Workers Age

*Weekly Paper of the Independent Labor League of America

BERTRAM D. WOLFE'S LETTER TO GRANVILLE HICKS . . . page 4.

ON WAR POSITION OF S.P. MINORITY. ... page 2.

Vol. 9, No. 20.

NEW YORK, N. Y., SATURDAY, MAY 18, 1940.

5 CENTS

I.L.P. Calls for an End to Imperialism

(We publish below the declaration of the Executive of the British Independent Labor Party on the occasion of the German invasion of Denmark and Norway.-Editor.)

London, England.

THERE are signs that the war will extend over further parts of Europe, submerging one small nation after another in destruc-

The small nations are the victims of the struggle of the great powers to secure possession of the economic resources necessary for their imperialist conflict.

The I.L.P., which warned the peoples of this danger from the beginning of the war, expresses its sympathy with those who are thus being drawn unwillingly into the calamity which is overwhelming Europe, and appeals to the workers of Britain, of the other belligerent nations, and of the countries which so far remain neutral, to insist that the war be stopped before the disaster which threatens humanity spreads even further.

The I.L.P. calls on the workers of all lands not only to demand an armistice, but to strive to secure a peace which shall end the system of imperialism, and its resulting wars, by the establishment of a socialist international economic organization which shall distribute the resources of the world according to the needs of all

EXECUTIVE OF THE INDEPENDENT LABOR PARTY

Brockway Hails Struggle Of German Socialists

(Some weeks ago, we published in these columns a message of the German Independent Socialists to the socialists of Britain and France. Below we present the reply to this message by Fenner Brockway, political secretary of the British Independent Labor Party .- Editor.)

TO THE GERMAN INDEPENDENT SOCIALISTS:

WE have heard with profound emotion of the heroic way in which you are carrying on the struggle against the Hitler regime and the war. Comrades, your courage is an inspiration to socialists of all countries.

You know of our complete solidarity with you. Sometimes, the German wireless and press misuse speeches and articles published in Britain. Do not be misled.

Whilst we are fulfilling our socialist duty in this country of opposing capitalism, imperialism and war, we share with you completely your hatred of Nazism, and we look forward to the day when the German people will be in a position to overthrow the tyrannical regime of which they and other peoples are the victims, and to unite with us and our comrades in all lands in the achievement of a socialist world of brotherhood, freedom and happiness.

War Spreads as Nazis Invade Low Lands

WOE TO THE VICTOR!



--from the New York Daily News

War 'Inevitability' Talk Rises Again

Administration Reported Behind Move To Break Down Neutrality Safeguards

By FLORENCE B. BOECKEL

Washington, D. C. in Washington is again about when we are "inevitably" going in. There was the same kind of talk last Fall when the war first started. After the neutrality debate in Congress, in which both sides assured the country their one aim and object was to keep out of war, the talk of our "inevitably" going in died down. Why is it heard again? And why has the date been elections" to "perhaps before the

Other Washington observers are making two points. One is that, altho the Administration may not be as some have said, "trying to lead talk is recognition of the many this country into war," it is definitely not leading the people away

from war. The other point is that close study of Administration statements shows many promises not to send an expeditionary force to Europe but an absence of any promises in regard to the navy and air force

Those who talk of war before election admit that it would have to happen as the result of some incident-probably in the Pacific-for in an election year, Congress will not war as a result of any deliberate But as to the "inevitable" entrance

of the United States into the European war in the course of the next nine to twelve months, back of that pressures from sources abroad and ICA OUT OF WAR! at home. Only recently a Canadian official declared that Canada's major job should be to get this country into the war. Duff Cooper, announced on his return to England from a lecture tour in the United States that more British war propaganda was needed over here. Lord Lothian ambassador of Great Britain, disclaiming any propagarda, is making these points in his speeches: First that "a new friend may mean a victory, without a battle for either side" (in other words, the United States can come in perfectly safely); second, there isn't going to be any great peace conference after this going to have anything to say about the peace, it must take part in the war); third, the Monroe Doctrine has always depended on the British

So much for diplomatic and poligrowing pressure of the church May 27. forces in the belligerent nations beginning to be echoed here and there in American pulpits. The last war was a "holy war." This one is proclaimed as a "righteous war." It s again a question of Armageddon battling "for the Lord."

On the financial side, exactly what supporters of the old Congressional (Continued on lage 4)

a particularly dangerous business in are the exclusion from the air of a dom of speech and the abrupt put films of unpopular political connota picture censorship. Under the first after the leader of the Labor Party named, distinguished visitors holding had assailed him, a Minister of legislative and administrative at unpopular opinions have been bad Defense declared, to quote his own "I said of Mr. Curtin's

Let's Not Commit Suicide Out of Hatred for Hitler!

THE German invasion of Belgium, Holland and Luxembourg, following so close on the heels of Hitler's assault on Denmark and Norway and Stalin's attack on Finland, has greatly intensified the indignation of the American people at such acts of wanton aggression and has raised to a fever pitch the hatred in which the masses in this country hold the bloody dictators. These feelings are deep and sincere and thoroly justified, for they express the horror of a people as yet measurably free from the madness of war at the frenzy of murder and destruction running

But however justified these feelings may be, they must not cause us to lose our bearings and adopt a course that will ultimately lead to ourselves being swallowed up in the same whirlpool of barbarism and slaughter. Now, if ever, is the time for us to keep our heads and be guided by the realities of the situation and not by our feelings, however deep and sincere they may be.

What we are witnessing in Europe today is the logical, inescapable result of the system of imperialism, with its rivalries, antagonisms and conflicts, that has been developing in that part of the world for the past fifty years or more. It is the logical, inescapable result of the last war and the last "peace" and the two decades of ruthless power-politics that followed. It is, basically, a resumption of the World War after a breathing spell of twenty years to allow the exhausted combatants to recuperate their powers of destruction and to complete a new system of alliances. It is but a phase of the cycle of bloody wars engendered of imperialism-of British and French as well as of German and Italian imperialism.

Europe can have no hope of lasting peace, however the present bloody episode may end, until the entire system of imperialism is destroyed. There is no use blinking the facts. We are fully conscious of the horror that a victory for Hitler would imply. But victory for the Allies would bring nothing but a super-Versailles with a new cycle of repressions, hatreds, rivalries and wars even more savage and ruthless than before. Europe, the entire world, is doomed unless the vicious circle of imperialism-war, "peace" that is but preparation for another war, and war again—is broken, and broken it can only be by the peoples themselves overthrowing the war-breeding social system and the war-making political regimes that thus doom them to utter destruction.

For us in America, our duty is clear: KEEP OUT OF WAR! Our involvement in the European war would mean the greatest possible disaster for the American people and would bring no genuine benefit to the people of Europe, for whom only the destruction of the imperialist system can bring any real hope of salvation. It is necessary for us to be especially vigilant at this moment of deep indignation and tense feelings was spreading rapidly, about to enbe called back for a declaration of lest we be misled into taking any measures that will break down our velop all Europe. neutrality safeguards and ease the road to our involvement in the war. change in policy involving prolonged Let us not commit collective suicide out of our hatred for Hitler and

> We must give all possible assistance to the forces fighting imperialism everywhere in the world, to the forces fighting for freedom in the dictator-ridden countries of Europe in the stricken lands under the iron heel of Hitler, Stalin, and Mussolini. But above all, we must KEEP AMER-

Garment Unions to Hold Conventions This Month

Labor Unity, War and Support of Third Term for Roosevelt Chief Problems

organized power and prestige and for their strategic positions in

the divided ranks of labor, will hold their conventions this month in New York City. The sessions of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers will open on May 13, while the convention of the International Ladies Gartical pressure. Added to this is the ment Workers Union will begin on

Both of these organizations are powerful numerically—the I.L.G. W.U., of which David Dubinsky is president, has a membership of over 250,000, and the A.C.W. headed by Sidney Hillman, has more than 150,000 in its ranks. Both have wide control of labor conditions and relations in their respective industries. Both, too, have a high standing with organized labor as well as with public opinion generally.

The problem of labor unity will face both conventions, tho in a very different way. The I.L.G.W.U. was a founding member of the C.I.O. but was little by little alienated from it by growing dualism, Stalinist control and Lewis's one-man rule in that organization. It broke its connection with the C.I.O. when the latter reconstituted itself into a permanent organization, rival to the A. F. of L. towards the end of 1938. Since then it has remained independent of both federations, with sentiment for reaffiliation to the A. F. of L. growing very rapidly. The issue will be placed before the convention and there is every reason to believe that the overwhelming majority of the delegates will favor reaffiliation. However, it is expected that final action will not be taken by the convention itself. The greatest likelihood is that the General Executive Board will be empowered to take whatever steps it may deem necessary to further labor unity, including reaffiliation.

The A.C.W. is in an entirely difthe founders of the C.I.O. but it has ment trades.

