

VOTE SOCIALIST!
NORMAN THOMAS
FOR PRESIDENT

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What Are the Real Issues Confronting Us?

By JAY LOVESTONE

THE greatest and gravest issue before the workers of this country and of all other lands is: What evaluation of and what reaction to fascism shall we have? This is a twofold problem: What do we think about it and what are we going to do about it? However, before examining this problem, let me dispose of some other questions which, though comparatively secondary, are nevertheless of major practical significance.

First, on aid to the Allies. What aid? What Allies? Today, American "moral aid" to England is great and is being given generously. Today, American "material aid" is being given not only profusely, but above all profitably—for cold cash or hard gold—or over-age destroyers in exchange for vital naval and air bases. No credit is being extended to England. Not a thing has the United States given England for nothing. The only ally England has left is Haile Selassie. Therefore, the question is: Shall we be for American aid—along the lines above indicated—to England? No one should hem or haw or even grunt in answering this question. It should be answered by an unmistakable yes or no—without any maybes, perhapses, butts, ifs or even howevers. Without taking back a single syllable or soft-peddling a single note of condemnation of British imperialist traditions, motives, interests or practices in the colonies or in the metropolis, I am for aiding England in its fight to defeat Hitler imperialism. I hold that to refuse the speediest, best and maximum aid to England is at best nothing else but unconscious sabotage of the war effort being made so heroically by the British people against the savage hordes of Nazi imperialism. To be against, or even to be indifferent to, such American assistance to England today is to be against or to be indifferent to the war effort of the British working class fighting a life-and-death battle to preserve their unions and political organizations from total destruction by the Hitler juggernaut.

Look at Germany, France and Norway. Are we unconcerned about what happened to labor organizations in these lands? Of course not! We must be internationalists in deed at least as much as in phrase. If we are vitally concerned over labor movements AFTER their destruction, we surely should be at least as much concerned about them BEFORE their destruction—when we can still do something or at least get something done to prevent instead of merely to lament their being wiped out.

Parenthetically, I might also ask: How can any internationalist socialist in one and the same breath rejoice at successful British resistance to Hitler and applaud the Independent Labor Party for supporting the war effort in England and yet, here in the United States, tacitly or openly oppose aid to England in this same war effort? I might further inquire: How can especially self-proclaimed uncompromisers, in one and the same breath, denounce the Laval, Petains, Weygands and Cagoulerds for refusing to fight the Nazi armies (thus betraying the British people), and also denounce the Bevins, the Morrisons and the Churchills for following the opposite course, for battling the Nazis to a finish? To me it is clear: Those socialists who denounce or refuse to aid British resistance to the Nazi Reich are, IN EFFECT, the not in their conscious effort, helping to repeat and complete the betrayal of humanity's best interests begun in France.

It is high time that all of us discard phrase-padded blinkers. Let us look the situation straight in the face, just as it is. In England, it is the vilest anti-labor forces that don't want to see the resistance to Hitler strengthened but do want to sabotage every war effort; in the United States, it is, to my regret, altogether too often, the revolutionary socialist who is either openly or covertly assisting America helping England score a victory over the Nazi plunderbund. In England, reaction sabotages the war effort "because every step towards victory is seen to be a step towards revolution" (Left, publication of the I.L.P., August 1940); in the United States, too many of the very few genuine radicals shriek or groan against labor's seeking to boost aid to England on the ground that advocacy of such aid and the giving of such assistance to England are a betrayal of all basic working-class interests and principles.

History does play cruel jokes these days—especially on the self-deluded and politically purblind. Here it is necessary to refresh memories. From the very hour that Hitler rose to power, our organization was against selling war materials to the Nazi Reich. We demanded the severest economic sanctions against Nazi imperialism. Would anyone propose today to treat England in the same way as Germany, that is, to refuse to sell Britain war materials? Or would anyone propose that we, today, treat Nazi Germany as England is being treated, that is, to try to sell Germany war supplies? I assume that the answer to both questions is an emphatic NO. I assume that the Nazi conquest of continental Europe, with its resulting destruction of the free labor movement and all democratic rights in half a dozen countries, has not caused anyone in our ranks to propose a change of our policy towards Nazi Germany.

Yes, I not only accept, but I advocate moral and material aid to England. I advocate such aid because it can only help bring about British military success which would undermine Hitler's power and prestige. At this point, let me stress my full agreement with Fenner Brockway when he says: "Such British military success, in so far as it lessened the prestige of Hitler, would assist the final revolution in Germany, but it would not stimulate an across-frontier revolution as would a social uprising in one of the occupied countries" (Left, July 1940). There is just this to be added: There is not the slightest chance of a successful social uprising in Germany, in France or in any other occupied country as long as the victorious Nazi armed power continues intact. Denial of American aid to England would help keep Hitler's power intact and, therefore, would play into the hands of blackest counter-revolution—Nazi imperialism. On the other hand, American aid to England tends to help break Nazi power. Hence, American aid to England tends to help the realization of the first prerequisite

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Education and Democracy

By GEORGE S. COUNTS

(We present below in a series of two articles the most important sections of the brilliant Presidential Address delivered by Dr. George S. Counts at the recent convention of the American Federation of Teachers in Buffalo. Dr. Counts was re-elected president of the A. F. of T.—Editor.)

WE in America, the very symbol of democracy in the modern world, cannot permit ourselves the luxury of comforting optimism. We must realize that the tables have already been turned, that twelve months packed with revolutionary events have passed since last August, that seven very long years have come and gone since Hitler came to power in 1933. We must catch up with history. We must face the fact that, at least for a period, the great hopes that inspired us all but yesterday are gone. Gone is the hope that the Russian Revolution would extend the domain of human freedom on the earth; gone is the hope that the peoples of Europe would reconcile their differences and devote their matchless energies and talents to cultural advance; gone is the hope that the world was one time made safe for democracy. To all who derive their values from the great liberal, humanistic and democratic heritage of western culture, the future is dark and forbidding. The American people must prepare them-



GEORGE S. COUNTS

selves to defend this heritage in a world dominated by totalitarian philosophy and organized by the physical might of a few great military states. In such a world, a nation must be strong or perish.

TWO CRUCIAL QUESTIONS

In meeting this challenge of the dictators, in guarding the spiritual heritage of the western world against the resurgence of calculated barbarism, in building and manning the defenses of American democracy, the teachers of the country, and particularly the American Federation of Teachers, have a heavy and special responsibility. But before we

Japan Joins Axis; U.S. Seen Nearer War

Problems and Issues Behind Split in N. Y. State C.I.O.

Wide Differences on Labor Unity and Stalinist Menace Seen As Real Forces Behind Break Apparently on Roosevelt Issue

By DONALD GRAHAM

THE struggle between the Hillman forces and the Lewis-Stalinist block in the C.I.O. came to a head at the New York State Industrial Council convention held in Rochester, September 20 and 21. The struggle, which had been brewing for many months, resulted at this convention in an open split, with the Hillman forces in control of the machinery of the state C.I.O. The Stalinists, led by Michael Quill and Joe Curran, and a smaller number of non-Stalinist Lewis supporters led by Allan S. Haywood, walked out over the issue of control of the convention. This walkout received the endorsement of John L. Lewis himself, who declared the convention "illegal."

CONVENTION FIREWORKS

Both groups claimed a majority of the 638 delegates who attended the convention. However, in determining the seating of the delegates, the Hillman forces had the distinct advantage of controlling the pre-convention apparatus thru President Gus Strehel of the state C.I.O. and the majority of the credentials committee of the convention. The Hillman leadership claims that it was ready to seat all delegates until Allen, Stalinist member of the credentials committee from the State, County, and Municipal Employees Union, began to challenge some 37 of their delegates on the ground that they represented unions which had become affiliated only since last June.

Realizing that this challenge would give the Stalinist-Lewis combination a majority, the Hillman group then challenged 91 Stalinist delegates of the National Maritime Union, American Newspaper Guild, United Office and Professional Workers Union, and United Federal Workers Union, on the ground that credentials had come in later than the date set by the rules and that a number of unions had not paid sufficient per-capita taxes to be entitled to the number of delegates that came to the convention.

Since the Hillman block, consisting of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, the Textile Workers Union and most of the delegates of the United Retail and Wholesale Employees Union, had approximately 300 delegates, the Stalinist unions about 250 delegates, and the Lewis delegates the remaining balance of power, it is obvious that the actual control of the convention and the selection of the incoming officers and Executive Board depended upon the seating or unseating of the challenged delegates. The fight therefore revolved about

this question. From Thursday night till Saturday afternoon—the convention was scheduled to end Saturday night—the fight continued on the report of the credentials committee amidst a terrific uproar. No business could be transacted. The Stalinist delegations shouted: "Lewis is our leader." "We want John L. Lewis." "We want democracy." They booed Hillman lustily. The Hillman supporters countered with: "We want Roosevelt." They jeered at the Stalinists: "Stalin is our leader," and "Go back to Moscow." The 91 delegates challenged by the majority of the credentials committee were kept out of the hall by a cordon of 40 policemen, and from time to time, the police would be called in to quench a disturbance in the hall or to eject a delegate who refused to obey the chairman's attempt to maintain order.

FAILURE TO REACH AGREEMENT

On several occasions, the convention was adjourned, while a committee of five consisting of Allan Haywood, Quill, Strehel, Hugh Thompson and Louis Hollander, attempted to reach some sort of settlement. No agreement was reached. The Hillmanites claimed that the Stalinists had offered to drop all challenges provided the Hillman forces withdrew their resolutions endorsing President Roosevelt for a third term and denouncing all totalitarians, communist as well as fascist. The Stalinist-Lewis combination denounces this as "a deliberate lie" and claims just the contrary, that a Hillman representative had suggested that all delegates be seated providing that all resolutions, except the one endorsing Roosevelt, be withdrawn. This much is evident: the issues dividing the Hillman faction in the C.I.O. and the Lewis-Stalinist forces are now so many and so sharp, and the need for both forces to dominate the state apparatus in preparation for future battles so great, that any formula for compromise was out of the question. In essence, the issue could only be settled by a decision giving either one side or the other control of the State organization. It was indeed a struggle for state power!

The relationship of delegates at a C.I.O. convention is no real indication of the relationship of actual membership. There are more members in the three unions supporting Hillman than in all the Stalinist international unions in the state put together. The Stalinist unions are inflated by paper membership and paper locals. Most of them are not based on closed shops, as is the Amalgamated. The credentials committee read off delegations from many locals of unions, such as the United Office Workers and the State County and Municipal Employees, with memberships of 25, 45, etc. Single locals of the A.C.W.A. have more members than entire international unions led by the Stalinists.

