

VOTE SOCIALIST!
NORMAN THOMAS
FOR PRESIDENT

Workers Age

Weekly Paper of the Independent Labor League of America

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LABOR DAY—1940

A GAIN LABOR DAY—and again a labor movement kept divided despite very important steps in the direction of a united trade union movement.

Again Labor Day—and again a labor movement threatened as never before by the reactionary forces of America.

Where do we, the American labor movement, stand fifty-six years after we were recognized as a powerful social force in American life? Never before have the multiple problems of a complex society so challenged the trade unions and beset them with the very issue of existence. There are forces now at work in Washington whose powers have been unleashed by the hysterical war-mongering "defense" drive of the Administration. Anti-union sentiment, temporarily exiled by the power of labor alone a few years ago, is riding high in the guise of "patriotism." Profits must be preserved in order to defend America from aggression, and in order to defend profits the whole fabric of social reform must be rent apart. It is the pressure from this direction, pressure to subjugate the unions and remove all safeguards to the rights of labor, that constitutes the greatest menace to our unions.

Labor has already spoken forth against conscription and the alien mode of life it would bring to America. Yet it has also plunged wholeheartedly and uncritically into the so-called "defense" drive of the Administration. This program, as we have pointed out before, has meaning only in terms of a war overseas, not home defense. This program by its very economic, social, and political nature, expressed and implied, undermines labor's rights and future. It creates a panic and hysteria of which labor is the first victim. It pledges budgets of astronomical proportions and of dubious necessity, without regard to the source of the money and then hurriedly pushes forth tax bills which make it clear that the masses and not big business will foot the bill.

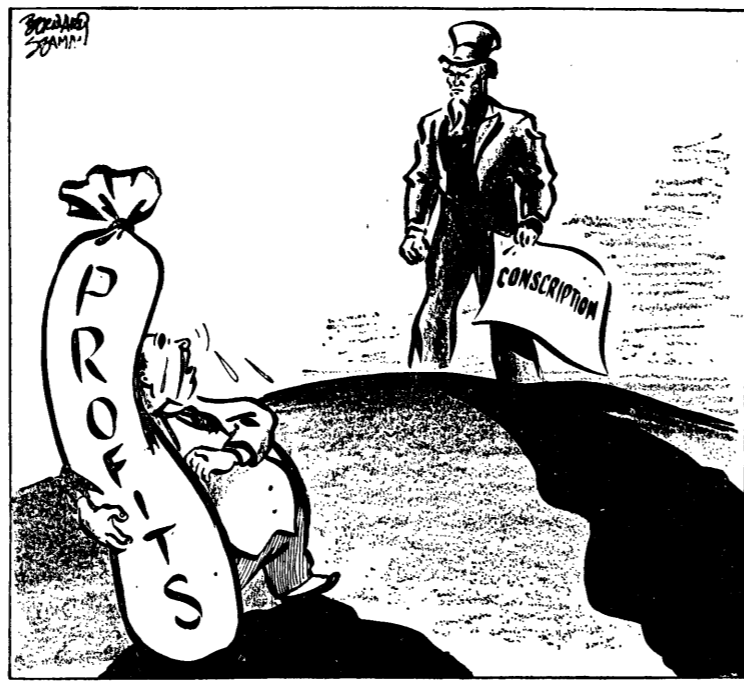
Behind this unplanned super-armaments, threatening our whole economic structure in the long run, and our social needs in the immediate sense, stands the Roosevelt Administration. It is in labor's adulatory support of this Administration, based on the possibilities it opened for the labor movement five years ago and not on its dangerous anti-social war-mongering of today, that there lies the nub of the problem.

But in addition to our domestic tasks, we are also faced with the grave responsibility that comes to one of the last large democratic labor movements in the world. The Nazi conquests have already wiped out the labor movements of Europe and seriously threaten the British labor movement. A new and higher plane of political and social thought and practice devolves upon us in these circumstances.

On this Labor Day then, as in the past, the greatest immediate task facing our movement is the achievement of unity and a critical independence to further its own interests and those of the people as a whole. Labor's great duty today is to devise an economic and political program which will meet the problems of the day, as they can be met, thru progressive not reactionary policies.

Strong Fight Waged on Conscription

"Look Uncle, I've Got Dependents Too!"



from Justice

Battle for Britain Approaches Crisis

German Air Attack Furious: Churchill Appeals for Destroyers, Offers Bases

The Battle of Britain drew towards a joining of the issues last week as furious air and big gun duels raged. German air raids over Britain intensified tremendously, one attack being carried out by 2,000 planes. London was bombed several times, altho major efforts of the Nazis were still devoted to ports and industrial centers. The R.A.F. bombed Berlin and claimed successful retaliation in the Ruhr and Rhineland regions. A new feature marking the intensification of the fight was the bombardment on both sides by big guns reminiscent of the Big Berthas of the last war. It is still impossible to determine the actual extent of damage inflicted by either side either on objects of the attacks or on opposing planes. Counter-claims of British and Germans were at such variance that very little basis save guesswork existed as to the ratio between planes engaged and downed. Save for the raids on London and Berlin both sides denied any real effect of the other's raids on industrial and military objectives.

While rumors of important diplomatic developments under German propulsion filled the air, Winston Churchill made the most dramatic move of the week appealing for United States destroyers in return for which he offered British imperial holdings in the Western hemisphere as naval and air bases for United States defense purposes. Moves in this direction appear to be confused at present, for there is no doubt that

the Roosevelt Administration hesitates to take any such step as delivering fifty destroyers to Britain in view of the controversiality of the issue and also since it is an election year.

However, signs were not lacking that behind-doors negotiations are plentiful, since the United States reached a defense agreement with Canada, certainly with the knowledge of London, and the latter announced that a base had been offered the United States at Bermuda. Much speculation is already evident as to whether this is in return for aid already granted to England, either gratuitously or thru pressure from the United States, or whether it does not pre-empt and act as a build up for some new move of the part of President Roosevelt.

The African war conducted by Italy against Britain resulted in further advance for the Italians when the British withdrew from Somalia. Increased pressure on Egypt was now expected from the Duce's forces in a struggle for the Suez Canal. At the same time Italy proceeded on her program to "re-store" her mastery of the Mediterranean, making advances in the direction of Greece which previously had a pro-British orientation. A temporary and partial settlement of differences appeared to have been arrived at, but it is doubtful if Greece's sovereignty will be long respected.

C.I.O. Unions Bar Funds for Communist "Peace" Move

A sharp clash in the New York C.I.O. was precipitated last week when 35 officials denounced Joseph Curran, head of the Industrial Union Council, for asking them to support the Chicago rally of the Emergency Mobilization for Peace. (See page 3 for the article dealing with the background of this so-called "peace" organization). The United Retail and Wholesale Clerks of America led the movement against Curran with a special letter signed by thirty of its national and local officers in which they said:

"We consider your telegram of August 21 asking for financial aid for the so-called 'peace mobilization meeting' in Chicago tantamount to a request that we give sustenance to a program which would benefit the totalitarian nations and which is, in our opinion, diametrically opposed to the best interests of our country and of democracy throughout the world. You can, therefore, expect no support from us."

Louis Hollander, manager of the New York Joint Board of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers said his organization would have nothing to do with the mobilization. Jack Rubenstein, general manager of the New York Joint Board of the Textile Workers Union, announced that the union here would ignore Curran's appeal for funds.

Curran, head of the Maritime Union, had sent a telegram to all the C.I.O. unions asking them to rush financial aid to the "mobilization" thru the American Youth Congress. When informed of the re-

sponse to this telegram, Mr. Curran declared he did not wish to "dignify these persons by an answer."

There appears to be no doubt in the eyes of competent observers of the New York labor movement that a showdown with the communists in the C.I.O. here is being prepared, and that this occasion was seized upon for such a demonstration. The Emergency Mobilization for Peace is widely known as the latest Communist effort in that direction, and most of the bona-fide unions are preparing to line up for Roosevelt and his armaments program. A state convention of the C.I.O. is scheduled for the latter part of September, and this move of C.I.O. unions is looked upon as connected therewith.

Declare Gantner Strike Still On

In answer to rumors circulated that the Gantner and Mattern strike is settled, the Strike Committee of the I.L.G.W.U. advised the public that the strike is still going on. "We are ready to continue this campaign," said Louis Nelson, eastern director of the drive, "until the firm is ready to negotiate with the union. The Gantner and Mattern workers are still locked out and we will not give up until they are returned to their jobs."

The firm manufactures bathing suits under the trade names of Wikies, Hi-Boy, Bo-Sun and Golden Gate.

LEON TROTSKY

STATEMENT OF THE I.L.L.A.

Jay Lovestone, on behalf of the Independent Labor League of America, issued the following statement on the death of Leon Trotsky:

"We condemn the murder of Trotsky as a dastardly crime against the ranks of the international labor movement and all humanity. No matter how much one may differ with Trotsky's political conceptions—and our organization has continually and consistently been opposed to Trotskyism—yet it must be underlined that Leon Trotsky ranks amongst the outstanding historical figures in the revolutionary movement of all times.

"This murder is a crude job, perpetrated by Stalin through his O.G.P.U. which has been functioning more and more as an International Murder, Inc. It is a continuation of the purge policy in Russia, the murder of the P.O.U.M. leader, Nin, in Spain, the assassination of the Spanish revolution, and the degeneration of what was once the international Communist movement. We need but look at the Stalin-Hitler pact to see the possible tragic and sinister ramifications.

"The Independent Labor League of America conveys its heartfelt condolences to Comrade Mrs. Trotsky."

LEON TROTSKY lies dead, assassinated by an agent of Stalin's O.G.P.U. The great and heroic man, last of the men of 1917, the flaming orator and director of the October uprising in Russia, commander in chief of the Red Army and its creator, outstanding spokesman of world revolution, together with Lenin symbol of revolutionary chal-

lenge to the old order, was struck by a pickaxe wielded by one who had professed to be his friend and follower. In this brutal manner, significant of the end of an epoch and the degeneration of a movement, the last Bolshevik met his death.

Both the Daily Worker of New York and the Tass Agency in Moscow have informed their respective readers that Trotsky's death was caused by a rift in his own ranks at "the hands of the one that small gang of dubious social elements and provocateurs who alone remained for him to lead after he had long been exposed as an enemy of the working class." At the same time facts are piling up thru extended investigation pointing indisputably to the G.P.U. connections of the assassin "Jackson," who had various aliases. The latter is in the hospital as the result of the actions of Trotsky's bodyguard. It is reported that he has claimed his hand was forced by the G.P.U. which had threatened the life of his Russian relatives.