New York City. | remained within the fold of that or-Two labor organizations, out- ganization and has hitherto been one standing in the country for their of its main pillars. However, in C.I.O., and Sidney Hillman's relations with John L. Lewis, have become rather strained, primarily over the questions of Stalinist infiltration and labor unity. In top C.I.O. circles, the A.C.W. has already been "written off," it is said; a break is regarded as virtually inevitable, if not welcome. It is unlikely that any such break will take place at the convention here next week, but it is quite certain that the issue of labor unity and relations with the C.I.O. wil play a big role, behind the scenes if It is difficult to forecast how the

war issue will figure at the conventions. The leadership of both organizations are strongly pro-Ally and interventionist in sentiment They agree with President Roosevelt's policy of step-by-step involvement in the war under the slogan of "measures short of war." would like to go even farther. However, in view of the Administration's need for political caution in an election year and the deep keep-out-ofwar sentiment thruout the country, it is not likely that the conventions will officially do very much more than denounce Hitlerism and Stalinism and approve the Roosevelt policy. How strong the anti-war forces will be at these conventions and what showing they will be able to make is not yet clear.

Both conventions will certainly go on record in favor of a third term for President Roosevelt. This will bring the A.C.W. officially in conflict with the anti-Roosevelt attitude adopted by John L. Lewis in the name of the C.I.O.

Besides these big political issues. the conventions will be confronted with a series of difficult industrial and organizational problems of major importance to the hundreds bor Party sent three of its leaders, ferent position. It, too, was one of of thousands of workers in the gar-

Next German Thrust Seen In Balkans

Churchill Replaces Chamberlain, Labor Joins Cabinet; Voroshilov Ousted

With its position in Norway already partly consolidated, Germany struck again last week and in a series of lightning blows invaded the Low Countries-the Netherlands. Belgium and Luxembourg.

The Nazi forces swept down on these countries by land and by air. Parachute troops were used, but apparently with indifferent success. Despite the element of surprise, it was apparent that the Germans were not having things their own way by any means. Two hours after the Nazi troops had crossed neutral borders, meeting strong resistance, French and British troops were already in Belgium. Battle was engaged at many points, but there was no reliable information whatever as to how things were going. Berlin made no great claim of immediate victory, aside from the general statement that enemy resistance in the border region had been broken. From all indications, the Allies had succeeded in blocking the Nazi Blitzkrieg and halting the German troops within twenty or twenty-five miles of the frontiers. There was also heavy fighting on the Rhine-Moselle

And so, in the thirty-sixth week of hostilities, after months of stagnaion on the western front modified by some "diversions" or "side-shows" n the North (Finland, Scandinavia), total war broke out in all its fury, with the immediate prospect of large-scale engagements fought with the most destructive weapons of modern warfare. Annihilating air bombardments of civilian centers were expected soon as part of the new phase of the conflict. The war

Why did Germany take this step, the war? Most probably because it feared that its resources, material and moral, would not be able to stand the indefinite prolongation of the exhausting deadlock on the western front. Action and quick decision, Hitler and his advisers must have felt, were necessary, especially before American economic assistance could begin to tell and the Allies make up their inferiority in the air

The decision to strike first at the Low Countries rather than in the Balkans was probably motivated by the difficulty of getting a complete understanding between Russia and Italy and with them for joint action in that part of Europe. Apparently, Mussolini had declined to let Italy get into the war unless Hitler succeeded in preoccupying the British sufficiently elsewhere to make his porecent months, its relations with the sition easier in the Mediterranean and the Near East. Despite the obscurity in which the negotiations between the totalitarian states were the third-term issue but also over shrouded, it seemed likely last week that the invasion of the Low Countries would be followed up with a Berlin-Moscow-Rome Axis thrust in southeastern Europe and the Near

> Something very important was apparently brewing in Moscow in connection with the next Russian move in the European crisis. Marshal Voroshilov was suddenly removed as Defense Minister, a post he had held for the last fifteen years, and replaced by Marshal Timoshenko. There was every indication that this removal was not so much punishment for the fiasco of Russian arms in Finland as preparation for some new and sensational action on the part of Moscow. The new Russo-Yugoslavian trade treaty, said to imply also some sort of political and military understanding, was regarded as of great significance in this connection.

> As heavy fighting began in Belgium, Britain completed the reorganization of its government, made necessary the week before as a result of the defeat in Norway. In the big test in the House of Commons, Chamberlain was saved from overthrow by a margin of only 81 votes, 281 to 200. At first, it appeared that he would retain office despite everything, but when it became clear that Labor would not join the cabinet under his leadership and that many Conservatives were irreconcilable, he resigned. Winston Churchill immediately took over the formation of the new government, becoming Prime Minister and Minister of Defense. Chamberlain was retained in a subordinate capacity but Sir Samuel Hoare was dropped. The La-Clement Atlee, Arthur Greenwood

> > (Continued on page 4)

War Threatens Doom of Civil Liberties in Australia

Democracy Imperilled thru Drastic National Security Act

By C. HARTLEY GRATTAN

WAR is the bitterest enemy of civil liberties. Every democratic country which has been at war of the Prime Minister of the Comoffers evidence to support that thesis. Most Americans entertain a highly favorable view of democracy in Australia, those of liberal per-suasion because of the apparently immense power of labor, fortified as it is by strong trade unions and a Labor Party which is never of directed against labor. How this was lesser status than the official opposition in the parliaments, state nation. In spite of the political and federal. Social legislation also contributes to giving Australia an excellent reputation abroad. The elements of a true democracy seem, to superficial view, to be present in abundance. It is depressing therefore, to discover that civil liberties in Australia never fully recovered from the blows struck at them during the World War, that in the interval between wars both statutory and administrative attacks were constantly being made upon them, and that the National Security Act, passed on the outbreak of the present European war, surpasses in comprehensiveness and severity Much of the time labor had had anything achieved during the hysteria of 1914-18.

During the World War, the statutory provisions of the War Precautions Act and related measures and the amendments to them, when taken with attendant administrative regulation, added up to a tremendous total of restriction. Australian censorship was shockingly mismanaged, under a show of legality, and men were sentenced to jail under circumstances which, when exposed, became a public scandal. A tradition of burocratic tyranny was established from which the country never really freed itself. Authorities on the matter distinguish three distinct drives against civil liberties during a point otherwise anomalous in a the post-war years: in 1920-21, in 1926-29, and in 1932-37. During those periods, there is concrete evidence of the repressive mentality tacks on civil liberties is somewhat gered by the government. Under the words: at work in the form of actual legislation. Running parallel is a record liberals lack a press and that labor imported from abroad was instituted.

ministrative rulings and entirely extra-legal actions by state and federal office-holders up to the rank monwealth.

LABOR'S **POSITION**

Many of the laws passed by the Commonwealth Parliament were possible requires a word of explapower of labor in Australia, it has rarely won federal office and has never really won power in the sense of having secure control of both houses of Parliament. During its last period of federal office, it was frustrated by a hostile Senate. Its record in the states is, of course, quite different, but it is the interferences with civil liberties by the Commonwealth that are significant. The Commonwealth government has usually been in the control of the conservatives, in late years of the United Australia Party, ordinarily in alliance with the Country Party. more seats in the House, the significant branch of the legislature, than either of the other parties. That is the position today. But against the united opposition of the two conservative parties, it cannot obtain office. It wields its power, such as it is, as a strong opposition; but the tradition of party regularity among the conservatives insures labor's defeat on all significant issues. This accounts for the ability of the conservatives to put over legislation which restricts the free-

country where labor is strong. Liberal protest against both the hampered by the fact that the second a system for censoring books criticism that such statements were

dom of trade unions; it also ac-

counts for the fact that the laws of

Australia are administered in a

fashion disastrous to civil liberties,

of repression on the basis of ad-| lacks a newspaper or magazine of general circulation. The Australian press is almost entirely in the hands of groups which support the U.A.P. war (that is, if the United States is and the Country Party. On any going to have anything to say about crucial issue, it can be relied upon to support the conservatives. In recent years, however, the liberals have been able to command some press support for their campaigns against administrative interferences with freedom of speech and opinion for these have often been too dangerous to press freedom to be taken quietly.

Governmental action against trade unions arose in the post-war period from efforts to control strikes among the waterfront workers. The conservatives enacted legislation making it possible for the government to demand that trade-union members dismiss officers who incurred its displeasure and instituting a system of licensing waterfront workers.

SEDITION

But the worst menace to civil iberties is contained in the so-called Crimes Act which, by establishing sweeping definitions of sedition, seriously endangers the free criticism. not only of Australian governments holding office but also of the governments of foreign countries. Into the worst features of the War Precautions Act. Perhaps with this act in mind, Prime Minister Lyons publicly rebuked H. G. Wells when, during a visit to Australia in 1938, he declared that Hitler was a "certifiable lunatic." Further limitations on Australian civil liberties are possible under administrative interpretations of sections of the Immigration Act, the customs laws, the law governing the publicly-owned broadcasting system, and the motion-

view of the limited publishing facilities within Australia. Under the broadcasting act, notable abuses distinguished judge who proposed to deliver a vigorous talk on freeting off the air of a labor-owned station from which criticism of the government had been broadcast. And under the film censorship, many this act, in 1926, were incorporated tions have been banned, in addition to the expected quota banned on "moral" grounds. Finally, federal ministers, including the Prime Minister, have often in recent years appealed to the press and the people to cease discussing issues in foreign affairs on the grounds that they were ignorant of the facts and were embarrassing the government. This occurred at the time of the Australian-Japanese trade dispute in 1936 and during the Munich crisis of 1938. And on one notable occasion,

(Continued on Page 4)

New York City.

