

NEXT WEEK
THE I.L.G.W.U., THE C.I.O.
AND THE A.F.L.

Workers Age

Weekly Paper of the Independent Labor League of America

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Behind the Headlines:

Some Further Reflections—II

By JAY LOVESTONE

OLD criteria and standards are useless in entirely new situations. From this angle, I stress that it would be futile to judge the new international role of the United States on the basis of old concepts. For all practical intents and purposes, the United States is in the war now. It is no longer a neutral. I underscore this, despite the fact that all formal proclamations of the government indicate the opposite. The May 18, 1940 issue of Business Week sums up the situation rather tersely when it says: "We might as well face the facts. The United States has ceased to be neutral. It is the policy of the Administration to favor the Allies in every possible way short of committing an act of war."

Furthermore, the government has been working overtime in behalf of the Allied cause in the following sense: (a) towards weaning away Russia from the German fold; (b) towards delaying indefinitely Italy's entrance into the war; (c) towards holding Japan in check and thwarting any effort it might contemplate for seizing the Dutch East Indies.

In reality, it can be said that while Europe goes thru its historical transition, America is now going thru a hysterical transition to more active, to open military participation on the side of the Allies. However, between today and the probable of tomorrow, when such assistance could be forthcoming, lots of things, of course, might happen to alter the trend of events.

For labor, what is particularly ominous is the open Administration talk of sacrificing—"in behalf of national defense"—even the inadequate wage and hour standards and the limited gains won in recent years. It is significant that while there is no serious talk of limitation of profits but only of subsidizing the big industrial magnates, considerable stress is being laid on the need of deflating labor's rights and interests. This is a sad commentary on the basic objectives maintained by the American ruling class in the present world crisis.

WHERE IS THE REAL "FIFTH COLUMN"?

SINCE Norway, the reactionaries everywhere have been raving of the "Fifth Column." To these reactionaries and their unconscious satellites, the Fifth Column is generally synonymous with progressive labor or any force that challenges them. Actually, what are the facts? We must not overlook certain unchallengeable truths. In Norway, the Fifth Column was represented by a bishop, high army officers, and distinguished business men. In Yugoslavia, the Fifth Column was led by Stoyadinovich, ex-premier. In Holland, the Fifth Column was represented by no less a personality than the former commander-in-chief of the Dutch army. It is this real Fifth Column that the reactionaries dare not attack because they themselves are tied up with it. The reactionaries attack progressive labor as the Fifth Column because they want to exploit the war fever and panic for their own sordid interests. By smashing labor, they cover up their own ranks in which the real Fifth Column is imbedded.

BAIT FOR THE MIDWEST

THE proposal of Roosevelt to set up airplane plants between the Alleghenies and the Rockies is not really due to fear that the American eastern seaboard or the Pacific Coast is in danger of bombardment. This proposal is made by the President in order to counteract and virtually buy off opposition to his military expansion program—opposition that is strongest in the Midwest. The President must overcome this opposition in the Midwest. He seeks to do so by offering them factories and jobs in war preparations.

END OF THE "BALANCE OF POWER"

NO matter what the outcome of the military struggle will be, one thing is certain: We are about to witness the end of the principle which has been the cornerstone of British foreign policy towards Europe since the 16th century. British imperialism always maintained its hegemony in relation to the continent of Europe by keeping it politically and economically divided, by preventing any single power from being dominant on the continent. This underlying principle once characterized British attitude towards Spain, at another time towards Holland, then towards Napoleon, then in 1914 towards Germany, then in 1918 towards victorious France, and in 1939 towards Nazi Germany.

LIGHT FROM HISTORY

ONE is provoked to reexamine history, not for parallels or analogies, but for situations that might shed some light. Here we turn for

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Does U.S.A. Face Invasion?

WAR hysteria is sweeping the country like wildfire as a result of Hitler's stunning military victories in Europe. People are literally in a panic over America's alleged "defenselessness" in the face of the threat, taken to be real and imminent, of foreign attack or invasion. This frantic, unreasoning alarm of the public mind is both stimulated and exploited by inflammatory propaganda emanating from the White House. A huge "preparedness" drive, involving a sky-high super-arms program and the whipping up of a veritable frenzy among the people, has been launched by the Administration and is gaining momentum every day. What the end may be, no man can foresee.

"PREPAREDNESS"—FOR WHAT?

In such a situation, the best service we can render to the American people is to keep our heads and think straight. We must ask: Preparedness for what? National defense where and against what? Until these questions are clearly answered by those in authority, there is every reason to suspect that the slogans of "national defense" and "preparedness" are merely that much demagoguery to cover up intentions that dare not be avowed to the people.

TESTIMONY OF THE EXPERTS

If "national defense" means what the masses of the people think it means—defense against invasion or attack—then there is no ground for panic at all; nor is there any ground for the hysterical "preparedness"

agitation, with its billions of appropriations made without thought or consideration. We present below the views of some eminent military authorities on the real position of the United States in relation to the danger of foreign attack or invasion. The conclusion should not be hard to draw.

HANSON BALDWIN SAYS:

Hanson W. Baldwin, military correspondent of the New York Times and author of the well-known military survey of Europe, "The Caissons Roll," writes in his article, "Impregnable America," appearing in the American Mercury, July 1939:

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

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

FDR Ups Arms Budget to Over 4 Billion

ILGWU Likely to Hold Off Action on A.F.L. Affiliation

Dubinsky Favors Referring Matter to General Board With Full Powers; Matthew Woll Answers Criticisms of A.F.L.

New York City. The twenty-eighth regular convention of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union, which opened here on May 27, will most probably take no action to reaffiliate to the A. F. of L., it appeared last week from statements made by President Dubinsky and the report of the General Executive Board. The whole matter will be left to the incoming G.E.B., with full power to act.

In his keynote address to the convention, speaking to 652 official delegates representing over 250,000 members and to the nearly 20,000 others who crowded Madison Square Garden on the opening day, President Dubinsky acknowledged that the union's present independent position was not the most desirable one but nevertheless advised delay on returning to the A. F. of L. He charged that the Federation, under the cloak of union autonomy, had been "derelict in its duty to the labor movement by permitting individuals who should have had no place in our movement to occupy important positions in national and international unions and discredit the entire labor movement."

As another reason for staying out of the A. F. of L. for the present, the I.L.G.W.U. leader pointed to the per-capita assessment of one cent a month levied by the Federation to finance the fight on the C.I.O.

"Because of its refusal to pay this assessment," he declared, "the Typographical Union, one of the oldest unions in the A. F. of L., was suspended. It will not be consistent with our policy to contribute money to fight the C.I.O. We are ready to pay not one cent but five cents and even more for constructive purposes, but we will not pay a single cent to perpetuate the division in and wreck the labor movement."

"The Executive Council of the A. F. of L.," Mr. Dubinsky went on, "has assumed the right to suspend national and international unions. It has been our contention, which has also been shared by certain important leaders within the A. F. of L., that constitutionally the Council had no authority to suspend our union or any of the unions that were affiliated with the original Committee for Industrial Organization and that such a right can only be exercised by a convention."

In his remarks on the need for a united labor movement, Mr. Dubinsky reiterated his charge that responsibility for continuation of the split rested with the leaders of the C.I.O. Asserting that "the salvation of labor in this country" depended on unity, he declared that the peace

plan advanced by the A. F. of L. in October 1937 contained a "fair and just basis" for settling all conflicts between the two sections of American labor.

"It was apparent from the very beginning," he said, "that the C.I.O.

leaders did not want peace, and we openly stated this to our members and the public. The leaders of the C.I.O. were inclined to treat the matter of peace in the labor movement either arbitrarily or farcical—

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Just One Little Thing in the Way!

THE White House is a bit disturbed by the publicly expressed assumption of British and Canadians that the United States soon will be in the war fighting on their side. The inside attitude is that the matter isn't quite so simple—that there is the matter of public opinion to consider. —The United States News, May 24, 1940.

Authority to Call National Guard Asked

President Asks for Another Billion in Message; Senate Leaders Hit Guard Request

Washington, D. C.

While Congress was still considering his recent request for another billion dollars in supplementary arms appropriations, over and above the regular \$2,300,000,000 "national-defense" budget for 1941, President Roosevelt last week called for still another billion dollars for army, navy and civilian-training programs. He also requested special legislation empowering him to call any or all of the National Guard into active service in any "emergency." He made these requests in a special message couched in an even more panic-breeding tone than his original message two weeks before.