It should be remembered that the Amalgamated for years helped to create the present situation where the Stalinists can claim large delegations and numerous international unions. It is because of this inflated, mythical membership in the C.I.O. that the Daily Worker can claim a majority of three or four to one against Hillman. This is done by subtracting the real membership of perhaps 150,000 in the Hillman block from the fantastic figure of close to a million members in the entire state C.I.O. What the Daily Worker fails to explain is why the remaining 800,000 had so few delegates at Rochester. By such amazing arithmetic, the anti-Hillman forces had only one delegate for every 2,500 members!

To indicate the technique of raising the temperature of a convention to the explosion point, one should examine the speech which Michael Quill, Stalinist leader of the Transport Workers Union, delivered to the convention just prior to the walkout. Quill accused the convention of being steamrollered under the inspiration of "a Wall Street politician." "This is not a labor convention. This is a political group to support a man who has double-crossed and betrayed the American workers. This is packed convention. . . . You can pass the Roosevelt resolution now. But it will not be worth the paper it is written on Election Day." He declared the convention had been packed by "gentlemen with bulging hip-pockets." When the chairman asked Quill to point out any such gentlemen with

bulging hip-pockets so that they could be removed from the convention hall, Quill was unable to do so. Yet later, Allan Haywood, John L. Lewis's personal representative, declared: "They have packed the convention with a mob of gangsters." Just prior to the vote on the Roosevelt resolution, the delegates

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It's Only a Beginning . . .

THE underlying effects of conscription are going to be slow in appearing . . . An army of continental size is bound to take on more day-to-day importance, to have its influence on politics, to give greatly increased power to the officer class. The first year's experience will draw relatively few youths from college, will scarcely cause a ripple in business. However, the real goal is universal service—the requirement of one or more years of military service from every youth who reaches 21. The present plan is just a start.—United States News, Sept. 27, 1940.

Russia's Role In New Lineup Still Unclear

Shift of War to Near East, Africa Expected With Slow-Down of Nazi Plans

Hitler scored a journalistic sensation of the first order—and a diplomatic triumph of still uncertain proportions—last week when he finally prevailed upon Japan to sign a ten-year political, economic and military treaty with Germany and Italy which definitely brought Tokyo into the Berlin-Rome Axis. The three powers guaranteed one another full assistance in the event that any other nation—undoubtedly referring to the United States—entered the European or Far Eastern conflicts. The pact recognized the dominance of Germany and Italy in the establishment of a "new order" in Europe, and Japan was given recognition as the leader in the establishment of a "new order in

Greater Asia," with a free hand in the British, French and Dutch possessions in that part of the world. Article V set forth specifically that in no way was the individual relationship between any of the contracting parties to Soviet Russia to be affected, but Russia's position in the new Axis alignment was by no means clarified.

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The pact followed by a few hours the action of President Roosevelt in placing an embargo, effective October 16, on the export of all scrap steel and iron except to the western hemisphere and Great Britain. The move was obviously aimed at Japan which obtained over 90% of such vital war materials from the U.S.A. in 1939.

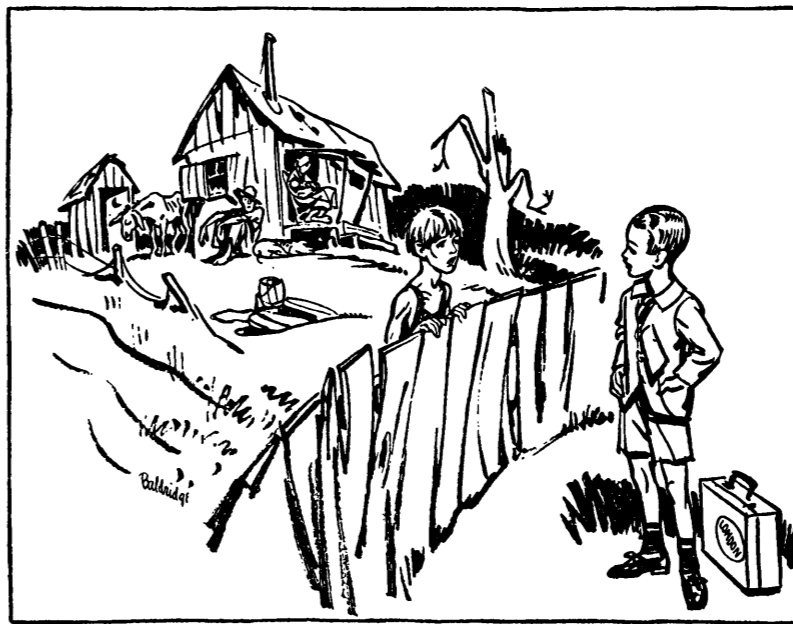
In Washington, a sharp rise in war feeling came with the week's events. In a dispatch published in the New York Daily News of September 28, 1940, John O'Connell wrote: "The mass belief here tonight is that the United States is on a toboggan, hell-bent for war, and that a crisis of war or peace will explode in the nation's face before the Presidential election on November 5. Swift on the heels of the word that Japan had signed a military pact with Germany and Italy, the war atmosphere in Washington became more tense in every branch of the government." However, the official attitude of the United States to the new three-power alliance, as enunciated by Secretary of State Hull, was that it merely confirmed publicly a relationship already long existing in fact.

The official extension of the Berlin-Rome Axis to include Tokyo could mean only one thing, informed observers believed—that Hitler, balked in his attempt to crush Britain before the end of the year, was now revising his strategy in terms of a much longer drawn-out conflict in which the United States might come to play a decisive role in the Far East as well as in Europe. Such a move had probably been included in the strategy originally mapped out when the war started on the possibility that it might be needed, also first the stagnation of the war in the early months and then Germany's lightning victories after April 10 had relegated it to the background. With the new situation, it became of major importance again. Its chief purpose was to act as a deterrent upon further American intervention in Europe and the Far East. It was obviously the latter aspect that appealed to the Japanese, as well as the necessity felt in Tokyo of finding new sources of supplies to offset the American embargo.

Russia's position in the new alignment became more uncertain and precarious, especially since the pact between Berlin and Tokyo seemed to be the very thing that Stalin had hoped to avoid by his alliance with Hitler last year. Informed Nazi sources said that Russia's sphere of influence had been decided upon by the three signatories of the Berlin alliance so that there could be no idea of "encroachment" of one power on the sphere of influence of the others. These sources also stressed that Berlin was taking steps to bring about an "understanding" between Moscow and Tokyo. However that might be, it was clear that Russia was now virtually encircled and that, when and if it

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WHAT'S THE ANSWER?



"I say, old chap, from what war are you a refugee?"
—from Common Sense

Violators of Wagner Act Denied U.S. Contracts

Jackson Opinion Sustains New Policy Voiced by Hillman for Defense Group

Washington, D. C. Concerns violating the Wagner Act are barred from government contracts, Attorney General Jackson ruled in an informal opinion last week. Findings of the National Labor Relations Board will be taken as determining such violations "unless and until these findings are reversed by a court of competent jurisdiction," Mr. Jackson added.

The labor policy of refusing government contracts to companies in violation of the Wagner Act had been announced some time before by the National Defense Advisory Committee thru Sidney Hillman. It was formally adopted by the War and

Navy Departments a few days later. Mr. Jackson's ruling was made public by Mr. Hillman, with the comment that the Defense Commission had asked the Attorney General for a ruling.

A preliminary survey indicated that over fifty important concerns holding government contracts in defense work might be affected by the ruling, among them being such outstanding organizations as the Bethlehem Steel Company, the General Motors Corporation, the Ford Motor Company, the Goodyear Rubber Company, Swift and Company, etc. It was not certain, however, whether the ruling applied to existing as well as to future contracts. At the Defense Commission, it was said that the Justice Department was studying the question.

In 1938, John L. Lewis, Sidney Hillman and other C.I.O. leaders attempted to get Congress to pass a law barring violators of the Wagner Act from government contracts, but their efforts were fruitless. It was then suggested that he same object might be achieved by an administrative ruling. According to reliable reports, John L. Lewis recently conferred with Mr. Roosevelt on this question at the White House and indicated that if the President took action, he (Lewis) would come out with a declaration in support of the third term candidacy.

In commenting on the Jackson ruling, Mr. Lewis declared that it was bound to have a big effect on the C.I.O.'s policy but he refused to make any statements of a political nature.

In Congress, threats were voiced of legislation to void Attorney General Jackson's ruling as a "danger to national defense."

ing and repression, recalling that of 1917 which resulted in a public scandal and a number of resignations from the faculty, as well as his curious definition of academic freedom which turned a free university in a dogma-ridden church, drew fire in many quarters. He was sharply denounced by Bennett Champ Clark on the floor of the Senate as an "old senile reactionary," a "pothouse Republican politician," who was making a "brazen, outrageous, infamous" effort to suppress freedom of thought and of teaching. H. G. Wells, world-famous British author on a visit here, stated publicly that he dissented with Dr. Butler and dissented above all from his idea of academic freedom. Sharp criticism

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Protests Hit Butler Ukase In Columbia

New York City.

Sharp protests from leaders in educational, literary and political circles accumulated last week against the pronouncement of Dr. Nicholas Murray Butler, president of Columbia University, that faculty members who disagreed with what he called the university's "war policy" should resign. Dr. Butler made his statement at a special meeting of the faculty called on his order. He told the assembled faculty members that Columbia had thrown its resources into the national-defense effort and into the war "between beasts and human beings," by which he presumably referred to the conflict in Europe. Academic freedom, he went on, had no meaning whatsoever for students and, as far as the faculty was concerned, it was entirely subordinate to "university freedom, which is the right and obligation of the university itself to pursue its high ideals unhampered and unembarrassed by conduct on the part of any of its members. . . ."

Those who disagreed with the university's position—apparently fixed and determined by Dr. Butler himself—were duty bound to resign, he insisted. This point he stressed by actually comparing the university to a church with its articles of faith, dogmas and discipline. "No reasonable person would insist on remaining a member of a church, for instance," Dr. Butler said, "who spent his time in publicly denying and denouncing its principles and doctrine." Dr. Butler's threat of another jingoistic campaign of heresy-hunt-

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of some 13 international unions, led by the Stalinist Transport Workers Union delegation, left the convention. Some five delegates of the Fur Workers Union, and two delegates of the Schenectady Transport Workers local and some others remained with the unions supporting Hillman. Eleven delegates of the United Automobile Workers Union remained to vote for the pro-Roosevelt resolution and then left to join the other faction.

After adopting the pro-third term resolution, the convention then carried the resolution denouncing all totalitarian regimes, fascist and communist. Gus Strobel was selected president, and John McMahon of the Textile Workers Union was elected secretary-treasurer of the state C.I.O. The constitution was revised, striking out that section requiring a more or less even representation of all international unions on the Executive Board. A board of 17 vice-presidents was then elected.