Out of State

THE Court of Appeals, highest

and second only to the United States

Supreme Court in the precedent-

making importance of its decisions.

has under advisement the case of

Chirillo has appealed against be-

ng "deported" from the state of

New York, where he has lived for a

year, for being a person liable to be-

come a public charge. Attorneys for

the Workers Defense League which

represent him, maintain that, as a

citizen of the United States, Chiril-

lo is also a citizen of any and all

states thereof, and as such entitled

to the right of settlement, so that the

state law authorizing his deportation

is unconstitutional because it inter-

feres with his constitutional rights.

case, a court decision ruled that mil-

lions of Americans who had been

born black were not citizens and had

"no rights a white man was bound

to respect." An adverse decision in

the Chirillo case will virtually say to

hundreds of thousands of workers:

"Because you are unemployed and

penniless, you are no longer entitled

to full citizenship rights." An ad-

verse decision will open the way for

a flood of state laws, barring from

who do not meet certain property

qualifications. If a state has a right

to limit and circumscribe for finan-

there is no legal impediment to laws

being passed limiting citizenship

rights for racial, political or re-

In the Dred Scott decision, handed

down in 1857, the Supreme Court

confirmed the degradation of the

Negro. An adverse decision in the

Chirillo case would legally sanctify

the degradation of the unemployed.

The efforts of the Workers Defense

League to secure the citizenship

rights of Rosario Chirillo and the

tens of thousands of unemployed

wandering over the face of this con-

tinent deserve the support of I

ligious reasons.

their respective states individuals

Once before in the Dred Scott

Rosario Chirillo.

L court of the State of New York,

Letters from Our Readers:

On the War Position Of the S.P. Minority

YOUR issue of April 20th compels me to write you and to take issue with one or two items.

The rather objective report of the Socialist Party convention by B. Herman was marred by the obvious bias of the author and the result is unfair to the minority.

Comrade Herman says the discussion on the war question was without acrimony except on one occasion when "Norman Thomas . . . very properly pointed out the similarity of the minority war position with that of the Roosevelt Administration. A. B. Lewis replying . insinuated that Browder and Stalin had the majority position on the war, which was absurd on the face of it" (emphasis mine.—J.A.).

I wish to discuss not who was nasty, but whether the "very proper" statement of Thomas was so very proper.

A cursory reading of the minority resolution as printed in the April 20 issue of the Socialist Call will reveal that it is an international workingclass revolutionary socialist statement. Isolationists, pacifists and others have a perfect right to France. I see no appeal for imdisagree with it, even from a revolutionary angle, but for anyone see no appeal for the British and the General Motors elections was not to state that it is similar to the French workers to lay down their nearly as overwhelming as appeared Roosevelt position is, to say the arms. All that I read is a burning at a casual glance at the figures. least, stretching the truth.

course not! If he did, he would be a socialist revolutionist. The minoa socialist revolutionist. The mino-

New York City 1 rity position, which included economic aid for the Allies, without private loans, etc., may coincide with Roosevelt's conclusions, but only in the same way that the majority conclusions coincide with those of the agents of Hitler and Stalin in this country. I thought the "amalgam" political approach had been thoroly discredited by the communist movement and I am disappointed to see this mode of discussion still practised in the I.L.L.A.

I am for immediate peace but only on the basis laid down by the I.L.P. (the party which you support) and that is, negotiations to begin when Hitler gives up Austria Czecho-Slovakia, Poland, and now Denmark and Norway, and Russia gives up those parts of Finland that she recently stole by strong-arm methods. Otherwise, those who ad-Munich (and so was the Workers Age) and all that Munich stands for and I still am. On your front page of the same

issue of the Workers Age you publish a stirring appeal from the Independent Socialists of Germany to their comrades of England and mediate peace in that statement. I desire for the defeat of Hitler and Does Roosevelt stand for a re- Hitlerism as the necessary step in careful observer might wonder how ferendum on war, or limitation on the struggle for socialism. This is armaments, or for support for the the spirit pervading the democratic labor and socialist movement of the "democratic countries," or for "socialist revolution in the totalitarian countries," or for "labor one. I hate to see the I.L.L.A. power in England or France?" Of stooping in an effort to link us to

The Editor Replies:

did not "stoop in an effort to link [the S.P. minority] to Roosevelt's international policy," nor did we Index of their imperialist booty, BUT ALSO THAT BRITAIN AND FRANCE "GIVE UP" THEIRS On Marxism (Index of their imperialist booty, BUT ALSO THAT BRITAIN AND FRANCE "GIVE UP" THEIRS ON MARXISM objectionable as Comrade Altman with their war efforts? seems to think, the guilty ones are

S.P. minority position on war may French imperialism to do that job. or may not be, it is certainly not They realize that if Hitler and Hitthe position of the I.L.P. Here is lerism are to be overthrown, it is the so-called I.L.P. "Peace Plan" up to the German people themselves (Workers Age, April 6, 1940):

"We urge that the working-class least of all, a foreign imperialism. movement take independent action to stop the war and to secure an enduring peace by: "1. Demanding an immediate

armistice. '2. Preparing socialist peace terms peoples from imperialism, whether minority position is for economic German, British or French; (b) the aid to the Allies, aid "short of war." recognition that national sovereignty This position we regard as untenable must be subordinated to internament of an international economic world's resources according to need and the ending of poverty by produc-

tion for use instead of profit. "3. Initiating a world-wide agitation for such a peace.

4. Holding an international working-class conference simultaneously with any government peace conference to press for these demands. "5. Organizing an international agitaton to end capitalism."

Note that the demand for an immediate armistice is made first and prevent it from being so used to- most imperialistic, war-mongering independent of whether the governments will accept the terms men. tioned in Point 2. The terms in short of war," it will be so used. Point 2 are demands that the labor and socialist movements of the should be obvious without our various countries should press upon | having to say it, that when our their governments; they are ob- reporter quoted with approval the viously not preconditions for any remark of Norman Thomas, he had armistice or cessation of warfare.

2, the demand is not simply that tegrity of the minority. And we are Hitler "give up" Austria, Czecho- sure that Comrade Thomas had no nish grab. It is: "The liberation of made the remark that has caused all peoples from imperialism, whether such resentment.

TN the first place, we would like | German, British or French." Yes L to set one thing straight: We we must demand that Hitler and make use of "the 'amalgam' political (India, North Africa, Indo-China approach." All we did-or rather, etc.), which they also "stole by all our reporter, B. Herman, did-strong-arm methods," altho not so was to report that Norman Thomas recently. Why does Comrade Altman in a speech at the S.P. convention forget this side of the story? And "pointed out the similarity of the why a "socialist revolution in the Roosevelt Administration," and to "labor power in England and add that he (Herman) thought Nor- France?" Couldn't England and produced it. man Thomas had done so "very France stand a socialist revolution

Yes, the German Independent those who actually made it at the Socialists, to whom Comrade Altman S.P. convention and not our reporter, refers, do have a burning desire for merely for reporting it, or the Work- the overthrow of the Hitler regime. ers Age, for publishing his report. But nowhere will Comrade Altman In the second place, whatever the find them appealing to British or to do it; no one can do it for them,

As far as we are concerned, our chief disagreement with the S.P. minority position on war is not on the question of armistice, immediate peace, etc., but on the question of American foreign policy, which is including: (a) the liberation of all obviously most vital to all of us. The and inconsistent. All experience has tional unity; and (c) the establish shown and all common-sense should show, that economic aid opens the order based on the distribution of the way for, and creates a strong compulsion to, outright military aid. Economic and financial involvement bring military involvement.

> argument in favor of economic as- again! The former joyous collaborahas been prepared by "measures

May we say in conclusion, what not the slightest intention of reflect-Note, too, that even in this Point ing on the sincerity or socialist in-Slovakia, etc., and Stalin his Fin-such intention either, when he first

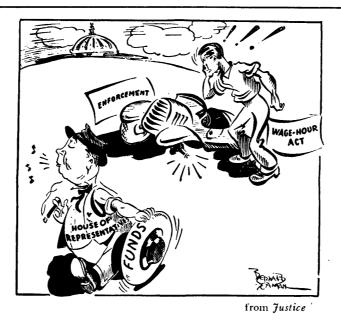
On Reformed "Fellow-Travelers"

Editor, Workers Age: read with some interest Grace

point is essential and should be

noted. When did Stalin betray the work-Lumpkin's letter in the Workers ing class of the world? When he land, but that does not inspire in Age of March 23rd in which she signed the pact with Hitler? When me any state even bordering on addisagrees with what she calls the he began the imperialist invasion of miration. Them also I would esti-"holier-than-thou attitude" toward Finland? These are undoubtedly mate not only by what they say, but such people as Louis Fischer, Vin- gross betrayals, but hardly the first. cent Sheean and others. She is They are the culmination of a series aroused to a state of "respect" for of betrayals, When Stalin was court- Daily Worker prints Vincent these men who have "honestly and ing the "great democracies" he, publicly disagreed with the betrayal with his typical, crude cynicism, sold man Shumlin and others in the trick in the Soviet Union." I do not think the working class of France to the civil-liberties protests that they are the editor goes far enough in his French bourgeoisie, insofar as he making. But Vincent Sheean came answer in saying that his criticism was able; sang "God Save the King" out with the theory that Russia is totalitarian machine of the C.I.O. is based on "their calm avowal that in England; played the game of a fascist state. How in the name of run by the Lewis-Stalinist clique they had all along known the full France and England in the Spanish common-sense does he then colhorrors of the Stalin regime but had, civil war; and offered to report all laborate with the Stalinists to this the U.A.W.-C.I.O. to say Lewis nay for various reasons, kept silent." It "subversive" anti-war elements to is obvious that the editor was trying the Department of Justice in the sibility that the Daily Worker uses to be brief in his reply, but in doing U.S.A. I need not dwell on the inso, he must have left out a number famous lickspittle policies of the of factors deliberately. But one Stalinist parties toward their respec-

IF YOU CAN'T KILL IT-MAIM IT!