The Socialist Workers Party of the United States, affiliated to Trotsky's Fourth International has announced that it is attempting to bring Trotsky's body to New York for a vast demonstration funeral, both to pay tribute to the dead leader, and to register the sense of outrage of New York's radicals at this latest bloody deed of Stalin.

In Mexico City, a symbolical funeral was held, eulogizing Trotsky. Workers and intellectuals of various political opinions paid homage to the remains of the revolutionary leader, the Mexican government having official representatives both in the cortege and the death-watch.

Thomas Hits Speech of Wilkie

Declares His Desire To Take Part In Debate With Both Old Party Candidates

"The people are faced with no real choice between the major party candidates," Norman Thomas, Socialist candidate for President, declared in commenting on the acceptance speech of Wendell L. Wilkie. "Any debate between Franklin D. Roosevelt and Wendell L. Wilkie would involve little more than personalities and oratorical generalizations. If there is to be a real debate on fundamental principles, I submit that I must take part in behalf of the Socialist Party."

Mr. Thomas' full comment follows:

Wendell L. Wilkie made a speech which was a synthesis of Guffey's First Reader, the genealogy of Indiana, the collected speeches of Tom Girdler and the "New Republic."

Both the Republican and Democratic candidates believe in the principle of peacetime military conscription and both dodge the details. I believe that that principle is the very heart of totalitarianism, not made necessary in America by any crisis which cannot otherwise be met.

Both of the old party candidates believe in all possible help to Britain short of war. I share their sympathy with Britain against the Nazi invader, but believe there is no further important type of help which will not logically mean war and war means the extension of military fascism to America.

Both these gentlemen believe that a reformed private capitalism will conquer unemployment and poverty in America although it failed in Europe. They only differ as to who shall carry on.

In other words, at one of the most critical moments in our history, the people are faced with no real choice between the major party candidates. Any debate between Franklin D. Roosevelt and Wendell L. Wilkie would involve little more than personalities and oratorical generalizations. If there is to be a real debate on fundamental principles, I submit that I must take part in behalf of the Socialist Party.

I believe that private capitalism has had its day; that liberty as well as peace and abundance depend upon social control of investment to raise the national income, and social action to distribute it more equitably. That is, I believe that to escape militarism, imperialism and eventual fascism and war, we must have democratic Socialism. Here is the only genuine basis for debate.

FDR Demands Immediate Passage

Despite Administration strategy and pressure of all sorts, the anti-conscription Senators are still putting up powerful opposition to the Burke-Wadsworth Bill for a peacetime draft. Senator Barkeley, Administration spokesman on the Senate floor attempted to stampede the Senate into a vote last Saturday, but the opposition refused to be denied its right to speak against the measure. At one time during the debate, observers reported that the Administration forces were considering a strategic retreat in the face of the overwhelming fire from the isolationist block. It was reported that efforts were being made to get the Maloney amendment accepted by both sides. This measure would defer compulsory conscription at least until January of next year and then only if voluntary recruiting had failed to bring the army up to a specified size.

While certain Administration elements felt that accepting such a compromise was advisable in view of the widespread opposition to conscription voiced by the people of the country and expressed by the Senatorial opposition, the extreme militarist wing led by President Roosevelt refused to yield. The President issued a special statement in which he spiked all effort at compromise, demanding that Congress pass a conscription bill within two weeks. Wendell Wilkie, Republican candidate for President, so coy on national issues for several weeks past, finally spoke up for conscription. It appears likely that the Senate will debate the issue for at least another week, after which the House will consider the bill. The bill to mobilize the National Guard for a year's training has already been passed by Congress.

BULLITT SHOOT THE WORKS

Bill Bullitt, Ambassador to Paris, spoke for the Administration in what was virtually a plea for America to enter Europe's war, only thinly veiled in a discussion of the dangers of invasion of this continent by Hitler. Senator Clark of Missouri immediately denounced this speech as a "demagogic appeal to the American people to go into a foreign unprovoked war." No effort was made to hide the fact that Bullitt spoke for Roosevelt and the State Department in an effort to whip up pro-war sentiment in this country. Thru his detailed account of a possible Hitlerian invasion of this country, Bullitt undoubtedly was also concerned with pushing Administration plans in Congress, especially as regards the Burke-Wadsworth measure.

PACT WITH CANADA

In a few short days, reflecting long and careful preparations, an agreement for joint patrol and defense of the western hemisphere waters was reached between the United States and Canada. A naval base will probably be established at Halifax for the United States. A joint commission, including Mayor Fiorello LaGuardia, will take up all matters concerning joint defense between the two countries. It is expected also that an immediate effect will be to release some units of the British Navy from patrol duty in these waters and enable them to return to the British Isles.

American interests in the Caribbean increased in view of steps toward hemisphere defense, and there was talk in Washington of negotiations for British bases there. At the end of the week, Churchill offered a base in Bermuda to the United States but whether this will be satisfactory is not yet known.

COUNTS PRESIDENT OF TEACHERS UNION

As we go to press, information has come that the progressive slate in the Teachers Union has decisively defeated its communist controlled opponents by a vote of two to one. The next issue of Workers Age will carry a detailed story of the convention—don't miss it!

Garment Workers Gain Wage Order

Washington, D. C.

OVER 200,000 garment workers throughout the country, including about 19,000 in New York City, received an increase in hourly wages last week as a result of the apparel wage order promulgated in May by Colonel Philip B. Fleming, federal wage-hour administrator. The national pay increases will total about \$10,000,000, according to unofficial estimates.

The order establishes minimum wage rates of 32½, 35, 37½ and 40 cents an hour for twenty-five divisions of the men's and women's clothing trade.

By and large, official surveys indicate, it will be the workers outside the big garment markets who will be most directly affected, since hourly wage rates in New York and similar centers are already largely above the minimums set. George B. Kelly, New York regional director of the Wage Hour Division, said that less than 5% of the workers in the dress industry would be affected and about 8% of those in the men's garment field. In New Jersey, 12,000 workers will get higher wages and in Connecticut about 3,000 will be similarly benefited.

At Whose Doorstep?

(These paragraphs are from an editorial in Labor, the official paper of the standard railroad unions.—Editor.)

LORD Lothian, British ambassador to the United States, suggests to a New York audience that Hitler's success may be "the scourge of God" to punish the democracies for their shortcomings. Why try to shift the responsibility to God?

All the evidence indicates that the financiers, the politicians and the militarists of the democratic nations are responsible for the catastrophe. British and American bankers supplied Hitler with hundreds of millions of dollars, and were equally generous with Mussolini. The militarists permitted the dictator to build up a gigantic war machine right under their noses, and the politicians looked on complacently, many of them believing Hitler would turn his weapons against Russia.

While all this was going on, the representatives of capitalism in all the democracies were refusing to take effective steps to end unemployment and thus restore the physical strength and the morale of the men they now expect to do the fighting.

It's difficult to find the hand of God in any of this, but it's easy to detect the stupidity and greed of human beings who occupied positions of power.

Tax Bills For Defense Hit By C.I.O.

Lewis Denounces Attempts To Put Profits Before Welfare Of American People

Following is the text of C.I.O. President John L. Lewis' letter analyzing national defense taxation bills now before Congress.

Labor is alarmed at the bold sabotage of national defense by representatives of American corporate industry. There is increasing appearance on the part of industry of a willingness to sacrifice the welfare of the nation for profit. The present proposals for the revision of taxation now before the Committee are being forced upon the Executive and upon Congress by the high-handed refusal of American industry to expand its resources for defense until it receives immunity from proper taxation. Many of the leaders in this attack on the nation's welfare are the corporations which have most flagrantly violated the National Labor Relations Act.

Under the existing provisions for financing the national defense program, the government will pay the cost of new plants amounting to billions of dollars and hand them over to private corporations.

The so-called amortization plan proposed by the subcommittee of the House Way and Means Committee would permit the corporations during each of the next five years to deduct 20% of the cost of this new plant from their profits for the purposes of all federal taxation. This would greatly reduce profits subject to taxation. Furthermore, the rates proposed in the excess profits tax are light. At the end of the five-year period the corporation will own a practically brand new plant, paid for by the tax payers and on the profits of which it will have paid little.

At the same time the limitations upon existing profits on armament contracts provided for by the Vinson-Trammell Act are to be removed. This series of proposals would substantially remove any restriction upon war profits. It would in substance lay upon the American people a shameful imposition.

Such proposals are in direct contradiction to the promise of the President of the United States that excessive profits would not be made upon our national defense. When the American people understand these proposals, I believe they will not tolerate them.

We fully appreciate the necessity for immediate expansion of our defense industries, but we are convinced that this expansion should not be exacted from the American people upon the exorbitant terms of selfish interests. I would urge that provision be made which would guarantee the necessary expansion upon proper terms. There is no reason why American industry should be bribed to cooperate in national defense by what amounts to a free gift of plants. I would urge further that the Congress enact an excess profits tax designed effectively to recover excessive profit arising from na-

Administration Men Sneer At Democracy

Washington Reporter Hears High Official Irked With War Rights of Congress

By FLORENCE BREWER BOECKEL

Washington, D. C. A few of my friends—and perhaps of my readers—have felt now and then that I was unduly alarmed about the threat to democratic government implicit in certain administration policies. This last week one of these friends has been in Washington. Having had an opportunity to listen to the dinner table conversation of men influential and more or less influential in the Administration, he has honorably retracted his criticism of my point of view. Among other things which he heard said and which goes beyond anything I myself have heard, was this, "Why keep talking about the right of Congress to declare war, the Constitution doesn't say that only Congress shall have the power to declare war—!"

To my mind, this extreme statement made by a person of very real influence, is only one more evidence of a fact that I have frequently pointed out—power blinds men to the effect of the means they are using and concentrates their attention solely on reaching the ends they desire.

There is no one in the government who wants more than the people of this country want to have the United States able to defend itself against any and every foreign attack. But, while men in the government, think of a defense organization as a completed instrument to be used for a specific purpose, the people think of it in relation to their daily lives and way of living, not only in relation to its ultimate use as a machine. The government and the people are for this reason at odds over using its method of conscription, to build an armed force, and once more the people have demonstrated their power to determine basic policies. The conscription bill originally introduced, it is now agreed, will be drastically modified before passage.

It is interesting to note that in Canada, too, the opposition of the people against conscription has been so strong that men are being conscripted only for defense action at home and that for service overseas, the volunteer system is to apply.

tional defense orders.

Labor stands second to none in its desire for the establishment of the most effective possible national defense for our nation. We believe that every group within the country must cooperate to guarantee that our shores shall not be invaded. We cannot stand silently by, however, while the welfare of the nation is sacrificed to selfish interests with a callous disregard to present the nation with ultimatum.

Let American industry join with the other people of the nation in common cooperation.