BASIC ISSUES AND DIFFERENCES

The significance of the convention is that it dramatized the irreconcilability of the Hillman and Lewis-Stalinist forces in the C.I.O. The split in New York State presages a national split, and the inevitability of such a split was discussed freely amongst the delegates in the corridors of the convention. The fundamental issue of division is not, as many think, the endorsement of Roosevelt's candidacy in the coming elections. It is generally known that more or less unwillingly, Lewis himself will come out, just prior to the elections, in support of Roosevelt. Many of the delegates of the John L. Lewis faction at Rochester would have voted for the pro-Roosevelt resolution, as in the case of the U.A. W. delegates who stayed to vote for that resolution. If it were the Roosevelt issue alone, that would result in a diminishing of the acuteness of the inner struggle after Election Day. Moreover, if support of Roosevelt were the basic issue, the antagonism between the Hillman and Lewis elements would not be quite so sharp, and a sharpening division between Lewis and the Stalinists would have already begun. But this is not the case. Lewis is working with the Stalinists even more openly and publicly than ever before.

The most important issue is the one which never came before the convention, but determines the national line-up. It is the following: Hillman is in favor of reunification of the C.I.O. with the A. F. of L. He has worked together closely with the A. F. of L. leadership in the National Defense Advisory Council. He has conciliated the A. F. of L. by giving the building-trades unions of the A. F. of L. sole recognition in the defense industries, to the great rage of John L. Lewis and Danny Lewis, who protested violently against this deliberate blow to the C.I.O. dualist construction union. Hillman has appointed A. F. of L. metal-trades representatives to the National Defense Labor Advisory Board and excluded such Stalinist-led unions as the United Electrical, Electrical and Machine Workers Union. He has ignored protests from Matles and John L. Lewis in which they demanded representation for the U.R.E.M.W.U.

Lewis and the Stalinists have, as their greatest common tie, a profound and thorough hostility to labor unity. Lewis knows that his pretension to domination by the American labor movement will evaporate the moment the C.I.O. reunites the A. F. of L. He will be swamped by three or four to one in a united labor movement. The Stalinists know that in a reunified labor movement, their totalitarian hold on more than a dozen international unions would be broken the moment subsidies and protection and encouragement from above ceased. It is for this reason that Lewis and the Stalinists cling to one another like loving brethren. If the Stalinists were to become fervent advocates of labor unity, John L. Lewis would suddenly find resolutions denouncing fascists, communists, and totalitarians much to his liking. Hillman is unable to support Lewis's anti-unity position today. He is the Administration's labor chief of national defense. For reasons of defense, he must attempt to achieve some sort of relationship of unity and conciliation with the A. F. of L. Without the cooperation of the A. F. of L., Hillman's role as defense commissioner would come to an end in a miserable fiasco. His entire career as a "great labor statesman" is thus at stake. He therefore cannot reconcile himself to the Lewis anti-unity policy.

A second issue dividing Hillman and Lewis is the increasing determination of Hillman to fight the totalitarian Stalinist allies of Lewis in the C.I.O. Thus, on two major issues, Hillman takes a sounder position. But it is necessary to keep in mind that Hillman arrives at his position by reason of the pressure of the Roosevelt Administration and his own position in the nation-wide defense set-up, and not because of deep devotion to principles. For the need of labor unity and of coping with the menace of Stalinism in the trade-union movement were just as urgent for the welfare of American labor three years ago as they are today. Yet, during these three years, Hillman found no difficulty in working hand in hand with Lewis and the Stalinists.

A third issue dividing Hillman

Labor Must Be Represented On Draft, Appeals Boards

NOW that peace-time conscription has become a law, two immediate practical problems confront organized labor. One is the need to build safeguards against the use of the draft to undermine labor's strength thru intimidation and discrimination. The other is to protect the civil rights of workers under the military-service system.

Labor has consistently expressed the fear that the power given to employers under the conscription law can be used to strike at the labor movement. This threat arises under the provision for deferment. In order to apply for deferment of service on the grounds that he is engaged in an essential occupation, a worker must present two affidavits, one signed by his immediate superior and the other signed by the head of the enterprise. Anti-union employers will use this power to intimidate active union workers by declaring them non-essential to the industry and subjecting them to immediate draft.

Labor can offset this threat only by being on the alert in the shops and by having representation on all local draft boards and appeal boards. Unions everywhere should demand that labor be given a voice in the deliberations of these boards. Labor should urge local people who are sympathetic to the problems of workers to volunteer to serve on the boards. Only thru representation can unions prevent widespread discriminations against union workers and the depletion of organized labor's ranks thru the draft.

and Lewis is the subservience of Hillman's attitude to the Roosevelt Administration. Hillman's opponents in the C.I.O. look upon him as "selling cheaply." Hillman makes no demands. He attempts to secure no concessions as the price of support. Anything the President wants receives his blessing. Lewis, on the other hand, is ready to give his support for a price. For example, Lewis is ready to support the national-defense contracts to the firms which have violated the National Labor Relations Act. The Stalinists represent a third tendency on this issue. For Hitler-Stalin reasons, they would give Roosevelt and the national-defense program no support whatsoever, even if defense contracts were refused to the Bethlehem Steel Corporation. Lewis can be won over by the Administration by such concessions, but what do Stalin and Hitler care whether Bethlehem Steel violates the National Labor Relations Act and refuses to deal with Lewis?

In the coming national convention of the C.I.O., which will take place in the middle of November, these issues will come to a head. Hillman will be able to organize around him a block consisting of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, the Textile Workers Union, the United Retail and Wholesale Employees, and the Rubber Workers Union. He will have considerable support among the United Automobile Workers, for the large group of Executive Board members led by Walter Reuther are with Hillman. This explains the sudden appropriation of \$50,000 by John L. Lewis to start a Ford organizing campaign, and the assignment of leading Lewis officials like Smetser and Widman to help organize both Ford workers and workers in aircraft. To the innocent observer, such solidarity is indeed touching. Actually, it is related to the coming struggle for power in the C.I.O., in which control of the U.A.W. will play an important part. History is playing a vengeful joke. It was none other than Hillman who was sent into the auto workers union to swing it against those who favored trade-union unity and were critical of the regime and methods of John L. Lewis. Now that Hillman is in favor of trade-union unity and critical of the Lewis domination of the C.I.O., his supporters in the auto workers union are being treated by Lewis with the same technique that Hillman so successfully employed.

Should Hillman take so large a section of the C.I.O. with him, it would leave Lewis holding the bag with his few large unions and a larger number of Stalinist-dominated international unions. Lewis's dependence on the Stalinists would then become even greater at a time when

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was also voiced by James Marshall, president of the New York Board of Education; Dr. Paul Klapper, president of Queens College; John Haynes Holmes, pastor of the Community Church and chairman of the American Civil Liberties Union; and other outstanding public figures. Particularly impressive was the statement of John Dewey, retired Professor of Philosophy at Columbia and one of those who had protested against the 1917 dismissals. "I can hardly believe," Professor Dewey said, "that Dr. Butler intended to place the university in a realm such that it is above the students and faculty and has the right to control their beliefs in a way in which churches set the creeds to which their members must conform. Such an idea seems to be identical, as far as it goes, with totalitarianism." Professor Dewey was followed by Charles A. Beard, noted historian who resigned from the Columbia faculty in 1917 over questions of academic freedom. Beard declared that the statement he made then fully applied to the present situation created by Dr. Butler's pronouncement.

the dejection of Stalinism among the masses of workers grows from day to day. Instead of using them, as he pretends, he becomes their prisoner. In the early days of the C.I.O., Lewis is said to have passed off criticism of his encouragement of Stalinist infiltration in the C.I.O. by the following contemptuous reference: "A good hunter needs a pack of dogs to catch birds." The answer then given to him was that the hunter had better beware of the dogs on his dogs. Moreover, this particular species of dog has a habit of eating the birds. But things have developed rapidly since then. The pack has grown up, and it is now discovered, perhaps too late, that the hunter has mistaken wolves for hunting dogs. No longer satisfied with merely eating birds, they are getting ready to chew the hunter.

Arnold 'Consent Decree' Plan Puts Labor in Straitjacket

Assistant Attorney General Strives for Control of Unions

By MATTHEW WOLL

(This is one of a series of articles on "Labor and the Anti-Trust Laws" by Matthew Woll, vice-president of the A. F. of L.—Editor.)

OF course, Thurman Arnold is very kind. He says: "I am not opposed to labor. I want to be helpful. Why don't the labor unions come to me when they are in doubt regarding their procedure and I will advise them?" Now the building trades are primarily concerned in this matter because the indictments so far secured are mainly against those in the building and transportation trades, and others are indirectly involved. Hence, the building trades become greatly concerned in this matter and a committee was formed and called to see Mr. Arnold on this subject. As a result of these conferences, he outlined a policy that he would pursue in connection with the enforcement of the laws under consideration.

ARNOLD'S CONSENT DECREE SYSTEM

John P. Coyne, president of the Building Trades and Construction Department of the A. F. of L., presented Mr. Arnold's program and procedure to the operating engineers convention a few weeks ago. Since that time, further conferences have been held and another statement of policy has been issued by Thurman Arnold. Not long ago, this was presented to the convention of the Pennsylvania State Federation of Labor by Mr. Coyne, and in that Mr. Arnold said:

"First, the labor organization may submit to the Department of Justice a full statement of the facts about any activity which it has undertaken or desires to undertake which restrains interstate commerce in a way the union considers reasonable. If the Department finds that such activity violates the law, it will so inform the union which thereafter must act at its peril in the event that it disagrees with the Department's position. If the Department is not in a position to state positively that the practices are illegal at the time the plan is submitted either because of lack of personnel to investigate or for any other reason, and the union decides to go ahead with the proposed activity, any future action on the part of the Department will be thru civil proceedings."

And then he added: "In any such case, a labor organization may propose a decree to the Department with the assurance that, if the proposal appears to be in the public interest, the Department will submit the plan to a court with a recommendation that it be incorporated in the consent decree"; and further: "When the Department has secured or is in the process of seeking of the anti-trust law, the criminal proceeding may sometimes be dropped and replaced by a satisfactory consent decree. In these cases, however,

Farmer's Share of Food Dollar Falls

Middlemen Take Increasing Percentage

THE farmer's share of the consumer's food dollar is lower today, the Farm Research Cooperative reported in Washington recently, than before the first World War and is in fact lower than at any time with the exception of the period 1931-34.

In June 1940, the latest date for which the U. S. Department of Agriculture series is available, the farmer's share of the worker's food dollar, figured on the basis of a food budget comprising 58 representative items, was lower than in any recent year since 1934:

1913	53c
1935	42c
1936	44c
1937	45c
1938	40c
1939	41c
1940 (June)	39c

This increase in the share of the worker's food dollar going to middlemen and processors is especially significant in connection with the problem of how farm income can be effectively increased.

In recent years, even when cash income from farm marketings has increased slightly, the farmer's share of the consumer's food dollar has continued its downward trend. And the ratio of prices received by farmers to prices paid by them, that is, the buying power of the farm dollar, has declined:

1910-14	100
1935	86

Washington, D. C. 1936 93
1937 92
1938 78
1939 77
1940 (June) 77

To take certain food articles, the farmer's share of the consumer's pork dollar, in June 1940, was down to 51%, as compared with 59% in 1935, and 67% in 1937.