UAW Stifled by Lewisvocate an immediate peace advocate a bigger Munich. I was against Stalinist Domination

Hillman, Murray, Take Over Control

By S. MEFFAN

Detroit, Mich. IN my last article, I pointed out that the victory of the C.I.O. in From another angle, however, a it was that the C.I.O. took several plants they had expected to lose, while in certain A. F. of L. strongholds, local sentiment was reversed and the workers voted C.I.O. Also, of the C.I.O. in the Kansas City Chevrolet plant, where they were supposed to have little, was remarkable, even tho they did not win. In my opinion, this trend resulted from the fact that, in spite of all

issues raised in the election-craft

New York City

Editor, Workers Age: THE symposium on "Reconsidering Marxism," arranged by the Independent Labor League, is a landminority war position to that of the totalitarian countries" but only mark in the radical movement. No group but the I.L.L.A. could have

The brilliance of the participants, properly." If this comparison is as as well? Or would that interfere their rich philosophical background, their scientific and heart-earnest approach, their freedom from dogma and preconceptions, stamp them as unique contributors in a time of greatest need.

We await with eagerness additional forums where Jay Lovestone, Bertram D. Wolfe, Will Herberg, and Lewis Corey will continue their reexamination of yesterday's an-

swers to today's problems.

tive exploiting classes during the past five years, or their apologies for colonial enslavement. That is only too well known. But what is the attitude of the Louis Fischers? Do they condemn this subordination of the French working class to Daladier? Do they reconsider and revaluate the policy of treachery during these many years? In failing to do so, their break consists only in this: that Stalin betrays only because of uniting with Hitler. But if he should at any distant date in the future change partners and unite with Chamberlain, Reynaud-Daladier and Roosevelt, and call upon his Measures "short of war," if persisted puppets to support with their old in, are bound to become war enthusiasm these "democratic" govmeasures. Furthermore, every single enments, then all will be well sistance to the Allies is directly tion and whitewashing of Stalinism convertible into an argument in will again be on the order of the favor of military assistance, and it day. Grace Lumpkin unconsciously is only natural reluctance and overlooks that the treachery of considerations of 'expediency that | Stalin was no less when his was the day. But tomorrow, when the ground party in the United States than when it is for a phoney, pro-Hitler "anti-war" position in the manner of the Nazi Bund.

I do not care to question Louis Fischer's motives, his morals, his honesty or his progress in breaking with Stalin: I question his politics. Of course, it is not out of the question that, having broken with Stalin, Fischer and the others may reach a more advanced viewpoint and to a thorogoing revaluation of Stalinism. I hope so. But that remains to be seen. In the meantime. I would estimate them not only by their condemnation of the Hitler-Stalin pact, but also by their attitude to Chamberlain and Daladier and to the capitalists as a class.

For Chamberlain Daladier and Roosevelt also condemn the Hitler-Stalin pact and the invasion of Finabove all by what they do.

In this latter connection, the Sheean's name together with Hervery day? I do not exlude the pos-Sheean's name without permission.

but I doubt it. DONALD GRAHAM

versus industrial unionism, democ racy versus dictatorship, and many others-the C.I.O. was given credit for every success that the auto workers had in 1937, and that on the basis of those magnificent pages in labor history, the auto workers voted for the Lewis outfit. It matters not that leaders on both sides of the fight contributed their share in winning sit-down strikes and other fights in 1937. It makes no difference that the almost military strategy employed in the G.M. strike was worked out by auto workers and not no one can deny that the showing by Lewis and his stooges. The fact remains that Martin himself, by his virtual repudiation of these daring organization tactics two years later, gave the U.A.W. - C.I.O. this allpowerful weapon with which to crush him in the Labor Board elections. Negatively, many auto workers would have forgiven the A. F. of L its role in the industry in 1933-1935, but positively, those who were credited with having achieved all the gains made in the industry got their However, the C.I.O. of 1940 i

quite a different animal from the C.I.O. of 1937. The auto workers cannot live on history however glorious. Recent pages reveal such blots as the Briggs contract, the Chrysler and G.M. craft strikes. And at the same time, they reveal internally the passing of real power from the auto workers to the Lewis lieutenants. Hillman and Murray Many auto workers were alarmed when they first came in, but were lulled to sleep when told it was reliable Martin. Well, Martin is gone, but Hillman and Murray remain. Murray signed the Chrysler contract alone with the management and stuffed it down the work ers throats. Now the C.I.O: marches one step further into the picture. Hillman and Murray come in to open the G.M. negotiations. An argument might be made that it is better to prevent the chestnuts from being thrown into the fire than to have to pull them out afterwards. For a answer, let us look at the G.M. negotiators. R. J. Thomas, ponderous and incompetent; Addis, crafty but untrustworthy; Reuther, stupid in this kind of work—these are, nevertheless, auto workers. Hillman and Murray, past masters of the art of back-door negotiations, are incapable of writing a decent contract for the industry. The G.M. workers want no steel agreement with its company seniority provisions, nor another Chrysler agreement with its impossible grievance procedure, Mr. Murray! Neither do they want to bask n the sun of a beautiful friendship between Mr. Hillman and Mr. Knudsen. What is necessary in G.M. is to to an investigation, either of the break down the speed-up and restore the bargaining rights that have been lost during the years of factional struggle.

Actually, enough speed-ups have been put thru in the 1940 model, now finishing, for G.M. to grant, say a 3 cent raise without losing a penny This writer knows of three or four increases in the rate of production without increase in man-power or any change in method that have been put thru since the N.L.R.B elections. Many auto workers think that in the negotiations on May 2 Hillman and Murray guaranteed production in exchange for a small raise. Of course, everything is secret now; the auto workers will be told after its all over. If such an agreement is made, then G.M. workers will have gained nothing.

The cycle is nearly complete. On all the new unions which sprang up under the C.I.O., the United Automobile Workers was the most militant, the most democratic, and the most independent of all. It domin ated union affairs in Michigan: i organized the unemployed; it helped smaller unions regardless of A. F of L. or C.I.O. affiliations. It was living symbol of the might of mili-

tant industrial unionism. Today, regardless of present num bers (also greatly reduced), it is fast giving way to the reactionary Unless some forces arise again in we shall have, in effect, another or ganizing committee, similar to the Steel Workers Organizing Committee and others. We hope there is

U. S. Farmers Well, How About Asks Relief— Face Peasant Offering Him a Told To Get **Conditions**

DEDUCTION of large sections of the agricultural population to a peasant class is the prospect that faces farmers, according to conclusions of farm experts. This gloomy forecast was made at the hearings held by the Temporary National Economic Committee which is now studying the effects of the machine on unemployment in agriculture.

Out of the maze of charts, graphs and statistics that studded the committee room where the hearings are held, like sails on a lake, came one years, the number of persons employed on the farms of the country remained constant at 33,000,000 while the number of persons being fed by farm products increased from 58 million in 1909 to 99 million in

The all this added productivity on fied, much of it can be attributed to

Crushing the hope that city folks who can't find employment may have Bean of the Buro of Agricultural private employment, as the Presi-Economics said that no new people make public employment sufficiently are needed on the land. On the contrary, he added, there were between 1,500,000 to 2,000,000 persons now whiling their time away in complete idleness.

"Over the years," was Mr. Bean's positive statement, "we can expect to produce more agricultural products with the same number of people on the land or use fewer people on the land to produce the same quantity of products."

ing agencies. Something like 28,000,-

solve the problem, the experts said. stamps and blue ones.

THE veiled assault on public edu-

fests itself in the form of "investi-

gations" of one kind or another,

must arouse progressive educators

thruout the country to renewed

vigilance, lest the careful work of

the past four decades be undone in

our day by elements in the commu-

nity whose concern is not primarily

In New York, the governor has

approved a resolution carrying a

\$30,000 appropriation for a legis-

lative investigation into the New

York public-school system. In Wash-

ington, Mr. Martin Dies, chairman

of the House committee to investi-

gate un-American activities, has pro-

mised an investigation into the poli-

tical and social affiliations of text-

Ostensibly in the public interest,

both of these announcements have

about them a vagueness that gives

the part of all experienced observers.