Mr. Roosevelt did not specify in any but the most general way the purposes for which the added billion dollars was asked, although that request brought the total arms budget for the next year to the stupendous sum of nearly four and a half billions. He spoke vaguely and ominously of "the almost incredible events of the past weeks in the European conflict," without indicating the particular significance of these events for the problems of American defense. In the same vague and ominous tone, he spoke of the "possibility . . . that not one or two continents but all continents may become involved in a world-wide war," but did not feel it necessary to specify exactly what dangers were threatening America.

In Congress, the attitude to the request for an additional appropriation was generally favorable, but there was considerable hostility to the demand for power to call the National Guard into service. Senator Vandenberg told reporters that the request was "shocking" and sounded as if the President wanted to be able to order a partial mobilization by executive authority alone. Senators Wheeler, LaFollette, Bridges and Austin, the last named a staunch supporter of the Roosevelt foreign policy, took a similar view. The War Department showed a great deal of confusion in trying to explain the President's request. Thus General George C. Marshall, Army Chief-of-Staff, insisted that the requested authority was "essential" because of the "recognized possibility of dangerous developments in this hemisphere," as if some sort of invasion were imminent!

Germans Plan New Drive on France

The gigantic Battle of Flanders ended last week with victory for the Germans—but it was the winning of a battle and not of the war, not even of the major objectives of the Nazi Blitzkrieg in Flanders. In one of the most remarkable joint military and naval feats of its kinds in history, over three-quarters of the British and French troops fighting desperately in the slowly contracting pocket opening on the small strip of Channel coast still held by the Allies, were evacuated to England in the face of continuous death-dealing Nazi attacks from the air.

The chief purpose of the great German drive to the Channel was the destruction of the Allied armies in the North so as to break the will of the English and make the French amenable to a proposal for a separate peace. Neither of these objectives was achieved despite the success of the Germans in completing the conquest of Flanders.

The victory of the Nazi forces in the Flanders action became virtually inevitable towards the middle of the week upon the sudden, sensational surrender of his army by King Leopold of Belgium. Altho the Belgian cabinet in Paris refused to recognize Leopold's action and even took steps to depose him, the damage had already been done as far as the Allies were concerned.

Having won an interior position—the salient thrust between France and England—Hitler was in a position to strike first at one and then at the other. All indications pointed towards a renewed German attack on central France and Paris as the first move rather than towards an attempt to "invade" England or, at least for the time being, to strike at Britain thru a counter-blockade operating from the Channel coast. This drive on France, it was said in informed circles, would take the form of a new and improved version of the famous old "Schlieffen Plan" of 1914, the successful execution of which was blocked at the Marne. Only this time, the Germans stressed, they would not have to

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NOW MORE THAN EVER—KEEP OUT!



—from Justice

Senate Report Warns Of War Dictatorship

Naval Affairs Committee Urges U.S. to Keep Out of Foreign War Involvement

Washington, D. C.

Constrasted with the intense war hysteria of the past few weeks is the calm and emphatic assertion by the Senate Naval Affairs Committee in its report to the Senate recently that "we are more fortunately situated than any other people," and that "we should take advantage of our fortunate situation

and avoid entangling our peace and prosperity in the quarrels of Europe or Asia."

"Why not face the basic military and economic fact," the committee asks in its report, "that it is not within our power or means to create military or naval establishments of sufficient strength to police the world, but that it is within our power and means to prevent others from transporting their wars to this hemisphere? Why not face the fact that American armed forces cannot force permanent peace on a warring world, but that we can maintain peace in our own part of the world?"

Concerning the defense of America, the report of the committee, of which Senator David I. Walsh is chairman, continues: "If we give up the illusion that American armed force can bring permanent peace to a warring world and confine our military objectives to the defense of this country, we shall find that our problem of national defense becomes relatively simple."

Making the flat declaration that America's participation in a foreign war will "convert this country, within a few days, into a totalitarian dictatorship," the committee declares: "If we allow ourselves to become engaged in the war in Europe as we did in the last war, one thing is certain—the whole energies of our people, of necessity, will be ordered, regimented, and directed by a single authority. Everything—manufacture, transportation, liberty itself—will be at the service of the government. It makes no difference by what name such a government is called, it will assume absolute power over the life of every citizen."

"Why should we go to war to defend freedom," the committee again asks, "if we must begin by destroying it with our own hands?"

"If we are to remain at peace we must avoid becoming interested financially in the outcome of the European war, and our industries must not become too greatly compromised by foreign war orders," the report continues.

"We should certainly profit by the experience of the last World War and avoid becoming too greatly involved in European affairs."

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Anti-War Mobilization, Washington, June 7

Washington, D. C.

THE Keep America Out of War Congress and six cooperating national peace organizations are calling an urgent Anti-War Mobilization on Friday, June 7, 1940, in Washington, D. C.

"Recent events in Europe and the mounting hysteria of the American people convince us," the appeal reads, "that we must demonstrate at once to the President and Congress of the United States our determination to stay out of war. No calamity that may result from the war will be so great or so hard to deal with rationally as our entry into the war."

The program for the demonstration is given in the following slogans: "No Further Steps, Economic or Military, Toward War." "Rational, Not Hysterical, Defense." "Keep Congress in Session; Recess Rather than Adjournment." "Safeguard Our Living Standards and Democratic Institutions."

"All who want to keep America out of war, who oppose steps 'short of war' which will lead straight to war, who oppose militarization of this country, who condemn totalitarianism, whether communist or fascist, who believe freedom and peace for the world can best be obtained by our staying out, are urged to come to Washington on that day," the appeal concludes.

This mobilization will launch a tremendous nation-wide campaign by the united non-interventionist organizations. Details of the campaign will be made public for the first time at the mobilization.

Further information may be obtained from the Keep America Out of War Congress, 22 East 17th Street, New York City.

War Panic Cripples LaFollette Labor Bill

Aliens, Nazis, Communists Barred from Jobs

Washington, D. C. The LaFollette civil-liberties bill was passed by the Senate last week by a vote of 47 to 20, but only after it had been mangled almost beyond recognition into a fragment of its original form and had been turned into a "defense" measure by the inclusion of provisions to limit the employment of aliens in industry and forbid the hiring of communists and Nazis altogether.

The bill primarily forbids the use of "oppressive practices" on labor by employers doing business in interstate commerce. It would outlaw the use of strike-breakers and labor spies in labor disputes and the possession or use of firearms, tear gas or other munitions by any industry except banks and trust companies.

That part of the bill survived Senate consideration, but otherwise the Senate deleted much of the measure and added amendments undreamed of a month ago, before the onset of the "defense" hysteria that is now gripping official circles here.

The Senate approved without record vote two amendments by Senator Reynolds, notorious alien-baiter, which injected the "defense" issue into the bill. The first amendment provided that no industry in interstate commerce could employ aliens to an extent greater than 10% of its total personnel, provided there was no shortage of citizens available for the jobs. The other Reynolds amendment forbade the employment of Nazis or communists, without exception.

There was little objection recorded in the Senate to the alien and Nazi-communist prohibitory amendments, altho Senator LaFollette himself opposed them.

The responsibility for barring communists and Nazis from jobs would be put on the employers, according to Senator Reynolds' amendment. Employers would be required to obtain affidavits from their employees swearing they were neither communists nor Nazis. In this way employers would be given immense added powers over their workers whom they could easily victimize under cover of "national defense."

The bill was further mangled by modification of two major provisions which threatened the chances of the

bill in the Senate. The more important of these provisions was the so-called Title II, which set up drastic penalties for holders of government contracts or beneficiaries of government loans who engaged in "oppressive labor practices." This title provided, among other things, a \$1,000 fine for each day such a company engaged in the defined practices, in addition to the regular penalties of the bill.

Senator Taft had moved the week before to recommit the bill on the basis of that title. Last week, Senator LaFollette voluntarily acceded to the deletion of that section of the bill, after Senator Taft's opposition was reinforced by Senator Vandenberg's.

The other provision abandoned was a section forbidding company managers to ask "improper" questions of applicants for employment.

The entire discussion of the LaFollette bill in recent weeks was conducted in the hysterical "defense" atmosphere. At one point, Senator Taft actually objected to the abolition of company arsenals on the ground that they might be needed to deal with "Fifth Columnists" or invading parachutists!

The sweeping prohibition by the Senate of employment in private industry to Nazis and communists came a few days after the action of the House barring these same groups from work-relief rolls.

Attack on Wagner Act Spurred

Washington, D. C.

