invasion or attack but is actually directed towards preparation for a foreign war?

Repression has now become the No. 1 plank in the Roosevelt program. And this is the Roosevelt whom so many labor organizations—still under the spell of the early "Roosevelt Revolution"—are hailing as their protector and savior!

THOSE "OBSOLETE" CRUISERS

THERE is very little that we need say about General Pershing's—and President Roosevelt's—proposal that the United States sell fifty "obsolete" destroyers to England as a measure of "aid short of war." It is a fraud from beginning to end. The destroyers are not "obsolete" or "surplus" in any intelligible sense of the word. Nor would such a sale be a measure "short of war," for according to all rules and regulations, even such as they are nowadays, the sale of armaments by a neutral government to a belligerent is an outright act of war. Whether it would lead to an actual outbreak of hostilities with Germany would depend on what Germany found it worth while to make of it. At any rate, such a move would be bringing the United States measurably closer to the brink of involvement in war, with all the immense risks that that would imply.

In short, the Pershing-Roosevelt proposal is just another of those schemes to grease the fatal decline to war. We are against it.

WILLI SCHLAMM RUNS AMUCK

WRITES Willi Schlamm, the New Leader's breast-beating Dorothy Thompson, in a recent issue of the social-democratic paper "But is there any word of contempt strong enough to characterize the intellectual and moral state of people who, witnessing France's ordeal, will dare to tell their naive audience that you can have both, peace AND growing welfare for 'the masses'?" According to Mr. Schlamm, you must choose either welfare or arms, and if you think in terms of welfare, you are either an outright "Fifth Columnist" or a spineless, weak-kneed muddle-head!

On another page of the same issue of the New Leader, there is an article on the A. F. of L. attitude to national defense. This article is headed: "Labor to Aid Defense, Asks Raising of Living Standards." "Asks RAISING of living standards," Mr. Schlamm!

The recent conventions of the A.C.W. and the I.L.G.W.U. went on record in support of national defense but warned against any attempt to undermine social legislation or labor standards.

Even President Roosevelt himself has pledged that there will be no retreat from the social achievements of the New Deal because of national defense.

What do you think of the "intellectual and moral state" of these people, Mr. Schlamm, of William Green, Sidney Hillman, David Dubinsky, and Franklin D. Roosevelt?

Mr. Schlamm's outburst is no surprise to us, but it does come as a distinct shock to find that his reactionary ravings have been made part and parcel of the official viewpoint of the New Leader and the Social-Democratic Federation. For what else does it mean when the New Leader declares in an unsigned front-page editorial article: France fell not because life for the French people was worse than it was for the Germans. It fell because it was better . . . France fell because of too much ease and comfort and the good things of life, which the people were not willing to exchange for 'regimentation' . . . ?"

All the more credit, therefore, to Charles Yale Harrison for giving Schlamm—and, by implication, the New Leader as well—a first-class dressing down in his column in that very paper!

THOUSANDS of the letters [pouring down on Washington against conscription] bear Germanic names. Other are from unmistakable pacifist, Coughlinite and communist sources. Many are from C.I.O. elements." Thus write Drew Pearson and Robert S. Allen, those "liberal," New Deal columnists, in their column of August 6, 1940, in an effort to discredit the "isolationist lobby."

To bear a "Germanic" name—something like Wagner, Frankfurter or Morgenthau—has now apparently become a mark of suspicion, deserving investigation by the F.B.I. To be a pacifist is on the thin borderline of outright treason. But to be a "C.I.O. element"—what name dreadful enough can be given to such a crime?

And these are the people who are so eager to save democracy abroad!

WE see by the papers that President Roosevelt has denounced Senator Hiram Johnson of California as no longer a true liberal, altho in days gone by he hailed him as one of the New Deal's fair-haired boys. The Senator, considerably riled, answered back in great style.

The Senator is just behind the times. These are the days of the "new liberalism," the "liberalism" of which Mayor Hague of Jersey City and Mayor Kelly of Chicago are the great and shining pillars. Of this "new liberalism," the one and only criterion is—support of F.D.R. for a third term. Obviously, Senator Johnson does not qualify.