There can be no objection, certainly,

authors of textbooks-provided that,

vestigators themselves are compe-

tent to pursue it without prejudice

In a democracy, any elected body

look into the methods and practises

which are in force in the schools

supported by public taxation. Nor

can a scrutiny of the writers of text-

books used in those schools be re-

garded as an unwarranted invasion

of rights. The investigation of pub-

lic-utilities corporations, which a

handful of senators led by Thomas J.

Walsh and George W. Norris forced

the Federal Trade Commission to

conduct in 1928, was extremely valu-

able in exposing an intolerable abuse

of privilege by a powerful group

that did not scruple to buy the ser-

vices of professors for its own anti-

A different purpose, however,

would seem to animate those who

are today bent on investigation. The

quest today is for "subversive" act-

ivities and "subversive" textbooks:

and the problem becomes one of de-

Patronize the

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Comradely Atmosphere

book writers.

or **favor**,

social ends.

with advancing free education.

cation, which currently mani-

New York City.

Decent Job?

By I. C. A.

New York City. N a recent issue of the United ■ Business Service, one of numerous information sheets intended for the persual of business executives and reflecting their point of view, there appears an analysis of "The Stamp Plan For Surplus Commodities.'

The article takes note of the enthusiasm of social workers for the plan, and finds, despite possibilities of petty graft, that "the local application of the plan so far seems gencontrolling fact: That in the last 30 erally satisfactory." Then some curious conclusions are drawn: "Obviously, the plan is an ap-

proach toward a two-price system under which food (and perhaps other items) will be sold to the poor at lower prices than others have to pay. Like any other form of subsidy, this is accomplished at the expense the farm is not due entirely to the of the general body of taxpayers, development and greater use of and amounts in fact to an increase machinery, the farm experts testiwages, making relief or relief-employment that much more attractive in competition with private employment. And the only way to get people off the relief rolls and into dent once reminded Congress, is to less attractive, as compared with private so that people will actively seek the latter in preference. To on the land who are not productive, this extent, the stamp plan, like the payment of 'prevailing wages' in cial reasons the rights of citizenship, relief-employment, tends to perpetuate the latter and obstruct the process of getting people off the re-

For those to whom and for whom United Business Service speaks, this may be "the only way to get people off the relief rolls and into private Figures were also brought forth employment." For them, millions of which showed that farm tenancy is slackers are on relief, and bosses increasing, that more and more are tearing out their hair, unable farms are being mortgaged and that to get workers to do the work. But more and more of these mortgages | did it ever occur to them that there are being held by the biggest lend- might be another way of inducing their imaginary self-satisfied man 000 acres in the midwest states, it on relief to come back to his bench was declared, were acquired by five at the shop, and that might be, first, main lending agencies thru fore- to offer him a job, and second to offer a rate of wages that will more Raising the incomes of city work- than compete with the new Ameriers of the lower levels would help a can standard of living so well great deal, but could not completely described in a design of orange

the distinction between the two is

essential in anyone who conducts an

investigation into educational me-

thods and materials. The belief, en-

tertained no doubt in many quarters,

that any textbook which presents

the theories of state and revolution

advanced by Karl Marx, N. Lenin or

Leon Trotsky is ipso facto "sub-

versive," would, if allowed to pre-

vail, reduce the educational system

of America to the condition of bond-

age which exists in the totalitarian

states of Italy, Germany and Soviet

The term "subversive," employed

indiscriminately, may easily become

a weapon in the hands of those who

would exercise an intellectual cen-

sorship that is in fact subversive of

against some of our foremost text-

with most enlightened citizens, they

ment in our present social order,

if it is to survive. Only last month,

the social-science text books of one

of Teachers College, Columbia Uni-

tion of Mr. Merwin K. Hart, pres-

ident of the State Economic Council.

This action climaxed agitation that

has for years been inspired by

silence Mr. Rugg by forcing his

books out of the schools. Nor is Mr.

Rugg alone. In the recent past, Pro-

fessors Carl L. Becker, David Saville

Muzzey, Roy Hatch and the late

DeForest Stull were victims of

In the only true sense of the word

the works of these men are not sub-

versive; they are, on the contrary,

conducive of unfettered thinking, as

opposed to unthinking stereotypes

that leave no way out of our dilem-

mas but resort to violence and arms.

The same freedom of inquiry charac-

terizes, in another field, the works

We welcome any investigation of

American education that has as its

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similar persecution.

of Bertrand Russell

the best public interest.

rise to legitimate apprehension on see the need for change and improve-

New York school system or of the such writer, Professor Harold Rugg

in line with the best educational versity, were branded "subversive"

practise, the investigation has a and removed from the public schools

clear-cut objective, and that the in- of Binghamton, N. Y., at the instiga-

of representatives has the right to groups in other communities to

lief rolls."

By JOHN DEWEY | termining what is "subversive" and

Over One Third Of City Have Dewey Hits School Probe Received Relief

As Danger to Education During the last six years, more than a third of the city's popu-Fears Academic Freedom Will Be Victim | some time, Welfare Commissioner Hodson said in a report last week. It was the first estimate he had made of the extent and total cost to

what is not. Competence to recognize the city, state and federal government of all forms of public aid since January 1, 1934, when the La Guardia administration took office. During that period, Hodson calcu-

lated on the basis of statistics compiled by his research staff, 2,759,254 persons, or 36.2% of the population. received home or work-relief veterans relief, assistance to children and aid to the blind and homeless. The total cost he put at \$1,807,-000,000—a little over \$600,000,00 a vear.

Commissioner Hodson contrasted the 2,759,254 figure with his estimate of 1,000,000 persons who are receiv-

ing government aid at any time. "The important thing to note is that the large majority who have had aid at some time during the period are now no longer on the Increasingly, attempts are being rolls," he said. "We do not know, made to invoke such a censorship but we hope that a substantial proportion are now employed. In any book authors because, in common event, they are not on the rolls."

> goal the development of thoughtful, intelligent, critical-minded students and citizens; we welcome evidence that agents of foreign governments are using the schools to undermine confidence in democracy as a way of life. But we stand unalterably opposed to those who would pervert a free educational system by opening it to the exploitation of prejudice, bigotry and unenlightenment: and we shall vigorously resist any attempt by pressure groups to gain control of the public schools by seeking to dictate what shall and what shall not be taught in them.

> (This statement was issued recently by John Dewey on behalf of the Committee for Cultural Freedom.—Editor.)

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Socialism Must Face the New Problems of the Day

By C. A. SMITH

(C. A. Smith is chairman of the British Independent Labor Party .-- Editor.)

T ET us consider two major trends in economic and political structure. On the economic side, this war will, like the last war, compel largescale measures of planning and of centralization, marked by increasing state intervention, state control and state ownership.

But, at the end of the war, it will almost certainly not be possible to reverse the process and to "decontrol" industry, commerce and finance, as happened after the last war. The substantial measure of entrepreneurial freedom existing between 1921 and 1939 will probably never return.

There is general agreement that the laissez-faire capitalism of 1840 to 1940 has passed forever, the nineteenth century being in this respect an historical interlude between the destruction of old controls and the imposition of new. Laissezfaire is dead in the totalitarian countries, dying in Britain and France, doomed everywhere.

The twentieth century is apparent ly to be the epoch of state capitalism, and it is important that we should understand clearly in what ways it differs from socialism. Since state capitalism unites political and economic power, it is clear that such a system can be a withering tyranny. leaving no place for liberty, equality and fraternity.

DOOM OF SMALL STATES

trend is strongly marked. Just as

by the grace (or thru the quarrels) of their big neighbors. Rapidly, they lives of the people. are being destroyed or, at the least, deprived of their sovereignty.

The expansion of Germany has destroyed the Czecho-Slovakian, Austrian and Polish states. The recent diplomatic and military victories of Russia have made substantial inroads on the political independence of Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania and Finland.

While condemning imperialism in all its forms, and declaring the right of nations to be free from foreign domination, we recognize the futility of attempts to preserve the sovereignty of small states forever. Yet Federal Union is no remedy

acceptable to socialists, since a federation of capitalist governments would probably produce a European fascist super-state. First the emancipation of the workers from the thraldom of capitalism,

these free peoples. It becomes clearer almost daily that the choice is not between federating and perishing, but between socialism and imperialism.

The trend in both economic and

political organization towards the

TWO PROBLEMS **OF DEMOCRACY**

On the political side, a similar problem is the preservation of demo- recognize the necessity that inthe small economic unit is disap- the state, and the equally important compulsion is necessary, to perform pearing, so is the small political preservation of an adequate area of their economic and other duties to

They exist only on sufferance and political power is giving rulers and liberty compatible with social livofficials immense control over the

> Aided by recent developments in both the physical and social sciences. this power has become in the three totalitarian countries one of the most pervasive and withering despotisms ever imposed on subject masses and individual minds.

The problem for the believer in democracy is to discover the political structure and technique which will make possible popular control over the modern Leviathan.

