

Salary Bias Against Negro Teachers Hit

Maryland Case Brings Old Issue to Court

Baltimore, Md. Maryland has become the testing ground in a legal battle which eventually may outlaw on constitutional grounds the whole system whereby Negro teachers in the public schools of the southern and border states are paid lower salaries than whites of the same grade.

Walter Mills, a Negro teacher-principal in Anne Arundel County, is seeking an injunction in the federal district court to restrain the Board of Education of Anne Arundel County and George Fox, county superintendent of schools, "from making any distinction solely on the grounds of race or color in the fixing of salaries paid white and colored teachers and principals in the public schools of Anne Arundel County."

The jurisdiction of the federal court is sought under the so-called civil-rights statutes, title 8, sections 41 and 43 of which provide:

"All persons within the jurisdiction of the United States shall have the same right in every state and territory to make and enforce contracts, to sue, be parties, give evidence, and to the full and equal benefit of all laws and proceedings for the security of persons and property as is enjoyed by white citizens, and shall be subject to like punishment, pains, penalties, taxes, licenses and exactions of every kind, and to no other.

"Every person who, under color of any statute, ordinance, regulation, custom or usage, of any state or territory, subjects, or causes to be subjected, any citizen of the United States or other person within the jurisdiction thereof to the deprivation of any rights privileges or immunities secured by the Constitution and laws, shall be liable to the party injured in an action at law, suit in equity, or other proper proceedings for redress."

DIFFERENTIAL ESTIMATED AT \$500,000

It is estimated that the total difference in the salaries paid Negro and white teachers throughout the State is approximately one-half billion dollars annually. The plaintiffs in the present action and in previous actions on the same point maintain that this differential is instituted solely on the basis of race and color which is unconstitutional.

Since 1908, Maryland has maintained salary schedules by statutes which provide for higher minimum salaries for white teachers and principals than for Negro teachers and principals with the same qualifications and experience. Maryland is the only state with such a discriminatory salary schedule in the statutes.

Since 1908, the Negro teachers and principals of Maryland and interested citizens have been petitioning the Legislature to repeal these statutes and pass ones providing for equal salaries. These efforts have been unsuccessful.

In 1936, attorneys for the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People were requested by the Negro teachers and principals to take the necessary legal action to remove the discrimination. The first case was a petition for writ of mandamus filed in the Circuit Court of Montgomery County the latter part of 1936 on behalf of William Gibbs, a Negro teacher-principal, to require the board of education of Montgomery county to equalize salaries.

EQUAL SALARIES IN NINE COUNTIES

A check of the records of the Board of Education of Montgomery County and the scales of salaries revealed that white, high-school teachers received an annual salary of \$1,571, as compared to \$859 for colored teachers, or a difference of \$712; that white elementary school teachers receive an annual salary of \$1,362 as compared to \$631 for colored elementary teachers, or a difference of \$731. It was found, also, that the schedule of salaries in the county for white janitors provided \$960 a year, which was \$399 a year more than the average salary of a Negro elementary school teacher and \$101 more than the average salary of a Negro high school teacher.

The defendants filed a demurrer which was argued before the full bench in Montgomery County. The demurrer was overruled and the de-

fendants required to answer. The case was settled by an agreement with the county board to equalize salaries.

The second effort at equalization was made in Calvert County in November 1937 and here, as in Montgomery County, the legal case was settled out of court thru an agreement by the Board of Education to equalize salaries. At the present time, salaries have been equalized in nine out of twenty-three counties in the state.

Further actions were withheld pending the last meeting of the Legislature where it was hoped salaries would be equalized. Instead, the Legislature increased the salary scale for white teachers, but refused to touch the Negro salaries thereby increasing the differential in the state.

FIRST COURT HEARING ON DIFFERENTIAL

Thereupon, action for an injunction was filed in the federal district court by Walter Mills, the present plaintiff, for an injunction to restrain the state Board of Education from distributing the "Equalization Fund" of Maryland on the basis of discriminatory salary schedules in the Maryland code. This case marks the first trial on the merits of this point and the decision will be the first on the merits of the point. The purpose of the plaintiff is to have the salary schedule in the statutes declared unconstitutional and to secure an injunction.

Those backing the fight for equalization of salaries point out that the differential of a half million dollars in Maryland alone is a serious economic handicap to not only the Negro teachers, but to Negro citizens generally. It is pointed out that the equalization of salaries in Montgomery County alone brought an addition of some thirty thousand dollars annually into the pay envelopes of the Negro teachers and that a subsequent survey disclosed that this money went into the purchase and improvement of homes, the education of children, and the improvement of the teachers themselves thru advanced training.

ILGWU May Reaffiliate To AFL Next May

GEB to Put Question to Convention

Washington, D. C. UNLESS there is unity in the labor movement by that time, the International Ladies Garment Workers Union, with its 250,000 members, will most probably rejoin the A. F. of L. at the garment union's next convention in May 1940 in New York City. This was the meaning of the action taken by the General Executive Board of the I.L.G.W.U., in session here last week, in the form of a public statement that when the union's convention is held next May the question of renewed affiliation with the A. F. of L. will be laid before the delegates of the whole membership.

The I.L.G.W.U. left the Federation to affiliate with the C.I.O. and then declared its independence of the C.I.O. prior to the first annual C.I.O. convention last year. Since then, it has maintained an independent status, cooperating with both organizations.

"We had hoped and we still hope," the statement of the General Executive Board reads, "that by the time our convention takes place in May 1940, peace will be realized so that we might join in a united labor movement."

"If peace is not accomplished by that time, the question of our continued independence or affiliation with the A. F. of L., to which we belonged for thirty-seven years, will be determined by our convention."

The statement declares that the union's attitude with regard to the supreme importance of peace in American labor has undergone no change.

"We still consider labor peace as a primary factor to the well-being and the progress of American workers."

"Furthermore, we still are firmly of the opinion that the fundamental obstacles which stood in the way of a united labor movement when the C.I.O. was organized, namely, the

It's Either Unity Or Government Control

JOHN L. LEWIS and William Green have before them the prospect of Administration support for a plan of government regulation of labor unions unless they can compose the C.I.O. and A.F. of L. differences. The Administration view is that this country cannot afford the luxury of unnecessary labor strife in times like these."

These ominous words from the well-informed "Washington Whispers" column of the November 13 issue of the United States News ought to be read and pondered by every labor leader, by every wideawake worker, in this country. For they place the issue squarely, in words whose significance cannot be mistaken. Either the labor movement will be able to compose its differences and establish peace in its own family or else the federal government, backed by wide sections of public opinion sick and tired of the interminable warfare in labor's ranks, will crack down and fasten on the labor movement an iron-clad system of overhead control that will indeed enforce unity but will at the same time also fasten the yoke of slavery on the neck of labor. Is the trade-union movement ready to pay such a price as this for the narrow vision and inexcusable obstinacy of its leaders?