Forty-one percent of the dairy dollar went to farmers in June 1940, as compared with 45% in 1935, and 48% in 1937.

Only 53% of the egg dollar went to farmers in June 1940, tho they received 66% in 1935 and 59% in 1937.

The farmer got only 36% of the white-flour dollar in June 1940, as compared with 39% in 1935, and 52% in 1937.

Only 14% of white-bread expenditures went to farmers in June 1940, as compared with 17% in 1935 and 20% in 1937.

Farmers got 47% of the navy bean dollar in June 1940, as compared with 55% in 1935, and 51% in 1937.

Fifty-seven percent of expenditures for white potatoes got to the farmers in June 1940, as compared with 42% in 1935 and 54% in 1937.

The year 1937 stands out in most of these comparisons as having afforded the farmer the largest share of the consumer's food dollar in recent times. The income of workmen in industry also reached its post-depression peak in this same year. The buying power of the farm dollar had also reached its recent high.

Labor Vote for Roosevelt Shows Some Decline

New York City

THERE has been a sharp drop in President's Roosevelt's support among organized labor but he is still the choice of a considerable majority of trade unionists, a nation-wide poll by the American Institute of Public Opinion shows, according to Dr. George Gallup, its director.

"The poll reached a cross-section of labor-union groups and put this question," Dr. Gallup writes: "If the Presidential election were held today, would you vote for Roosevelt or Willkie?"

"Each voter was also asked how he voted in 1936. A comparison follows:

LABOR UNION MEMBERS	
1936	
For Roosevelt	80%
For Landon	20%
Today	
For Roosevelt	64%
For Willkie	36%

"Approximately one in every eight (12%) said he was undecided at this time.

"The greatest defection from the New Deal has come in the ranks of the A. F. of L., the poll indicates. Altho John L. Lewis of the C.I.O. has been critical of the Administration and opposed a third term, the C.I.O. members reached in the survey were more for Roosevelt than the A. F. of L. members.

Roosevelt, Willkie
A.F.L. members 62% 38%
C.I.O. members 75% 25%

"A comparison with the 1936 vote shows an 18-point drop in Roosevelt's strength among A. F. of L. members included in the poll and a drop of 10 points among C.I.O. members.

"A recent institute study of political sentiment by income groups indicates that whereas Willkie leads Roosevelt by a large margin in the upper-income level, he trails behind in the lower level."

Japs Join Axis; U.S. Seen Moving Nearer to War

(Continued from page 1)

came into conflict with Hitler, it would have a war on both fronts on its hands. Comment in the controlled Russian press was ambiguous. Russia had been advised in advance of the pact, it was said, but the alliance "doubtlessly means further aggravation and expansion of the war." On the other side, the controlled German press printed warnings that the United States and Russia would now have to decide whether they were on the side of Britain or of the "new world order."

The Battle of Britain continued as furiously as ever, but by last week it was already clear that the Germans had lost hope of a quick victory and were prepared for a Winter's siege. "General Hunger" will march on England," a spokesman for the German High Command economic section told the press. The Nazi air force had three objectives, it was stressed in Berlin: to keep London from "catching its breath," to interfere with war production, and to blockade imports. Intensified "total war" during the next few weeks, as well as a widening of the conflict area, were predicted after an emergency conference between Hitler and Mussolini at the Brenner Pass towards the end of the week. But there was little reason to believe that the Axis powers would have any better success with their new plans than they had been having in their air attacks on Britain.

In Britain, the long-expected shake-up of the cabinet took place, resulting in the retirement of Neville Chamberlain, the symbol of Munich. At the same time, Prime Minister Churchill enlarged his inner cabinet to include Laborite Ernest Bevin and Sir Kingsley Wood. Mr. Bevin's admittance to the inner group gave Labor three of its eight members, the two others being Clement Atlee and Herbert Morrison, the latter of whom became Home Secretary.

There were unmistakable signs during the week that the Nazis, frustrated in the assault on Britain, were shifting their attention to Africa, the Mediterranean and the Near East.

Unions Must Be Alert to Draft Perils

By ARTHUR G. McDOWELL

(Arthur G. McDowell is secretary of the Labor League for Thomas and Krueger—Editor.)

THE reality of peace-time military conscription in America has raised for organized labor new problems to solve. More than any other act, conscription means a revolutionary change in our jobs and our lives. Organized labor, almost to a man, opposed the enactment of military servitude, now that the bill has become law, what can the trade unions do, how can the organized working men of America best protect themselves against its consequences?

Despite any sugar-coating, conscription is essentially an anti-labor edict; the fact that it was sponsored in Congress by two such notorious labor-haters as Senator Burke and Congressman Wadsworth is evidence enough. Conscription gives to the anti-union employer a weapon far more powerful than the use of company unions or labor spies—because, today, if the employer merely wishes to get rid of an active unionist in his plant, all he has to do is refuse to grant any worker under 36 years of age a certificate that he is "essential to industry"—and off goes the unionist into the army! On the other hand, the petty straw-boss and the anti-union worker are safe—they'll keep on working at their jobs.

There is only one answer to this kind of discrimination—a militant determination on the part of the unions not to tolerate it, to force the employer to grant certificates honestly and fairly. Bargaining committees in the shops will have to set up special committees to meet with the employer or the management and exercise at least equal voice in the certification of those necessary to industrial production. Experienced bargaining committees in a plant are as essential to smooth production as are technically skilled men and are frequently harder to train. The first line of defense of unionism against emasculation by conscription will be in the shops where the body of shop stewards, bargaining committees and experienced secondary union leadership must be prevented from being dispersed and lost. The slogan of anti-union employers will be: "Pick off the officers first!" Union power in the shop must be extended and defended to prevent this.

One of the chief dangers of conscription is its use to break strikes and smash unionism. The history of conscription in France illustrates how this can be done. During any important strike, every striker (who after his period of training is automatically in the U. S. Army Reserve) is immediately ordered into service and, under threat of court-martial, forced to seek directly or indirectly on his fellow workers.

Organized labor's chief job is to urge the immediate repeal of conscription. The first step in this direction will be taken at the polls in November when thousands of workers will vote the socialist ticket—for Norman Thomas and Maynard C. Krueger, the only candidates who have consistently opposed peace-time conscription. Both President Roosevelt and Mr. Willkie demanded the passage of the draft against the expressed wishes of organized labor, as well as the churches and millions of other Americans. Only Norman Thomas led organized labor's fight against conscription on the political field.

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St. Louis Firm on "Unfair" List

THE St. Louis Labor Advocate, one of the most vigorous labor papers in the country, asks us to publicize the fact that Electrical Workers Local No. 1 of that city is waging a stiff battle against a notorious anti-union concern, the Edwin F. Guth Electrical Company of St. Louis, which sells electrical fixtures on a national scale.

Local No. 1 is naturally anxious to make its struggle known to the labor unionists and sympathizers throughout the country so that the above-named concern may be known as unfair to organized labor.

Well call this fact to the attention of our readers. In coming issues of this paper, we will report the situation at greater length.

See WOODSTOCK TYPEWRITER

Another View on Destroyer Transfer Controversy

Says FDR Move Was No Danger to Peace of America

By B. HERMAN

NO less than three out of four editorials and a total of five items in the September 14th issue of the Age treat with disapproval the trade of fifty American destroyers for British naval bases. I feel that it is necessary to present a contrary view. For in its discussion of the question, the Workers Age has failed to mention the most essential aspects of the transfer:

1. That both the U.S.A. and England gained by the deal. In actuality, the U.S.A. gained more, because it received in return what under normal circumstances could not be acquired for the cost of a thousand destroyers, old or new—the turning over in actual fact and reality of every British foothold in the western hemisphere.

2. That Great Britain was in desperate need of the destroyers in order to help beat back an invasion by Hitler which is regarded by everybody as imminent. Moreover, Churchill had publicly requested the transfer, and Roosevelt could not dare to face the coming election in November with the record of having turned the British down cold. It is a lot easier for Norman Thomas to go into an election in November (possibly in the midst of a Nazi invasion of England) after having "democratically" opposed the wishes of two thirds of the American people on the question. Roosevelt can't afford such diatribe luxuries, at least not at this moment. But the threatened Nazi invasion, and the desperate plight of England in the face of it, constitute the crux of the question. If we share the "universal hope" that the British will repel the Nazi invasion, then I can see no valid reason for being unsympathetic to the aid given to Great Britain in this instance.

There is not even the argument of the setting of dangerous precedents, for as Attorney General Jackson has shown in the statement on the legality of the transfer, there are precedents for the transfer of warships during time of war as well as for the method by which the transfer was effected. I don't doubt that a clever lawyer could make a pretty good case for the opposite point of view to that of Jackson. That, however, only proves that by abstract technical-legal discussion you get

nowhere. For, disregarding all of Jackson's legal precedents, the fact is that there is no precedent for the menace of Hitlerism to the freedom of all the peoples of the earth and to the entire world labor movement. It is therefore impossible to discuss the destroyer transfer without relation to the vast magnitude of that menace. I do not favor any action that would help Hitler, no matter how objectively or indirectly. I therefore cannot oppose the destroyer transfer which I regard as harmful to Hitler, helpful to England, beneficial to the U.S.A., and at the same time, definitely not an act involving the U.S. in war.

The major objection to the transfer of the destroyers is that it is a step leading to war, that it is, as the Workers Age says editorially, "dangerous to the peace and security of the American people". Or as Norman Thomas is reported by the New York Sun to have said: "We should give Hitler no pretext for declaring war on us." But who is it that menaces the "peace and security of the American people"? Obviously, it is Hitler, and especially should he be victorious over Great Britain. Wherein then does the transferring of fifty destroyers to England (and on a very profitable basis to the U.S.A., mind you!) in order to fight Hitler, menace the peace and security of America? As far as I can see, it menaces Hitler's security—which is a good thing.

The proponents of the theory that the destroyer deal is a step leading to war argue in this fashion: "What if fifty aged destroyers are not enough? Then fifty new ones will have to be sent, then battleships, artillery, and then the U.S. army." The trouble with this argument is that it regards the sending of fifty destroyers to Britain as if it were some kind of dangerous habit one can get into, like drinking gin; one drink leads to another, and then another, until finally the poor victim is lying under the table. Actually, there is no great danger that Roosevelt is going to turn over the American fleet as a gift. Transferring destroyers by the fifties and the hundreds doesn't develop into a habit like drinking, prevarication and stepping over lines on a pavement. The danger of the U.S.A. getting into the war does not arise because

of a process of such gradual steps. It is entirely conceivable that the U.S.A. could refrain from any aid to Britain whatsoever, even embargo England, and remain as scrupulously neutral as Norway, Holland and Denmark—and then awake one fine morning to find itself involved in war with Hitler, because Hitler had become ready for it. What is overlooked entirely is that it requires at least two to make a war. You can defeat at home all those who are for American involvement in war, but you have not thereby solved even half the problem.