Labor and Anti-Trust Laws

By MATTHEW WOLL

(This is the first of a series of articles on labor and the anti-trust laws from a recent address by Matthew Woll, vice-president of the American Federation of Labor.—Editor.)

THE Sherman Act came into being fifty years ago. It came into being because there was a general public apprehension that capitalistic concentration was taking place so rapidly that unless there was some restraining hand placed upon trends and tendencies at that time, ultimately our whole industrial life would become paralyzed and the comparatively few industrial and financial interests who controlled these combinations would come to wield a greater power than the government itself. Out of that fear, out of that apprehension, developed discussion which resulted in the adoption of the Sherman Act.

LABOR'S EARLY ATTITUDE

At that time, American labor was apprehensive of what was involved in this legislation. The American Federation of Labor was given every assurance by both the Senate and the House of Representatives that it was not the intent of Congress to include labor within the purview of the Sherman Anti-Trust Act. As a result of these assurances, labor gave way because it, too, feared the concentration of capital that was then developing.

The law became effective. Lo and behold, instead of the law being applied merely to business, to commercial and industrial combination, it was applied most vigorously against labor. We soon found that the assurances given to labor were not being respected by the courts. To the contrary, the courts in their own way found a way of interpreting the language of the act as well as the discussions in Congress, so as to enable them to rule that labor was not excluded from the provisions of the Sherman Act.

It made no apparent difference in the eyes of the courts that there is a vast difference between corporate enterprise engaged for profit in trade, transportation, or commercial fields and a trade union, the members of which unite and organize their forces for the improvement of their working conditions and have nothing whatever to do with the world of trade and commerce excepting in so far as incidentally their economic activities might reflect upon trade or commerce. It made no apparent difference that Congress never intended, when it used the expression "restraint of trade and commerce," that the words "trade and commerce" should be so interpreted as to involve labor's economic activities directed toward the improvement of conditions of work.

FAILURE TO HALT TRUSTS

The originally conceived and designed to restrain a growing development of corporate combinations and capitalistic concentration, ever since we have had the Sherman Act on the statute books, the greatest financial, industrial and commercial enterprises have come into being—indicating clearly that the Sherman Act has failed of its purposes as originally conceived, while labor, not intended to be involved, has become the greatest sufferer under this as well as subsequent acts.

Under the Sherman Act, two types of activities were declared illegal. First, "every contract and combination in the form of trust or otherwise, or as a conspiracy in restraint of trade or commerce" among the states, was declared illegal. Secondly, any and every attempt to monopolize trade or commerce or every actual monopoly of itself was outlawed.

There were provided three types of procedure by which to prosecute alleged violators of the law.

First, the federal government might seek the return by a grand jury of a criminal indictment leading to trial. Second, it might sue in equity for an injunction restraining violations of the law. And third, injured private parties might sue for damages. All of these proceedings must be brought in the federal courts. It is well to bear all this in mind because later on we will see how these procedures were enlarged subsequently.

BUT LAW USED AGAINST LABOR

Originally, only the government could bring criminal or injunctive proceedings against violators of the Sherman anti-trust law. The only civil procedure possible was open to an injured party, by which he or a corporate enterprise might sue for injury sustained and receive what is known in law as punitive or triple damages. The Danbury Hatters case came within the latter category; it was Loewe and Company of Danbury, Conn., that

brought suit against the Brotherhood of United Hatters and recovered triple damages for violation of the Sherman Act.

This decision resulted in the taking away of the homes of many of these hatters simply because they had dared to ask the public generally to sympathize with them in their conflict with Loewe and Company by urging them not to buy these hats or to patronize any merchant or retailer that might be selling these hats. The courts declared that such an appeal was an "undue restraint of trade" on the part of labor and therefore in violation of the Sherman Act.

Out of this act, not so much as it applied to labor but as it applied to business, the question immediately arose as to what was meant by the phrases in the act itself, "every contract," "every combination," "every understanding" tending to restrain or to monopolize. The adjective "every" caused all kinds of opinions to be expressed by various courts throughout our entire federal judiciary. No two judges agreed and ultimately the Supreme Court gave its opinion on this adjective by saying it did not mean every contract, every agreement, every understanding, every combination, but only such as "unreasonably" restrained trade or commerce.

Thus, the Supreme Court changed the whole complexion of the law, in so far as capitalistic enterprises were concerned, and when I say capitalistic enterprises, I mean commercial, financial or industrial enterprises. By holding that, if the restraint was reasonable, then there was no violation of the law, the courts placed a much greater burden on the government or complainant as against those charged with violation of the law.

Then, too, there arose a multitude of conflicts regarding the interpretation of other terms in the act. For instance, the question arose as to what was meant by "trade," by "commerce," by "restraint of commerce," by "interstate trade and commerce" and "restraint of interstate trade and commerce." The act was practically nullified in so far as industrial, commercial and financial enterprises were concerned.

NO "RULE OF REASON"

A confusion of decisions resulted. However, not a single court applied the "rule of reason" to labor that

had been applied to all of our commercial, industrial and financial interests and institutions—with one exception. That one exception was the National Window Glass Manufacturers case. In that case, there was an agreement between the employer and the employees, resulting in a restriction upon trade. But this was deemed essential because the industry was suffering a great depression thru fundamental changes taking place within the industry itself. In that instance, the employer agreed with the union to an arrangement which might ultimately provide an opportunity of employment to all workers who otherwise would have been forced into complete idleness. The court, in that instance, held the limitation upon trade as a reasonable one.

That is the only case where the "rule of reason" was applied in a labor case. In a different case, another court attempted to devise what is known as the doctrine of "social harm." This doctrine involved the question: Was the combination, was the restraint, in the interest of the public good or against the public good? That is the doctrine which underlies the anti-combination laws of England, France and other foreign countries. Here in America, this doctrine has never been followed by our courts.

Our courts, having once brought labor under the Sherman law, went all the way and even ruled that where the objective of labor might be lawful, if perchance it used some "illegal" method—that is, illegal in the eyes of the court—then the whole combination itself would be unlawful, so that even innocent, perfectly lawful acts would be held in violation of the Sherman law.

I shall not burden you with various decisions of the Supreme Court dealing with application of the Sherman law, also they are pertinent to the question that is now involved. Assistant Attorney General Thurman Arnold applies these older rulings under the Sherman Act in this modern day and time. It is upon these decisions, and his own misconceived interpretation of both the Sherman and Clayton Acts, that he bases his whole procedure so destructive and costly to our trade-union organizations.

(The second article in this series, dealing with Clayton Act and subsequent legislation, will appear in the next issue of this paper.—Editor.)

Survey Made Of Modern Family Expenditure

Far-Reaching Changes Made in Past Twenty Years

By FAITH WILLIAMS

(This article is from the April 1940 issue of Labor Information Bulletin, official publication of the U. S. Department of Labor.—Editor.)

Washington, D. C. THE Smiths may be trying to keep up with the Joneses, but they certainly do it in an individualistic way. Recent data from the new study of the Bureau of Labor Statistics on how moderate-income families in the United States spend their incomes show wide variation in expenditure habits. Even among families with the same income and the same number of children, living in the same city, there are very great differences in the way income is spent, and the kind of living available to each family member.

There is, however, a striking similarity in the average expenditures of families of the same economic status from community to community. When the pocket money and the food allowance and the rent money and all the rest of the money families spend are added together and the sums paid out by all the Smiths and Joneses at a given economic level are averaged, their expenditure patterns fall into very definite patterns.

The resemblance of consumption habits in one city to those in another should not be taken to mean, however, that these habits are not susceptible of change. As a matter of fact, the similarity in the expenditure patterns prevailing at the present time in the various cities where studies of family expenditures have been made is the more striking when the patterns of the present day are placed against those of almost a generation ago.

TECHNOLOGY TAKES A HAND

Everyone is aware that the technological changes of the twentieth century have made great changes in the lives of the Smiths and the Joneses: It is difficult to realize that as late as 1919 motor cars seemed a luxury to moderate-income families in the United States. Passenger automobiles had been produced commercially since the nineties but the cost of a car was for a long time far out of the reach of the average American family. In 1908, less expensive models were introduced, and in 1922 the wholesale price of a currently acceptable touring car was \$298, f.o.b. Detroit. Approximately the same type of car would have cost \$525 wholesale at the end of the war and \$850 in 1936. It had little in common with the automobiles which are purchased now today but it met the requirements of American families in the 1920's. The Bureau of Labor Statistics has comparable figures on the family

expenditures of employed wage earners and clerical workers at the end of the World War and in 1934-36. So few families owned cars in the earlier period that expenditures for automobiles, motorcycles and bicycles were all classified together when the data were tabulated. Fifteen percent of the families studied in 1917-19 had some expense for one or another of these vehicles, as compared with 50% owning automobiles alone in 1934-36. Radios were hardly known at the time of the earlier study while more than three-quarters of the families studied in 1934-36 reported radio ownership.

Changes in the houses where the Smiths and the Joneses live are perhaps quite as important to their happiness as the addition of automobiles and radios. Slightly over one-half of the families renting dwellings in 35 large cities studied at the end of the war had bathrooms, compared with nine-tenths of the families of employed wage earners and clerical workers renting houses in the same cities in 1934-36.

Electric power, which had been available to few in the wage-earner and clerical groups before 1918, had declined in price over the period, and dwellings wired for electric lights and small electrical appliances had come within the buying range of the average employed worker. As many as one-quarter of the families covered in the recent study were found to have electric refrigerators. The amount of modern plumbing facilities and the number of telephones installed in the homes of families of wage earners and lower-salaried clerical workers has also increased markedly during the last two decades.

SHIFTS IN FOOD HABITS

The changes which have occurred in food consumption since the World War have had far-reaching effects on American diets. At the end of the war, as a result of extensive researches into the needs of the human body, Americans for the first time became aware of minerals and vitamins in foods and their importance in human nutrition. This new information, together with lower food prices in general and the lower prices of certain nutritionally valuable foods in particular, and also the greater availability of fresh fruits and vegetables all the year round, combined to produce striking changes in the food expenditures of wage earners and clerical workers.

Larger per-capita consumption of milk, oranges, lettuce, spinach and canned tomatoes was recorded in 1934-36 than in 1917-19. Tomato juice and grapefruit are also consumed in larger amounts by the families recently studied. In addition to such standard foods as meat, pota-

Newsman Form New Union Affiliated With A. F. L.

Oppose Guild as Communist; Craft Form Adopted

(We publish below an appeal issued recently by the American Newspaper Writers Association, a newly formed A. F. of L. federal local of newspaper men. The organization, whose office is at 265 West 14 Street, New York City, is headed by William L. Laurence, president, and Joseph Shaplen, secretary-treasurer, both of the New York Times. Editor.)