There is today absolutely no excuse for the continuation of the civil war in labor's ranks. We have said this a thousand times in the past two years and we say it again here at this time with all the emphasis at our command—for it is as true today as it ever was and far more urgent. Today, precisely because of the historical achievements of the C.I.O., it is quite possible to reunite the labor movement and to reunite it so as to guarantee a free hand to industrial unionism in the mass-production industries. The terms repeatedly offered by the A. F. of L. peace committee are surely such as can serve at least as the basis for negotiations. There are no insuperable obstacles and whatever difficulties there are, and there are a number of quite serious character, could certainly be overcome were there present the will and the willingness to subordinate all secondary considerations to the paramount need for unity.

And the need is paramount. No trade unionist with his eyes open can fail to see that unity today is a life-and-death question for the labor movement. If the supreme urgency of the need and the gravity of the danger cannot bring the labor leaders to their senses and compel them to put a quick end to the demoralizing, disorganizing dissension, then the heavy hand of governmental regimentation will do it—to the ruination of both of the contending parties and of the labor movement as a whole.

We realize that the long series of bitter disappointments has given rise to a certain spirit of weary scepticism among trade unionists, A. F. of L. and C.I.O. alike. But this is a dangerous sentiment to which to yield. Labor unity can be achieved and must be achieved in the quickest possible time, and the sooner the rank and file make it clear that they will not take "no" for an answer, the sooner it will be achieved.

As a result of pressure from the White House, peace parleys are said to be scheduled to resume in January. This time, these conferences must not adjourn until they have opened the door to unity in the labor movement, until they have taken some decisive action to bring the civil war in labor's ranks to a definite end at last.

Prices Still Rising

Washington, D. C. THE Senate Monopoly Committee last week published a report listing 25 commodities on which there have been price rises as high as 77% since the beginning of the war in Europe.

The report emphasized that sugar "merits special mention" because early in September, sugar prices "reached for the sky" and, despite a subsequent drop, were last week still 24% above their August level.

Arms Expenses May Reach Three Billion Next Year

(Continued from page 1)

tional defense as distinct from foreign wars. On this all military and naval experts seem to be agreed.

Washington, D. C. The major item on the agenda for the next session of Congress is "national defense." All signs point to a happy-hunting-ground in Congress for the army and navy when 1940 rolls around. Preparations are already under way to secure approval for a special "national defense" deficiency appropriation of \$275,000,000. This will be used to take care of army and navy increases occasioned by the President's "limited-emergency" program.

The army is planning to get approval for a regular army and National Guard of 600,000 men. This will be the largest peace-time army in our history. This will mean that the army budget will be on the way up again. The navy is planning to get approval for 95 additional vessels and more improvements at shipyards and shore posts. It is thought that the regular appropriations for the army and navy will total something in the neighborhood of \$3,000,000,000 for the next fiscal year.

Both army and navy have been in consultation with members of the House committees handling their affairs. The next step in the consultations will be a consideration of the needs of "hemisphere defense." It should be noted that the three-billion dollar defense estimate is limited to the United States and possessions and does not necessarily include the expenditures which will be asked to "protect the whole hemisphere."

Thru the efforts of Senator McCarran, the 1939 version of the War and Navy Department's Industrial Mobilization Plan has been printed as a public document. Copies are not easy to secure, but if you write to your Senators or Congressmen and ask them to get you a copy from the Government Printing Office, you may be able to read what is in store for the country in the event of war. The choice parts of the Industrial

CIO Unions In Convention In New York State

(Continued from page 1)

Despite the sharp conflict behind the scenes and the clash on the third-term issue at the convention proper, very little if anything was actually done to loosen the hold of the Stalinists over the C.I.O. in New York. Fundamentally, the C.I.O. in New York remains in the same profoundly unhealthy condition in which it has been since the formation of the Industrial Union Council here. If the non-Stalinist leaders of the C.I.O. realize the danger, and some of them appear to, they certainly are not doing anything about it. And it may soon be too late.

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NLRB Makes Vital Ruling In W.U. Case

Washington, D. C. FROM the unanimous ruling of the National Labor Relations Board in the Western Union case, more than one significant fact emerges.

In the first place, it seems clear that the dispute within the Board does not involve any disagreement over the restrictions which the Wagner Act puts on employers in order to enforce the right of collective bargaining.

In the Western Union case, the company is directed to pay back \$500,000 deducted from wages of employees and turned over to an "employee association," that is, to a company union. The company is directed also to stop all dealing with this association.

The Association of Western Union Employees was formed under company sponsorship in 1918, during the life of the War Labor Board.

In the years following, the company assisted the Association:

By giving free passes for railroad transportation to Association officers.

By allowing in its offices bulletin boards for the free use of the Association.

By encouraging membership in the Association, and discouraging membership in other employee organizations.

By attributing wage increases and improvements in working conditions to efforts of the Association.

These acts of assistance brought no government rebuke until 1935 when Congress passed the National Labor Relations Act. The act prohibits an employer from aiding one organization of employees while opposing another.

To meet the requirements of the Wagner Act, the Board contends, the company should have withdrawn, and now must withdraw, all recognition from the Association, and announce to its employees that they are free to join any labor organization they choose. The dues collected for the Association since the effective date of the act must be repaid.

The authority of the Board to require such action has been challenged by the company. The Supreme Court has been asked to decide the issue in another case involving the Newport News Drydock Company.

The Board's order does not prevent the employees, if they choose, from retaining their membership in the Association and refusing to join an "outside" union. Both the Commercial Telegraphers Union (A. F. of L.) and the American Communications Association (C.I.O.) are competing for members among Western Union employees. The A. F. of L. union recently obtained a contract covering employees in the Washington, D. C. office of the company. The C.I.O. union is now conducting a strike against the company's San Francisco office.

That the new Board member, Wm. M. Leiserson, signed this decision in testimony to the unanimity with which the Board views the responsibility of employers under the Wagner Act.

Labor and the Law

by Joseph Elwood

THE REPUBLIC STEEL DECISION

THE first court decision in any Labor Board case growing out of the Little Steel strike of 1937 resulted recently in enforcement against the Republic Steel Corporation of the largest back-pay order ever issued to-date. The ruling also appears to limit the Fansteel doctrine on reinstatement of strikers engaging in "violence."

The size of the back-pay order for the benefit of 3,000 to 5,000 strikers, as estimated by both union and employer, will reach \$7,500,000. All portions of the Board's order were enforced by the court, except that for the reinstatement of 40 strikers found guilty of more "serious" acts of violence.

Others convicted of violence, the court held, are entitled to reinstatement because "some disorder is unfortunately quite usual in any extensive or long-drawn-out strike." The court further held that "union disorders" should not deprive a striker of the possibility of reinstatement, thus distinguishing minor offenses on the part of a striker from those which the United States Supreme Court regarded as sufficiently grave to justify refusal of reinstatement.

A by-product of the decision is seen in the effect it may have on Republic Steel's \$7,500,000 damage suit against the S.W.O.C. and the C.I.O. for acts committed during the strike allegedly in violation of the Sherman anti-trust law. The C.I.O. declares that the present decision "knocks out the basis" for this suit.