THE Senate's action in writing anti-alien and anti-communist, anti-Nazi clauses into the LaFollette civil-liberties bill has revived the hopes of Congressional advocates of "modifying" the Wagner Act and the wage-hour law at this session.

Taking their cue from the Senate action, anti-N.L.R.A. Congressmen are now asking for the amendments as a means of promoting the "national-defense" program and are even referring to the Board as an agent of a "subversive Fifth Column."

Green Calls on America To Keep Out of War

(We publish below the most important sections of the public statement issued by William Green, president of the American Federation of Labor during the first week of the sessions of the Executive Council recently.—Editor.)

THE Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor expresses the feelings of all American workers when it condemns unreservedly the invasion of Holland, Belgium and Luxembourg by Nazi Germany.

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

These latest explosions in Europe were not unexpected. We predicted last February that if Soviet Russia's invasion of Finland were successful, the next victims of the Nazi-Soviet alliance would be Belgium, the Netherlands and the Scandinavian countries. We saw then, and it has become obvious now, that the purpose of the dictators of Germany and Russia is to seize every democratic nation and subjugate every free people in Europe.

We in America are a peace-loving people. The Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor does not see how the entry of the United States into the European war would serve the cause of peace. On the contrary, we feel that if we steadfastly maintain our neutrality, we will be in a better position to aid in the reconstruction of Europe when the war is over.

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

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

The opposite is true. Democracy and freedom on this earth would be jeopardized if the United States were to go to war.

Our function as a nation should be and must be to safeguard and maintain peace and democracy at home by maintaining strict neutrality regardless of our sympathies and feelings toward the victims of totalitarian aggression in Europe.

ILGWU Likely to Hold Off Action on A.F.L. Affiliation

Dubinsky Favors Referring Matter to General Board With Full Powers; Matthew Woll Answers Criticisms of A.F.L.

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These issues were taken up later in the sessions by Matthew Woll, third vice-president of the A. F. of L., who addressed the convention as guest speaker on behalf of the Federation. President Dubinsky made a rejoinder, so that a sort of impromptu debate resulted.

Mr. Woll agreed that there was no place in the labor movement for racketeers and corrupt elements, but insisted that the Executive Council could not take action to oust them from positions of influence in international unions without infringing the democratic rights of the unions affected.

Acknowledging that the labor movement contained men "with whom I would not care to associate and to whom I would not want to trust my welfare," the A. F. of L. leader said this was equally true of business, education and the church and that it was unjust to condemn the entire movement because of "the failings of a few."

President Dubinsky retorted that the prestige, dignity and success of organized labor depended that persons with criminal records be denied the right to serve as trade-union officials. However, great the obstacles in the way of purging unions of dishonest leaders and however prevalent undesirable elements might be in other fields of endeavor, the labor movement must find means of ridding itself of racketeers and not of defending and protecting them, he declared.

In his talk, Mr. Woll demanded that public condemnation be turned on the leaders of the C.I.O. for standing in the way of labor unity. He took the view that reaffiliation with the A. F. of L. would do more to hasten peace in the entire field of labor than any other course open to the I.L.G.W.U.

He recalled the arguments against an immediate return put forward by Mr. Dubinsky in his keynote address at Madison Square Garden and dealt with each one of them. On the question of the per-capita assessment of one cent a month levied by the Federation, Mr. Woll denied that it was intended to fight the C.I.O. Its sole purpose, he said, was to make up

for the loss of revenue caused by the defection of the C.I.O. unions and to enable the A. F. of L. to carry on organizing drives in its own fields.

He granted the justice of Mr. Dubinsky's objection to the suspension of affiliated unions by the Executive Council of the A. F. of L., and expressed the hope that the Council would relinquish the power of suspension when labor's ranks were reunited.

Mr. Dubinsky, in responding to these arguments, concluded by saying it was too bad that the views advanced by Mr. Woll were his own and that they were not shared by the entire Executive Council.

The General Executive Board report, submitted by Mr. Dubinsky, recounted the main developments in the situation affecting labor unity in recent years and outlined the policy followed by the I.L.G.W.U. After indicating the advantages and disadvantages of the affiliated and independent status of the union, it concluded by putting the whole issue of affiliation up to the convention without recommendation. In the early sessions, a move for immediate return to the A. F. of L. was sponsored by delegates from the New York cloakmakers locals, who issued a leaflet distributed to delegates. Mr. Dubinsky, it was understood, intended to ask the convention some time during the second week's sessions to authorize the General Executive Board to negotiate with the A. F. of L. and to affiliate when and if it believed such a course would best serve the interests of the union. The dressmakers locals were said to favor such a course.

The G.E.B. report condemned Labor's Non-Partisan League as "more and more a part of the communist 'transmission belt,'" but advocated independent labor political action. An overwhelming vote in favor of a third term for President Roosevelt was indicated from the sentiment of the delegates.

The first week's sessions were devoted almost entirely to routine business and addresses by guest speakers. The important problems facing the union, both of an industrial and

Teamsters Union Fights Back Federal "Anti-Trust" Drive

Local 807 and Officers Held Guilty, Face Big Fine and Imprisonment

New York City

LOCAL 807 of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters and twenty-six of its members were found guilty last week by a federal court jury of violating the Sherman anti-trust and federal anti-racketeering laws.

The verdict returned against the A. F. of L. affiliate marked the first court test of an indictment brought under the so-called anti-racketeering law. The act makes it a felony punishable by imprisonment for one to ten years and by a fine of \$10,000 to conspire to interfere with interstate commerce.

The government contended the drivers of out-of-town trucking companies were stopped at the city limits by members of Local 807 and compelled to take on a Local 807 member as additional driver before being permitted to enter the city.

The indictments, returned two years ago, contained five counts. The union and eleven individual defendants were convicted on all counts. The union faces a possible fine of \$45,000 and each of the eleven technically faces imprisonment up to forty-one years and fines of \$45,000.

Six union members face possible imprisonment of twenty-one years and fines of \$25,000, and nine face

Electrical Union In Protest March

New York City

PLANS for a pilgrimage to Washington by 10,000 of its members to protest against the government drive against unions under the anti-trust laws were mapped by 110 representatives of sixty-five locals of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers before they closed their three-day conference here last week. The pilgrimage would be arranged as soon as possible, union spokesmen said.

It is planned that the delegations to the capital hold mass meetings and send representatives to confer with Department of Justice officials responsible for anti-trust law prosecutions.

A committee to plan the details of the pilgrimage will be appointed after the delegates return home.

The delegates were instructed to start a campaign back home to educate the public concerning the facts in the anti-trust law indictments.

sentences of eleven years and \$15,000 fines each.

Federal Court Judge Murray Hulbert will pronounce sentence June 17. An appeal to higher courts will be made by the union.

War Hysteria Grips Official Washington

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he wrote in the following way to one of his opponents:

"May I add a final word respecting such tests. To be applied, someone must ask someone else, for example, if he believes in our form of government or if he is a communist. This procedure would necessarily be based upon two presumptions: (1) that the party asking the question is, like Caesar's wife, above suspicion in the virtues and character of his patriotism; and (2) that he has the authority to act for the organization for which he is speaking. If, for example, you should ask me if I am a communist, I would be justified in asking you, before I answer the question, whether or not you are a communist. If you answered no, I would be justified in assuming that, inasmuch as it is said to be the practise of communists to mask their true character under false names to enable them to bore from within, such is your purpose. Your denial of that implication would but confirm the suspicion aroused by the authority you had assumed and the method or technique of your approach to the subject when the person to whom you address the question happens to be a person whose record and affiliations are in themselves a disclosure of his position and a guarantee of his character."

This incident is more important than it seems because it helps to explain why the Communist Party still is a force here.

As to the damages, the majority, headed by Justice Stone, upheld the Third Circuit Court in ruling that the union had violated the laws of Pennsylvania, where it could be compelled to answer for damages in the state courts. The actions of the union in the sit-down strike, the majority contended, did not fall under the Sherman law since there was no proof that the union's actions or intended actions were designed to affect the price of commodities in interstate commerce.

From the provision respecting damages Chief Justice Hughes and Justices McReynolds and Roberts sharply dissented. They maintained that once it was agreed that the anti-trust law does not except labor unions, the Supreme Court had no option but to apply the Sherman Act in conformity with all its provisions.

The Supreme Court decision was hailed as a "victory" both by labor spokesmen and by government attorneys in charge of the anti-trust drive against labor.

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State Controls All Economic Life in War-Time Britain

Government Holds Active Power in Industry, Trade

(This account of war-time government controls over economic life in Britain was written before the recent enactment of emergency legislation converting that country into a virtual dictatorship. But the article retains its timeliness because the structure of industrial control has not been materially changed. Editor.)