To All Working Newspapersmen:

THIS communication is the opening gun in a campaign to organize the working newspapersmen of this city and vicinity in a craft organization of their own choosing and designed to function exclusively for the protection of the interests of working newspapersmen.

To achieve this end there has been formed the American Newspaper Writers Association, chartered by the American Federation of Labor. We are a federal local, similar to other such locals, functioning under the aegis of the A. F. of L. Before very long, a national council of all such locals will be formed, preliminary to the establishment of a full-fledged A. F. of L. international of working newspapersmen.

The following categories of editorial employees are eligible for membership in our organization:

Reporters, rewrite men, copy readers, district men, editorial writers on the regular payroll of newspapers, writers on drama, music and books on the regular payroll, and all others on the regular payroll who collect, write and edit reading material.

Do not permit yourselves to be misled by misrepresentations, slanders and character assassination.

Shoes, flour, sugar, cabbage, string beans, onions and apples, which were important in the consumption habits of families in both periods studied, the 1934-36 survey also indicated the purchase of many other foodstuffs which were not on the market or within the reach of moderate income families at the time of the earlier study in 1917-19.

Clothing expenses have changed materially, both in the total and in the articles purchased. Nowadays, when the average woman in the family of a wage earner or a clerical worker totals her clothing expenditures, she finds that her silk stockings have run away with more money than any other single item in her budget. Silk stockings were a luxury to women in the moderate-income group before the World War. In most stores, the only kind of silk hose sold was a very heavy service-weight stocking, retailing at \$2 a pair. After the war, the much more attractive sheer and semi-sheer hose began to appear in all the stores at a lower price. Now silk stockings for everyday wear are the rule even for women in moderate-income families.

With the increase during the last two decades of ready-made children's and women's clothes available at reasonably low prices, many a housewife has apparently given up the practise of making her clothes and those of the children at home. This is indicated by the drop in the number of families purchasing sewing machines from 8% in 1917-19 to less than 2% of the families of wage earners and lower-salaried employees covered in the 1934-36 survey. Total clothing expenditures in 1934-36 were lower, on the average, than would have been expected on the basis of expenditures in 1917-19, even when price changes have been taken into account. It would seem that moderate-income families are now wearing less clothing than at the end of the war period.

Expenditures for miscellaneous items were in general higher in 1934-36 than they would have been if the expenditure patterns of 1917-19 had been maintained. In two-thirds of the cities studied, a higher expenditure was found on such items as transportation, travel, recreation, education, cosmetics, haircuts, and other goods and services pertaining to personal appearance. Concern over the personal appearance of the members of the family has been heightened, and the barber and hairdresser now are visited more often than in 1917-19.

A summary of money expenditures by families of given type and income in the two periods shows that at the earlier date savings outbalanced deficits in every income class, even the lowest, while at the later period aggregate deficits were greater than aggregate savings in all income levels under \$1,500. The change was in part due to the development of installment credit practices over the period. The relative ease with which the employed wage earner or clerical worker can nowadays arrange for payments on the installment plan has encouraged the use of credit by this group. It was also due in part to the fact that 1917-19 was a period of war-time prosperity, while 1934-36 was a period following several years of depression and widespread unemployment.

A general comparison of family expenditures during 1917-19 with expenditures in 1934-36 would seem to indicate that families of employed wage earners and clerical workers now actually have higher standards of living than similar groups of workers at the end of the war period. An important change seems to have taken place in the expenditure patterns of these moderate-income

families. They are more nearly approach the recommendations of a specialist in nutrition; they have more livable homes, with more household facilities and better lighting; many of them are able to travel more and get more recreation because they have automobiles. This change has brought about fundamental changes in their expenditure patterns.

In a statement issued to the press, William L. Laurence, president of the American Newspaper Writers Association, has made clear the structure and purposes of our organization when he said:

"We are definitely a craft organization. While we fully sympathize with the efforts of other classes of employees, such as stenographers, bookkeepers, accountants, clerks, etc., to organize for collective bargaining to improve their conditions, we do not see why such classes of employees should be lumped with newspaper writers, representing a highly skilled craft, no more than that they should be lumped with skilled craftsmen in the mechanical departments. There are unions devoted to the organization of office workers and others having no relation to newspaper writers, who should not permit themselves to be overwhelmed by elements extraneous to their craft and therefore having no relation to their particular problems.

"Nor will the American Newspaper Writers Association countenance the admittance into its organization of other completely outside elements, holding no jobs of any kind on newspapers, and therefore having no right whatsoever to hold cards in an organization of newspapermen and mold its policies.

"The American Newspaper Writers Association is an organization of, by and for newspapermen. It will not countenance interference by any political party and will not follow any party line. It will seek, however, to work in cooperation with all elements upon whom the welfare of working newspapersmen depends, including the organized printing crafts.

"One of its most important tasks will be the promotion and maintenance of high ethical standards in the newspaper field.

"We have formed our organization in response to a widely expressed desire on the part of newspapermen for an organization of our type."

There are scores of thousands of working newspapersmen in the United States. The Newspaper Guild represents but a small portion of this number. An increasing number of its own members are properly dissatisfied with its structure and policies. Many are resigning. These men and women, together with the vast number of unorganized newspapermen, have the right to build their own organization. To challenge that right is a violation of the law. We do not propose to permit ourselves to be terrorized. The G.P.U. and Gestapo are not yet in control of the United States.

To you whose interests are vitally affected the antics of an organization that ventures to speak for you against your will we say:

This is an age of organization. Standing aloof and alone you cannot protect your interests. We know that you have been gravely disturbed by what has been done and spoken in the name of newspapermen by an organization whose moral and professional authority to speak for you we challenge. We know also that the existing situation affecting your interests in the matter of collective bargaining is not to your liking. If your craft is now being threatened by elements inimical to your interests, it is because you have neglected to protect them. You cannot protect yourselves against encroachment by elements utterly foreign to newspaper work by retiring into a state of splendid isolation. If you want security, you can get it only thru collective security. You must speak and act collectively. You must build an organization of your own. You must act together, taking full advantage of the rights and privileges granted you under the law.

The American Newspaper Writers Association offers you the effective instrument you require for this purpose.

Permit us to assure you as well as our enemies—the Communist Party and its transmission belt, the Newspaper Guild—that the American Newspaper Writers Association is here to stay and that no amount of demagoguery and misrepresentation will divert us from our legitimate and lawful task.

AMERICAN NEWSPAPER WRITERS ASSOCIATION (Federal Local 22397)



Anti-Lynching Blocked by "Defense"

For the fourth time in as many months, Senate Majority Leader Alben Barkley told the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People that he does not intend to do anything to bring up the federal anti-lynching bill for a vote on the floor of the Senate.

The Senator made his declaration to the N.A.A.C.P. in response to a recent letter from the association which quoted a story appearing in the New York Amsterdam News of July 20 saying that Barkley had told the Colored National Democratic Association at a mass meeting in Chicago just prior to the Democratic National Convention that "the Anti-lynching bill will be voted upon before Congress adjourns." The N.A.A.C.P. had asked the Majority Leader to name the approximate date when the bill would be called up.

Denying that he had made the statement, Senator Barkley told the association in a letter dated August 6: "I have not seen any of the newspapers that quoted what I had to say because I spoke extemporaneously . . . but the quotation which you use in your letter is inaccurate."

Pointing out that he had told his audience that he still "entertained the hope that the bill might be voted on during the present Congress," despite the difficulties of long debate even if cloture were voted, he "made no promise that it would be voted on and I made no promise that it would be taken up. . . . The program of defense legislation," he said, "which include necessary and urgent measures," did not make him "feel at liberty to prophesy when the Anti-lynching bill can be taken up."

Refusing to accept the plea of a defense program as an excuse for not bringing up the bill, Thurgood Marshall, special counsel for the N.A.A.C.P., told Senator Barkley in a letter dated August 7, that the Association regarded the Anti-Lynching Bill as being "just as important as the National Defense program." The N.A.A.C.P. official drew attention to the renewed activity of the Klan in many states, its joint activities with the German-American Bund in New Jersey; violence against Jehovah's Witnesses, a religious sect, the brutal flogging and lynching of N.A.A.C.P. officials in Brownsville, Tennessee, and the increase in mob violence throughout the country just as mob violence increased preceding the outbreak of the last World War, as fully adequate reasons for bringing up the federal anti-lynching bill without delay.

Wage-hour Law Application Is Extended

Strong impetus was given last week to the fight being waged to enforce the wage and overtime provisions of the Fair Labor Standards Act with respect to loft building service employees, when permanent injunctions were entered in the U. S. District Court, Newark, N. J., by Arthur J. White, Regional Director of the Wage and Hour Division, against seven of the leading mill and loft property owners of Paterson, N. J., restraining them from ever again denying the wage and overtime protection of the Fair Labor Standards Act to their building maintenance and service employees.

The injunctions, signed by Federal Judge Thomas Glynn Walker, were agreed to by the seven mill or loft owners thus enjoined, and constituted an acknowledgment, in effect, on the part of the mill owners, that their building service employees were covered by the Fair Labor Standards Act.

Two similar injunction suits filed by the Wage and Hour Division are now pending against the owners of two large loft buildings in New York and Philadelphia.

At the start of the negotiations with the Paterson tenant mill owners, Mr. White stated the mill owners took the stand that as reality owners they were not engaged in interstate commerce and were not covered by the Act. The division representatives held a series of meetings with them and successfully argued that the work the employees were engaged in doing, and not the business of the employer, was the determining factor in questions of coverage.

At the time the injunction suit was filed in New York last March against the Arsenal Building Corporation and Spear & Co., Inc., owners and agents, respectively, of the 22 story loft building at 463 Seventh Avenue, figures made public by the Building Service Employees' Union, stated that there were 2,000 loft buildings in Manhattan alone, with possibly a total of about 25,000 building service employees, who would be affected by any court ruling that such employees were covered.

These and thousands of other building service employees in hundreds of loft buildings in other large industrial cities throughout the country are therefore expected by Wage and Hour officials to benefit indirectly from the precedent created by the filing of seven injunction orders in Newark.

Here's What They Say:

John Dewey:

"You have rendered a public service in publishing Thomas and Wolfe's 'Keep America out of War.'"

John Nevin Sayre, Editor, Fellowship:

"I am enthusiastic about this new book . . . brilliant in exposition, telling in wording . . . A campaign Bible of peace for the 1940 election . . . A grand job . . ."

Gerry Allard, Editor, Socialist Call:

"Well-rounded . . . packed with vital information . . . a valuable contribution . . . should be placed in the hands of hundreds of thousands of people."

Senator Arthur L. Capper of Kansas:

"Informative and decidedly stimulating."