The Republic Steel case will also bring home the frequently overlooked fact that there are some teeth in the administrative enforcement of the Wagner Act, even though the Board itself is powerless directly to compel obedience to its orders. The present decision shows judicial sanction of the Board's most potent persuader—an order providing for the accrual of back wages if the employer does not comply with a reinstatement order.

It is perfectly true that an employer is not forced to reinstate strikers when the Board so orders. He may choose to bring the case to the courts. But, if the employer goes to the courts without compliance with the Board's order, the employer will now have to remember that back-pay will pile up for every day of resistance to the Board's order, if the order is eventually upheld by the courts.

Court to Decide On Tips and Wages

Two court actions were begun last week for final determination of the question whether tips are wages for the purpose of the wage-and-hour law.

Both suits involve railroads. One suit was brought by the International Brotherhood of Red Caps, in which this union asks that 1,500 station attendants, employed by five railroads in Chicago, be awarded \$1,000,000 in back-pay and an additional \$1,000,000 in damages. The union assumes that tips are not wages.

The other suit was brought by the Wage and Hour Division, charging the Union Terminal in Cincinnati with failure to keep prescribed records on the amounts paid by the company and the amounts received as tips. The Wage and Hour Division also charges that the company has either paid no wages, which implies that tips are not wages, or has paid less than the minimum wage, which is open to the interpretation that tips are wages. The court is thus invited to settle this important question.

Mobilization Plan have been omitted as usual because they would raise too much of a protest now in a peace-time "democracy." The abbreviated version is valuable, however, in giving the reader a picture of the wide scope of the program. It must be kept in mind at all times that the printed draft of the plan is not the complete program since it only mentions but does not discuss the selective-service (draft), war-labor and press-relations (including censorship) provisions of the program.

In Garner's Paradise

In the first action taken against an employer in the pecan-shelling industry, the Wage and Hour Division on November 4 asked the federal district court in Texas for an injunction against J. R. Fleming and Co to restrain it from violating the Fair Labor Standards Act. The firm is one of the largest in the industry. During a recent hearing on petitions for learner exemptions in that industry, it was revealed that entire families were working as pecan shellers for wages of \$5 a week, and that a great many had to get relief to maintain a minimum subsistence.

In the present action, the Wage and Hour Division asserts that many of the workers of the company were paid wages as low as 6 cents an hour, and that the company failed to make overtime payments and kept no records at all for some of its workers, while maintaining false records for others.

Correction

In this column in the November 18 issue, there appeared an item headed, "Standards in the Knitted Underwear Industry" and thruout the item the phrase "knitted underwear" was used to describe the industry under discussion. This was, of course, a typographical error. The industry was the knitted OUTERwear industry.

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LaFollette Bill Curbs Anti-Labor Terror

Measure is Based on Senate Probe Findings

Washington, D. C. A comprehensive bill, introduced by Senator Robert M. LaFollette of Wisconsin and Senator Elbert D. Thomas of Utah, designed to outlaw certain "oppressive labor practices," was reported favorably to the Senate by the Senate Committee on Education and Labor a few days before Congress adjourned last Summer. It is understood that prompt enactment of the bill will be urged when Congress reconvenes in regular session next January.

Altho the Senate Education and Labor Committee made a number of amendments in the details of the measure, it was reported substantially as drawn by Senators LaFollette and Thomas. It outlaws labor spies, the use of professional strike-breaking agencies, the employment of armed private police off company property and the possession by corporations of "industrial munitions," including machine guns, sawed-off shotguns and gas bombs.

TO END NOTORIOUS METHODS

The measure is the result of testimony taken during many months by the Senate Civil Liberties Committee of which Senator LaFollette is chairman and Senator Thomas a member. It seeks to eliminate a number of notorious industrial practices which anti-union employers have developed during the last forty years in their determination to prevent the workers from organizing in effective trade unions and carrying on united efforts to secure better wages and hours and improved conditions of labor.

"The bill will give vitality to the rights of free speech and assembly guaranteed by the Constitution, which have been denied by private spy systems and by private force," the report of the Senate Committee declared.

The measure would operate under authority of the right of Congress to legislate in matters affecting interstate commerce, the committee emphasized.

"The power of the government to prescribe appropriate conditions to contracts, loans and subsidies awarded by it is too well-established to merit discussion," the report went on.

The bill also bars the movement in interstate commerce of goods produced with the aid of "oppressive labor practices." The section was

Getting Ready for the "War for Democracy"

"DESPITE public denials of a coming 'witch-hunt', agents of J. Edgar Hoover privately boast that they have compiled a list of 'known radicals' in the New York area. Everyone on the list, they predict, will be promptly arrested if the United States gets into war—The Nation, Nov. 11, 1938.

drafted to follow the pattern of the Fair Labor Standards Act, incorporating appropriate exemptions to protect common carriers.

The bill invokes the power of Congress to regulate or to prohibit the movement across state lines of goods which "offend against sound national policy."

"No objection can be raised" the report on the bill pointed out, "under the due process clause to the proper and necessary restrictions imposed by the bill on the use of labor spies and similar devices which are offensive to public morals and dangerous to the public welfare.

"The loss of revenue to the detective agencies and to the munition makers follows, as an incidental and unavoidable exercise of a valid power of government.

"The restrictions on the private possession and use of dangerous weapons and gases is not inhibited by the provisions of the second amendment, which protects 'the right of people to keep and bear arms' in the interest of preserving 'a well-regulated militia.'

"The principle established by the decision of the Supreme Court upholding the National Firearms Act (U.S. vs. Jack Millet, et al., decided May 15, 1939) clearly validates action by Congress banning the private possession and use of weapons such as sawed-off shotguns, machine guns and bombs filled with chemical gases."

The LaFollette-Thomas bill was enthusiastically endorsed by both the A. F. of L. and the C.I.O. at their conventions last month. It deserves the support of all sections of the labor movement and of all liberty-loving people throughout the country.

"HOW ABOUT ME?"



—Fitzpatrick in St. Louis Post-Dispatch

Imperialism's Bloody Trail

Germany in Czecho-Slovakia

(As described in a United Press dispatch, November 17, 1939)

NINE Czech students were executed and 1,200 were taken into custody today by heavily-armed German storm-troopers and squads of the Nazi Gestapo for "acts of resistance" against the Nazi regime in the protectorate of Bohemia-Moravia.

A total of 2,000 students were arrested, but 800 were released later.

The punitive measures were taken in a series of swift raids after two days of disorders among the students . . . Hitler Guards, armed with rifles, charged into crowds of demonstrating Czech students five times.

All Czech universities were closed for three years under orders of the Nazis . . . More storm-troopers arrived during the day, bringing the total to 10,000, as warnings were issued that "if resistance should continue, energetic measures will be taken to restore peace and order" . . .

Martial law was clamped down on Prague and surrounding districts, following the execution of three additional Czech rebels, including two police officers . . .