Socialist Policy on the War:

Draft Resolution on War

(We conclude below the draft resolution presented by Will Herberg for adoption by the National Committee of the I.L.L.A. The first part was published in the last issue of this paper.—Editor.)

V. On Aid to the Allies

We recognize that the United States is giving increasing aid to the Allies (Britain). We must strive to have this aid accompanied by insistence: (a) on the preservation of democratic rights in England; and (b) for a peace settlement free from indemnities and annexations, and (c) based on self-determination and national freedom for colonial and all other peoples.

VI. Problems of Defense

The greatest confusion prevails in this country today on the problem of defense, and this confusion is stimulated and encouraged by the Administration for its own purposes. It is necessary to distinguish clearly that two fundamentally different things are confused under the single term "defense": on the one hand, genuine defense of America against invasion or attack; and on the other hand, involvement in foreign wars to protect so-called "vital interests" that are the interests of entrenched privileged groups, not of the masses of the people. It is the stratagem of the Administration to talk in terms of the defense of America against invasion or attack while thinking and acting in terms of involvement in foreign war.

Genuine defense, on the one hand, and preparation for foreign war, on the other, are basically distinct not only in a military way but also in social, economic and political consequences.

We do not take a negative or abstentionist attitude on the problem of defense. We realize the urgency of the problem for the great masses of the American people, and we propose the following positive program:

1. A broad national commission, including representatives of labor and other civilian interests, should be set up to inquire into the fundamental questions of defense, to define the aims and purposes of defense and the needs of a defense policy so defined.

2. The only national defense that is consonant with the needs and interests of the American people is defense of our shores against invasion or attack. Defense of foreign investments or commercial and financial privileges, defense of so-called "vital interests" in the Far Pacific or in mid-Europe, is not national defense.

3. To the degree that national defense in this sense requires coordination on a hemisphere basis, as it does at many points, this coordination should be achieved through voluntary consultation and cooperation on a plane of equality, with the independence and self-determination of the Latin American countries preserved unimpaired. There is every reason to fear that the idea of "hemisphere defense" may be used as a cover for another thrust of Wall Street imperialism against Mexico, Central America and South America.

4. Expenditures for arms should be covered not by cutting down on government social services and mass welfare or by imposing still heavier tax burdens on the people, but by increased income-tax levies in the higher brackets, a 100% tax on excess profits of armaments concerns, and the like. If our idle men and idle machines are put to work to a measurable degree and the national income raised by that much, there should be no real difficulty in covering necessary arms expenditures while maintaining and even raising the levels of welfare.

5. Social and labor legislation, as well as the standards of labor, must be safeguarded and extended.

6. The true bulwark of defense is the preservation and extension of democracy, civil liberties and the rights of labor. The keynote of Administration policy, on the other hand, seems to be to fight totalitarianism abroad by copying it here. Democracy has already fallen into great disrepute in official circles in Washington, and the totalitarian concept is permeating influential groups throughout the country. As against this trend, it is necessary to stress that in a truly popular cause, broad and genuine democracy can prove just as efficient as totalitarianism and can defeat it on its own ground. Nor would genuinely defensive war against foreign invasion or attack contain that compulsion to rigid military totalitarianism that would inevitably arise in waging a foreign war in Europe or Asia. No ground must be given to the spirit of intolerance born out of the war panic and hysteria sweeping the country.

7. Efforts to overcome the crisis must be based on a planned attack on unemployment, poverty and low living standards, not on the hope of building up an arms economy in the United States. Experience has shown that an arms economy—that is, an economic system that depends for its continuous functioning on ever greater armament expenditures—is absolutely fatal to the economic soundness, to the peace and welfare of the country.

At bottom, vigorous, effective national defense is impossible without a deepening and vitalization of democracy in terms of the basic needs and aspirations of the people. A defense that is simply defense of the status-quo is futile and self-defeating; it can never acquire that spirit and drive that alone can meet the

challenge of totalitarianism. A dynamic democracy, implemented with a program of social reform looking towards socialism, is the only sound foundation of genuine national defense.