A much better argument can be made that transferring the destroyers helps in considerable measure to keep us out of war, and for two reasons. First, since the danger of war increases should Hitler succeed in the invasion of England, therefore it follows that if Britain should be able to defeat, or at least cripple Hitler, and if the acquisition of fifty destroyers (which almost doubles the fleet of British destroyers around England) helps in some measure to accomplish that purpose, then to that degree is the danger of American involvement lessened. What would happen if Hitler succeeded in invading England? Even the most earnest advocate of keeping America out of war would not countenance the turning over of the British fleet to Hitler. They would call that "defeatism", and make comparisons with the debacle of the French. Then where would the British fleet go? Obviously, to Canada. Thus, the zone of war would be shifted to this continent. If that is the case, the danger of American involvement increases many times over with a victory of Hitler. Thus, every act of assistance to England to stave off a Nazi invasion is not just another step leading us to war, but up to a certain point, prevents the shifting of the war to American waters. He who does not see that has not given much thought to the consequences of a defeat for England in the battle now going on.

The second aspect of the question is as follows: The acquiring of a ring of naval bases running from Newfoundland to British Guiana makes more difficult any attempt at invasion of the U.S.A. To that extent, the transaction makes the

(Continued on Page 4)

No War Alliances! Defend America in America!

THE biggest fact in American foreign policy today is the Anglo-American alliance, which the Administration no longer takes the trouble to hide or deny. And it is the most ominous and sinister fact as well.

We all sympathize deeply with the British people in their hour of peril and admire their courage and tenacity in the face of incalculable danger. We all fervently hope they will emerge victorious in their death struggle with Hitler Germany and we would like to do what we can to help them, also some of us may want to go further in this respect than the rest of us think quite prudent or advisable. However, all that has nothing to do with the idea of an Anglo-American alliance—or as some put it more hopefully, Anglo-American union. In our opinion, an Anglo-American alliance, and all the more so an Anglo-American union, run directly counter to the best interests of the American people. From a different angle, it also runs counter to the interests of the masses of the British people.

Most immediately, of course, an Anglo-American alliance throws wide open the fatal road to war. Various types of aid to Britain may or may not speed American involvement in war: that is subject to debate and discussion. But it seems to us that no one who is at all aware of the realities of the situation can blink the fact that an alliance with a belligerent during the war itself makes ultimate involvement inescapable. From this angle, the "aid-short-of-war" policy of the Administration appears in another light: its intent and significance lie not so much in the actual aid extended to Britain as in its effect in building up step by step a war alliance between the two countries.

An Anglo-American alliance means not only war now, but continuous involvement in the tangle of European power-politics and wars of the future. For, however this war may end, one thing is fairly certain: it will not bring to an end the interminable clash of ambitions and rivalries in Europe. An Anglo-American alliance would thrust the United States right into the very heart of this jungle of imperialistic power-politics. Every European issue would become an American issue; every European conflict, an American war. Do the American people relish this prospect?

An Anglo-American alliance would greatly weaken our defensive position. With proper defenses, we are impregnable in this hemisphere. But once we undertake far-flung commitments overseas, in Europe, Asia or Africa, once we extend our lines of defense beyond this hemisphere, we are in a precarious position, as every responsible military authority will testify. The Philippines have long been regarded as the Achilles heel of American defense. How much more disastrous would it be for us to take over joint responsibility for, with joint use of, British bases in Singapore and South Africa!

Fundamentally, American vital interests—the interests, that is, of the great mass of the American people, not of selfish, profit-seeking imperialist groups—are not located primarily in Europe, Asia or Africa, where British Empire interests are very largely to be found; our interests are centered in this hemisphere. Our great mission is to keep out of the rivalries and conflicts of the Old World and build a self-sustaining economy of plenty, welfare and security in the New. The closer we link our interests with those of the British Empire, as we have done, for example, in virtually underwriting continued British domination of its colonial possessions in the Caribbean and off South America, the more are we bound to alienate the Latin American nations, who rightfully look forward to the end of Old World influence in this hemisphere. And it is upon close union and cooperation with the Latin American nations that so much of our security depends.

As for the British angle in this Anglo-American alliance, we refer our readers to the leading article in the London New Leader, official publication of the British Independent Labor Party, reprinted in the last issue of this paper. The New Leader points out with great force and justice that an Anglo-American alliance at this time would have the inevitable effect of throwing the reactionary influence of American imperialism into the scales of British war policy and thus frustrate every hope of Britain embarking on a revolutionary course at home and on the continent in order to defeat Hitler. We are not interested in having America play any such role.

While there is still time, the American people must make its voice heard: No Anglo-American union or alliance! Defend America in America, in this hemisphere!

Some Remarks on the Aid-to-Britain Issue

Conflicting Factors Must Be Reconciled

By WILL HERBERG

THE article by B. Herman in this issue of the Age and Peter Ross's article in the last issue raise problems that seem to me to deserve extensive discussion, particularly in view of the fact that some of the answers they give to these questions strike me as being quite wrong. As I see it, these questions are:

1. Do we favor aid to Britain? If so, in what way and to what degree?
2. What is our estimate of President Roosevelt's main line of policy, in foreign affairs and in those branches of domestic policy that, like defense, are closely linked up with foreign affairs?
3. What is the direction from which the main danger of involvement in war comes at the present time? And the main danger to freedom and democracy in this country?

I want to answer these questions briefly but clearly, and in this way present my views on some of the issues now under discussion.

NOT A SIMPLE PROBLEM

The problem of aid to Britain is by no means a simple one, by no means one that can be answered with a simple affirmative or negative. As I see it, our attitude on aid to Britain is governed by two principles, to some extent contradictory and certainly on occasion pointing in different directions. These are:

1. We want Britain to be aided against Hitler. We realize it makes an immense difference who wins—not only to the British masses but to us as well, although, of course, by no means to the same degree or in the same way.
2. We want to keep America out of the war in Europe (or an extension of it in Asia). We believe that, under present circumstances, involvement in foreign war would be the worst possible disaster that could befall the American people. Hence, every step taken or policy followed by the American government must be tested from the point of view of keeping America out of foreign war as the paramount and overriding consideration.

Where, then, does this leave us? Insofar as the problem can be precisely formulated, it means that we should approve those forms of aid to Britain that involve relatively little danger of war for us and reject those which, no matter how useful to Britain, do involve relatively serious danger of war. I know that this formula sounds vague, inconclusive, "pragmatic", and will not be satisfying to those who crave absolute answers. But I submit that absolute answers are impossible in the nature of the case, or possible only to those who take one of two extreme positions: that no aid whatsoever, of any sort, should be given to Britain, or that all aid whatsoever, even that bringing with it imminent danger of involvement in war or even war itself, should be extended.

TWO IMPOSSIBLE POSITIONS

No one I know of takes the first position. No one proposes that all aid to Britain should be peremptorily cut off. For example, no one proposes that the right of Britain to purchase munitions, planes and other war materials in America for cash should be cancelled by the imposition of an embargo on British purchases. Britain's right to buy such supplies in this country is aid of the most vital sort, and conceivably brings with it some danger of war involvement for the United States, both directly and in opening the way to further moves. But I have yet to hear of any one (outside of Stalinites and Nazi sympathizers) who proposes to clamp down an embargo on Britain.

As to the second position—aid to Britain no matter what the consequences for us—only those who are ready to urge war "if necessary" can possibly take it. To my knowledge, no one has taken such a position in this discussion.

So, whether you like it or not, you simply have to balance considerations of safety and expediency in passing judgment on any concrete proposal of aid to Britain. There is no other realistic way.

Now, as I have shown, there are some forms of aid to Britain that no one opposes, because the danger of war involved in them is relatively secondary. On the other hand, there are some forms of aid that

would obviously and manifestly mean inviting war. Such a one would be—I take the example offered by B. Herman in his article—throwing open American ports to British warships. There are other examples that any one could give, but the point is clear enough. The problem is to find a more or less safe middle course. I know how distasteful such a formulation must be to certain people, but I can't help it. It's a formulation they must accept unless they are ready either (1) to clamp down an absolute embargo on Britain and bar it from any purchases in this country, or alternatively (2) to have America get into the European war if necessary to save Britain from Hitler. These are the absolutes; everything else is a middle course.

Peter Ross is therefore wrong, in my opinion, when he says in his article: "Those who fear that aid to England will lead to war should categorically refuse to support any and all steps that may discriminate against one of the belligerents. . . Those who fear that aid to England may lead to war with Germany should campaign for strict neutrality and equal treatment of both belligerents." Despite surface appearances, there is no logic in this statement. Some forms of aid to Britain involve only a minimum danger of war, others an immediate and present danger. Does Peter Ross really mean that all forms of aid are EQUALLY dangerous, and that if you approve one you must necessarily approve all?

ONE WAY OF GETTING INTO THE WAR

Ross tends to take this strange position because he thinks that the only way measures of aid to Britain may lead to war is by provoking Germany to declare war on us. And since, as he points out quite correctly, a German declaration of war is extremely improbable under present circumstances, and would in any case be determined not by the legality of certain acts but by the relation of forces, he concludes that the American government can do anything and get away with it. But he is gravely mistaken in his notion of how war may come to this country. I will illustrate with an example.

Suppose the "carry" provision of the present neutrality law is repealed in an effort to aid Britain. Then it will be legal for American ships with American crews to carry munitions and other war materials to Britain. Even if the neutrality law were so amended, Germany would not declare war on the United States. That is true. But consider what would happen. American ships carrying British supplies would certainly be torpedoed by German submarines, and American lives would be lost in increasing numbers. What effect that would have on public opinion at home is not hard to foretell because we already have the experience of the two years that led to our entry into the first World War in 1917. Public opinion would be violently inflamed; the war fever would mount to the point of explosion. The United States would be driven into the war not by a German declaration, but by popular demand right here in America—if the Administration would need any such demand to encourage it. So you see there are more ways than one of sliding down the steep descent to hell, and these are the ways we must guard against.

A DECISIVE QUESTION

In the same connection, I would like to ask Peter Ross and those who share his view that either you support none of aid to Britain or you support none, the following question: "Are you for repealing the 'carry' provision of the present neutrality law in order to aid Britain? If you are not, then there are some forms of aid to Britain of which you do not approve. If you are, then do you think that with the 'carry' clause repealed aid American ships permitted to carry British munitions thru waters infested with German submarines, the United States could long keep out of war? Or do you regard keeping out of war as merely a secondary consideration to aiding Britain?"

The other problems referred to in the early paragraphs I will discuss in another article.