Ferdinand Lundberg:

"Required reading for all who value their jobs, property and lives."

Ernest L. Meyer, New York Post:

"Lucidly and with impressive weight of reason, Norman Thomas and Bertram D. Wolfe establish the case for non-interventionists . . ."

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American Labor And Present War

We Must Maintain Labor's Independence

By D. BENJAMIN

(This is the final article in a series expressing the author's views on the present war.—Editor.)

WHAT conclusions must we draw from an analysis of the present European war, historical experiences during the last twenty-five years, and problems as they face the American and international working class movements today? Some of them may be stated as follows:

1. The imperialist bourgeoisie, together with the capitalist system, has outlived its usefulness; cannot be considered today the bearers of historical progress; are the bearers, instead of war, fascism, and trends toward totalitarianism.

2. The imperialist bourgeoisie cannot be considered the basis for an effective resistance to, and fight against fascism, from without or within.

3. The working class cannot fall for the idea of imperialist "peace" (appeasement) or imperialist war for solving the basic problems of the day. The imperialist appeasers would help foreign fascism (Nazism), while the imperialist war makers on an increasing scale bring totalitarianism at home.

4. No decisive dependence can be placed on temporary divisions inside the ranks of the imperialist bourgeoisie as the main basis for the solution of problems—between the imperialist war makers and imperialist appeasers, between external fascism and domestic imperialism. Class blood and interconnections, in times of crisis and stress, will assert themselves. Utilization of such differences, but not reliance upon them is the determination of the main line of action.

5. Independent working class action in the industrially developed countries coupled with the unleashing of colonial movements, oppressed and helotized nationalities, and enlightened, progressive public opinion must be considered the main basis for effective resistance against Nazism from without, totalitarian trends from within, and destructive imperialist wars. The development of such independent labor political action is not a utopian or abstract proposition; and is the only sound and realistic basic line of action possible in the concrete conditions of present day life. The longer application of this course of action is delayed, the more difficult will the problem become.

6. For such countries as England and France the slogan, "The chief enemy is at home" must be changed to "The working class has two enemies—the fascist invader and domestic war-causing, and totalitarianizing imperialism." It would be a catastrophic error to drop the fight against the former, or to consider the latter the main or a reliable basis for the fight against the former.

7. No vote of confidence in "democratic" imperialist governments. No support to their proposals for armament economy, for totalitarian-militarization trends and programs. At the same time, labor can make clear its desire and readiness to support increased resistance to external totalitarianism, when with that is coupled increased resistance to domestic totalitarianism when such social and political changes are wrought that make it possible to rally masses, to offer a real solution, to concretize values that are worthwhile defending and fighting for. Labor should give the lead and set an example by offering increased resistance to the external foe of fascism, and working overtime for changing the domestic political and social setup.

8. The illusion of the slogan of "Aid to England" or as it was previously "Aid to the Allies" as a decisive contribution to the solution of the problem of defeating Nazism must be made clear. As long as England is controlled by the reactionary imperialist bourgeoisie, so long is it impossible to expect from that government a struggle that will liquidate Nazism. Aid to such a government cannot be considered of decisive importance. Much more important is it to effect a change in England and thus make possible a revolutionary conduct of the war. Aid, then, to a workers England should receive the utmost support from American labor, but that, of course, would be sabotaged by a bourgeois government in the United States (for example, the embargo on Loyalist Spain by the Roosevelt Administration). The most important aid American labor can give British labor is to extend support to any and every effort of the latter to develop independent action and to assert itself, and to set an example by following that course of action itself. Aid to the Independent Labor Party of England which emphasizes the orientation of independent action of labor, of struggle against German Nazism and British imperialism, for freeing the colonial peoples and working publicly and more intensively for socialism in England, is aid that really counts.

We must also recognize that aid to a reactionary imperialist that

"democratic" bourgeoisie may turn into its opposite. The French ruling class is using the aid received previously from the U. S. on behalf of its new "colleague"—Hitler Germany. To what solution of the problem of fighting the extension of Nazi power did aid to the then French government lead? In other words, something much more fundamental has to be done to really tackle the problem.

KEEPING AMERICA OUT OF WAR

9. Keeping the U. S. out of the present European war is a decisive criterion for those who would take a progressive stand on the basic problem facing this country today. The line must be drawn, however, between those who talk that slogan but would have steps taken that would quietly, subtly, and gradually draw us closer to that war and those who fight each step that tends to lead on to that consequence. We cannot view each step in the process by itself and statically and say, "See! That did not involve us in war." And that is the fundamental mistake of those who mean seriously the slogan of "All aid short of war" and hope thereby to keep U. S. out of war. They think that many steps can be taken that lead toward the precipice, but at that point, a halt could be made. At that point, however, the runner, gaining momentum with each new step, will not be able to halt himself.

This is demonstrated when we consider how far the U. S. has travelled since the Senate debate last fall on lifting the embargo. A twenty billion dollar military budget and appropriation for the year; conscription and compulsory "national" or military service; the transfer of airplanes, munitions, and destroyers (?) to England; and the proposal of the present Secretary of War to open U. S. ports to British warships and for American battleships to convoy boats to British waters—these are some of the things that have taken place, are about to take place, or are being proposed. What was only hinted at yesterday is being done today, and the process picks up momentum each day. Aiding a belligerent creates an atmosphere in which it becomes more and more difficult to work for keeping the U. S. out of war.

Developing an armament economy coordinated with that of a belligerent as well as upon growing militarization of this country brings about such a fundamental change in this country economically, socially, and politically that the imposition of a totalitarian regime and entrance into war, as well as the growth of interests wedded to such a trend, becomes ever easier and is considered ever more necessary.

SOCIALISM AND THE NEW WORLD

10. Relations to South and Central America. There are two approaches to this question—the imperialist and the democratic socialist. The two cannot be reconciled. U. S. imperialism is utilizing the present situation to further its hegemony in the Americas and on the basis of the slogan of "Defense against the Nazi aggressor, invader, or penetrator" is attempting to win over (1) the people of the U. S., and (2) the people of Latin America to the idea of (a) a super-militarized U. S.; (b) U. S. as the policeman of America; (c) U. S. as the economic boss in the Western Hemisphere. That policy will not win over the peoples of America and, in a certain sense, will play into the hands of Hitler Germany. That policy will make for another Great War after this one—a clash between German and American imperialism, if the former should be victorious in the present war.

The democratic socialist approach would be to emphasize independent labor development in all the American countries, inter-American labor solidarity as a part of international labor solidarity, the development of anti-imperialist sentiment within the U. S., while supporting the moves in the American countries against all foreign domination and aggression (including that of the U. S. and of the fascist countries), calling upon the U. S. government to help the

Independent Committee Appeal

Vote For Norman Thomas!

(We publish below an appeal issued recently by the Independent Committee for Thomas and Krueger.—Editor.)

WE are living in a period of vast social change. A new social order is triumphing in Europe—an order of political and economic totalitarianism.

The United States, already plunging into an armament economy on a wave of war hysteria, can follow that road. Or it can challenge and halt the world-wide drive toward fascism by defeating the social reaction and nationalist intolerance which already threaten our political democracy at home; by democratic planning for human needs, rather than by totalitarian planning for human destruction.

We still have time to make democracy work at home! We cannot do so if we are plunged into war, or if we permit the political leadership of this country to pave the way for an armament economy under the guise of national defense.

Roosevelt Record

The so-called "anti-war" plank adopted by the Democratic Party at its national convention will fool no one who has followed the record of the Roosevelt Administration. Hitler's successes; have made it impracticable for an American army to be landed in Europe at this time. The President is well aware of this and is attempting to appease the "peace vote" by making a virtue of necessity.

Far more serious at the moment is the drive toward an armament economy and the move for national conscription. Having failed to solve our pressing economic problems at home, the Administration seeks to disguise this failure and to divert public attention by hysterical militarization. Already this drive has curtailed relief and social-service appropriations and has threatened wage and hour standards (which are supposed to imperil defense!). These assaults can only succeed in an atmosphere of fear and exaggerated nationalism. The attempt to whip up an artificial "national unity" on this basis means the suspension, perhaps the death, of democracy at home.

Win With Willkie?

The Republican convention made a stirring appeal to the American people on the basis of opposition to Roosevelt's warmongering, but its first contribution to the cause of peace and democracy was the nomination of Wendell Willkie, public-utility director and only outspoken interventionist among the Republican aspirants.

"Americanism, preparedness and peace," the Republican campaign slogan, accents the worst of Roosevelt's war program—the utilization of the national-defense issue to evoke national hysteria and to "put labor in its place." The real slogan of

countries of Latin America strengthen and build up their own economies. Such steps would enable the American peoples to help and defend themselves, would tend to develop a new situation within the U. S. and with that a new and truly fraternal relationship toward a democratic U. S. working toward socialism and the peoples of Latin America. This would make for a much stronger and sounder defense against not only the Nazi menace but also against totalitarian trends within.

11. Labor in the U. S. must appreciate the danger that dominant economic and political forces of this country may move us closer and closer to a totalitarian, military regime here while talking of fighting the totalitarian menace across the seas. Labor must fight the former as it must be ready to fight the latter.

12. The Roosevelt Administration represents a force preparing the U. S. for war and totalitarianism of an American fashion. Labor must be gotten to understand this, to become independent of the "War Deal" and to take its stand to keep the U. S. out of war and totalitarianism, to make democracy work in this country in terms of security and freedom, to make this a country that the people can consider their own and one worth sacrificing their all to defend. Nor should there be any illusion that a Willkie administration would be any different in this fundamental regard.

Progressive labor forces, in order to help bring the above about, must work more intensively for a united and a more independent labor movement. This is all the more important because American labor represents one of the few great labor movements in existence today; one, therefore, that has the added responsibility of inspiring labor forces of other countries into action.

NEEDS OF AMERICAN LABOR MOVEMENT

13. It is incumbent upon the progressive and socialist labor forces of the U. S. to develop a new, sounder, indigenous, and more effective radical and conscious labor movement capable of meeting the complicated problems of the day and of helping to bring about a new, democratic, socialist order. At the same time, there must be a strengthening of the idea of international labor solidarity. American labor should be gotten to understand that in helping such movements as those of the various colonial peoples, the underground movements in the fascist and fascist-controlled countries, the healthy socialist movements represented by such organizations as the Independent Labor Party of England and the P.S.O.P. of France, it is serving at the same time its own cause. The adoption of a correct approach for the problems of the day will prepare American labor for the still more difficult problems of tomorrow, when we may be confronted with a still larger imperialist war, on an intercontinental basis, where American imperialism will be immediately and directly involved as a major contestant in a struggle for dominance over the Americas, the Atlantic and Pacific, and the Far East. A wrong approach today, sacrificing independent action, will be disastrous for the tackling of tomorrow's problems as well. We would do well to learn from the splendid example of the I.L.P. which today is confronted with that problem in a very concrete manner—to carry on the struggle at all times against the enemy at home, and for a new, democratic socialist order, while carrying on the fight against the extension of the power of foreign Nazism and fascism.

the Republican party should be "Back to Normalcy." Its social program is still that of the Harding-Coolidge era.