At the present time, this program is at variance, in practically every respect, with the line followed by the Administration. It therefore implies systematic political opposition to the Administration, its aims, policies and programs.

VII. Problems of Hemisphere Unity

1. As pointed out above, genuine defense against invasion or attack implies at many vital points the close collaboration of all countries in the western hemisphere. This is but one aspect of the problem, however. Fundamentally, the security and interests of the peoples of the American countries in the present-day world—especially should Hitler succeed in establishing, if only for the time being, an integrated Europe under German hegemony—require the economic integration of the western hemisphere into a single operating unit as the basis for cooperation in all other respects. Economically and technologically, such integration, tho it has its difficulties, is quite possible. The decisive question is how it shall be established, for it may be established in two fundamentally different ways: (a) thru the "big stick," on the basis of United States domination and at the expense of the other American countries; or (b) thru genuine collaboration on the basis of equality in a democratic Pan-American Federation. The Administration is already beginning to proceed along the former road. It is manifestly our duty to advocate and support the second alternative.

2. Democratic Pan-Americanism includes a number of implications which are of immense importance: support of the democratic forces in Latin America against the elements of dictatorship and pro-fascism, which our Administration is so eager to whitewash; stimulation of economic development of the Latin American countries along healthy channels in the interests of the peoples of Latin America and the whole hemisphere; closer social and cultural relations; and the like. Of prime importance from our standpoint is the very closest cooperation of the labor and socialist movements of the western hemisphere.

VIII. Danger of "Appeasement"

In American public life, reflecting certain sentiments in important big-business circles, there is beginning to arise a tendency that urges a policy of "appeasement" towards a victorious Hitler, a policy of "playing ball" with him when he establishes himself as master of Europe. We must denounce and resist this tendency with all our power, for in effect it would mean direct American aid in bolstering and consolidating the Nazi domination of Europe, and would prove as fatal in its consequences as the Chamberlain-Daladier policy of "appeasement" did in the years that led up to the war. On the contrary, American policy must be so directed as to prevent the resources of our country and the western hemisphere from being used by Hitler in order to strengthen and perpetuate his regime in Europe. In this respect, the economic integration of the western hemisphere is of vital significance.

IX. Broader Perspectives

All of the above proposals are part of a program of action within the framework of the existing system. They are not therefore to be rejected as out of line with socialism, any more than trade-union activity or the struggle for social legislation can be branded as anti-socialist because it operates within the framework of the existing capitalist system.

But beyond this short-range program, there are the long-range perspectives generated out of the rock-bottom fact that whatever be the outcome of the war, short of socialist revolution, the fundamental crisis that brought about the war will not be solved; in fact, it will probably even be aggravated. Only the replacement of the entire system of capitalist imperialism by international cooperation on the basis of socialism can solve this deep-going, far-reaching crisis and provide mankind with the possibility of a future of peace, welfare and freedom. In the light of these broader perspectives:

1. It is imperative that every effort be made to develop and maintain international working-class contacts and international labor action during the war. Regardless of how feeble such connections are today, their potential import is immense. Independence of action and international solidarity are the supreme resources of labor and socialism.

2. We pledge every possible assistance to the underground opponents of fascism in the fascist and fascist-conquered countries of Europe in their efforts to re-establish a bona-fide labor movement and to destroy totalitarianism.

3. It is necessary for the international labor movement—or whatever is left of it—to prepare its own world peace program. For such a peace program, labor in the United States, and elsewhere in whatever form it can do so, should work unflinchingly.

What Getting Into War Would Mean to America

(Continued from Page 3)

volved in another European war this country and its people will underwrite all the tragic and costly mistakes of the Allied statesmen during the twenty years since Versailles. Do the American people want to do this? Do they want to pay with their boys' lives and with their hard-earned savings the tremendous bill that will be presented? Here is what the last war cost us: 125,000 American boys killed, 234,000 American boys wounded, 360,000 total casualties.