TO make the change from a peace to a war economy, the British government has led to regiment nearly all of Britain's private commercial, industrial and financial activity. To-date, the inevitable conflict between a regimented war economy and a private profit system is unresolved. British business men are torn between their desire to win the war and their anxiety to preserve their profits; since the government is controlled by business, the conflict is reflected among officials. The Britain has no economic dictator with the power of Germany's Goering, the government's economic ministries possess powers potentially as great. Private enterprise in Britain has already been greatly restricted by the exigencies of war. It faces sharper restriction and possibly eventual extinction if the war goes on long enough—no matter who wins.

The main lines of the economic war effort are: (1) to shift a large part of British industry to military production, a process that began before war started; (2) to reduce imports and home consumption of non-essentials; (3) to wangle bargain rates in world markets by bulk government buying; (4) to stimulate exports to get foreign exchange for purchasing essentials abroad. To meet the cost of the war—\$12,000,000,000 or more a year—the government is increasing taxes and stimulating purchase of its own securities. (The average New Deal budget for a population three times Britain's is about \$9,000,000,000.)

The British government's power to regiment business for war rests primarily in the Emergency Powers (Defense) Act, passed ten days before the outbreak of hostilities. Under its sweeping powers, the government last Fall appointed control boards to regulate, indirectly and directly, every business enterprise in the United Kingdom remotely connected with war—and the excepted enterprise would have to find.

ECONOMIC CONTROLS

Production, import, export, allocation and price of raw materials, are all administered by controllers serving under the Ministries of Supply, Food, Shipping and the Board of Trade. Actually, most of the controls are under the Supply Ministry, which has become the biggest and most complex business in the Empire. It must provide arms and ammunition for three fighting forces, and all other supplies for the Army. (The Admiralty and the Air Ministry do their purchasing of everything but arms and ammunition.) Controls have been set up over steel, non-ferrous metals, wool, timber, industrial alcohol, jute, fax, hemp, leather, silk, gasoline, fish, railways, coal, meat, bacon, sugar, cocoa, flour, butter.

The Steel Control makes quarterly allocations to the Board of Trade for export and civilian purposes, but the larger allocations for the military demands of the Admiralty, the Air Ministry and the Supply Ministry receive priority. Just before the war, the London Metal Exchange discontinued trading in copper, lead and zinc, and the Supply Ministry became the sole importer. Internal sales must be licensed. In tin, internal trading remain free, but the price is controlled and exports are licensed.

The government has contracted to purchase the entire Australian and New Zealand wool clips for the duration of the war and one year after. The 1940 domestic clip also will be acquired, as will most of the balance of world production. In effect, Britain has cornered the world wool market. Nevertheless, the monopolized wool is being rationed to insure an adequate supply for the fighting services and as part of the drive to increase exports to get the dollars to buy bombing planes in the United States. Internal trading is free in cotton and rubber, but the government can always exercise priority.

Since February 1, 1940, every deep-sea vessel in the United Kingdom and the colonies has been subject to requisition by the Shipping Ministry. The Ministry has been requisitioning tramp steamers since December. The lines manage their own ships—profitably—but cargoes and voyages are directly controlled by the government. All ship-building and all ship-repairs are under the Admiralty. A pre-war farm-subsidization program to increase the acreage under cultivation has been intensified by the Agriculture Ministry since the war began in the hope that eventually a little more cargo space can be given to essential war materials by reducing food imports.

Agricultural production and marketing of all food are under government supervision. In September, the British grain trade was taken over by the Food Ministry. Purchases abroad are now made by the Cereals Import Committee. The Ministry requisitioned British stocks of sugar and later acquired unold

stocks in Australia and South Africa. Eventually, it will purchase the entire exportable surplus of sugar from the colonies. The London tea market was closed at the outbreak of war. The Food Ministry took over all stocks of this British staple and later announced a long-term contract with the Empire producers. In November, the government bought the British West African cocoa crop—three fourths of it for reexport at a profit to get foreign exchange.

In September, the Food Ministry fixed maximum prices for domestic and foreign meats and for fat livestock, and requisitioned stocks of imported meat and bacon. In January, the Ministry became the sole buyer of domestic fat livestock and went into the slaughtering business as a preliminary to the meat rationing that was introduced in March. Many small slaughterhouses were closed as a result of government centralization.

The Food Ministry controls the price of butter, cheese and eggs. It took over existing stocks of all edible fats. When butter was rationed in January, a standardized unbranded butter was put on the market. Margarine, still unrationed, is widely used because of the high price of butter, and its production is also controlled. Under the centralized control, food wholesalers can purchase only from government agents, who are drawn from the trade, at government prices. All food retailers must be licensed by one of the more than a thousand local food committees and can purchase only thru registered wholesalers.

REGULATION OF FOREIGN TRADE

Early in February, Prime Minister Chamberlain announced the formation of an Export Council to assist the Board of Trade in Britain's effort to maintain her foreign-exchange balances by jacking up exports a third above the 1939 total. The council has the authority to subsidize exports and to reduce home consumption by new rationing in order to release goods for export without reducing the effectiveness of essential war industries. Producers of non-essentials (Scotch whiskey or fancy textiles and woolsens, for instance) can be set to producing for export exclusively without regard for their domestic markets. It is too early to judge the effect of the Export Council, but if its full power is ever exercised, it can impose serious restrictions on any producer's freedom—not to mention what it might do to block competitors (such as the U.S.A.) in foreign markets.

Imports are 100% at the discretion of the government. In September, most imports were subjected to licensing. The Board of Trade announced a long list, consisting of luxuries, semi-luxuries and goods which could be made at home, for which no import licenses at all would be issued. Purpose: to save foreign exchange and cargo space for essentials. By the middle of March, the Food Ministry had extended control over the private import of foods to all but a few items. To insure control over funds sent abroad, the Treasury has subjected foreign exchange to rigid rules. Trading has been centralized in the Bank of England and the principal

commercial banks under its supervision. Purchases of foreign currencies and transfers of sterling abroad can only be made thru an authorized dealer. Receipts in London of specified foreign currencies (notably dollars) must be sold to the government for pounds sterling—at the relatively expensive official rate of \$4.03.

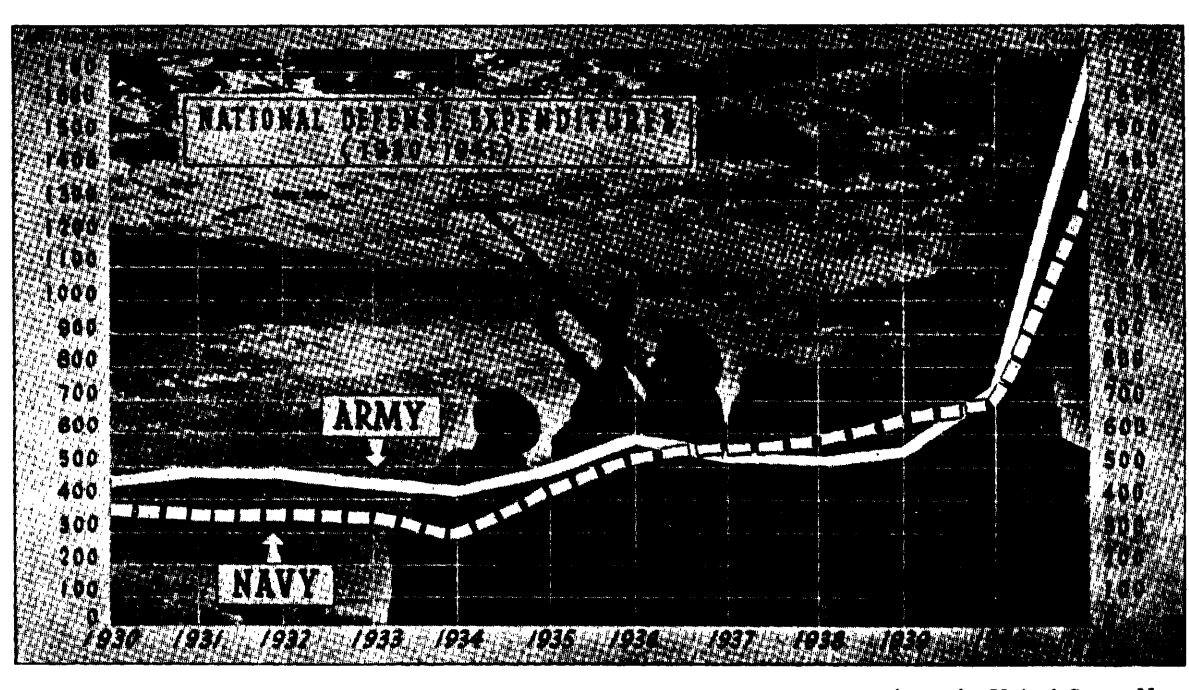
To give Britain a competitive advantage in the world market over American and other goods, a "free-market" pound sterling (now \$3.50) has been allowed to exist in foreign centers. Thus it is possible for an American importer to pay less for British exports by buying "free" pounds. In March, the operation of the "free market" was partly restricted when the British began to demand that payment abroad for certain goods be made in specified foreign currencies (again notably dollars) convertible only at the official rate. The specified goods were such Empire monopolies as jute, rubber, tin, Scotch whiskey. In this way, Britain bolsters her foreign-exchange balances. Such manipulation of foreign exchange is reminiscent of Dr. Schacht's tricks with the German mark.