U.S.A. in Haiti And Philippines

(As described by Oswald Garrison Villard in "Fighting Years")

ON December 13, 1914, the government of Woodrow Wilson embarked on its hypocritical and bloody course . . . American Marines landed in the Haitian capital, went to the Haitian National Bank and carried off \$500,000 in gold by force . . . The excuse given in Washington was "fear of revolution" . . . The next day a regiment of American Marines was put ashore and there began an occupation which did not end for eighteen years . . . What happened after American control was complete was subsequently told by Major General George Barnett of the Marine Corps. This officer . . . declared that 3,250 Haitians were killed and that he regretted that many of these deaths were "practically indiscriminate killings."

(From the same source)

WE had not been long at war in the Philippines before we had instituted the very concentration-camp system which had aroused our indignation when utilized by the Spaniards in Cuba. We . . . actually took over from Spain the "water-cure" torture in order to get information. This is one of the most diabolical means of inducing confes-

Great Britain In India

(As described by J. Cork in an article in the Workers Age, Nov 25, 1939)

THE terror culminated in the infamous Arrisratt massacre in the Punjab in 1919. Soldiers shot at a peaceful public meeting of protest convened at the Jolianwala Bogh, a public garden, with only one entrance to it. The troops placed themselves at this only entrance and simply fired on the peaceful, unarmed crowd. An official British commission estimated the number killed at 379, and the number wounded at 1,200 . . . General Dyer admitted the following before an official commission of investigation:

"I had made up my mind that I would do all the men to death, if they were going to continue the meeting." He had committed this act, he said, because he "thought it would be doing a jolly lot of good, and they would realize they were not to be wicked."

sions ever devised by the sadism of man—the insertion of a hose or bamboo into a man's mouth and pumping him full of water until his organs are ready to burst; dirty water was actually recommended by one American officer as much more effective than the pure kind!

FDR Was on the Inside of Ship Transfer Scheme

(These paragraphs are from Drew Pearson and Robert S. Allen's "Washington Merry-Go-Round" column of November 11, 1939—Editor)

INSIDE regarding the transfer of eight U. S. Lines vessels to Panama is: The President knew all particulars almost before anyone else.

First, he has a fetish—some friends think a blind spot—regarding anything that pertains to ships. Second, he is surrounded by friends and ex-officials of the U. S. Lines and of its parent, the International Mercantile Marine.

In his Treasury Department as Under Secretary is John Hanes, former director of I M M ; also Basil Harris of British-American Tobacco Company family, now Commissioner of Customs, whose fortune helped

Forward to a Democratic And Socialist Peace!

Masses Must Find Way Out of Endless Misery of War

By C. A. SMITH and FENNER BROCKWAY

(Concluded from Last Issue)

IT is too late to doubt the error. The execution of the most trusted colleagues of Lenin, and of

Kermit Roosevelt and Vincent Astor get control of the U. S. Lines.

The State Department knew all about the Panamanian transfer and approved it in advance—the Secretary Hull later changed his mind. And tho it has been denied, the British government probably knew about the plan and was not averse to conveying the newly-transferred Panamanian ships thru the war zone.

military leaders whose alleged offense was that they were preparing the way for the very cooperation with Germany which has now been consummated, has been accompanied by the "liquidation" of at least 6,000 communist leaders, regional and local, throughout Russia.

We repeat—what is the explanation? No single factor is the sole cause of this tragedy. But one thing is certain: the impulses for liberty released by years of development in Russia have come into conflict with the impulses for the maintenance of bureaucratic power persisting from the regime which was established during the transition period of the revolution.

In Russia, because there has been an absence of proletarian democracy, an absence expressed in a growing bureaucracy and widening inequalities, conflict has developed between many of the leaders of every phase of administration and the bureaucracy, and discontent has arisen because of the rebirth of social differences. When local and national leaders have dared to criticize Stalin's policy, this has been regarded as the unforgivable sin and they have "disappeared." When administrators have failed to yield results satisfying the false expectations of Stalin's policy, they have been treated as the scapegoats. The secret police, organized as the G.P.U., has hunted out those who have expressed discontent against the Stalin regime.

The change in Russia's external policy can similarly be traced step by step from the days of Lenin to the present time. First Lenin's theory of world socialist revolution was put on one side for the theory of "socialism in one country." Then, national patriotism was deliberately developed by the popularization of the slogan, "Defend the Socialist Fatherland." Now Russia is pursuing a policy of aggression which, however much it may be interpreted as a tactic of self-defense, has the effect of imperialist expansion.

It is too early to give a final interpretation of the most recent events, but two significant occurrences should be noted. During the Czecho-Slovakian crisis, the Russian government used for the first time since Czarist days the term "Slav" to arouse sympathy for another nation, this was a reversion to the psychology behind the Czar's dream of a mighty Slav empire. Secondly, the Berlin copy of the recent Russian-German agreement included the phrase that the two governments partitioned Poland on the basis of "the frontier of their imperial interest." The Moscow copy of the document omitted the word "imperial." The explanation of the discrepancy is not known but is significant.

Whether Russia's motive is imperialist or not, the fact of aggression cannot be denied. When Stalin substituted an alliance with groups of capitalist governments for an alliance with the world working class, he took the first step towards power politics in international affairs which has led to the present development.

A DRIVE FOR A SOCIALIST PEACE

The time has come for the whole working-class movement to reconsider its position. It should now decide to use its influence not to drive the government on towards a "fight to a finish" but to drive the government out and to demand a socialist peace.

We do not ask socialists to endorse the Russian-German peace terms or indeed any terms which would come from a conference of existing governments. Capitalism cannot give us a just peace or an enduring peace. At best, it would only be another truce. If the Chamberlain government decided to negotiate peace, we know that it would take that course in the interest of the ruling class of Britain, and we should be in opposition to an unjust peace concluded to save capitalism just as we are in opposition to an unjust war to maintain the interests of imperialism.

It is necessary for the workers to recognize clearly that no just or enduring peace is possible so long as we allow ourselves to be partitioned in watertight compartments owing allegiance to the ruling class of sovereign nation-states. Just as a permanent peace requires the disappearance of capitalism on the economic side, so it demands the disappearance of sovereign states on the political side.

This is of special importance at the present time because of the proposals which are being made for a federal solution in Europe. We warn the workers that a federation of capitalist states will prove as incapable of maintaining peace in Europe as the capitalist League of Nations proved of maintaining peace in the world.

We demand a socialist peace, but we make the demand without any illusions that the Chamberlain government or any capitalist government in this or any other country will fulfil the demand. Nevertheless, it is the duty of the working-class movement at this time to advocate a socialist peace. The drive for such a peace would have a tremendous effect throughout the world. The proposal would reach the working class in Germany and would give the courageous socialist opposition new hope in their task.

We know that at this moment many of those who have given full support to a war against Hitlerism are reconsidering their position, that many who have differed from the I.L.P. have come to conclusions similar to those we have advocated here.

We hope that before it is too late those who hold these views will get together for common action. A great united drive for a socialist peace now might change the course of history. The alternatives are a capitalist truce which, unless it is replaced by a socialist peace, will renew the present tragedy, or a world war, lasting it may be for years, with millions dead and a social wreckage

American Youth See End of Opportunities

New York City.