Education, Democracy In the Social Crisis

Only Positive Dynamic Can Meet Fascism

(Continued from page 1)

of a society of free men. Moreover, if any one thinks for a moment that the American people, American labor, or American teachers, in the light of recent developments in the world, will accept the leadership of any organization that equivocates on this issue, he is unfamiliar with the elements of social psychology and the mind of his own countrymen. Also, if anyone thinks that he can play a game of hide-and-seek on this issue, pursuing the course of secrecy, anonymity, evasion and conspiracy, he is only deceiving himself and betraying the labor movement.

NEED OF DEMOCRATIC DYNAMIC

But our central task is neither to build the military defenses of the nation nor to belabor the dictators. We know that the disasters which have befallen the democracies of Europe can by no means be attributed entirely or even largely to the designs of evil men. We know that the peoples of these democracies weighed the professed leaders and programs of democracy and found them wanting. We know further that, if American democracy has no adequate positive program to offer, if it holds out no great promise of a better world, if it allows itself to become the symbol of special privilege, if it is unable to put the unemployed to work and release the productive energies of our country, it cannot meet successfully the totalitarian threat. Each of the dictatorships expresses, defends and advances social faiths which, however hideous to us, in the eyes of its followers is a great and challenging faith. It may be faith in the charisma of divine mission of some supposed superman, whether he goes by the name of Il Duce, Der Fuehrer or Veliki Vozhd; or it may be faith in some body of mystical doctrine organized about the proletariat, ancient Rome or Homo Teutonius. Each presents to its devotees a great hope, a great cause, a great destiny. Each promises, not quiet and comfort, but, in the manner and spirit of the great leaders of men from the beginning of time, sacrifice, hardship and even death. The dictators have held out to the youth of their lands the challenge of the conquest of continents, of the building of new heavens and new earths. And they have done this at a period in history when continents can be conquered and when new heavens and new earths are possible—indeed when they are inevitable.

In the face of this challenge, what has democracy offered youth? In some cases, the dole or a job prof-

fered in the spirit of the dole, a bit of charity grudgingly given and carrying the stigma of incompetence and failure, a gesture calculated to generate a sense of inferiority and bitter frustration. In other cases, we have counseled the youth to be patient, to wait for the return of better times, to watch the years, their years, slip by in futility and helplessness. Little wonder that some of our most sensitive and idealistic young men and women, either deprived of their own birthright or moved by the deprivations of others, have joined the totalitarian camps. And they have done this, not because of any deep-seated hostility to the values of democracy, but because they felt that apologists of democracy had failed them. Indeed, many are so deeply committed to democracy that they have followed the dictators because they nourish the delusion that in some curious way they were battling in the cause of human liberation.

The nature of the democratic failure, however, has been widely misunderstood. Some of the critics are fond of chiding youth for their "softness," for their inability to "take it," as did their forebears who fought and died in the cause of liberty and who explored and conquered a continent. American youth no less than their fathers and mothers or their brothers and sisters in the totalitarian states, are capable of taking punishment, of toiling long and hard, of postponing marriage and children, of giving themselves completely. Democracy has faltered, not because it has deprived youth of the things of the flesh, but because it has denied them the things of the spirit. Many of the youth of today, besides being materially insecure, are spiritually restless and starved. These young people crave the one thing the dictators have offered in abundance—the opportunity to toil and sacrifice for a cause—the opportunity to make their lives significant.

ARMIES ARE NOT ENOUGH!

The defense of our democracy may require powerful armies and navies but armies and navies are not enough. If our democracy is to save itself, it must do far more than appropriate billions of dollars for arms, build tanks, airplanes, and battleships, master the correlated military skills and knowledges. It must remove all sense of bitterness, cynicism and frustration from the hearts of youth and arouse hope, conviction and enthusiasm. It must assert itself as a positive and aggressive social faith, prepared to battle with every form of totalitarianism for the loyalties of men.

I.W.F. Honors Trotsky, Calls For Fight on Stalinism

(We publish below a declaration issued jointly by the International Workers Front Against War and the International Revolutionary Marxist Center on the occasion of the assassination of Leon Trotsky by an agent of the Russian G.P.U.—Editor.)

THE socialist organizations adhering to the International Workers Front Against War and the International Revolutionary Marxist Center bow before the memory of the great Leon Trotsky, victim of cowardly assassination by the Stalinist G.P.U.

It remains for those whose political conceptions were so sharply criticized by the former leader of the Russian Revolution to emphasize the imperishable character of the departed revolutionist: his indomitable energy, his unwavering intransigence, his unshakable confidence in the final victory of the proletariat. Those who were in disagreement with Leon Trotsky and his organization will nevertheless never be able to forget the magnificent example of his readiness for struggle, of the depth and breadth of his theoretical work, of his extraordinary contribution as a Marxist writer to the working-class movement as a whole. Even his errors played a progressive role, for they forced the revolutionary vanguard to rid itself of certain inevitable methodological by-products of the first wave of imperialism and revolution which shook the old capitalist world. The revolutionary socialist organizations which, within the labor movement, opposed Trotskyism, have been unanimous in their denunciation of the crimes of his assassin. The murder of Lenin's colleague is but a new episode in the series of terrible sacrifices that must be considered as the manifestation of a virulent gangrene: Stalin and Stalinism have introduced into the labor movement immorality, duplicity, and the technique of destruction of the type known only to the most barbarous epochs and the most savage societies in history.

The fascist butchers who are trampling over Europe need not be envied by the Moscow butcher. Every oppositional tendency is struck down by the daggers of his bandits or the revolvers of his police—we mention the anarchist, Berneri; the socialist Marc Reim; the Marxist internationalist, Kurt Landau; the leader of the P.O.U.M., Andres Nin; the Russian Old Bolsheviks; the Polish, German, Hungarian, Czech communists; and finally, now, Leon Trotsky, the surviving witness and spokesman for the generation of October.

Now, after the murder of Leon Trotsky, the revolt of free minds who have had enough of Stalinist crimes must be transformed into a powerful internationalist united front for the restoration of human values to socialism. All honest militants, all independent workers, must gather to drive pitilessly from the ranks all fascist methods. Across the world conflagration which raises the question of the socialist revolution, all the healthy forces of the proletariat will be united behind this inflexible slogan:

To fight against Hitler fascism and capitalism generally, we must hunt out and destroy every trace of Stalinism in working-class organizations!

This means that the leaders of democracy must believe in it themselves and place its commands above all else. This means also that the democratic faith must be translated into programs that deal with the present realities and assure the more complete fulfillment of the great promises of democracy—into programs that bring opportunity and justice to all. In view of the incomparable ethical superiority of the democratic faith, the task of leadership here should be far easier than that of the dictators. After all, each of the totalitarian faiths is false and spurious at the core; each violates something that is greatest and finest in the human heart.

This part of the job of defense belongs to us. At any rate our major responsibility lies here. At no time in our history, however, have we done this job well. On the one hand, in the traditional school, in an effort to teach patriotism, we have generally pursued the blind, formal and uninspiring course of putting the intellect and all the creative forces

to sleep. We have developed superficial loyalties, conveyed understanding of neither past nor present, and cultivated the disposition to follow the stereotypes and not the spirit of democracy. On the other hand, in the progressive movement, as a reaction against tradition and in a spirit of intellectual emancipation, we have often delighted in shaking old loyalties, but have failed to arouse new ones. We have known all of the questions, but none of the answers. Or rather, we have known that there are no answers. We have given to the young all of the doubts but none of the affirmations of life. Both the loyalty to stereotypes of the traditional school and the scorn of loyalty of the progressive movement, both the neglect of understanding of the one and the one-sided intellectual emphasis of the other, constitute an urgent invitation to the dictator to take over. In both the traditional and the progressive schools, our work has lacked life, vision, seriousness, deep moral purpose. It was said long ago,

Revolution Can Smash Hitler

WE are still looking for allies in the wrong places. Our allies are ordinary people, not fascist dictators. And since the ordinary people of Europe are now ruled by fascists, we must organize revolutions. . . . Since we are fighting fascists, we must work for left-wing revolutions in Europe. That is only common sense.—London Daily Express, July 23, 1940.

and truly, that where there is no vision the people perish.

Our first obligation in repairing the spiritual defenses of our democracy is to identify ourselves with the democratic faith, frankly and positively, and without reservation. This faith, product of centuries of struggle by many and diverse peoples in different parts of the world, has a number of articles. The first and most fundamental of all is the affirmation that the human heritage of earth and culture belongs, not to any particular class, caste or race, but to all men—the affirmation that all men are created equal. The second, which serves to guard and fulfill the first, is the declaration that ordinary men and women, farmers, carpenters, mechanics, housewives and even teachers, can and should rule themselves. These two articles taken together constitute the faith that the individual human being is the measure of all things and is both deserving and capable of freedom. Thruout most of history, the very idea that the undistinguished rank and file of mankind, the "hewers of wood and drawers of water," should aspire to such power and status has been regarded as treason. Nay, even as blasphemy! And so it is today wherever totalitarian philosophy prevails. When the protagonists of such philosophy do formal homage to these great articles of the democratic faith, they do so only for propaganda purposes and in order the more utterly to destroy them.

We must identify ourselves vigorously with the democratic faith of our peoples, with our great tradition of liberty and equality. Altho our life has been marked by grievous exploitation of certain elements of our population at every period of our colonial and national existence, the long and sustained struggle on the part of the ordinary American citizen to attain the full status of manhood constitutes the most impressive record of its kind in history. No one of the dictators of the Old World, who now daily pronounce the doom of democracy, ever breathed the spirit of personal independence and dignity that has characterized the ordinary American citizen for generations. This spirit,

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WILL HERBERG, Editor

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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

WILLKIE DAMNS HIMSELF

WENDELL WILLKIE is making it abundantly clear thru his own words that he would, if anything, be an even worse choice for the Presidency than Mr. Roosevelt himself.

Two of his recent utterances are especially significant, his remarks in Texas and his address at San Francisco. In Texas, he sank to a level of petty demagoguery disgraceful to any self-respecting man. He actually told the inhabitants of that cattle state that all would be well with them if only the navy ceased buying "unsanitary" Argentinian beef and bought American beef instead! He seemed ignorant of the fact that the navy had already been forbidden by law to buy foreign beef and that in no case had the Argentinian purchases amounted to more than a drop in the bucket. Worse, it seemed to have escaped his limited grasp of national problems that hurling such gratuitous insults at a powerful Latin American neighbor was not exactly the road to the pan-American solidarity and cooperation upon which so much of our security depends. Anything to score a "point" against Roosevelt!

At San Francisco, Mr. Willkie's performance was even more wretched. In an effort to find an issue on which to attack Mr. Roosevelt—with whose present interventionist foreign policy he is in total agreement—he went back to 1933 and denounced the President for "wrecking" the London Economic Conference of that year. That, the Republican candidate declared in solemn tones, was the beginning of our troubles. By refusing to help the European countries to "stabilize" world trade and international exchange, Mr. Roosevelt had "contributed to the downfall of democracy in Europe", so that he "must bear a direct share of the responsibility for the present war". And more along the same line.