PLENTY OF PROFITS

On April 1, the basic income tax rate rose to 37½%. Surtaxes can push the tax to 80% for any Britons who make £100,000 in a year. Exemptions have been so slashed that a single man earning \$600 a year is being taxed. Business firms are subject to a 60% tax on excess profits. Estate and death taxes have been raised.

However, the British business has been almost completely mobilized, there are still profits to be made out of war. The great armament firm of Vickers recently declared a dividend of approximately £1,250,000. Last Winter, the government guaranteed the railroads a minimum profit of £40,000,000 a year. In May, rail rates will be raised 10% to insure the minimum profit. Both houses of Parliament are well peopled with railroad stockholders. Lord Stamp, the government's economic adviser for the war, is chairman of the London Midland and Scottish Railroad, Britain's largest. When rationing of gas and electricity evoked complaints of falling profits, rationing was abandoned and rates were raised. Automobile salesrooms have been nearly forced out of business by gasoline rationing—gasoline and lubricating oil stocks have been pooled—but automobile factories are busy with government orders. Money is being made in machine tools, woolsens, textiles, shoes. There have been opportunities for profiteering by tinkering with war-risk insurance costs (and costs in general). The Controllers have, for the most part, been drawn from the industries they administer. They are able to see to it that their industries are well taken care of. For instance, the Tin Control is directed by the chairman of the London Tin Corporation; the Steel Control is in the hands of the British Iron and Steel Foundation.

Yet government spokesmen have stated that the rich are bearing more than their share of the war burden, that it is now the turn of the poorer classes. Meanwhile, unemployment in Britain fluctuates around 1,500,000 and the cost of living among the poor has risen more than 30%. Most observers think that some form of John Maynard Keynes's now famous scheme for enforced government borrowing from workers ("deferred pay") will be introduced later this year.



Hull Celebrates Pan-American Week:

Oil and the 'Good Neighbor'

By BERTRAM D. WOLFE

APRIL 8 to 15 was Pan-American Week. With due solemnity, the President issued a proclamation countermanding the Secretary of State calling upon churches, schools, and the people generally to observe "with appropriate ceremonies" the occasion on which the "twenty-one American republics commemorate their peace, friendship, and solidarity." Then, with an ineptness that has not before been shown by the State Department under the present Administration, Cordell Hull chose this same week to release his note to Mexico on oil and land claims. Inevitably, Mexico celebrated Pan-American Week with great popular demonstrations of protest. And the other Latin American countries looked on with mounting disquiet.

WHY THIS OUTBURST?

The best that can be said for the timing of the Hull note is that the Secretary's mind and that of the President were on other matters. The most charitable interpretation would make of it a pre-convention maneuver intended to short-circuit Republican-Garner criticism of Roosevelt and Hull for alleged passivity in the face of Mexican expropriations. Other aspects of the timing do not lend themselves to such a charitable explanation. The suspicion will not down that the note was intended to stiffen the united front of the Anglo-American oil companies and forestall a compromise agreement between Sinclair and the Mexican government. All thru March these difficult negotiations were progressing satisfactorily, and it was rumored that a draft agreement had been reached.

It is unfortunate that the note came at a time to influence not one but two Presidential elections. Mexico's electoral campaign is long past the convention stage; in fact, it is nearing its culmination. The voting takes place in July, and may be followed—as has so often happened—by an uprising of the opposition. Fortunately, such an uprising seems less likely than usual—our chosen candidate is led to think that he can count on oil-company subsidies, gun-running from Texas, and other forms of extra-official encouragement. The oil question has figured as a campaign issue, both the opposition candidates having criticized the Cardenas administration for alienating foreign capital. The Hull note will inevitably be construed in some quarters as an attempt to influence the election and an encouragement to the preparation of an uprising this Summer.

In justice to Roosevelt and Hull, it should be said that worse notes have been sent to Mexico. But the senders were less emphatic about their good neighborliness. And the document was after all stiff enough to be headlined in the New York Times as a "warning." The nub of the note lies in a doctrine which is enunciated at least four times in its pages. It challenges the "right," the "legality," and the morals of expropriation without "adequate, effective, and prompt compensation." Even a promise to pay in the future is rejected as "not expropriation but confiscation."

TWO KINDS OF EXPROPRIATION

History, less severe than Mr. Hull, "recognizes" two distinct kinds of expropriation. One is the kind Mr. Hull is prepared to recognize: a normal action of a government engaged in exercising its right of eminent domain, perhaps to build a bridge or enlarge a harbor. It does not involve any social upheaval or any challenge to the legality or morality of the title to the property "condemned" or purchased. But there is also another form of expropriation, in which a government or people calls in question the legality of the title and its mode of acquisition. Examples of the latter type in our own history are the expropriation of the Crown lands and Tory estates after the American Revolution, the liberation of the slaves during the Civil War—both without compensation—and the repudiation of the loans contracted by the Southern states during the rebellion. This repudiation was made by retroactive, constitutional amendment, as in Mexico, and also many of the bondholders were Englishmen, we would not hear of com-

pensation or foreign intervention. An example even closer to the Mexican case in our nullification, without compensation, of the Teapot Dome oil concessions, an act which affected some of the same companies that are complainants against Mexico. The nullification was not by revolution but by simple court action. What a howl we would have set up if some foreign government had attempted to intervene on behalf of a foreign stockholder or company! Yet, in law and in ethics, the action of the government in the Teapot Dome case paralleled the present contentions of the Mexican government. The bulk of the Mexican oil concessions were secured from the self-perpetuating Diaz dictatorship in ways which violated the fundamental law and public interest of Mexico. Diaz and his actions were later repudiated by the Mexican people by revolution and by retroactive constitutional provision.

Thus the Hull note is tantamount to a refusal to recognize the Mexican Revolution. To add insult to injury, the note specifically refuses to recognize the right of the Mexican courts to decide the matter. If Mexico accepted the note's central contention, the country would, in fact if not in form, return to the colonial-feudal status of the Diaz period.

During the course of years of badgering, Mexico, ever conscious of the great power of its neighbor, has let drop its claimed right to undo Diaz's acts without compensation. It professes a willingness to pay, but not at such a rate as would bankrupt its weak economy and force it to grind the life out of its own people. In these years of crisis and debt repudiation, we have sent no such hectoring notes to the non-paying European governments. The suspicion is inescapable that our readiness to lecture Mexico in this fashion springs from a consciousness of its nearness and our overwhelming military superiority.

HOW CAN MEXICO PAY WITHOUT SELLING?

But how, the Mexicans ask, can they pay whatever their courts may determine unless they can sell the oil and break the silent, powerful blockade of the oil companies upon their petroleum export? How can they pay considerable sums while their finances are in crisis, in part as a result of the deliberate raids upon their banking system engineered by the oil companies?

The Mexican peso—whose nominal par is two to the dollar—is selling now at six to the dollar. In this connection also, the timing of the Hull note becomes significant, since it followed closely on a recommendation of a Senate subcommittee that silver purchases from Mexico should be discontinued. In that event a further drop in the peso might be expected. (The whole system of silver purchases at inflated prices is silly, but no more so than the silver policy pursued within this country, or the purchase of gold from the South African and Canadian mines at inflated prices.) Moreover, 70% of Mexican mining is done by American companies—with Mexico deriving benefit only from the payment of wages and taxes and the support given to the peso. If we cut off that support to force an oil "settlement," we may find that American-owned silver mines will close down, that the Mexican government will intervene to keep them open by expropriation, and that there will be still more mouths clamoring at the State Department.