BECAUSE of present-day conditions, ability no longer offers assurance of success, in the view of 80% of a cross-section of the young men and women of New York City, according to the results of a poll conducted by the Young Men's Christian Association, made public last week. Only 20% believe that young people with ability are finding it no more difficult today than at other times to get ahead.

The Y.M.C.A. said it made the inquiry with a scientific sampling technique which, it believed, limited probable error to a margin of 5%. Covered in the poll were sample groups of the employed and unemployed, those at school and not, the upper, middle and lower economic classes, Protestants, Jews and Catholics, white persons and Negroes—150 young men and women from 15 to 24.

In its effort to determine the drift of thought among the young generation, the Association found that 65% think that expert advice on how to choose and get a job would be more valuable to unemployed young people or those in dead-end jobs than more school or college or government-made jobs to help until better times. It also learned that 80% were guided less by religion than were their parents, and that 87% put less store by their parents' opinions on political, social and economic matters than did their elders

not far removed from that depicted by Wells in his "Shape of Things to Come."

There are three possibilities before mankind in the future to which the war is a prelude. The first is a regime of fascism arising not necessarily from the victory of Hitler but from the circumstances of social chaos which would follow a prolonged war whoever was the victor, and of the need of the capitalist class to impose a dictatorship to crush revolt.

The second is an expansion of a G.P.U. terror, which would be all the more tragic because it was maintained in the name of communism.

The third is a socialism based upon a belief in the value of freedom, equality and solidarity and aiming only at human happiness and fulfillment.

The third is attainable. We live in a world of potential abundance, with no inherent necessity for poverty, or war, or tyranny. But it will be achieved only if in these days of the maximum disaster of the capitalist regime, we have the confidence and courage to seize the opportunity to save and to strengthen out of the present ruins those elements which will build the new society.

We are confident that Russia's millions who began socialist construction at the end of the last world war will reconquer the achievements of the Russian Revolution and with their fellow-workers of Europe and the world will be ready to join in the task of building the new order.

"STALIN"

By Boris Souvarine
(A Critical Survey of Bolshevism)

\$3.75

WORKERS AGE BOOKSHOP
131 W. 33 St., New York City

Writers Appeal Against War

(We publish below the programmatic statement of the Randolph Bourne Council, an organization of radical writers, artists and other intellectuals formed recently on the West Coast. We publish this document because it is a sincere expression of socialist opposition to war, because it is an ardent plea for socialist unity. But we cannot ignore the fact that the entire declaration is cast in a sectarian mold and is infused with altogether too doctrinaire and dogmatic a spirit, a spirit of finality and ultimate judgment that does not go well with the times we live in or the tasks confronting us. Nor can we overlook a number of specific errors of fact and opinion that warp the statement as a whole. No one acquainted with the record or public pronouncements of the elder and younger Senators LaFollette could possibly place them in the camp of imperialism, as this document does. Nor does it make political sense to say that the American Labor Party, or even the Social-Democratic Federation, for all its present position on the war, has already "joined the government of national defense." And it is utterly inexcusable to speak of the position of the Independent Labor Party of Great Britain as "equivocal" or to place that party among the "middle-class intellectuals." Readers of this paper need not be convinced of the thoroughly socialist, thoroughly internationalist, position adopted by the I.L.P. in the present war crisis. (We sincerely hope that the Randolph Bourne Council will find it possible quickly to correct its sectarian, dogmatic approach in the light of deeper thought and increasing experience—Editor)

San Francisco, Cal. THE Randolph Bourne Council is an organization of artists, writers and professional people, devoted to the following objectives:

1. Socialist opposition to the present war.
2. The alliance for mutual aid of all principled, anti-totalitarian socialist groups and individuals in the United States.
3. The mobilization of the radical section of our own class in the struggle against war and for a free society; aid and publicity for our persecuted fellows abroad.

We are not a Popular Front organization seeking names on a letter-head. The following statement is designed to make our position clear beyond doubt.

SOCIALIST OPPOSITION TO THIS WAR

Since the outbreak of war, many voices have been raised against it, for many reasons. We are against it for the following reasons:

This war is a struggle, on the one hand, for the maintenance of the slave power of the British and French empires; on the other, for the territorial expansion of the German and Russian dictatorships. This remains true whether or not the latter country enters as a belligerent on either side.

against the working class by their "own" governments, and represents the raising of the fascist militarization of society to its final logical level. In the words of Stephen Spender, this is a war "in which each side is fighting to produce chaos in the other before it has lost control of itself."

Under the impetus of the maturing war crisis, the socialist movement has just begun to emerge from the confusion and disillusion of twenty years of betrayal and disaster. Unless we can regain our old unity and effectiveness, this war will result in the extinction of the militant elements of the working class and the physical or moral destruction of the exponents of art and science.

The imperialist interests in this war can be divided into four groups:

1. A large section of American capital is identified with British imperialism. This group wants war as soon as possible.
2. The decisive section of American capital desires our entrance as soon as U. S. hegemony over the western hemisphere has been consolidated, and when, from military and economic stalemate in Europe, America will be able to dictate the terms of peace.
3. Many American capitalists and small business men fear the consequences of a general war, look primarily to American expansion in

this hemisphere as a solution to the contradictions of our economic structure. They hope to absorb, as an "island of peace and order," many of the possessions of Great Britain as that empire disintegrates in a disastrous war. Their political spokesmen are the inheritors of Bull Moose "manifest destiny," such figures as LaFollette and Hiram Johnson.

4. Partisans of foreign, anti-British imperialism wish to keep the United States neutral in the interests of the nations they represent, or with whom they sympathize. Many Nazi-minded capitalists and politicians, the German-American Bund, the leadership of the Communist Party, belong in this class.

Bona-fide, native anti-war forces can be divided into three groups:

1. Many middle-class liberals are, at the moment, opposed to war. To judge from our last experience, most of them will go over to the war party and provide it with a smokescreen of pious wishes, "Peace with honor," "No reprisals, no indemnities," "Self-determination for oppressed minorities," "Our war is not with the . . . people," "For the defense of civilization as we know it," even "For a Socialist United States of the World." Slogans will be provided to suit all tastes. The body of opinion represented by the Nation and the New Republic is already moving in this direction. The Socialist Party of France, the Labor Party of Great Britain now play this role. The position of the British Independent Labor Party is equivocal. In America, the Social-Democratic Federation and the American Labor Party have joined the "government of national defense." Mayor LaGuardia is considered as a "good" Secretary of War.

2. There exists a large body of irreconcilable religious pacifists, members of the evangelical churches of the small Christian communist sects. Their integrity and reliability are unquestionable; their effectiveness is nominal. Welcome to them may be as allies, few can share the convictions on which their opposition to war is based. Ultimately, if and when the United States enters this war, their resistance must become a resistance to the society which makes war possible. Meanwhile, by stressing the personal, moral aspects of the struggle against war, they serve to diffuse resistance to it.