Was it worth it? Yes; perhaps—to those who made money out of it. Who else gained by this sacrifice? The answer is too well known to need elaboration.

That's what the last war cost us. Shall we do it again? Think it over. Some who have no sons, who sit in their swivel-chairs and clip coupons say, "Yes." But the workers of America—the workers and the young of the nation who will be

called upon to make the real sacrifices—say, "No."

NEED OF NATIONAL DEFENSE

The big question now is whether democracy can be preserved. It can if we avoid steps that are likely to involve us in war. Does that mean we should leave our country defenseless? Certainly not. Up to now, I have been opposed to the building up of great armaments for three principal reasons: I didn't be-

lieve them necessary when there was no war or threat of war; I regarded vast spending for armaments as an undue burden on the people; and I feared that once having built up big armaments, there would be an increasing tendency to use them.

In view of the European situation, it is necessary for us to modernize our national defense and take precautions against any eventuality. Armaments are like everything else—new inventions supersede the old

What the "Roosevelt Revolution" Has Come to!

FROM an editorial by the Imperial Klokun Chief in the June 1940 issue of the Fiery Cross, official publication of the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan:

"Never before in the history of America have so many millions of citizens united behind the program of the Ku Klux Klan as in the past few weeks. For twenty years, the Klan has spoken out day after day and year after year against alien influences boring within in the United States. . . .

"Today, millions of Americans are acknowledging for the first time that the things the Klan has long warned against now spell imminent danger to this country if left unchecked. . . . It must be a source of great satisfaction to Klanspeople everywhere that the President of the United States has come out boldly in defense of the Klan program. He has joined the Klan in sounding a warning against 'alien influences.' The words of the President are 'foreign poison' which is almost the exact phrase and means the identical thing the Klan has warned the American people for years to beware of."

Letters from Our Readers:

War—What for...?

Los Angeles, Cal.
Editor Workers Age:

FOR the most part, I am willing to leave great arguments to the intelligentsia, but when the discussion gets around to so personal a subject as war, I feel impelled to add my voice to the clamor. I find myself unsympathetic to much in both the approach and conclusion of Lovestone's articles. War to him seems primarily to be what it was to Clausewitz: politics carried on by forceful means. Lovestone can quote approvingly one of those Marx-to-Engels-to-Posterity triple plays: "The French need a good drubbing." (I wonder whether it was Marx's translator or the corrosive effect of long years in the reading room of the British Museum that was responsible for that Anglicism?) Both Marx and Lovestone like to pretend that armies are impersonal, mechanical extensions of their respective ruling classes. Would that sentence have been quoted if it read: "To assure the political ascendancy of the German ruling class over the French ruling class, it is desirable that the French workers, who compose the major part of the French army, should be killed and maimed in greater numbers than the German workers, who constitute the German army and who will, of course, also be killed and maimed in great numbers?"

I don't think so. To quote such a statement, not only would one have to be insensitive to grammatical atrocity; he would be obliged to do what class-conscious workers are told to do—view war not abstractly, but in relation to actual conditions. But workers, class-conscious or otherwise, need no such instruction. It is virtually impossible for us to view war abstractly. War, to us, is a case of going out to get or be gutted. War, to a worker, is in essence a personal experience. I find ready identity with a bloated carcass on the beach at Dunkirk. No matter whether the state to which he was subject represented a historically progressive or reactionary tendency, he has lost. The American worker might well further paraphrase Steffens: "I have seen the future and it stinks!"

What is it this warrior buys one half so precious as the stuff he sells? I seriously question whether the gains of the workers in modern war have ever been commensurate with their losses. Yet Marx and those who follow him have accepted war as a necessary and desirable instrument for the development of social progress. I think that the record fails to justify this attitude. It is high time that we recognize that

devises. We cannot defend a twentieth-century republic with the weapons of the nineteenth century. Therefore, I approve of the program of modernizing our defenses, but I emphatically disapprove of using the present emergency as an excuse for shaping a war machine beyond our defensive necessities in the western hemisphere.