Representative democracy of the parliamentary type is obviously insufficient, the purely administrative problems of government requiring such expert knowledge that burocracy seems unavoidable. Socialists who value democracy have therefore to consider what they can learn from libertarian doctrines such as those of the anarcho-syndicalists, to study the reason for the rise and fall of then the voluntary federation of the Soviets in Russia.

They have to consider the value of the functional constituency as distinct from the territorial, of indirect election as distinct from direct, of such devices as the referendum and recall. This problem will not disappear with the disappearance of capitalism. It will remain in a socialist society.

Even, however, should the probextinction of the small unit and the | lem of democratic control be solved, centralized control of the larger that of individual liberty will remain. presents socialists with a double Democracy is not a substitute for problem as yet unsolved, not only personal liberty, and may in practise in practise but even in theory. That | prove a denial of it. Socialists cracy, that is, popular control over dividuals shall be compelled, when

themselves in a precarious position. | state. The fusion of economic and | demand the maximum of individual | in the Emersonian sense is

in the old sense, but even the freefrom totalitarian dictators. Neither Mussolini, Hitler nor Stalin permits freedom of association in autonomous organizations, such as trades unions, cooperatives and political

In their countries, the school, press, radio, cinema and theater are subject to rigorous governmental control. Neither the arts nor the sciences remain free, and subversive tendencies are detected even in art forms, notably architecture, music and the drama.

Criticism of the dictators policies, opposition to the dictators personally, becomes a crime against the state punishable by death. Mussolini's murder of Matteotti, Hitler's killing of party members in June 1934, Stalin's massacre of the flower of the Russian Bolsheviks after farcical trials and more frequently after no trial at all, are instances in point.

One of the most vital tasks of today is to preserve freedom where it exists, and to restore it where it has been destroyed. We must reassert the value and dignity of the free mind, the right of the individual tory since 1917 is falsified by Stalin to follow the conclusions of his own reason and the dictates of his own conscience, the duty of the historian, scientist and philosopher to refuse to be guilty of intellectual prostitution. In the words of Emerson, "whoso

would be a man must be a nonconformist," and in a world of arrogant dictators and servile yesmen, of power-lusting tyrants and

supreme value to society.

Today, not only personal liberty merely eternal vigilance, but the to discredit James Maxton by being disbelieved even when speakconstant readiness to assert and declaring him a paid agent of Hit- ing the truth, and many of us today dom of the mind, is in deadly peril defend that liberty at all costs. ler. Tyranny is protean in its forms, and history reveals freedom as both per- P.O.U.M. leaders declared innocent of a C.P. publication or a C.P. memmanently precarious and permanently precious.

REASSERTION OF ETHICAL VALUES

My final general observation re- and murdered. lates to the need for the reassertion Daily Worker, "doctors" allegations "for the maintenance of the state, the means will always be deemed honorable.... Where the safety of one's country is at stake, there is no consideration of what is just or unjust, merciful or cruel, glorious or shameful."

In other contexts, this doctrine reappeared in the principles and practise of the Jesuits, in the "master-morality" of Nietzsche in the Realpolitik of Bismarck. Today, it is preached and practised by the fascists and also by Communist parties, tho it forms no part of true communism. Examples abound.

German history since 1918 is falsified by Hitler and so taught to German school-children. Russian hisand so taught to Russian schoolchildren. Hitler orders the names of lates especially to its place in the Jews who fell in battle for the Ger- labor movement. Many of the expoman Fatherland to be erased from nents of this doctrine call themselves war memorials. Stalin orders.paintings and statues of leading revolu- cialists or communists. tionaries with whom he has since quarrelled to be removed from the revolutionary museums.

In Spain, the agents of the Cominunit. The small nation-states find the individual life free from the the community. But libertarians their servile tools, the non-conformist tern try to discredit an anarchist tive of comradeship and of confi- ingly.

The price of liberty remains not and others by forging a document, the liars meet the liar's doom of

of espionage, but the Leeds C.P.. issues a leaflet alleging that they have been found guilty of espionage, and long before the trial, Nin is dragged from prison by the Cheka

politics. Machiavelli declared that against Trotsky in order to make them appear credible. The same paper solemnly reports "evidence' that the I.L.P. has sent the P.O.U.M. "millions of pounds," and a member of the British C.P. rewrites-and falsifies-his own history of the Russian Revolution, an act of literary prostitution to which it would be difficult to find a parallel.

Political murders in Russia and Spain find their counterpart in France and Switzerland. The antifascist brothers Rosselli are murdered in Paris, and no one doubts that Italian agents were the criminals. A communist murder squad o six successfully decoy and kill Ignace Reiss, who had resigned his membership of the party in protest against the "Moscow trials."

My own protest against this re-Marxists and claim the name of so-

In the ranks of the politically or-

ing pearls, to discredit Andres Nin may often bring success. In the long, would not accept any statement The forgery is detected and the whatsoever on the unsupported word ber.

Further, a social revolution led or controlled by men employing lying, slander and murder as normal political methods would not produce a better society than we have nowon the contrary, it would produce a worse one.

We condemn this old "Machiavellianism" in its pseudo-Marxist form. But we must not merely condemn it in other people and parties. We must resist any manifestation of it in our own ranks, and treat one another, and members of other working-class organizations, with scrupulous honesty, however we may condemn their

Plato, at the end of his Republic, agreed that the ideal society existed nowhere on earth, "but," he said, "there is laid up a pattern of it in the heavens which those who will may behold, and beholding, organize themselves accordingly."

It is the privilege of socialists to conceive of and imaginatively to behold a new social order; it is their duty to work for its realization in this world, "which is the world of all of us, wherein we find our happiness, or not at all."

But we must also accept as a duty, so far as is possible in this present evil world, that as we conganized workers they are a cancerous template that fairer and finer world growth. They poison the whole poli- of our dreams, we shall, in beholdtical atmosphere by conduct destruc- ing it, organize ourselves accord-

Gitlow's "Confession" is Merely Self-Justification

Second Article in the Series Reviewing "I Confess"

By B. HERMAN

(This is the second of a series of articles by B. Herman reviewing Benjamin Gitlow's "I Confess." The third article will appear in the next issue of this paper.—Editor.)

BEN GITLOW'S "I Confess" is written from three widely varying points of view: (1) the viewpoint of a Philistine Sunday School teacher or a Mrs. Grundy, who is horrified at every "irregularity"; (2) a viewpoint uncomfortably close to that of an open-shop em ployer, who detests militant unionism, has chills of fear about the class struggle, and is anxious to call the cops; and (3) the viewpoint of an independent democratic socialist, who is rightfully indignant at Stalin's contempt for socialist ideals and his disregard for the class interests of the American workers. But in all the varying viewpoints, Gitlow's pervading theme is self-justification.

No reviewer of the book was taken in by the first point of view. The second appears only occasionally, but it was the third, the critical socialist approach to Stalinism, which impressed most of the reviewers as to the "honesty" of the book.

CONFESSION BEGINS AT HOME

As to the section dealing with the private lives and human frailties of various communist leaders-confession, like charity, should begin at home. The merit of great confessions, whether of Rousseau, or of Casanova, or of Benvenuto Cellini, is that they reveal frankly and with great truth of utterance the most intimate thoughts, feelings and experiences of the writers themselves. Gitlow has the effrontery to dilate on the amatory adventures of Ruthenberg, Weinstone, Pepper, Browder and others, but has nothing into favorable trade agreements and whatever to say of himself. This is fundamentally dishonest. It is certainly not "confession." At times, it becomes nauseating and insufferable. find absolutely nothing new and

the people who made up the communist movement during the years mystery to the reader of the book of which he writes were in some sense human. Lacking comparative break with so counter-revolutionary a statistics on the subject, but having regime. Even from the standpoint read of the high rate of illegitimate of a decent bourgeois democrat, the births among high-school girls in the struggle for colonial independence United States in the 1920's, I dare is worthy of support; how much say that the sexual morality of the more then from the class-conscious, communist youth in that decade, at revolutionary point of view of the which Gitlow pretends to stand communists of the 1920's! Gitlow's aghast, was not materially better or remarks in this connection are worse than that of the average also thoroly dishonest. youth in the country. Similarly, Gitlow's horror at the drinking habits of William Z. Foster and his friends can only be based on complete ignorance of the habits of American trade in these terms: "I sent my agents unionists, or of Republican, Democratic or American Legion delegates assembled in convention.

REACTIONARY ATTITUDE

The open-shop employer's point of view can be seen in Gitlow's tear-Russian or communist phenomenon, can sleep undisturbed at night.

as Gitlow implies. It is thoroly 100% American.