3. Finally, there are those who realize that war is an integral part of the capitalist system—who know

that disarmament conferences, legislative neutrality, negotiated peace, will not solve the problem of war, any more than the prohibition of blackjacks, the activities of social workers, the passing of laws, will solve the problem of crime. War will be abolished only by the establishment of a world society of socialist production, in which authoritarian state forms have disappeared and the full measure of creative liberty has been assured to all men.

The people of America have shown that they are opposed to participation in this war. Their reasons are simple. They know that the conflict is none of their business; they know that they will have to do the dying. This is a struggle, on one side, to insure expression of the popular will, on the other, to pervert it.

SOCIALIST ALLIANCE

We do not believe that the prospect of a general war advances the cause of world socialism. The last war produced the dictatorships which now harry the European working class. This war has destroyed the vestiges of democracy abroad; the present Administration moves to extinguish it here. Whatever the outcome of a world war, any socialist society which might emerge would be purchased at a price incalculably high.

We welcome the proposals now current for the establishment of a socialist alliance, based on clearly understood first principles, devoted to well-defined limited objectives. Such alliance should be defined on the right by unqualified resistance to this war, but on the left the door should never be closed, however intransigent or sectarian those groups

(Continued on page 4)

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WILL HERBERG, Editor

Editorial Board: Lyman D. Fraser, Jay Lovestone, M. S. Mautner, Bertram D. Wolfe, Charles S. Zimmerman

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Personally, to YOU

HANS —, a metal worker in the town of —, Germany, was offered a chance to leave the Reich, to recuperate from the dreadful strain resulting from his work in the underground trade-union movement in his town. He refused: "The overthrow of Hitlerism will be brought about only by those of us who remain and fight from within." But he added: "Please, please, send us some money . . . no matter how little. You can't appreciate what the money you sent last month meant to us. DON'T FAIL US!" Must we, can we, add anything to this appeal?

No matter how badly off each and every one of us may be, can we compare our lot with that of Hans or that of score of thousands of other socialist militants in the war-torn and dictator-ridden countries of Europe? Hans is ready to make any sacrifice, even life itself. What are you ready to do? Are you ready to do your bit so that Hans's sacrifice may not be in vain? Will you let Hans's plea go unanswered?

It depends on you. Send us immediately whatever you can spare — pennies, dimes, quarters, dollars. Help us help Hans and the many like him in Germany and elsewhere. DON'T DELAY!

THE CHALLENGE OF PRAGUE

THE anti-Nazi demonstrations conducted recently by Czech students in Prague, drowned in a sea of blood by the armed hooligans of Hitler, who they were, undoubtedly constitute an event of immense significance. For they demonstrate that the spirit of the Czech people has not been entirely broken despite the overwhelming power of the oppressor. They demonstrate that the aspiration to freedom has not been entirely crushed by the iron heel of the storm-trooper. The domain of totalitarianism is not the one vast graveyard of helpless and hopeless conformity that we have sometimes tended to think it was. Despite everything there are stirrings of revolt—today, in Czecho-Slovakia, where national oppression gives a particularly keen edge to the hatred of the masses for the Nazi overlords; tomorrow, perhaps thruout all Germany as well. . . .

We greet the demonstrations of the Czech students with special enthusiasm because we have always stressed that the emancipation of the masses in the dictator-ridden countries of Europe must come, will come, thru their own collective revolutionary effort and not at the point of foreign bayonets. The demonstrations of the Czech students, supported, according to report, by sympathetic actions of the workers of Prague, may well prove a forerunner, a harbinger of the spreading movement of revolt that will eventually settle accounts with the organized savagery that is Hitlerism.

Events themselves are fortunately serving to purge the poison of Stalinism from the anti-fascist movement in the Reich as elsewhere. If now this movement can only maintain its integrity and independence and avoid all entanglements with the imperialist powers momentarily aligned against Hitler, powers that only yesterday were fascism's best allies in its aggressions and may be so again tomorrow, it has the future before it.

We hail the heroic Czech students. We place our wreath of homage and solidarity on the graves of those that were sent to their death by the brown-shirted murderers during those three bloody days in Prague.

THE theoretical alignment of democracy versus fascism was predicated on the assumption that Britain and France are in reality democracies. That these two states are as imperialistic as Germany and Italy was overlooked. In their colonies—India, Morocco, Cochin-China—they had been pursuing a policy of ruthless exploitation of millions of human beings long before Hitler and Mussolini appeared on the horizon.

The difference is merely that not possessing colonies, Italy and Germany are compelled to practise British and French colonial methods on their home population. Because of their colonial wealth, too, the contradictions in society have not been so rudely challenged in Britain and France as they have been in Italy and Germany; at home, therefore, London and Paris have been able to carry on with a semblance of democratic procedure. . . .

"England will fight not for democracy but to safeguard her imperial interests where they are at stake. . . ."—Pierre van Passen, "Days of Our Years."

A Review of "Keep America Out of War":

A Fighting Plea for Peace

By WILL HERBERG

IF the issue of war or peace for America could be decided by the quality of the books written by the spokesmen of the contending sides, we should indeed have very little reason to fear the outcome. For rarely in our history has a great public question brought forth in an equal period such a brilliant succession of works as the issue of American involvement in war has done in the last four years. And it has been a remarkably one-sided battle of books too, for whereas the anti-war (sometimes loosely called "isolationist") side has to its credit a series of historical surveys, economic and social studies and political appeals of really first-rate character, the pro-war (or "interventionist," or "collective-security") school has been able to produce very little besides moralizing sermons based on glittering abstractions false to the core, academic disquisitions on the unrealities of "international law," and subtly disguised appeals to prejudice and passion. There is no need of presenting a list of books in evidence; the point is obvious enough.

BOOKS ARE ALSO SOCIAL FORCES

The issue of peace or war for America will not, of course, be decided simply by the quality of the books written by the contending parties. But, make no mistake about it, the books will have a great deal to do with the outcome. Who can measure the vast influence of Charles A. Beard's brilliant writings on foreign policy in recent years, particularly on elements of the population that have a great deal to do with forming the opinions of others, such as editors, journalists and teachers? Who can estimate the far-reaching effects, particularly in labor circles, of such a work as Rose M. Stein's "M-Day"? "The idea also becomes a material force once it seizes hold of the masses."

"Keep America Out of War," by Norman Thomas and Bertram D. Wolfe, is the latest work to appear in the long succession that began with Professor Beard's "The Devil Theory of War" and Miss Stein's classic, and it is one of the best. For clarity, comprehensiveness linked with brevity, and vigorous argument, it is well-nigh unsurpassed. It states the case for keeping America out of war with such persuasiveness and power that it leaves nothing, literally nothing, to be said on the other side.

In essence, it is an unofficial commentary on the program of the Keep America Out of War Congress, with socialist implications and conclusions going beyond that program. Both of the authors are members of the Governing Committee of the K.A.O.W.C. and they are familiar with the anti-war struggle in its practical organizational forms as well as in its ideological aspects. Naturally, this is bound to add materially to the power and effectiveness of the work.