Real Issue of This Campaign

Unless the present trend toward an armament economy, and the nationalist hysteria which must inevitably accompany it are decisively checked, this may be the last campaign for a long period to be conducted under conditions of relative freedom of speech and assembly.

Even before the outbreak of the war, undemocratic electoral laws had denied to political minorities a right to appear on the ballot in many states. This process will be accelerated and completed during the present world crisis unless the genuinely democratic forces in this country assert themselves politically. This campaign must be used to bind together those men and women who are determined to make democracy—social, economic, political—work in the United States and who are eager to unite with like-minded friends of justice and sanity against the mounting tide of reaction in this country.

Such men and women cannot consistently support either the Democratic or the Republican national candidates. Nor can the appeal of the Communist Party, including its fake "anti-war" program (now in process of revision on word from Moscow) fool any intelligent person.

Real Alternative

We believe that the Socialist Party candidates are the only ones who warrant the support of men and women who know that social justice is the only lasting foundation for political democracy. Their constructive program, their long and consistent opposition to reaction in every form, have won them the respect of thousands outside the socialist ranks.

Norman Thomas and Maynard Krueger will not be elected in November but a million men and women united behind them in this campaign, registering an uncompromising opposition to the tide of reaction, alien-baiting and war hysteria now sweeping the country, will prove a powerful factor in arresting that tide and demonstrating that there is a force in this country which cannot be "panicked" into a surrender of its democratic rights or fooled by glittering generalities.

This is no time for compromising with the "lesser evil" in politics. It is a time to stand up and be counted against all evils, greater and lesser.

You can do this by joining with us in the Independent Committee for Thomas and Krueger. This Committee has been organized by American liberals, progressives and radicals, to support these men. Membership does not involve endorsement of the full socialist program.

You can do your part—before it is too late!

Communists In New "Peace" Movement

"Emergency Mobilization" Toes Party Line

(We publish below a memorandum on the "Emergency Peace Mobilization" issued by the Keep America Out of War Congress. This should be of great interest to all anti-war organizations and workers, who are concerned with building a bona-fide peace movement.—Editor.)

The "Emergency Peace Mobilization" to be held in Chicago on August 31, September 1 and 2, by the "Committee to Defend America by Keeping Out of War" is the newest and apparently the most extensive of Communist party fronts. Its predecessors are: 1) the "Yanks Are NOT Coming" committees started early this year and now abandoned because they were too obvious Communist fronts; 2) the American League for Peace and Democracy (before that the American League Against War and Fascism) which favored a pro-war, collective-security position and was destroyed by the Communists when their line changed to isolationism after the Nazi-Soviet Pact; 3) and various local peace associations under varying titles which have been formed under Communist inspiration since the abandonment of the American League for Peace and Democracy. The mobilization was first proposed through a resolution on June 5 of the American Youth Congress, most successful of all Communist-controlled organizations.

NO BONA-FIDE PEACE ORGANIZATIONS

In judging the origin of an organization, those who are not represented can be as revealing as those who are. The long-recognized, long-established anti-war movement in this country has always centered around such organizations as the Keep America Out of War Congress, the National Council for Prevention of War, the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, World Peaceways, the Fellowship of Reconciliation, the War Resisters League, the Youth Committee Against War. All of these organizations were formed before the outbreak of the present European war. Some of them have been in existence for more than 20 years. Their opposition to war and to American involvement in war is not based on momentary political considerations. None of these organizations and none of their leaders are represented in any way in the "Emergency Peace Mobilization" or the "Committee to Defend America by Keeping Out of War." They are not involved not because they question anyone's right to any point of view, but because this new group has been organized in obedience to the dictates of a new political line and because, if and when the line changes, it will be destroyed (as was the American League) to the great hurt of the anti-war movement.

There are other tell-tale signs. The Daily Worker and other Communist publications are supporting the mobilization to the hilt, while ignoring, as they have in the past, all other anti-war activities. Some non-Communists who first gave their support to the mobilization in good faith are now withdrawing.

Senator Norris Denounces Peace-Time Conscription

"Compulsory military training in time of peace cannot long prevail in a democratic form of government without leading that government into the realm of dictatorship. . . Such legislation (is) untenable unless we are radically to change the future history of our country. If we are to have compulsory military training in time of peace, we shall put ourselves on a level with the dictator nations of the world. . . we will have what we are complaining about in other nations—a dictatorship.

"In my opposition to this legislation, I am not thinking so much of today as I am of tomorrow. The advocates of this bill have started something that means an eternity of militarism, nothing else. It cannot mean anything else.

"The fate that has befallen Holland, Denmark, Czechoslovakia is the reason why, it is indicated, we should pass the pending measure. There may be something in that argument when applied to Europe, but there is absolutely nothing in it when applied here. If we were a small country, with a nation controlled by a dictator next to us, I can understand that we might feel our salvation depended upon arming ourselves to the teeth and training all our people so they would know how to fight if war came. . . A condition such as exists in Europe does not exist on this side of the ocean, and not only that, but there is no danger of such a situation existing here, provided we do what we have already undertaken to do—increase our Army, increase our air force, and increase our standing Army, as we have already provided for. With the great expanse of sea which must be crossed, who thinks for a moment that they (the dictators) could land a single soldier upon American soil, unless they had first destroyed our Navy and our air force? Where are the transports now in all Europe that will bring their men across the ocean? . . . It is foolish to think that such an attempt will be made. . . What is Hitler doing now with 22 miles of water to cross? He cannot get over to England. Where are the transports to carry his troops? I predict that before he takes England many hundreds of thousands of his soldiers will be at the bottom of the sea, even though he should finally succeed in invading England.

We Can Raise Our Standards!

"In order to build up a prosperous Pan-American economy it will be necessary to plan for the exchange within this hemisphere of goods which will increase the standard of living of the Latin-American countries as well as those of the United States and Canada. In this way the markets for all of the American countries will be increased and among themselves they will be largely self-sufficient. . . The problem of these South American surpluses which we do not now absorb is a difficult one, and in the solution of which we must start with the assumption that South American countries will not be satisfied unless their surpluses are sold. . . There may be several possible solutions; included among them will be increased consumption in this hemisphere. . .

"We must arrange for collective bargaining by the countries of the Western Hemisphere in dealing with the totalitarian powers in the field of international trade. If the United States attempted to outbid Europe in a barter arrangement with a single South American country, it would mean we would have to be prepared to reduce the living standards of American labor to that of Europe. By bargaining collectively within the Pan-American economy, we will be able to maintain and raise our standard of living and that of all the American countries. . ."

—From "Total Defense," published by the Committee on Economic Defense, Washington, D. C.

Pegler "Protects Our Wealth"

Sees No Sense In Conscripting—Money

By W. H.

THERE'S one thing about Westbrook Pegler. He's frank. He speaks right out where others, more cautious or perhaps more prudent, prefer to hold their tongues. Thus, some years ago, Mr. Pegler shocked the country by actually justifying a lynching in California. The respectable editors, particularly in the South, were deeply distressed. You simply don't say such things in public, whatever you may think or say off the record. . .

Now Mr. Pegler devotes one of his syndicated columns (August 8, 1940) to a discussion of another touchy problem, and again he speaks right out.

"Men are conscripted," he argues, "to defend the wealth of the country because the life and freedom of the people are based in that wealth. . . So, on reading my hand carefully, I have to bet against the proposition that wealth should be conscripted along with men. If you are going to do that, there is no reason to conscript the men because the country's only reason for doing that is to fight off the very thing that would happen here the minute we decided to conscript wealth."

No one can complain that Mr. Pegler isn't making himself plain and clear. The prime object in war is to protect our wealth. For this, conscription of men is necessary. But if we go ahead and conscript wealth as well as men, Mr. Pegler points out very logically, then we are defeating the very purpose for which the war is fought. In that case, we might as well not fight at all!

Mr. Pegler is hard-boiled. He apparently questions anyone's right to any point of view, but because this new group has been organized in obedience to the dictates of a new political line and because, if and when the line changes, it will be destroyed (as was the American League) to the great hurt of the anti-war movement.

There are other tell-tale signs. The Daily Worker and other Communist publications are supporting the mobilization to the hilt, while ignoring, as they have in the past, all other anti-war activities. Some non-Communists who first gave their support to the mobilization in good faith are now withdrawing.

Isn't that just about what happened in France? There the chief defectors and capitulators were the men of great wealth who, according to American newspapersmen, openly declared that they would "rather see Hitler in Paris than Leon Blum in the Premier's office again." They were the men who, in the apt phrase of the London New Leader, fought Hitler "with many backward glances at their property, at their bank balances"; men "with the idea back of the minds that after all the Nazis were better than the socialists."

In short, Mr. Pegler's little sermon turns out to be an authentic expression of the state of mind of those sections of the propertied class who, should such a situation ever arise, wouldn't see any sense in defending this country against Hitler if effective defense appeared to them to threaten their wealth and privileges. It is a frank and forthright statement too, and there is little excuse for misunderstanding it.

Mr. Pegler rarely misses any opportunity to wave the Star Spangled Banner and proclaim his 100% Americanism. He is particularly exercised over foreign propagandists and totalitarian agents in this country whom he discovers in the most curious places. In his own opinion, no doubt, he is death on "Fifth Columnists." It never seems to occur to him that his whole line of argument on the silliness of the conscription of wealth puts him in the front ranks as the accredited philosopher of the real "Fifth Column" in America.

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VOTE SOCIALIST!

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

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

WHO UNDERMINES DEMOCRACY?

FAITH of the masses in democracy, we are told, is the one impregnable bulwark against the encroachments of totalitarian ideology. But who is it that is undermining and breaking down this faith among the American people? The much-advertised "Fifth Columnists," whoever they may be? Let us see.

The conventions of the two big parties held some weeks ago in Philadelphia and Chicago adopted platforms. In democratic theory, a party platform is the collective expression of the party, adopted by vote of the delegates as the party's solemn pledge to the people of the nation, and binding upon every party spokesman, above all, on the presidential nominee.

Both conventions unanimously approved foreign-policy planks declaring more or less explicitly against American involvement in the war in Europe. They took this action not because the party managers desired it, but in response to the unequivocal demand of the masses of people throughout the country, who looked to the conventions for an iron-clad guarantee against involvement.