The Mexicans distinguish, and rightly, between foreign capital invested in Mexican factories to produce consumers goods for sale in Mexico, and capital invested in the extraction of Mexico's natural sub-soil wealth for sale in the foreign market. The former, the Mexicans contend, has some interest in raising the standard of living of the Mexican masses and thus expanding the domestic market for consumers goods. But the capital invested in oil and mineral extraction has no such interest—quite the contrary. Since it extracts virtually the whole product for sale abroad, it has a natural affinity for corrupt officials easily suborned to give generous oil and mining concessions and for dictatorial regimes that permit a maximal exploitation of cheap native labor. It is significant that the break with the oil companies came not so much over the amount

of wages to be paid as over the amount to be spent on schools, recreation centers, sanitation, potable water, housing, vacations, and social services for employees.

Automatically, such notes as Hull's tend to revive the latent hostility that long divided the Americas into two unequal and unfriendly camps. We may be ready to forget our past history, but our southern neighbors cannot forget so easily. They welcome our recent better manners but insist that it takes more than fair phrases to make good neighbors or convince them that our economic penetration is not to be feared and that the big stick will never again be flourished in the Caribbean. Mexico is the outpost of Central and South America; all of Latin America is watching our treatment of it to see what our good-neighbor speeches mean when translated into action. By pressing the dubious claims of oil, land, mining, power and railroad corporations, by encouraging them to refuse to come to an agreement with the Mexican government, by demanding that a Mexico in crisis devote all its meager resources to immediate payment of those claims, we are steering toward a new head-on collision with Mexico.

IN WILSON FOOTSTEPS

Woodrow Wilson followed a curiously similar trajectory, getting himself involved with Mexico over oil while Europe was at war. He came in the end to regret it. If (Continued on Page 4)

Labor Zionists Defy Palestine Land Curbs

(The following is a leaflet-manifesto issued during the recent demonstrations in Palestine against the British land-sale restrictions. The original is in Hebrew. We take it from the May 8, 1940 issue of the Avukah Student Action, a Zionist-socialist student paper published in New York City.—Editor.)

TO THE WORKERS, THE JEWISH PEOPLE, AND YOUTH!

NOW the situation is clear! The idea that was prevalent in the Zionist camp that the White Paper would not be enforced for the duration of the war has been absolutely disproved. In fact, the opposite is true: the British government has decided to carry out its anti-Zionist policies even during the war. Our anxiety on behalf of the "welfare of the Empire" has not helped us—Britain did not worry about the welfare of the Zionist undertaking.

Announcements of unconditional support of Britain were made; Britain was offered the services of Jewish divisions to be taken to any war front in the world. But all in vain! Let it be said quite openly that the British government, which is supposed to be fighting a war against Nazi Germany—Jewry's worst enemy—has now been exposed. Britain is stabbing the Jewish people in the back.

Therefore let's put an end to self-delusion! Let's not blind ourselves with the false hope that fawning offers of our services to England will gain her support for our struggle to free our people. No longer dare we close our eyes to the absolute necessity for increasing our efforts for Arab-Jewish agreement.

The government is attempting to represent the land restrictions as a law designed to protect the Arabs. But this law, which was meant to snatch the rest of the land from under our feet, in truth has not the slightest trace of protection for Arab tenants and poor peasants: neither does it make the slightest provision for mutual development of the country. It is a racial law intended to separate the two peoples, and to extinguish forever the sparks of peace that have recently become apparent in Palestine.

The government's plot shall not succeed! We want peace in the country. When the bloodshed stopped, it was a blessing for all the inhabitants. We will not allow hatred to be rekindled; we will not permit one people to be provoked against the other.

We will fight with all our strength for Arab-Jewish cooperation!

The needs of the country and the mutual interests of both peoples are stronger than the government's plans. They will be able to break the stranglehold which the land restrictions attempt to place on us.

Above all, we will continue our fight, continue our constructive work, despite all difficulties. The laws of the White Paper—the betrayal of the Balfour Declaration and the Mandate—are not binding for us! Just as in the past the Jewish people mobilized its pioneering strength in matters of life and death and were able to break down the wall of restrictions, so shall we continue in the future. We will redeem the barren land, we will settle more colonies.

From the cities of slaughter, from the lands of death and destruction, the eyes of Jewry are turned toward us. They are with us. Our allies in the camp of the world working-class movement, and primarily the workers of England, will answer our call. Our masses will demonstrate our determination and resolution not to be crushed.

We shall not submit! Beatings, arrests, curfews and attempts to silence us will not swerve us from our path. The flag which we have unfurled and raised shall not be lowered now. The struggle which now begins shall not stop until the anti-Jewish land law is shattered.

By the strength of our project, by our decision to redeem, to build and to do constructive work, we will succeed.

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Vol. 9. SATURDAY, JUNE 8, 1940. No. 23.

DEMOCRACY—VICTIM OF WAR HYSTERIA

ALL hell seems to have broken loose in Washington! In the intense war hysteria aroused by events abroad and whipped up by the Administration's inflammatory propaganda, the first victims are common sense, tolerance and ordinary decency. The country is going mad with panic at fantastic nightmares of invasions, Fifth Columns, Trojan Horses, and what not. And, as usual, the foreign-born, together with other unpopular minorities, are the chief targets of attack.

Bills to "control" aliens in this country, to register them, license them, tag them, finger-print them and then deport them on the slightest pretext, are flooding the two houses of Congress, and some of them have a good chance of passing; indeed, one registration and deportation measure has already been reported out favorably by the Senate Judiciary Committee. In Georgia, Governor Rivers has ordered that the business, occupational and professional licenses of all aliens within the state be canceled June 1. In the same state and in four others as well, all non-citizens have been ordered to register with the sheriff and be finger-printed for the record. And, after having been barred from work-relief by the relief bill recently passed by the House, aliens are now to be barred also from regular employment in percentages over 10%, if the proposal just adopted by the Senate—as an amendment to the LaFollette civil-liberties bill—ever becomes law.

First, aliens; next, citizens of unpopular views or affiliations. The House relief bill specifically excluded communists and members of Nazi bunds from W.P.A. rolls, and now another Senate amendment to the LaFollette bill prohibits employers from hiring communists and Nazi bund members! It is hardly necessary to tell our readers that we detest Nazism and Stalinism as we detest little else on earth today. But these American Nazis and Stalinists are human beings and citizens, nevertheless, and are entitled to the elementary rights of human beings and citizens—of which the right to work for a living is surely one of the most basic. What are these people to do if the Congressional reactionaries have their way? They are barred from jobs and denied relief. Perhaps Senator Reynolds can answer that one?

Furthermore, if, on grounds of "national defense," American citizens may today be barred from employment and relief because of their communist or Nazi affiliations, why not tomorrow militant union members, especially if they happen to belong to a C.I.O. union suspected of being under Stalinist control? At bottom, the Reynolds bill and similar measures are really the beginning of a monstrous system of legal blacklisting under the cover of "national defense."

And amidst all this hysterical confusion, a new federal secret police is being built up in the United States behind the backs of the people—also as a "defense" measure. First was the revival of the thoroughly discredited "general intelligence division" under J. Edgar Hoover, and increased appropriations to hunt spies and prevent sabotage. Second was the creation of a "neutrality division" in the Justice Department for the very same purposes. The third move, just completed, was the transfer of a large Labor Department agency, the Immigration and Naturalization Service, to the Justice Department. Added up, these and similar moves clearly point to the fact that the establishment of a tightly-knit and integrated political secret police—which has hardly existed in this country since the dark days of the "Red raids"—is part of the Administration's program of "national defense."

What this federal secret police may mean to labor's rights is suggested in the comment by Ludwell Denny in the New York World-Telegram of May 23, 1940:

"On the basis of the meager results [in catching spies] in the last nine months, it appears that federal and private secret police have been out to get holders of unpopular opinions rather than actual law violators. The labor organizers and radical orators who are protected by our Constitution apparently engage most of the attention . . ."

If we're looking for "Trojan Horse" tactics, here they are. Under cover of the nation-wide shock and alarm at Hitler's lightning victories in Europe, reactionary alien-baiters of the Reynolds stripe, working hand in hand with war-mongers of the Administration school, are busily engaged in implanting in this country the same type of intolerance, inhumanity, persecution of minorities, and general disregard of democratic rights that has made Nazism a by-word and a curse among all decent people.