This book was written by two socialists, and it is permeated thru and thru with the spirit and message of socialism. Yet it is thoroughly intelligible and appealing to the average thinking American, as so few socialist works have ever been. It is intelligible not merely in its vocabu-

* KEEP AMERICA OUT OF WAR, by Norman Thomas and Bertram D. Wolfe. Frederick A. Stokes Company, New York, 1939. \$1.50

lary and idiom but in its approach to things, in the very cast of its thought. It speaks the language of the average thinking American in more than the narrow sense of the word; it permits a genuine meeting of minds.

Nothing short of reproducing the entire text of the book itself could give an adequate idea of its contents, for not a word is wasted in its 184 pages. The character of the present war in Europe, the consequences for the American people and for Europe as well should this country be involved, the chances of staying out and a positive program for keeping out of war, are all dealt with trenchantly, concisely and yet with a wealth of factual material and quotation. Particularly effective in this part of the book, in my opinion, are the chapters, "Can We Stay Out?," where the theory of the "inevitability" of American involvement in war is thoroughly refuted, and "Can We Stay Half Out?," where the Administration policy of getting into war by "measures short of war" is exposed in a magnificent manner.

HOW TO KEEP OUT OF WAR

The two chapters on "How to Stay Out," constitute the programmatic part of the book. Some of the section headings will give you an idea of what this program is: "Curb the power of the Executive. . . . Give the people the power to decide on a declaration of war. . . . Make the issues of diplomacy and foreign policy the property of the common man. . . . Organize the will to stay out of war into an effective force. . . . Restore and extend the arms embargo. . . . Rigid enforcement of the 'cash' provisions. . . . Put an end to the war-dictatorship plan. . . . Reduction of the size of the military-naval budget. . . . Vigilance against the danger of war in the Pacific. . . . Guard against Dollar Diplomacy in Latin America. . . . Devote our resources to the solution of our domestic problems."

I do not want to give the impression that there are no faults or shortcomings in the work at all. I think it is a real deficiency that so little attention is given to the economic consequences of war, to what war means to big business, to the workers, to the farmers, to the lower middle classes, in terms of profits, wages, earnings, living costs, hours of labor, working conditions, inflation. There is a vast amount of significant material relating to the last war that could be used to explode the myth of "war prosperity," which the war-mongers of all stripes, from President Roosevelt down, are now beginning to exploit quite openly.

Why not more stress on the inevitable cycle of war boom and post-war collapse, on the spree of wild inflation followed by ruthless deflation? But such deficiencies, while real, are entirely secondary and do not detract from the essential value of the book.

BASIS FOR AN ENDURING PEACE

The last chapter, "America and the Peace," contains the basic social conclusions. It presents a devastating critique of imperialism, Allied and American, and national oppression in America with the Negroes as well as in Germany with the Jews; of war as a means of overthrowing fascism and bring-

ing freedom to the masses under the heel of Hitlerism. Especially cogent is the line of argument proving that the danger of totalitarianism lies not in impossible foreign invasion, not even in the over-publicized foreign propaganda, but in a decaying economic system, making for monopoly state capitalism and an authoritarian state; in a permanent depression spreading insecurity, distress and desperation like a plague; in "unsolved" economic and social problems that cannot be solved within the framework of the present social order. "War will not stop but accelerate [these tendencies towards totalitarianism], as already war has done," the authors warn. "The question seems to us to be: Shall we move towards a planned collective economy with as little violence and as much democracy as the circumstances permit, or shall we be driven catastrophically thru fascist reaction and war into totalitarian dictatorship under a universal arbitrary and tyrannical state?"

"The Problem of Enduring Peace": is such peace possible and under what conditions? Certainly—the authors stress—no tolerable, no enduring peace will be brought into being by those who plunged Europe into this war, as twenty-five years before they plunged Europe and the world into its predecessor. An enduring peace means not merely an end to the present war but an end to the war-making regime and war-making system responsible for it. An enduring peace can be only a democratic peace, an anti-imperialist peace, a socialist peace. It can be only a peace on the basis of the genuine self-determination of peoples, on the basis of the eradication of imperialism and imperialist rivalries, on the basis of the replacement of the "monopolistic ownership of the machinery of production by a few . . . by the social ownership and democratic control by the many." And the best way America can help in the realization of this kind of enduring peace is by keeping out of war; by making our own country safe for democracy, political and economic; by defeating the forces of reaction, fascism and imperialism at home; by doing everything in our power to aid the oppressed peoples of the world to achieve emancipation thru their own efforts, for no emancipation can ever be brought to them at the point of foreign bayonets.

"Here in our own land," the book concludes, "our duty is not war. It is rather to set an example for peace. It is to overcome the racial and national intolerance which mars the fraternity on which true democracy must depend. It is to overcome the economic oppression which mars the equality on which true democracy must rest. It is to overcome the inertia which permits a few men in the seats of economic and political power to think and act for the rest of us and determine our fate. It is to maintain and increase our social enlightenment, our freedom of discussion and examination of problems, our civil liberties—which even in their present modest form, it should be our pride jealously to defend. It is to conquer poverty and provide abundance for all. . . .

"While all Europe is darkened, ours is the task of keeping the torch of civilization alight and burning over more brightly here. And when Europe is most desperately in need of its rays, then our people may indeed have a proud contribution to make."

Talking It Over:

Letter from Sen. Capper

by Bertram D. Wolfe

NORMAN THOMAS and I have just received a letter from Senator Arthur Capper of Kansas, dealing with our jointly written book, which letter raises a number of interesting problems. Writes Senator Capper:

"I have read the book with great interest. While I do not go along with you in all your program, in the main I endorse it most heartily. I certainly agree with the statement on page 143, which I believe is a sound basis from which to start, altho you and myself may honestly differ as to the route to be taken from that start:

"But the main struggle against totalitarianism, like the struggle against war, begins at home. And the danger is not in the Kuls and Browners and other agents of foreign powers. The danger lies in our unsolved economic problems, in the 10-year depression, in the 10 millions and more who are jobless, in their unsatisfied needs and fierce discontents."

"I am opposed to the May bill, but would not say I am opposed to a mobilization plan worked out in advance in event of war. I do not want war, but if a war should be forced upon us, I want to win that war. Seems to me that is just being realistic."

"At any rate, your book is very informative and decidedly stimulating, and I am glad I had the opportunity to read it."

EACH WITH HIS OWN PROGRAM

IN the first place, the letter is noteworthy in that it reveals the frank basis on which the widely inclusive Keep America Out of War Congress is functioning. The K.A.O.W.C. is a federated body. None of its affiliated groups gives up its own program on war or on any other question. This is frankly stated and clearly understood by all its participating organizations.

After the systematic degradation of the whole concept of united action by the Stalinists, after the monstrosities like the "united front from below," after all the leagues of "innocents," after all the stodge and "transmission-belt" organizations, capture and splitting maneuvers, it is refreshing to see labor, farm, youth and peace groups working together in a common federated body with a program of limited agreement, without any of them trying to capture, put something over on, or deceive the other affiliates, and without any of the organizations giving up its full program or abandoning the right to express it.