In making this charge, Mr. Willkie was leveling his guns at precisely that aspect of the Roosevelt Administration which in the early days of the New Deal gave genuine hope of a new direction of governmental policy. For in 1933, Mr. Roosevelt, having become President of the United States at the moment of the deepest crisis in its history, faced a momentous choice. Either he would continue the pseudo-"internationalist" course of his predecessors and hope to regain prosperity by dabbling in fantastic schemes to "reestablish" a largely fictitious "normal world economic system", or he would place domestic reform first and proceed to put our own house in some semblance of order. Mr. Roosevelt, to his eternal credit, chose the latter course and embarked on the truly remarkable First New Deal, the far-famed "Roosevelt Revolution". For this Mr. Willkie now upbraids and denounces him. But in doing so, Mr. Willkie only shows the caliber of his own mind and the brand of his own policies.

In his San Francisco address, the Republican candidate also had a great deal to say about the New Deal on the domestic scene. With his rather juvenile "cleverness", Mr. Willkie evidently thought he was dealing an annihilating blow against the Administration by quoting none other than Winston Churchill himself in a virulent, if rather threadbare attack on the social, financial and business policies of the New Deal. Winston Churchill is the leader of the British war effort, which practically all Americans admire and fervently hope will prove victorious; his name, therefore, has acquired a certain glamor—and what more telling than a quotation from Winston Churchill against the New Deal? Really, Mr. Willkie should be a high-school debater; that's where his talents would shine in all their brilliancy.

Every intelligent, liberal-minded American knows that Winston Churchill, for all that he is heading the British war effort at the moment, remains a die-hard Tory, a bitter-end reactionary. By appealing to him to bear testimony against the New Deal, Mr. Willkie again gives evidence of the true cast of his own political thinking.

The Democratic political managers are right. The more Mr. Willkie talks, the surer Mr. Roosevelt is of victory in November.

THE REAL ISSUE BEFORE US

(Continued from page 1)

for the conditions in which the revival of an effective genuine socialist movement and the victory of socialism would at least stand a chance—the break-up and the break-down of the hitherto triumphant Nazi military machine.

It is unnecessary for anyone to engage in long discussions about the character of this war. It is rooted in the aggravation of capitalist contradictions, in the decay of the bourgeois system. It started as an imperialist war for the redistribution of the world's resources and markets among the imperialist tycoons. In so far as the motives and interests of Nazi and British imperialism are concerned, the driving objectives of the war continue, in varying degrees, unchanged. There is no problem of putting faith in Hitler or Churchill. There is no problem of hailing Roosevelt as a Messiah or of damning him as the devil incarnate.

This war, as Churchill also has so emphatically stated in his last speech, is a continuation of the first World War. There is no question in our ranks about the capitalist causes and the imperialist character of the war as such. But questions do arise and differences do multiply with regard to the attitude we should take to the CONSEQUENCES of the war. It is my conviction that a Nazi victory would, for a while at any rate, tend to freeze, so to say, European history—that is, to provide the European bourgeoisie, led and dominated by Nazi imperialism, with sufficient force to preclude any possibility of victorious social uprisings, of successful struggles for national or social liberation. On the other hand, a victory over Nazi imperialism would tend to unfreeze the European situation, would not provide European reaction with a powerful gendarmierie, would tend to tarnish the myth of fascism as a savior of the old order, and would thus at least provide some elbow room for a mighty struggle for social liberation, particularly in the heart of Europe—in Germany. Should the defeat of Nazi Germany materialize, all sorts of possibilities and avenues would be wide open. The latter, in itself, does not ASSURE success for socialism. A German victory, however, does tend to assure defeat for the workers of all countries. Such triumphant reaction, spreading from Europe thruout the world, is of major concern to the American workers.

Some might say that I am exaggerating the difference between the consequences of a victory for one side and those of a victory for the other side. It is my conviction that the differences in consequences are so great that no one can exaggerate them—practically speaking. These differences involve class relations; they involve the conditions of millions of human beings. They involve the immediate future of the European and international labor movements. To me it is not unimportant that in every country the most reactionary sections of the bourgeoisie are the ones who emphasize the limitations of the difference between the contending forces. The "appeasers" in all countries, by warning us against exaggerating differences, seek to blind us to the Nazi menace and invite us to make peace forthwith with Hitler. It would be best that the genuine radical should not fall into such a trap or into such company.

Before labor can play an independent role in any situation, let alone in so decisive a situation as a world war, it must have the possibility to exist as an organized distinct entity. This means, first of all, that we must fight for such conditions as will insure us the right to such existence. There is no problem here of confidence in or collaboration with either Churchill or the Roosevelt Administration. We have had,

Socialist Policy on the War

On the Nature of Fascism

By BERTRAM D. WOLFE

THE basic problems that divide us today are three: the nature of fascism, the character of the present war, and the proper methods to use in the struggle against war and totalitarianism. To this, there may be added a fourth practical question which cuts across the other three, namely: Is the effort to keep America out of the war so fundamental that we must subordinate all our slogans, tactics and activities to that as the central effort, or is keeping out of war a practical matter of a secondary order which must be subordinated to other more urgent tasks? In this article, I wish to discuss the first of the above problems, the nature of fascism.

SOME FALSE THEORIES OF FASCISM

To some, fascism is Hitler. It is an emanation from Germany. If Germany is licked, fascism is licked, and the world will go back to pre-fascist, democratic capitalism.

To others, fascism is "counter-revolution on the march." For them, the duty of the revolutionist is simple: aid Great Britain to administer a military defeat to counter-revolution on the march, or there is no more hope of revolution or socialism in the world. A military victory of Hitler signifies the end of the possibility of struggle, at least for our generation.

To yet others, fascism is "a new economic, political and social order." The differences between capitalism and fascism are "as important and fundamental as the differences between capitalism and socialism." Between fascism and imperialism there is an abyss. Socialism is not on the order of the day, but is some remote music of the future. We can do a bit of "educational work" concerning it, but our only practical task today is to defend the old order of capitalism with all its faults against the attacks of the new order of fascism, defend it by all means, economic, material, moral aid, military aid and participation of this country in war "if necessary."

All three of these positions are held by leading members of the I.L.L.A. All three of these views were advanced by members of its National Committee at the Labor Day meeting. All three of these views coalesced in their practical conclusions and united to vote for Herberg's resolution as analyzed and underscored by Lovestone. Between them, they made up a decisive majority of the National Committee meeting. All three of these views are, in my judgment, wrong in theory, and as I shall try to show in subsequent articles, lead to disastrously wrong conclusions in practice.

WAR AND FASCISM SPRING FROM DECAY

The present world war, like its predecessor, springs not merely from capitalist rivalries, but more fundamentally from capitalist decay. The two world wars of our century differ from previous capitalist wars:

1. In their scope. They are genuine world wars.
2. In their roots.
3. In their outcome and the alternatives with which they confront mankind.

We are living at a time when capitalism has completed its progressive development and is in full decay. For over a half century, this has been so. For over a half century, any one of a handful of great powers could alone supply all the markets of the world with goods. In closing decades of the nineteenth century, national wars in Europe became lost in imperialist wars, so that Lenin was forced to write: If we could separate Serbia's struggle or Belgium's struggle for independence from the imperialist conflicts in which they are mere puppets, we would support their efforts—but we cannot.

National economic units—once so important as against mere local units—themselves became anachronisms. The small nations of Europe, the old political subdivisions, became hopelessly and irrevocably out of date. The conditions of production and transport and trade cried aloud for an all-European economy, as a basis for a world division of labor. Either a "United States of Europe" or endless war, disintegration and

and continue to have, very profound differences with Roosevelt on foreign-policy questions. We never saw eye to eye with him in his placing an embargo against Republican Spain and his simultaneous policy of selling war supplies to Japan. We never had even half a good word for his previous toleration of the "appeasers" of Hitler and Hitlerism. We have demanded, and we continue to demand, far more friendly and non-imperialist relations with the Latin American countries. But the mere fact that Roosevelt wants to aid England—and that we also do—does not take away our independent role from us. For instance, it would be equally silly and unfair to say that international socialists who don't see their way clear to advocating aid to England, or who are even opposed to aiding England, have given up their independent position merely because Hitler is also opposed to such assistance. In stressing this, I, of course, don't overlook one very important differentiation: denying aid to England entails objectively counter-revolutionary consequences, while aiding England has objectively revolutionary consequences.

I am not proposing that labor should give the Roosevelt Administration either a blank check or a rubber check. The latter double-dealing would only hurt the labor movement. Let labor face independently the issues of foreign policy as well as of domestic policy. Let labor take a position on every question on the basis of consequences for its best interests. If the Roosevelt Administration should happen to pursue, in any field to any extent, a course more conducive to our working-class interests, then so much the better. Such an eventuality would at least place fewer obstacles to our course and cause. Only impotent ultra-leftism breeds suspicion of and hostility to such eventualities.

chaos: such was the alternative presented by modern conditions since the turn of the last century. By its nature, capitalism could create the economic conditions for such unity, but could not itself serve as unifier, except on the basis of military conquest, subjection and tyranny. England, by virtue of its island and world position, could not serve as the unifier of Europe, even though it was victorious in the first World War. All it could do was to block unification, "Balkanize" central Europe, make confusion still worse by the treaty of Versailles, continue the outlived and untenable game of "balance-of-power" politics on the continent, helping Germany to rearm, playing off Germany against France and both against Russia.

Only the masses, by putting an end to the last war by their own action, by taking their destiny into their own hands, could have created a healthy, free basis for a united Europe, a Socialist United States of Europe. But the masses—for many reasons not to be gone into here—missed their chance. Thereupon, a second world war became inevitable.

In technique, in productive capacity, in economic power, in all but strongest power in the world, stronger than England or France, second only to the United States. When the masses missed their chance to unite Europe from below thru freedom and socialism, it became inevitable that Germany would try to unite it "from above" thru closed economy and conquest. By virtue of its geographical position, by virtue of its economic power, by virtue of the explosive force of its grievances, Germany was the inevitable candidate for the post of "unifier" of Europe.

Even if Germany fails to defeat England, it is inconceivable that England should be able to conquer the continent and impose unity and its own overlordship from above. At best, it will try once more to subdivide Germany and further "Balkanize" Europe, initiating a new and worse militaristic fever, making the next world war in Europe inevitable.