OUR "IMPARTIAL" PRESS

ON another page of this issue, we publish a statement by William Green, president of the A. F. of L., strongly maintaining that America can best fulfill its duty to mankind by keeping out of war. This statement was made before a large group of newspaper men during the recent sessions of the Executive Council in Washington. Yet, as far as we know, not a single metropolitan paper published this statement or even reported it. On the other hand, every hysterical outburst of every nonentity who urges intervention in the war is featured as if it were a revelation from on high.

Another example of the "impartial" press: The New York Times of May 26, 1940 carried a report of a petition addressed to President Roosevelt by 1,486 Yale students appealing to him to keep America out of war and war entanglements. The item was seven inches long. Of these seven inches, just under two inches were devoted to reporting the petition of the 1,486 students and the remaining five inches to informing the world that a certain Professor Whitridge—no less a personage than a grandson of Mathew Arnold—happened to disagree with the petition! In the news-value scale of the Times, therefore, one pro-war professor is equivalent to two and a half times 1,486 anti-war students!

SOME FURTHER REFLECTIONS—II

(Continued from page 1)
light to one of the darkest moments of the past, paradoxical as it may seem. In many ways, Jesuitism was the ecclesiastical counterpart of present-day fascism. It has been well said that it was "the fascism of the epoch of transition from medieval to modern times." The Jesuit Order was set up as a movement to preserve the Catholic Church by defeating the Reformation. But the Jesuit Order as a movement of counter-Reformation not only preserved the Catholic Church as an organization; it also changed profoundly its nature and structure. The fascist state, set up to preserve capitalism, may succeed for a while in prolonging the life of capitalism but it also changes in many ways the very structure of capitalism. Again, the historical process revolves around the focal problem posed above.

The present situation reminds me of Kautsky's description of conditions in 16th century Europe—in transition from feudalism to capitalism: "Hatred, anxiety, and despair were permanent guests in the cottage and in the palace. Every one trembled at the future, lamented the past, and grappled with the present. War became a vocation, slaughter a handicraft. . . . Everywhere was insecurity, misery, constant anxiety in face of irresistible social forces, forces which did not operate within the narrow limits of the village community, but swept thru mankind with the devastating breath of an international scourge."

Even if the Nazis were to score a military victory in this war, it would not at all mean that Hitler would then be able to overcome the contradictions of German economy which drove the Third Reich to war.

Socialist Fundamentals Reexamined:

Basic Dilemma of Socialism

By WILL HERBERG

(We publish below the paper presented by Will Herberg at the symposium, "Reconsidering Marxism," held recently in New York City under the auspices of the Independent Labor Institute. For technical reasons, the papers will be published in these columns somewhat out of the order in which they were presented at the symposium. The contributions by Lewis Corey, Bertram D. Wolfe, Herbert Zam and Jay Lovestone will appear in early issues.—Editor.)

LET me say at the very outset that I regard Lewis Corey's recent articles on Marxism as a first-rate contribution to the enterprise in which we, in common with all other more alert sections of the radical movement, have been engaged for some time—the reexamination and reevaluation of the fundamental principles of socialism. I agree with very much of what he says, particularly with his emphasis on freedom and democracy as integral to socialism and his warning of the totalitarian potential in economic collectivism. Of course, I also disagree on a number of points, some secondary and merely technical—such as questions of terminological propriety or historical interpretation, especially in attributing views to Marx—and others of considerably greater importance, touching perhaps on crucial issues. But whether I agree or disagree, I am thoroughly convinced that it is precisely by raising such searching questions going to the very root of our conceptions, that we will be able to make any progress in recreating a theoretical foundation for a reconstructed and revitalized socialism. More power to such inquiries!

I do not intend here to make a point-by-point examination of the views advanced by Corey in his articles in order to pass judgment on them. What I want to do is to utilize this occasion to present some ideas on socialist theory that have gradually been forming in my mind in recent years and that I think are distinctly relevant to the problems raised in the Corey articles. This approach, it seems to me, will make possible a more fruitful and many-sided discussion.

Grave Defect in Traditional Socialism

There is no doubt in my mind that traditional socialist theory—socialist theory as developed by Marx, Engels, Luxemburg, Lenin; yes, and Kautsky too—is gravely defective in at least one very decisive respect. There is nothing in this body of doctrine, aside from a few stray suggestions by Marx and some very brilliant insights of Rosa Luxemburg, to enable us—I do not say to forecast—but even adequately to understand and explain the catastrophe of the Russian Revolution. The problem is no easy one to grasp; it is the historical paradox that, whereas Lenin started (as a study of his own works or of Souvarine's book on Stalin will show) with a philosophy that was ultra-democratic, almost libertarian in character, the Bolshevik regime took the road of totalitarian dictatorship. The very conception of a collectivist totalitarianism is essentially foreign to traditional Marxist thought, with the brilliant exception, as I have already mentioned, of Rosa Luxemburg. I know it will be said that the Founding Fathers of socialism could not possibly have foreseen the very extraordinary conditions under which the Russian Revolution took place. This is true—but true only in part. In the first place, it does not apply to Lenin, who was there in person. But even more to the point—traditional Marxism does not supply us, at least not adequately, with the instrumental concepts and categories to enable us really to understand the way these extraordinary conditions affected the fate of the Russian Revolution. To be able to understand the effects of specific historical conditions, even the most exceptional and extraordinary, presupposes a clear and all-sided grasp of the fundamental historical processes in their generalized or typical form, and this we have certainly not received from our masters of doctrine.

In saying this, I by no means wish to level any reproaches against Marx, Engels or Luxemburg—alho, here, perhaps, Lenin stands a little more exposed to criticism. They never claimed that their ideas or teachings constituted a body of revealed and eternal truth, the very last word in wisdom, and they would not have tolerated any such claim made by others on their behalf. As Corey points out, their ideas and teachings, like those of any of us mere mortals, were historically conditioned and limited; indeed, it is one of Marx's great services to have pointed out the general law of such historical conditioning. A great deal of water has flowed under the bridge in the last twenty-five years—how much we still, perhaps, do not fully appreciate;

and we ought today to be in a position to see and understand things that the giant thinkers of the past could not have foreseen with all their power and genius.

It is, therefore, in the spirit not of abandoning Marxism as worthless and discredited, which it most emphatically is not, but in the spirit of correcting and completing it—yes, and revising it—in the light of our experience, that I make these remarks and throw out these suggestions.

Contradictory Relation of Means and Ends

The main idea I want to present at the present time is this: The great defect of traditional Marxism is its failure to comprehend and lay bare the contradictory, complicated relation between the socialist goal, on the one hand, and the measures, means and mechanisms required for its achievement, on the other. Nay more; traditional Marxism hardly sees any problem at all here, much less a problem of any real seriousness or difficulty. Yet I believe the problem is there—and it is crucial.

Let me formulate the problem in general terms first. What is the fundamental goal of socialism? The only adequate answer in my opinion, is freedom. Everything else that socialism strives for—collectivism, economic security and the like—it strives for only because they help to make freedom possible under modern conditions. Otherwise, a sort of super-slave state, in which everyone is well-fed, well-housed and well-clad thru the ministrations of some benevolent despot, would be the ideal of socialism—a monstrous thought! In speaking of effective freedom as the great ideal of socialism, I am not trying to be original by any means. It is the ideal clearly conceived by virtually all great socialist thinkers of the past, Marx above all. It was Marx who, in the preamble to the French socialist program of 1880, which he dictated, wrote:

"The worker is free only when he is the owner of his own instruments of labor. This ownership can assume either the individual or the collective form. Since individual ownership is being abolished from day to day thru economic development, there remains only the form of collective ownership. . . ."

It was Marx who saw the goal of social development, realized by socialism, as "an association in which the free development of each will lead to the free development of all."

This much is clear. But here arises the crucial problem, the crucial difficulty. For the measures, agencies and instrumentalities which we devise or make use of in order to realize the socialist goal do not by any means provide us with a smooth, uniform, straight-line path to that goal. On the contrary, they inescapably give rise to situations and release forces that run directly counter to the goal and even threaten to vitiate or destroy it. I say inescapably, because it is not owing to accidental factors or disturbing conditions that this is so, but intrinsically, owing to the very nature of the case.

If I were to use a very much abused terminology, I would say that the relation of means to ends here is dialectical—not merely in the very important sense that they react and interact upon each other, but in the still more important sense that any means put into operation in order to realize the socialist goal give rise to two sets of consequences, organically related the essentially antagonistic: on the one hand, the consequences desired and intended in order to achieve the goal; on the other hand, consequences entirely undesired and undesirable, usually unforeseen, that hamper the realization of the goal, sometimes even threatening its destruction. And, I may add, it is because this second set of consequences is usually so unforeseen, unexpected, and unprovided against that it is so dangerous.