Having adopted "isolationist" planks, the conventions went ahead and nominated the most extreme interventionist candidates—Willkie and Roosevelt—whose every public act and every public utterance stood in crass contradiction to the convention pledges. More than that, in accepting the nomination, President Roosevelt distinctly proclaimed that he intended to persist in his interventionist course despite all convention platforms.

A curious sort of political ethics—and an even more curious sort of democracy! But the press has been quick to explain. Party platforms don't mean anything; they are mere "vote-catching devices." "The isolationists are gleeful over the peace plank [of the Democratic platform]," Marquis W. Childs writes in the liberal New York Post, "but their satisfaction will inevitably be short-lived, since platform pledges are hardly remembered after the ink is dry." "Platforms have a life expectancy of about one week," Robert Bendiner breezily tells us in the liberal Nation. And the other commentators chime in. It's all a kind of game, you see!

A pretty dangerous kind of game, gentlemen! A game in which you teach the masses that democratic institutions are a hollow mockery, that the solemn pledges of conventions are just a device to catch their votes—a mere scrap of paper forgotten before the ink is dry!

Not that you have not had considerable success in inculcating your little lesson of political cynicism, gentlemen, for according to a recent Gallup poll, 73% of the citizenry of this country are beginning to see your point that convention pledges aren't worth the paper they're written on. The average American can take a hint as well as the next fellow if it's knocked into him with a sledge hammer.

But, gentlemen, how are you going to answer that cunning totalitarian propagandist the next time he uses this curious episode of convention pledges as the text for a little sermon on the "fraud of democracy"? And even more important, how will his sermon impress the people whom you have taught by word and deed that all this talk of democracy in politics is just that much window-dressing to help political managers corral the vote?

Yes, faith in democracy is being undermined—but by whom?

WHAT are we to think about the appointment of Mr. James Forrestal as one of the selfless six with a passion for anonymity—the \$10,000-a-year assistants of Mr. Roosevelt? . . .

"Mr. Forrestal is youngish, dashing, extremely goodlooking and charming. Until his appointment to the White House secretariat, he was head of Dillon, Read and Company, Wall Street banking firm whose influence is surpassed only by that of Morgan and Kuhn, Loeb. As such, incidentally, his income has been many times the \$10,000 pittance he will now receive. . . .

"On its face, Mr. Forrestal's appointment is the most marked step so far taken towards freezing the New Dealers out. Able as Mr. Forrestal undoubtedly is, it is unbelievable to think that it was his brain alone that recommended him to Mr. Roosevelt. Within the ranks of the S.E.C., Mr. Roosevelt might have had his choice of at least ten men who are sufficiently familiar with the Wall Street deer runs. What Mr. Forrestal has that these S.E.C. employees would have lacked, is long standing personal friendships with topflight bankers. But just how chummy can the New Deal be with Wall Street and still continue to be the New Deal?—T.R.B., in the July 8, 1940 issue of the New Republic.

WAR brings many collateral disasters. Freedom of speech, freedom of the press, suffer. We think we shall be wiser and cooler the next time, if there is one; and we shan't."—From an editorial in the New York Times, August 9, 1929.

ON June 4, when the German drive against France was in full swing, President Roosevelt declared that he saw no reason, vital to national defense, for holding Congress in session except the no doubt "laudable" purpose of making speeches. Less than two months later, Administration spokesmen were hysterically shouting that the very safety of the country demanded the immediate enactment of a system of peace-time military conscription, a most drastic break with American democratic tradition.

Query: Did the President on June 6 feel that conscription was absolutely imperative for the safety of the nation? Obviously not, or else he could not have seen no reason for holding Congress in session. Are we then to assume that he is now trying to force the country to swallow in double-quick time an idea that two months ago had not even occurred to him as a practical necessity? Or what's the answer?

Oxford University Press informs us that Dostoevski wrote in his Diary of a Writer in 1877 the following:

"In any case one thing seems clear: We are necessary to Germany even more than we think. And she needs us not for a momentary political union, but forever. The idea of united Germany is broad and dignified, and peers into the depths of centuries. What will Germany share with us?—its object is all Western humanity. She has ordained for herself the Western world of Europe, and she shall bring it to her own principles in place of the Roman and the Romanic principles, and in the future will become its leader, but to Russia she will leave the East. Thus two great peoples are destined to change the face of this world. . . . One must believe that the friendship of Russia with Germany is not hypocritical, but firm, and it will be strengthened more and more, spreading and growing gradually in the national consciousness of both nations. . . . But whether or not we shall come in time to the aid of Germany, in any case Germany will count on us not as a temporary ally, but as an eternal one."

We wonder if this closes up the famous Duranty explanation of the Moscow trials as based on "the Dostoevski soul."

Britain Must Fight A Revolutionary War

Outstanding British Weekly Scores Government

(We publish below an extremely interesting editorial from the London "New Statesman and Nation" appearing in its issue of Aug. 6, 1940.—Ed.)

UNDER the impact of disaster, the government has been necessarily forced to concentrate its main attention on supply and defense. What was not inevitable was the mood in which this policy has been pursued. Government spokesmen argue that we are fighting for our lives; there is no time to consider long-term plans or to recall the objects for which we are supposed to be fighting. These pleasant luxuries must be put into cold storage until we have overcome the immediate danger. Those who take this view pride themselves on their realism and denounce their critics as shallow idealists. But are they as realistic as they imagine? To see exactly our own and our opponents' objectives is essential for the strategy of the war itself, for war aims determine the character both of our tactics and of our defensive preparations. If the members of the government have not time to rethink their war aims, this means that consciously or unconsciously they accept the strategy of the Chamberlain government and all that it implies. We are to fight for our lives, they say, but really this must mean that we are to fight for the nation-state and the empire which Mr. Chamberlain and his associates were driven to defend. But one thing is clear. Whatever the issue of this war, the social structure of this country and of its empire will not survive. Indeed, the wisest policy for a government determined to defend the status quo would be to follow the French example and to seek to ensure for the industrialists at home and the profiteers of empire abroad that they should retain at least 10% of their profits under Hitler's hegemony. For there is neither strategy nor tactics which will enable us to end this war as we began it, an easy-going, island people, living well off the fruits of empire.

The realists who maintain that our position is too serious for time to be spent on a consideration of war aims are really ostriches of a peculiarly stupid kind. Blinding themselves to the European civil war which underlies this battle of old and new empires, they overlook the only factors which can bring us victory. And they fail to realize that the overthrow of the Nazi rule over Europe—the only victory conceivable—can only be achieved if, while we are "fighting for our lives" we begin to work for certain specific objectives of interest not only to the inhabitants of this island, but to Europe at large. If we are prepared to sacrifice not only our lives, but the privileges of our nation and its dependencies for these objectives, we and the rest of Europe can achieve our freedom; if we are not, it is idle to upbraid the Pétain government for its betrayal. It is stupid to sacrifice the lives and livelihood of millions in order to defend an indefensible position.

REVOLUTION OR DEFEAT

Either we turn this war into a war of European revolution or we shall be defeated. There is no halfway house. Against the brute force of Hitler, no mere material forces or military power will prevail. But against the idea for which Hitler stands—the European peoples more terribly enslaved than they ever were to the forces of capitalism—the revolutionary idea can prevail. That idea, that war aim, can and must become the strategy upon which we base the defense of this island. The use of it as an instrument of war is possible for us now as it never was before. The entry of Mussolini into the war, the collapse of France, the immediate threats to many parts of our empire, all these were defeats so long as the war was fought for the defense of the status quo. They could become positive factors in our favor if we made our aim not the salvation of property and social status and imperial prestige but the emancipation of Europe, from Hitler and his Gauleiters.

With that war aim as our strategy, the defense of this island takes on a new form. Britain becomes the rallying point of revolutionary forces all over Europe and beyond its frontiers; the bridgehead from which the counter-offensive can be launched, not merely by the armed forces of the British nation, but by the European leaders of the people's war. The Nazi offensive against plutocracy is finished; the new German plutocrats stand suddenly on the defensive, guarding their ill-gotten gains against the revolutionary fury of the oppressed peoples. Merely to suggest this offensive strategy is to expose the lamentable failure of two vital departments of state, the Foreign Office and the Home Office, and the lack of imagination displayed by the War Cabinet. Sir John Anderson may be a capable servant; as master, he has followed disastrous counsellors. In yielding to an ignorant clamor he has in the last two months discouraged and embittered those non-British Europeans—he calls them "aliens"—who have taken refuge in our island fortress. British nationals are regarded as people above suspicion unless there is overwhelming evidence; every foreigner, especially if he has the misfortune of having served for years in the anti-Fascist

struggle is suspected. The men from all the countries of Europe, who should and could form today a European legion to defend this island and prepare the revolution, are handled like criminals and interned without even the facilities to read and write. This racialism might have been copied from the Nazis. Hitler trusts some aliens enough to use them in his service and is wise enough to know that good breeding is not a sufficient test of his countrymen's reliability. But Sir John Anderson, instead of setting out to divide the reliable from the suspect elements, whether British or non-British, seems too often to make the passport a test of reliability. By so doing, he creates a cover under which real "Fifth Columnists" can work with impunity. So long as the English big-wig who has hobbled with Hitler is regarded as more reliable than a Spanish republican who has fought him for years, the Home Office will unconsciously play into the hands of the Gestapo.

APPEASEMENT AGAIN

Turn now to the Foreign Office. Under the high-minded gentility of Lord Halifax, the foreign policy of this country has remained a policy of studied drift and painstaking solicitude for our enemies, of cold indifference towards forces which might be on our side. The Churchill-Labor government began its domestic policy with a democratic revolution; its Labor members cannot be unaware that abroad its policy has been neither democratic nor revolutionary. Lord Halifax is so determined not to pain our enemies that he antagonizes potential friends. General Franco, on instructions from Berlin seizer Tangier; Lord Halifax politely concurs, apparently in the belief that the threat to Gibraltar will be diminished because Sir Samuel Hoare is sitting in Madrid making eyes at the Caudillo. The Japanese briskly tell us to connive at the destruction of China. Sir Robert Craige, ever anxious to maintain

the friendliest relations with Tokyo, prevaricates. By so doing, he incurs, the contempt of the Japanese, the indignation of the Chinese and exasperation of the U.S.A. Instead of rallying the forces of freedom both among the French people and in the French troops here in England by a bold denunciation of its servility to the Nazis, Lord Halifax hesitates for days, and so permits the demoralization of French public opinion to take its course. It did not help the cause of French resistance to put in jail those members of the French Foreign Legion who refused to obey the command to surrender.