This limited agreement goes beyond the Keep America Out of War Congress extending to individuals and organizations that are not even part of the Congress. Thus, Senator Capper is by no stretch of the imagination a member of the K.A.O.W.C. nor of any of its affiliated organizations. But he has spoken from its platform during the fight to retain the arms embargo and to pass the cash-and-carry measure, and made effective and forthright presentation of the arguments for those measures and others on the K.A.O.W.C. program, without any deceptive pretense of greater agreement than really existed. The same is true in varying measure of many other members of the "peace block" in the Senate and House of Representatives.

WEAKNESSES OF THE PEACE BLOCK

THE "peace block" in Congress, none of whose members are part of the K.A.O.W.C. nor in full agreement with its program, has put up a good fight for such measures as we do sponsor or favor in common: the arms embargo, cash-and-carry, and, with the exception I think of Senator Borah, the need for a war-referendum amendment to the Constitution. Most of them also agree with us in a common desire to curb the power of the Executive in foreign affairs, to defeat—for the time being at least—any plans for industrial conscription and war-time dictatorship, to prevent any public or private credits to belligerents, to hinder the government's taking sides or showing partiality in the European war, and a number of other measures.

But, even while we work for those things which we favor in common, we have clearly defined differences on any number of other matters. Some of these same differences exist inside the K.A.O.W.C.; some are differences between the K.A.O.W.C. as a whole and most of the Congressional members of the "peace block."

Senator Capper has clearly defined one of his differences with the K.A.O.W.C. He is opposed as we are to industrial conscription and other dictatorship measures at present. But if he should change his mind on the necessity of America's entrance into war, or if America should be driven into war despite our efforts, he would doubtless favor a good part if not all of the War Department's plans for such military dictatorship. Some of the affiliated peace societies might conceivably change their minds on these matters also. Others would not. Both the Socialist Party and the Independent Labor League are publicly pledged to continue their opposition to war and war measures in war time. Obviously, somewhere along that road, we would have parted company.

Another difference which we of the Keep America Out of War Congress as a whole have with most of the "peace block" will loom very large in the January session of Congress: the question of the military budget for 1940.

In "Keep America Out of War," Norman Thomas and I wrote the following:

"REDUCTION OF THE MILITARY-NAVAL BUDGET
"In this field, there is much cowardice and loose thinking. It is high time Congress ceased the automatic approval of fantastic and excessive arms budgets just because the Administration calls them appropriations for 'defense of our shores.' . . . The greatest weakness of the 'peace block' in Congress is that it has not had the civic valor, or else the vision, to set its face against the dangers of super-armorments, with their attendant strain upon our economy, damage to our social legislation, increase in our deficits, and contribution to an atmosphere of dictatorship and reaction. . . . How can we talk so self-righteously of the need of armament reduction in perpetually warring Europe while we continue to pile up armaments in this fashion?"

It remains to be seen how many members of the "peace block" in Congress will have the courage to take this, at present rather unpopular stand, and how many have the understanding or even the desire to oppose the fantastic piling up of armaments. Some of them actively favor it, and since the next step in the Administration war drive is to build up a force for overseas war while reiterating the pledge to keep America out of it, many members of the "peace block" will thereby, regardless of intention, become supporters of the war drive and the war party.

Again, many members of the "peace block" are active or passive advocates of the theory of dominance by the United States of an exclusive sphere of influence or economic empire embracing the two continents of North and South America, not unlike the Japanese theory of "exclusive interests" in Asia or the German theory of Lebensraum in continental Europe.

On such matters as armament and imperialism, where differences are fundamental, the K.A.O.W.C. will become a critic of much of the "peace block" as well as of the Administration.

Obviously, on the long-range struggle against war, which Norman Thomas and I believe can only be ended by the abolition of the profit system and the establishment of socialism; on the continuation of the struggle against war in war time, if our efforts to keep out should be defeated; and even on the specific program for fighting against totalitarianism in America (as Senator Capper has indicated), we would differ not only with the Congressional "peace block" but with many of our colleagues and federated organizations in the Keep America Out of War Congress.

But since this is clearly understood and frankly stated by all the parties concerned, and since each of us continues to advocate his own full program on this and other questions, we can travel together as far as our road runs in common, mutually supporting each other in the joint struggle for the things we agree on, awakening the great mass of the American people to a greater consciousness of the problems facing them and a greater determination to take into their own hands the control of their destinies, and preparing them thereby the better to judge between us and between our respective programs where we differ.

Writers Against War, For Socialist Unity

(Continued from Page 3)

who refuse to enter may prove themselves. Spain and France show the fatal consequences of Popular Front policies; Spain, post-war Germany, revolutionary Russia, the dangers inherent in any isolation or persecution of the extreme left.

Scattered and demoralized by the defeats of twenty years, most of those who are in agreement with the principles of socialism have drifted away from organized participation in the struggle for its achievement. Unless this latent force can be revitalized, effective resistance to this war will be crippled. Unless the socialist movement can regain its old unity, and turn its augmented fire-power against the class enemy, the hope of a socialist world will be postponed indefinitely. Last time, the moral integrity of Eugene V. Debs served as a rallying point for all principled opposition to war. We have no Debs today. We cannot stop the war with reminiscences, howsoever glowing. Today, the responsibility rests on each one of us.

We hope that the socialist groups in America will be able to forge an effective unity, at least on the basis of specific issues, and we will do all we can to further it. If the now unarticulate mass of unaffiliated socialists, workers and intellectuals would seriously rededicate themselves in action to the principles of Debs, the problem of socialist unity would solve itself.

CULTURAL FREEDOM, CIVIL LIBERTIES, WORKERS RIGHTS

Today, we see the great movement of freedom, experiment, advance in the arts and sciences, which we had

thought characteristic of our time, thwarted, perverted and destroyed. This attack upon culture is not fortuitous. It is a reflex of the decay of capitalist society and of the instability of the totalitarian regimes which have replaced it. Modern culture has outgrown the society which produced it. In fact, as the world rushes to war, it has outlived it. The struggle for cultural freedom is but one aspect of the struggle against war, the struggle against capitalism. Only a free socialist society can restore cultural freedom. Increasing barbarization is inevitable under capitalism.

Considering the nature of the emergency, the clarity of the issues, the schism in the ranks of defenders of cultural freedom is nothing less than scandalous. We are willing to enter into friendly relations with the League for Cultural Freedom and Socialism and the Committee for Cultural Freedom. We will affiliate with neither until every effort has been made to heal this split.

In all questions of civil liberties, we will cooperate with any reputable liberal or working-class defense organization. We are unalterably opposed to the Stalinist hunt now going on thruout the country. If we are interested in our own civil liberties, we must defend the ordinary democratic rights of the members of the Communist Party, not for what they are, but for what we are. Likewise, we deplore the appearance of certain misguided radicals before the Dies Committee. The American socialist movement can settle its accounts with the Comintern without recourse to the aid of agencies of the United States government.

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