To use another terminology, we may say that the means necessary to effect the end possess not simply a single positive potential, but a double, two-valued potential, both positive and negative. It isn't merely that some means are good and others bad; that is obvious. It is that all means, even the best under the circumstances, possess this ambivalent character—their "goodness" as means being largely dependent on the proportion of their two potentials. Specific "objective" or historical conditions exert their influence in this connection thru endowing these potentials with specific weights.

(Continued in the next issue)

* Die Briefe von Friedrich Engels an Eduard Bernstein. J. H. W. Dietz, Berlin, 1925. Page 34.

Mexican Oil and the "Good Neighbor" Line

Sec'y Hull Celebrates Pan-American Week

(Continued from Page 3)

the present Administration nourishes the idea that intervention in a European war is again a possibility, it is hard to believe that the State Department will deliberately press things to an open break. But one step is apt to lead to another, and error, too, has its own logic. We are dealing with a proud and sensitive nation that is being pressed dangerously close to the wall and

is keenly conscious of its material weakness and past grievances. And we are acting in behalf of Anglo-American oil companies that are among the world's most arrogant aggregations of capital. Under such circumstances an open break could come easily.

The Hull note was a serious error, but not an irretrievable one. It preserved enough of the diplomatic amenities to leave a way out

other than that of open conflict. Mexico's answer, it is safe to forecast, will be polite, dignified, but in essence unyielding, since to yield would mean bankruptcy and fresh turmoil.

A policy of generosity and neighborliness toward Mexico now would help that unhappy country to solve some of its basic problems. It would even be in harmony with the interests of the oil companies, which may thereby some day receive compensation in the form of a royalty percentage on oil sales. It would raise the domestic market and level of common life in Mexico, to the ultimate advantage of the American consumer-goods industries. In a time of spreading conflict, it would help to create a genuine, tolerant neighborliness which would enrich life thruout the Americas.

(This article is taken from the April 27, 1940 issue of the Nation.—Editor.)

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Cannon Before Butter—American Style

"RIGHT now there is developing a trend in official sentiment away from pump priming by W.P.A. and C.C.C. and N.Y.A. toward pump priming by vastly increased spending on the air force, the army and the navy. The trend now may be away from "butter" toward armament, away from more social reforms toward machinery for defense.

"In the early future, more dollars and more national effort may be spent on war-planes while fewer dollars and less national effort may be devoted to various forms of relief. Future emphasis, on the basis of existing plans, is to be placed upon recovery by armament rather than recovery by investment in work-relief."—United States News, May 31, 1940.

Does America Face Danger of Invasion?

Expert Opinion Holds U. S. "Impregnable"

(Continued from Page 1)

"We should thank God that today we can pursue our national way, secure as yet from the fear of invasion by land and from the horror of bombs from the skies above us. . . ."

In an article, "The Defense of America," in Harpers Magazine, December 1938, he reiterates:

"We have been given a geographical position far removed from dangerous neighbors. The genius of man has not yet created instruments of aggressive warfare which can span the oceans which protect us on either hand, save as those instruments may move upon the surface of those oceans. . . . It makes no difference what vast armies may march beyond the seas at the command of some dictator or emperor. It makes no difference with what vast armadas of airplanes he may darken the skies. If he have not a navy superior to our own in fighting power upon the sea, all the rest is nothing we need regard."

And, in "Bombs Bursting in Air" (1939), he tells us:

"Direct attack upon us by ocean-flying planes is not possible today. . . . We see that until aeronautical engineering has produced bombers capable of at least triple the present performance, we are not going to be subjected to direct bombing attacks. . . . Direct attack of this sort can therefore be ruled out of our present calculations, because the planes capable of executing it do not exist, and are not likely to exist. It can be ruled out of future calculations. . . . both because of this fact and because it does not seem likely to be worth while for any potential enemy to consider such a project."

FLETCHER PRATT SAYS:

Fletcher Pratt, military correspondent of the New York Post and author of "Sea Power and Today's War," writes in an article, "Can They Bomb Us?," in the Saturday Evening Post, December 2, 1939:

"The situation is highly paradoxical. We are weak [in ground defense against airplanes], but immune to attack. . . ."

"People say, 'The Clippers can fly the Atlantic. Why can't bombers?' They overlook the specialization of airplane types which has turned the commercial plane and the bomber into breeds as different as a greyhound and a Great Dane, both of which began their career as just dogs. . . . It would be physically possible to fit bomb racks to a Clipper and load her with death instead of passengers. But her utmost full-throttle speed of 200 miles per hour would render her virtually a stationary object to the attacks of fighters traveling at 350 miles and hour. . . . That is, she would be inevitably shot down if there was anything at all to dispute her; she would be about as useful in military operations as a truck in a tank battle on the ground."

"There is not in the air service of any foreign power today a bombing plane that can cover more than 1,500 miles under military conditions. . . . That is, the limit radius of existing bombers is 750 miles. Their effective, or operating, radius is a good deal less. . . . Aviators figure the effective radius of the best modern bombers at about 600 miles. . . . Does not the technical development of aircraft promise to shrink down the oceans at no very distant date? Will not the danger circles expand. . . ? The organization in charge of our defense cannot afford to neglect that possibility altogether, of course, but the chances are minute. . . ."

"The fundamental fact that any potential attacker of the United States has to face is this: No bombing airplane can be moved into range of the big American cities without having the help of a ship. . . . This is where our navy enters. The potential attacker must first of all fight his way past our fleet to establish a base. But not even the defeat of our fleet would render the base secure. . . ."

"To sum up, there is no chance of any foreign power being able to bomb our cities with destructive effect at present or for many years to come. . . . In short, we are safe from serious bombings until the invention of the 3,500-mile airplane."

"HANDBOOK OF THE WAR" SAYS:
The authors (John C. de Wilde, David H. Popper and Eunice Clarke) of the well-known authoritative manu-

al, "Handbook of the War," published towards the end of 1939, sum up the situation as follows:

"We in the United States are uniquely fortunate in our strategic situation. No hostile fleet can launch a mass attack on our coasts; navies are limited in war to a radius of about two thousand miles, and no major foreign base lies that close to the continental United States. Even if the American navy were swept from the seas, we should still be safe. Except for Britain, no two powers combined have the ships to transport more than two hundred thousand troops to this country. One scarcely envies the fate of such small force if by some miracle it landed here. . . ."

"The air menace to America is even more illusory. Individual planes carefully groomed in advance and loaded only with gasoline may fly for thousands of miles. But fleets of bombers, weighted down with explosives and forced to navigate under unfavorable conditions, can seldom attain a radius of action exceeding five hundred to six hundred miles, while the number of craft suitable for such long-range missions is still small. Enemy planes might be launched from aircraft carriers for sporadic raids, but these vessels are themselves highly vulnerable to attack, especially from the air, and could not in any case carry sufficient forces to exercise an effect."

ADMIRAL COOK SAYS:

Rear Admiral Cook, in his testimony before the Senate Committee on Naval Affairs at hearings on the House bill No. 9218 last Winter, said:

"I do not think that any fleet could ever make a landing in effective force on our coast, whether we had a navy or not, provided there are enough shore-based aircraft available. . . . I do not think any thinking person ever feels that any nation can successfully invade our country even leaving out the aircraft or anything else."

These expressions of expert opinion could be multiplied indefinitely. It is only necessary to say that these views are shared by practically every military authority who has discussed the matter in recent months.

Nor, despite the scare-head publicity about "new weapons," have the basic elements of the problem changed essentially in the course of the last year or two. The conclusions reached by the military experts quoted above remain in all important respects as thoroughly sound today as when they were written.

NATIONAL DEFENSE OR FOREIGN WAR?

In view of this almost unanimous testimony of experts, what shall we say of President Roosevelt's deliberate attempt in his recent message to Congress to create the impression that the United States was wide open to attack and in real, perhaps imminent, danger of invasion? Was it not a deliberate attempt to whip up a "preparedness" panic among the people, to scare them into unreasonable hysteria with lurid, overdrawn pictures of our "defenselessness," so as to make it easier for the Administration to put over its policies of war involvement and super-armaments construction? Was not the President's message thus at bottom very close to a dangerous piece of war-mongering demagoguery?

Not national defense against invasion or attack but complete involvement in the European war is President Roosevelt's real consideration in his super-armaments program.

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