But, it will be urged, such a foreign policy humiliating, is forced on us by the exigencies of our present situation. The precise opposite is true. It was the shillyshallying and compromises with the force of fascism which prepared the ground for our defeats; and it is shillyshallying and compromise which will prepare the ground for our next defeat if we continue to permit them. The Japanese demand that we should close the Burma road to the supplies of armaments for China. What should we lose by taking the path of honor and saying to Japan: "We have not many forces available to resist, but if you want the Burman road closed you must do it by force?" What can we lose by freely admitting that the present French government is the tool of Hitler and that Franco is the Gauleiter of Spain? The answer is precisely nothing. Diplomatic courtesies will not blunt the knives of the assassins; our object is to create a sword to destroy them. And that is only possible if we boldly state that this island has become the rallying-point of the anti-Nazi revolution, and gladly welcome as comrades-in-arms every man and woman prepared to fight with us in the struggle. We are fighting for our lives, but that is no reason why we should lose our heads. To fight in defense of this island without the strategy which a revolutionary war aim implies is to commit suicide not to fight for our lives.

Fifth Column Is In The Ruling Class

Lesson of Europe Shows Labor No Traitor

By E. D. C.

(E. D. C. is an American journalist who traveled thru a large part of Europe during recent months.—Editor.)

MOST dangerous of all the "columns" of which we are hearing so much may be the editorial column which is more inspired by honest zeal than by specific information. The raw material of the "Fifth Columns" which have done such traitorous work in Europe has almost never been labor leaders, progressives or the peace movement. Instead, practically without exception, the underground organizations helping the Nazis have been compounded of labor's foes in the world of big business, reactionary politicians, or military spokesmen in or out of the armed forces.

Nevertheless, an editorial in a New England newspaper, typical of many, after recalling the effects of treachery in European countries, states: "We must guard against the groups and individuals in our own country who do not believe in private enterprise, and would sacrifice it for some other way of life. It is they who, by word or deed, would fill the role of 'Fifth Columnists' in America."

To persons familiar with the press and activities of the various political groups in Europe during the last nine months, this editorial has a familiar ring that is not comforting. Such persons recognize in it the very battle cry of those political groups which only a short time ago proved to be the real traitors—the political Right and the military. The danger was by no means greatest from the local Nazi parties, but rather from business men of reactionary tendency who saw in the threat of a Nazi invasion a chance to hold down the labor movement.

A case in point is a large and well-known Dutch firm employing more than 20,000 men. Last Autumn, the managers of this company called in their employees in groups of several thousand at a time and told them that, in the event of a German invasion, they must set up no kind of resistance whatsoever, either military or peaceful; that they should, on the contrary cooperate with the Nazis and do everything they could to conduct themselves in such a way that the business would be left intact and relatively independent.

The same firm had just received a large order from one of the British dominions for electrical equipment, with the stipulation that it be manufactured in Holland. Finding itself unable to complete the order in the required time, the firm had had the remainder of the goods made in Germany and sent to Holland, where it was stamped "Manufactured in Holland," and sent on its way.

This is but one case among many. Another was a deal put thru for the Dutch government by a Belgian business man and a German firm in

Holland, whereby Holland was to purchase a large order of German anti-aircraft guns.

From Switzerland comes another example of the fact that the real danger of treachery in Europe has always come from the Right rather than from the Left.

On May 8th, in the Grand Council of Geneva, a socialist deputy, following up an interpellation of the government dated from 1938 regarding the suspicious activities of the German students at the University of Geneva, showed that the councilors of state of Rightist views, had wished at the activities of these students, even after two of them had actually been arrested and jailed for behavior deemed injurious to the safety of the country, and this upon the recommendation of the Chief of the Department of Public Education, M. Lachenal. Strangely enough, M. Lachenal also headed the National Union Party of Geneva, an extremely reactionary group of Genevese businessmen.

Less than a year before, this group had participated in a conference at Montreux attended by none other than the now-famous Quisling of Norway. The corporate state was discussed as well as ways and means of suppressing labor and socialists. In Norway, it was a small group of such men, secretly enamored of the Hitlerian method and scornful of the rights of the working man, which turned the country over to the Germans. Quisling himself, who had never amounted to much in the Norwegian political picture, had relatively little effect in bringing about the final betrayal.

Rather it was a handful of army officers who, by granting leave to thousands of men in the Oslofjord and Trondhjem garrisons on the night of the attack, demonstrated the fact that a few reactionary men strategically placed can nullify the most sincere loyalty of the people.

And the story of the battle of Flanders and the defection at Sedan, with its ensuing dismissal of fifteen top-ranking generals of the French army, remains to be told.

In demanding that we learn the lesson of Europe before it is too late, the writer of the above-quoted editorial would have done well to make sure that he had learned the lesson correctly himself, for by pointing the danger signal exactly away from the spot that proved in Europe to be the source of treachery and toward the Left, he is dangerously misleading his readers.

Greetings from

JOHN ROBERT

New York City . . . July 31, 1940

I. L. P. Presents Workers Program Against Nazism

We publish below the "Workers' Program to Defeat Nazism" as presented by the Independent Labor Party of Great Britain in its paper, The New Leader, August 1, 1940. This program, of extreme significance, was unanimously adopted by the National Council of the I.L.P.

THE I.L.P. regards as a tragedy the recent developments arising from the war and particularly the destruction of the national independence of Denmark, Norway, Holland, Belgium and France, the degradation of their acting governments to the subservient instruments of fascist policy, and the nazification of their social, political and economic life.

In France the ruling class showed itself incapable of resisting Nazism and an important section of it became the accomplices of Nazism, showing that they preferred Fascism to the workers' revolution which they feared.

Unless our own social structure and dominant class are changed, Britain may suffer the same fate.

The British ruling class is proving that it does not trust the common people. The extraordinary series of blunders it has recently made, the threats to the freedom of the Press, the attempt to discourage discussion by the initiation of the Silent Column, the hysterical imprisonment of people for expressions of opinion in private conversation, the proposal to permit One-Man Courts in War Zones to pass death sentences without an opportunity of review, all prove that the fascist attitude of mind is not without representation in the British Government.

This has been accompanied by the wholesale internment of anti-Nazi refugees whose records not only prove their sincerity, but show that they could be valuable allies in the struggle against Nazism; the prohibition of the right to strike and the appointment of arbitrators whose anti-working-class record is notorious; the flooding of key posts of control in Whitehall by industrial magnates and city financiers; and the introduction of a Budget which places the major burden of the cost of the war on the workers and middle class whilst leaving the Trusts freedom to continue profiteering and the Banks power to create paper money and to demand interest from it from the State. Britain is in danger of becoming nazified whilst ostensibly engaged in a conflict with Nazism.

The British ruling class cannot mobilize the moral forces of the world against the tyranny of Nazism whilst it refuses independence to India and the colonial peoples and whilst it exploits Indian, Negro and Arab workers and peasants under slavish conditions.

It cannot expect to arouse the enthusiasm of the British workers whilst social injustice and inequality continue in this country. It cannot expect to persuade the German workers and the workers in the German-occupied territories to rebel against Nazism in order to be again treated harshly under British Capitalism and Imperialism.

The first necessity in order to defeat Nazism is the formation of a workers' socialist government in Britain with the will to establish social equality and to liberate the peoples of the empire.

A Workers' Socialist Government would:

1. Conscript wealth and reorganize the nation's economy from capitalist profit-making to socialist planning, placing the banks, finance, land, industry, transport and all the means of life under common ownership and control.

2. End the contrast of penury and luxury by sharing out the available supplies to all.

3. Establish workers' control within industry and over working conditions.

4. Recognize the equality of all peoples, of whatever race, color or creed, within the Empire, accepting the right of the peoples of India and the colonial territories to independence, and to co-operate with the workers and peasants in achieving their social and economic freedom.

5. Co-operate with the elements in Ireland which are striving to secure the unification of Ireland, withdrawing all British imperialist influences which stand in the way.

The liberated workers of Britain and the colonies (except for that minority who have a profound pacifist belief and who have a right to have their principles respected) could be counted on to defend their freedom to the utmost against Nazi aggression by military means; but their victory over their own exploiting and imperialist class would give them a new means to defeat Nazism. They could appeal to the German people and the peoples in the German-occupied territories over the head of Hitler.

The workers' socialist government of Britain would begin a tremendous socialist peace offensive, an offensive for a peace not acceptable to the Nazis, but which would destroy Nazism at its roots by laying the foundations of a united socialist states of Europe embodying the same principles of equality and freedom as had been applied to Britain and the British Empire.

This Socialist Peace Offensive would be conducted by every avenue open to the Government—through the declaration of Socialist Peace Terms in the international press, by leaflet distribution over Germany and all the occupied territories, and, above all, by the persistent use of the broadcast.

The British Socialist transformation would become known to the peoples under Nazi rule and they would be encouraged to carry through their European Socialist revolution, with the promise of British assistance and with the assurance that the peace which would follow it would bring justice and liberation to all peoples.

Only through Socialism can the full moral, social, economic and military force potentially opposed to Fascism be energized and united, and until Fascism, both internal and external, is destroyed the fate of the people of the world is war or slavery.

The I.L.P. therefore urgently renews its demand for Socialism NOW, in the name of justice, social and national freedom; the defeat of Fascism; and economic efficiency and permanent peace.

The Way To Save Democracy Is To Save It At Home

By ROBERT M. LAFOLLETTE

THE way to save democracy now is to save it here. We cannot preserve democracy at home or abroad by going to war. The only realistic way we can now serve the ultimate cause of democracy in the world is to turn our energies to the creation of a dynamic, expanding economy under our own democratic form of government. We have a responsibility to our nation and this hemisphere which will require our full and undivided energies and resources.

I propose the following foreign and domestic policies based on our vital national interest:

First, stay out of foreign overseas wars, including one to defend the British Isles.

Second, a sound national defense which will protect this nation and defend this hemisphere against all comers. A tax plan which will prevent fat profits being made from such a program.

Third, build an economy not only on this continent but in this hemisphere which will give us the necessary stimulus for prosperity, and utilize the full energies and resources of our people.

Fourth, utilize our idle manpower, productive capacity, and idle capital to restore our natural resource

base, to rehabilitate and conserve our human resources.

Here is a program which will give us a dynamic America and restore that equality of economic opportunity which characterized the development of our own physical frontier. It will give the farmer a decent living and restore farming as a way of life.

It will provide the opportunity to those who work in shop, store, office and factory to earn a decent and secure living, by assuring to every able-bodied American useful and productive employment at a living wage.

This program will assure a national plan to provide generous, adequate and self-respecting security for those who, because of age or other disability, are unable to provide for themselves.

It will end the unpardonable crime of denying opportunity to the nation's most precious asset—its youth.

Here is a program which will give this generation "a rendezvous with destiny" in this hemisphere instead of with death in some other. It will make and keep democracy safe for America!

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