In this war, as in the last war, the victors will be the Horsemen of the Apocalypse—Famine, Disease, and Death. Starvation and poverty will hold sway throughout Europe. If Hitler wins, he will have the same problems that the Allies will have if they win—feeding hungry populations, endeavoring to prevent great revolutions from sweeping thru the conquered countries. These problems will be more than sufficient to occupy Hitler or the Allies.

Let us face these realities instead of bogey stories about air bases from which giant hordes of planes will bomb New York, St. Louis, and New Orleans.

(These paragraphs are from a recent address by Senator Wheeler.—Editor)

war as an instrument of working-class politics has extremely limited application.

It has been reasonably argued that when the individual interests of a worker become inextricably mingled with the broader and inclusive interests of his class or the state to which he is subject, his life becomes legitimately expendable. We have usually assumed that the minimum circumstances under which a worker should trot forth to cheerfully offer his life on the altar of his class interests are: (1) the seizure of power and the defense of the workers state, and (2) defense of independent and colonial and semi-colonial states against imperialist aggression. But not content with so meager a program, workers are to fight and die for the difference between a "progressive" imperialism and a reactionary imperialism!

The results of the liberation of workers blood under even these minimum circumstances have not been encouraging. I do not mean to suggest that there are no circumstances under which workers can participate in war but it is not enough to ask simply: "What are we fighting against?" and "What are we fighting for?" As workers, we must also ask: "What will it cost?"

The tremendous vitality of the principle of human sacrifice has found some expression in all religions of all men of all time. We should not be surprised, therefore, when upon making a religion of Marxism, we find that this least common denominator of all religions is one of the major tenets of the new faith. When, tracing an age-old pattern, high priests of Marxism call anew for the sacrificial offering of workers blood, their appeal must spring from an impulse that is rooted in Druid ritual at Stonehenge, in sanguinary orgies in the names of Moloch and Odin and Baal—
—for surely, their appeal is not based upon reason.

R. B.

The Editor Replies:

OUR correspondent should know that neither Lovestone nor anyone else writing in these columns has ever urged the American people to go out to fight and die for the difference between a "progressive" imperialism and a reactionary imperialism." In fact, in his recent series of articles, Lovestone made a very strong plea for keeping America out of war, particularly at this time. ("On the basis of what we have already seen of the present war, I would say that today it is more urgent than ever to keep the United States out of it," he wrote in the July 6, 1940 issue, and proceeded to give four very cogent reasons.)

In general, it seems to us that two rather incompatible viewpoints are exhibited in our correspondent's letter—an uncompromising pacifism (which maintains that when a man dies in war, "no matter whether the state to which he was subject represented a historically progressive or reactionary tendency, HE has lost") and an attitude that there may conceivably be circumstances under which "a worker should trot forth cheerfully to offer his life." The former is an absolutist position, which permits of no refutation or even discussion; the latter is a relativist position, which requires a concrete study of the conditions under which support of the war effort (to be sharply distinguished from political support of the regime—recall the Spanish civil war) is possible. Unless some such distinction is made, all discussion will be hopelessly at cross purposes.

Italo-British War In Africa

(Continued from page 1)

the United States would now in fact, if not by declaration, take upon itself the virtually complete military defense of British interests against Japan, despite disagreement with the former over closing the Burma road to appease Japan.

Freedom of India again made the headlines when the British government made a new proposal which in essence consents to the admission of "representative Indians" to the Viceroy's council, and proposes the setting-up of a war-advisory council comprising representatives of the Indian States and of other interests

in Indian national life. As a quid pro quo Britain reiterates her pledge that dominion status is her goal for India. India today is becoming vitally important to England's war in the East, being second in wealth, resources and man power only to Great Britain herself in the West.

Indian nationalist newspapers condemned the agreement proposal as offering India very little in return for participation in the war. According to reports received the All-Indian National Congress has declared the Viceroy's offer to be a "colossal sham."

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