The only real antagonist that Germany has in its attempt to unify Europe from above by conquest is the movement of the masses for socialism; the only real alternative to a prospect of further wars, endless wars until Europe's culture and economy are utterly destroyed, is a Socialist United States of Europe. The older imperialisms, for reasons which I will discuss later, succumb to Hitlerism while fighting Hitler. The only irreconcilable antagonist to totalitarianism in all its forms is socialism. Win, lose or draw, no other outcome of the European war can possibly give anything but the conditions for yet another and yet another such war. No burning hatred of Hitler, no indignation or hysteria, no war fever, no preference for his defeat rather than his victory, will permit us to blind ourselves as to that fact, or to deceive the masses as to what is in store for them, regardless of who wins, until they take their destinies into their own hands and solve the problems created by the decay of capitalism and Europe's outgrown boundary lines in their own fashion.

IMPERIALISM LEADS TO TOTALITARIANISM

For over a half century, as we have already noted, any one of a handful of great powers could by itself supply all the markets of the world with goods and capital, and use all the world's available sources of raw materials. From this fact, it followed inevitably that depressions would become longer and deeper until they tended towards chronic crisis, and that wars would become world-wide and inevitable in their nature—that imperialism would become the heart of economic life and war "an instrument of national policy."

From the constant expansion of the powers of production, the capitalist order was forced to shift to the systematic organization of planned scarcity. In advanced countries like England, the government withdrew millions of spindles from textile production, and paid for their standing idle. In backward countries like Brazil, the government burned millions of bags of coffee annually. Germany transformed its economy

on the basis of Ersatz materials, barter and autarchy. The richest land, the United States, plowed under crops, restricted acreage, paid for not growing things, tried to stabilize on the basis of a permanent 10,000,000-headed unemployed army. The trend to senile stiffening differs in the different countries according to historical conditions, but the trend itself is accelerating and universal.

From the expanding world market capitalism in all countries (even in England) developed closed markets, protective tariff walls, embargos on exports and imports, subsidizing of uneconomic crops and industries, exclusive seizure and monopoly of coal, oil, minerals, raw materials, the closing of whole areas and even continents by political regulation and armed domination of such "spheres of influence." In short, the whole world, and not only Germany, at unequal rates, some more in one sphere, some more in another, is developing from world division of labor to an untenable and strangling autarchy.

All this undermines the economic basis of capitalist freedoms. From the free movement of men, materials, money, the world began to develop towards passports, visas, internal passports, industrial conscription, abolition of freedom to enter or leave a country or to move freely within it, conscription of all man power and woman power (has not the President of the United States even proposed labor camps for girls?), forced child-bearing, even abolition of free movement of gold and capital. Rigor senilis, and stiffening of old age, is setting in in the midst of the most vigorous productive and transportation apparatus the world has ever seen.

Most important of all, in the closing years of the last century, there already became visible the outlines of super-bureaucracy and super-militarization, of colossal armies, navies, and universal conscription, of the huge military budgets, of the arms economies, which go with imperialism and which more and more shift war from an occasional outcome of capitalist competition into the raison d'etre, into the heart and core of national life, into the main purpose of the state and the main object of all activity. Thus, the very nature of decaying capitalism leads directly towards totalitarianism. For totalitarianism is at bottom just this: the dedication of the total population, of the total resources, of the total budget, of the total means of opinion, of the total national feeling, of the total cultural life, to the preparation of gigantic wars. The militarization of life—that is totalitarianism. This trend is universal in all capitalist lands, and also in the Soviet Union. The trend is accelerating in all lands.

The masses having failed to establish socialism when the conditions were already ripe, the first world war became inevitable. That war only speeded up the trend to decay and totalitarianism. The failure to end that war in democratic and socialist fashion by the action of the masses, made the second world war inevitable. But the second world war is still further hastening the totalitarian trend—even in countries not yet involved. In fact, the most rapid trend in this direction has been the startling—though not yet the most advanced—is taking place right now, during the last few months, here in our own country.

The rate of that development varies in different lands due to such historical factors as these: (1) whether "sated" or "hungry" powers; (2) whether a belated nationalism is fused with imperialist chauvinism; (3) geographical position, economic resources, and historical traditions; (4) whether a country has been defeated or victorious, and other such things.

The rate of this decay varies, but the direction does not. The trend is universal. We dare not deceive ourselves or the masses by telling them that a victory of England will reverse that trend. In a later article, I will examine the concrete differences between the two camps in the present war, but one thing we must be clear about, that the trend to totalitarianism is being accelerated by this war; that it is developing fastest at this moment in our own country, and has American roots and sources here; that it is universal; that it will continue with accelerating speed; that the main danger of totalitarianism in a country like the United States comes from within; that there is only one outcome of this war which can check and reverse that trend; that if we cannot persuade and organize the masses to find their own solution of the problem by taking their own destinies into their own hands, this war will generate in the next, and will accelerate, the trend to militarization and totalitarianism; that the prospect is one of deepening enslavement, deepening depression and endless war until the masses cut their way out of the closed circle, or until civilization as we know it, perishes in the flames.

But there is a way of conducting ourselves, in England, in Germany, in the conquered countries, and in the United States, which will lead in the opposite direction. In other articles, I shall discuss the concrete things to be done now which will lead on that other road.

Who Are Reliable Allies In Fight Against Hitler?

By GEORGE PADMORE

(These paragraphs by George Padmore, well-known Negro socialist leader, are taken from the September 6, 1940 issue of the London Tribune.—Editor.)

London, England.

M. EBOUE, the first French colonial governor to revolt against the Petain sell-out, is a Negro. This is no accident. Felix Eboué, who is a distinguished West Indian and formerly governor-general of Guadeloupe, knows that there is no future for black intellectuals under Nazism. The other French colonial administrators, being white men, can hope to find a place for themselves under Hitler's controlled Vichy regime; but no Negro can have such illusions. What is the moral?

Blacks, like other oppressed colonial peoples (including Hitler's European natives), are prepared to throw in their full weight in the struggle if they too are included among those for whom we are supposed to be fighting to liberate from capitalistic plutocracy, fascism and its twin-brother, imperialism.

It is time for our left-wing and progressive friends in Britain to realize that they can never hope to have real security and peace, even when Hitlerism is destroyed, if the Empire remains half free and half slave. Let Britain show by deeds—not words—that she is worthy of this moral leadership, and she will find thousands of Eboués from among the ranks of her colonial subjects, for they know what the denial of freedom means.

Another View on the Destroyer Question

Says F.D.R. Move Was No Danger to Peace

(Continued from Page 3)

U. S. A. more "secure." If that is true, how can we ignore that phase, and speak of the destroyer transfer merely as something menacing the "security of the American people?"

I totally fail to comprehend the argument about not giving Hitler a "pretext" for declaring war on us. The entire history of Nazi aggression reveals one thing clearly—Hitler needs no pretext for waging war. He certainly didn't need any to invade Austria, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, Holland, etc. The only thing he requires for aggression is reasonable assurance that he has force to get away with it. If he has that, you can be sure that he will try it, pretext or no pretext. In such a situation, what can one do that is not a pretext to Hitler to declare war? Nothing, short of complete surrender to Hitler. In that sense, Denmark kept out of war, by being swallowed whole, like an oyster. Totalitarian rulers, who have no public opinion at home and no possibility of an articulate opposition, require no pretexts for war. It is Roosevelt, subject as he is to popular protest, who requires a pretext. Therefore, instead of advising Roosevelt to give Hitler no pretext for declaring war, the advice should be given to Hitler to give Roosevelt no casus belli. As a matter of fact, Hitler has already received such advice repeatedly from his emissaries in this country. In this respect, the reaction of the Nazi and Italian press to the transfer of the destroyers is very significant. Instead of taking advantage of the opportunity presented by the destroyer transfer to threaten war, deconstruction and destruction upon the U.S.A., their major emphasis has been on the desperate plight of Great Britain which led her to give up her foothold in this hemisphere for the sake of some "leaky old tubs". They pretend to be shocked at the surrender of Great Britain's interests to the American plutocrats. It is obvious that if Hitler was in a position to wage war against the U.S.A. at the present time, he would not exercise such remarkable restraint. On the contrary, he would consider Roosevelt's spitting into the Atlantic Ocean as a sufficient pretext for opening up hostilities!

Another and more logical argument against the destroyer deal that I have encountered is that it weakens the defense of the U.S.A., without at the same time guaranteeing the victory of Great Britain. In this argument, it is assumed that, even with the additional destroyers, England will be in a short period of time overrun by the Nazis, the British fleet captured, and an immediate invasion of the U.S.A. by Hitler would then ensue. All this must be assumed to prove the dangerous consequences of weakening the defenses of the U.S. by the transfer of fifty destroyers. Actually, every one of these assumptions is very unlikely. But even if what is assumed could take place, the ring of naval and air bases obtained by the U.S.A. in the deal would be worth more than the fifty destroyers. In which case, the argument about weakening of American defense falls to the ground. But if the argument of weakening of American defense is

a valid one, what then becomes of the criticism of Roosevelt's excessive armament program in the Workers Age? You can criticize Roosevelt for weakening the defense of America, or you can criticize him for an excessive program of defense, but you can't do both at the same time!

I am sure that, in presenting this point of view on the destroyer transfer, there will be some (and here I do not refer to the editor of the Workers Age, who knows better) who will shake their heads sadly, and murmur: "Another one joins the company of those who are beating the drums of imperialist war." In doing this, they will think that they have disposed of a difficult problem with great ease and dispatch. In reality, this is the very thing we should be careful to avoid. By doing that, we would with one stroke read out two thirds of the population from the anti-war camp into the interventionist camp, which is not a particularly wise thing to do. Because there are interventionists who are in favor of the destroyer transfer does not mean that everyone who favors it is against keeping America out of war. Statistically more than 90% of the population are for keeping America out of war. Over 60% of us can believe the polls, are in favor of the destroyer transfer. Unless we believe that the U.S.A. is peopled by millions and millions of schemers who say they are for keeping America out of war but don't mean it, the only logical conclusion that can be drawn is that there is no contradiction between advocacy of aid to England and advocacy of a policy of keeping America from getting involved. How much aid can be given England without involving the U.S.A. in the war is a highly debatable question. And you will not find the answer to that particular question in all the writings of Marx, Engels, Lenin or Luxemburg. I can see where certain types or magnitudes of aid mean actual war. For example, the opening of American harbors to British warships would constitute aid to England bearing with it direct American involvement, because it would make every American port a sphere of battle. Obviously, such aid is out of the question. But if we are to characterize all those who favor the transfer of destroyers to England as pro-war, we do not by such argument convince two-thirds of the people of the country to oppose that particular type of aid to England. Rather we convince them that they are pro-war. For the sympathy for Great Britain and the desire to give some sort of assistance is mounting steadily from week to week. You cannot eradicate that sympathy by dubbing it "pro-war". Nor should we want to diminish that sympathy. Therefore the only logical approach is to show how it is possible to be for aid to England and anti-interventionist at the same time, to examine each instance on its merits, and to avoid "amalgams" like a plague.

(The second part of B. Herman's article, dealing with the methods used by President Roosevelt in effecting the destroyer transfer, will be published in the next issue of this paper.—Editor.)

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