The same attitude appears in the proud display of false passports on the fly-leaf of the book and in the horrendous details regarding the use of such passports. He has here descended to a level which regards the police regulations of the various countries as the embodiment of sacred morality and the policeman's orders as the acme of human wis-

revolutionary movement in Russia to the revolutionary movement in rather fanciful reasons in order to other countries sends shivers up and down the Gitlow spine. To see no difference between genuine fraternal assistance and the financing of a puppet organization along Stalin lines is truly shameful. Who, calling himself a socialist, or even a liberal, would hesitate to send financial help to the underground anti-fascist movements of Germany, France or Spain? But such assistance can never be made an instrument to enforce a condition of dependency or the suppression of equality and democracy. Gitlow makes no such distinction. Rather, he calls for the

CHAUVINISTIC **STRAIN**

Gitlow reveals a chauvinistic strain in his section dealing with the support of the communist movement in the 1920's to the struggle for freedom of colonial countries. To him, this activity was merely the ex- struction of heavy industry and the pression of Russian foreign policy. As a matter of fact, the support of imperialist oppression by the Communist parties, under the influence of Russian foreign policy, emerged only in 1935. Before that time, the out the Five-Year Plan due to the communist movement fought colonial enslavement even where the Russian government had entered diplomatic relations with the imperialist powers. Apparently, Gitlow with his keen analytical mind can Even Gitlow would admit that counter-revolutionary in Stalinism. tariat and our pledge to defend the It therefore remains a complete why Gitlow waited until 1929 to

Gitlow is not above trying to frighten the old ladies of the D.A.R. by constantly referring to the most ordinary relations of party members there," "My spies reported to me so and so." The impression is created of a vast conspiratorial G.P.U. apparatus of spies and agents, per- tions of American life and which meating the Communist Party in the permitted in its ranks every possible 1920's. Actually, I knew one of the "agents" that he mentions. He never problems, because of a momentary was in the G.P.U. He spent his spare shedding over the violence suffered time, after working all day, enrollby scabs in the furriers strike ing students in the classes at the while simultaneously ignoring the party school and practising on his indescribable brutality directed violin. I can assure the D.A.R. that against strikers. Violence against today, if they can manage to stay strike-breakers is not a peculiarly out of earshot of his violin, they

The process of self-justification four different political parties within six or seven years. In justifying his break with the Communist Party in 1929, Gitlow is compelled to resort to the facts and the arguments of the I.L.L.A. For he was not expelled alone. He was part of a political tendency, and by no means its foremost leader. But when he is explaining his withdrawal from the I.L.L.A. (the then Communist Party Op-Financial support once given by position) in 1932, and later from the terly worthless. Socialist Party, he has to invent justify himself.

Gitlow claims that he left the Lovestone group because it considered that "Stalin was correct." Gitlow refrains from quoting his own thesis, printed at that time in the Workers Age. An examination of the documents shows that Gitlow's resolution agreed with the majority in the condemnation of the Stalin regime, the Leader cult, and the suppression of party democracy in the Comintern. It agreed with the majority in criticizing Stalin's forced collectivization of the peasantry. It even agreed with the majority in endorsing the Five-Year Plan. Gitlow's resolution disagreed with the majority primarily in criticizing Stalin's neglect of light industry. I quote from Gitlow's resolution (Workers Age, Vol. 2, No. 3):

"That we reaffirm our position in favor of the Five-Year Plan, which includes the speediest possible con collectivization of agriculture as the prerequisites for the building up of socialism in the Soviet Union. . . That we point out the difficulties faced by the C.P.S.U. in carrying backwardness of the Russian masses, the effects of economic crisis, the acuteness of the war danger. That we reiterate, in spite of the errors and mistakes made by the C.P.S.U leadership, our support of the Soviet Union, its achievements, the example it sets for the world prole-Soviet Union in the event of a war to the maximum of our ability and with all our resources as the center of the proletarian revolution and the fatherland of the working class and the oppressed masses the world over." The rest of the resolution is equally worth reading.

WHY GITLOW LEFT THE I.L.L.A.

Judged in 1940, the Gitlow of 1932 was what would be called these days a violent pro-Stalinist. Yet in his book, Gitlow attempts to invent for himself a record of never-failing intransigence and extremism in the struggle against Stalin. If we are to go by documents, Gitlow left the Lovestone group, which based its existence on the fundamental quesvariation of opinion on Russian difference on the tempo of development of Russian heavy and light industry! There could be no more absurd, more Russian-minded, motivation for splitting an American working-class organization. And, in order to justify himself, Gitlow tells a

fable about the "100% endorsement

II AN anyone, as he sees totalitarian power over almost the whole of Europe, believe that this sad old world will ever be restored to what it once was? . . . If England and France win, it will be at such economic cost that they will be compelled to go into managed economies, with large programs of control. In England, Keynes is winning support for a forced levy on all wages and salaries, to be paid back eventually, it is hoped, with interest.

"Gradually the screws are tightening even in the free countries because modern war cannot be waged except on a totalitarian basis. After the war the economic distakes on a fantastic character in Git- location will be so fundamental that the state cannot escape managerial responsibility, dress delivered by Marceau Pivert, ing sufferings, inflation and poverty. low's account of his travels thru even the striving to retain the outward democratic forms. Foreign trade, particularly, leader of the French Socialist Workers And when the Allied governments will have to be controlled as a matter of national economic defense and rehabilitation.

"If the Germans conquer, these methods will be employed as a matter of course, being fundamental to the regime, and if the Allies win, they will be employed re- Party in Washington. The first part apluctantly of necessity."—Raymond Clapper, New York World-Telegram, April 10, 1940.

of Stalin" by the Lovestone group, leadership of a Gitlow, is fantastic And to make it worse, Gitlow insists beyond description. Yet Gitlow just-

For the sake of keeping up this pose of anti-Stalinist intransigence, Gitlow forgets to mention that he was the leading proponent of immediate reunification with the Stalinist party in 1931, and the author of a pamphlet entitled "Communist Unity." For one who has written so little to neglect to mention this work of his in his "confession" is little short of amazing.

IN AND OUT OF THE S.P.

After leaving the Lovestone Group, Gitlow tells how he attempted to organize without success a "block of all communist oppositions against Stalin." That is, he attempted to become the leader of the various sectarian Trotskvist splinter groups, which carried on their existence in a political world thousands of miles from America. Nothing could be more fantastic, not even the most romantic venture proposed by any communist leader in 1919 and 1920. To imagine that these splinter groups, which regarded Trotsky as known. almost pro-Stalinist because he had broken with Stalin only in 1927, and which looked upon each other as "attorneys for Stalin," could unite

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Even Gitlow, then, developed thru

stages; so why not Stalin? With various fabrications, Gitlow Party, throwing the blame on that organization. He conceals the real facts. He accuses the Socialist Party, as he did the I.L.L.A. previously, of pro-Stalinist tendencies. Even Lazar Becker is accused of pro-Stalinism-Becker who had left the Lovestone Group and joined the Socialist Party together with him and whose opposition to Stalinism is unimpeachable. But the real facts are well

Book reviewers who accepted the "honesty" of Gitlow's book on its own say-so will have the opportunity to write their own memoirs in the under the even more belated anti- future and reveal how easily they Stalinist and the far from subtle were taken in.

Totalitarianism Over Europe Socialism Only Hope Of Escaping Disaster

P.S.O.P. Leader Calls for Anti-War Struggle

By MARCEAU PIVERT

(This is the second part of the adand Peasants Party and of the Internaional Workers Front Against War, at the recent convention of the Socialist peared in the last issue.—Editor.

Gitlow had taken leave of any sense who can lead it to victory. They are reader that he did not enter until the socialism. They have held on in spite opportunist elements - which, of the profound demoralization which barism. course, sounds very comical today, resulted from the signature of the considering Gitlow's own position. Stalin-Hitler pact and the declaration of war. They are holding on because they believe in the solidarity the cost of living, the misery and of the international working class. justifies his leaving the Socialist They endure the repression of the government with the same serenity with which they stood up against and women in the colonies who are the calumnies of the Stalinists, with the same calm courage which honors it is clear that objective conditions their cause, which is indeed the are ready today for the return to cause of every one of us. A month peace thru the joint efforts of the ago, several leaders of the P.S.O.P .-Jacquier and Rouaix, the secretaries; and Chapelin, the secretary of the youth organization; and two otherswere condemned to five years in jail with loss of their civil, political and family rights. They were also fined a thousand francs each. Their only crime was the distribution of stick-"Capitalism brings war just as

the clouds in the sky bring rain." Today, the repetition of this sen-

tence spoken by Jaures in 1896 has become a crime in the land of the Rights of Man! In spite of all this, my comrades

of the P.S.O.P. are in no way discouraged, for they know that they will have the last word by holding firm to the tradition of the French and of the international working class.

A STRANGE PARADOX

I realize that this political position is often discussed and sometimes misunderstood. It is, however, but the practical application of the teachings of Karl Liebknecht: "Each working class finds its main enemy at home." If this position had been better understood, would Hitler have won in Germany? I don't think so. A fundamental basis for genuine socialist action is the international unity of the workers. Today, it is obvious that only this unyielding class policy can bring about the breakdown of Hitler's or Stalin's power. We are witnessing a strange paradox: Actually no people wants this war. We could be sure of the answer if we were to consult the millions of men who are now getting ready to destroy each other in total war. It would be: NO! And yet, they are now marching to war. Why? Frenchmen and Englishmen are marching because they are afraid of

the Hitler dictatorship. The Germans are fighting because they are afraid of a new Versailles with its resultannounce that they will seek to control Europe or to partition Germany, their only effect is to consolidate the power of Hitler over his people. And all this time, Hitler persecutes, assassinates and de-TODAY, far away from my comstroys; he shoots the students of I rades, I allow myself to Prague, transplants whole populamake them this compliment, that tions, and crushes Austria, Bohemia, that this is still the position of the lifies himself for his noble effort, and I am sure that the day will come Poland. The effect of this is the I.L.L.A. Such "revaluation" is ut- puts the blame upon the splinter when the French working class will strengthening of the grip of the groups. It reveals to what extent recognize them as the only guides plutocratic ruling class of the 'democracies" over their own peo of political reality as early as that. now several thousands, spread all ples. But suppose a new spirit Gitlow then tells how he joined over France, in the towns and on sweeps thru both warring sides. Tothe Socialist Party in 1934. The the countryside, in the factories, in day, both peoples are afraid of the death of Hillquit and the defeat of the army and the colonies, and all tyrants or the exploiting classes of the social-democratic wing at the of them are loyal to the program of the opposing side. But no good can Detroit convention opened the doors the Socialist Workers and Peasants result for anyone if tyranny or exto the former communist leader. Git- Party. They have indeed proved ploitation are spread to new terlow did not rush in. He assures the themselves worthy and loyal to ritories. That is why socialism is the only way whereby humanity can S.P. was properly "purified" of its of terrible political confusion and be saved from disester and bar-

Genuine socialism must fight its way thru and against the increasing hardships of life today—the rise in slaughter brought by the war, longer hours of work. And we must not forget those great numbers of men now in a ferment of revolt. I think international socialist proletariat. We are far from helping Hitler, as

some rather superficial people seem to think. We are on the contrary carrying out our internationalist Marxist propaganda, which is being conducted simultaneously by members of the P.S.O.P. in France, the various revolutionary groups in Germany, the I.L.P. in England, the P.O.U.M. in Spain, and the R.S.A.P. in Holland, etc. . . . It is only this propaganda which can put an end to the horrible and barbarous dictatorship of Hitler. And this can in fact be done only by the German proletariat itself. But the German proletariat will only revolt when it is sure of receiving help from France and England, not from the Allied General Staffs, not from the capitalists and bankers, but only from the workers and peasants and soldiers. That is why our comrades believe in the same type of solution so well described by the great Italian author, Silone: "The Third Front." That is why they are opposed to both the "social-patriots," accomplices of the plutocracies, and to the Stalinists, the allies of Hitler. The problems that are now facing us can be solved only by doing away once and for all with imperialism and the competition amongst the imperialist nations, only by the establishment of the Socialist United States of Europe. This is the basis of the program of the International Workers Front Against War; which at this moment is coordinating the efforts of socialists all over the world.

THE I.W.F. CARRIES ON DESPITE ALL

I am very glad to be able to greet the relations of friendly collaboration which have been established between your party and the International Workers Front Against War. You feel as I do, I am sure, about the (Continued on Page 4)

Vol. 9.

Workers Age

Organ of the National Council, Independent Labor League of America, 131 West 33rd St., New York City. Published every Saturday by the Workers Age Publishing Association. Subscription Rates: \$1.50 per year; \$.85 for six month; 5c a copy. Foreign Rates: \$2.50: Canada \$1.75 per year

Entered as second class matter Nov. 5, 1934, at the Post Office New York, N. Y. under the act of March 3, 1879. Phone: LAckawanna 4-5282.

WILL HERBERG, Editor

SATURDAY, MAY 18, 1940.

ALL EYES ON THE PACIFIC

THE sudden decision of the authorities to have the U. S. fleet in the Pacific remain indefinitely at Hawaii even after the naval maneuvers, following upon Secretary Hull's recent warning to Japan, emphasizes an aspect of American imperialist policy that we do not believe has been sufficiently grasped in its full significance even by those who are awake to the dangers inherent in the Administration's course in foreign affairs. It is the point stressed by M. S. Mautner in his article in these columns last week and it is a point that deserves to be emphasized on every appropriate occasion.

The war is being sold to America as another crusade to save democracy from the fascist dictators, Hitler and Stalin. Moral pressure for America's involvement is being aroused exclusively from that angle. And yet there is every reason to believe that should the high-minded war-mongers succeed in putting over their crusade, our share in the war will be centered primarily in the Pacific and concerned largely with maintaining American and Allied imperialist interests in the Far East against the challenge of Japan and, more remotely, Russia. With all our eager- which may make a new stand difness to get at Hitler in Berlin, we may find ourselves assigned to save democracy in the swamps of the Dutch East Indies.

It has been known for some time, tho of course not officially admitted, that a working arrangement exists between the United States and Great Britain on a plan of naval cooperation. A sort of division of imperialistic labor has been worked out whereby Britain can concentrate its naval strength in European waters, where it is so badly needed today, while this country will "take care" of the Pacific in the interests of both Washington and London, Wall Street and the Bank of England. In line with this arrangement, and because of the character of the Administration's foreign policy, our navy functions today virtually as part of the Anglo-French naval force, being carefully coordinated with the Allied navies in disposition and mission. This is true while America is still officially at peace; should the Administration succeed in dragging us into the war, the full pattern of this system of naval cooperation will become immediately obvious.

On another page in this issue, Florence Brewer Boeckel, in a dispatch from Washington, refers to sudden increase of talk about the "inevitability" of American involvement in war. And she adds: "Those who talk of war before election admit that it would have to happen as the result of some incident—PROBABLY IN THE PACIFIC . . . "This warning is certainly timely. All eyes on the Pacific!

TROM the Communist Manifesto down to the last party pamphlet, socialists and communists have always indicted the capitalist system on moral grounds. That being true, they can hardly expect to get away with it when they insist that the Soviet Union is not to be judged by these standards."—Granville Hicks, in a recent bulletin on some problems of socialist morality.

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A Letter to Granville Hicks:

For Radical Reconstruction Of Escaping from Disaster

(Granville Hicks, since his resignation from the Communist Party some months ago, has been carrying on a correspondence in the form of a mimeographed bulletin with a number of "fellow-travelers" and former and present members of the Communist Party. The bulletin went first to fifty and later to as many as 125 to 175 persons, who were invited to give their views on current political questions. Bertram D. Wolfe, after receiving some of these bulletins from Granville Hicks, wrote him a letter, a considerable part of which was reproduced in the latest number of the Hicks bulletin. We publish this letter below in full because of its general interest to our readers.—Editor.)

Brooklyn, N. Y.

Dear Granville Hicks: THANK you for sending me your bulletin. As I read it and the earlier ones which Dick Rovere lent me, I am impressed by a central strength and weakness of your undertaking. The strength lies in a ack of cocksureness, in the absence of a cut-and-dried formula and dogmatic credo, in a desire to inquire, to examine, to discuss, before choosing a new path. The weakness is there, too-in the danger that too much which was worthwhile will be thrown overboard, in the lack of anything approaching confidence, in the peril of throwing off all baggage and equipment in panicky flight ficult. These deficiencies, I hope, will be temporary, while the inquiring, scientific, experimental and undogmatic approach may be rendered permanent. . .

We were driven out of the Comintern a decade ago, alienated by the arbitrary regime, the Stalin cult, the trend to reduce all parties to mere tails to the Russian party or its dominant faction, to solve all problems in all lands by literal translation of some Russian formula into varying tongues, and by the dogmas of "social-fascism," union splitting, no united front except from "below," and the like. We have had a decade to reexamine and reconsider, to decide what was worth salvaging, and what should be rejected. But you people have left at a time when decay and demoralization is much greater, and there is less leisure for slow and painful reorientation, but no less necessity. I can see that it will not take you so long as it did us to discard what is unserviceable, but I fear many of your correspondents are in a mood to discard along with it much that is serviceable. In short, the very lack of conservatism has its perils as well as its ad-

Here are a few conclusions that we have arrived at:

TRUE BASIS OF INTERNATIONALISM

1. It is a deficiency of most radical movements in America that they have had their heads in Europe, and only their feet in America. Each land has its own traditions, conditions, character, starting points, usefulness in terms of the concrete General formulas solve no specific problems until such specific terms are discovered and substituted for the general ones.

2. Even where the tasks are fair-

the chief peril in local imitators of Hitler or Mussolini-or for that matter, Stalin-and not in the M-Day plans, in the growth of executive power and burocracy, in the unsolved problems of unemployment, feature which marks at once the etc. Naturally, it is easier to concentrate all fire on Pelley, or Coughlin, or Browder, than to tackle the solution of the major problems of American life which, in more obscure and subtle and less dramatic forms, provide a breeding ground for growing dictatorship. To instance only one difficulty, one must find a way to support the features of the New Deal like social insurance and encouragement to labor organization, against reactionary opposition; and yet, at the same time, fight the danger of government control of the unions, increasing executive power, centralization and burocracy, growing armament economics at the expense of social welfare, the drive to war and M-Day totalitarianism, of which the New Deal forces are the chief source. And now that the Roosevelt camp is increasingly developing the negative at the expense of the positive features and becoming the chief source of danger, one must know how to expose and fight that chief source without playing into the hands of those who fight

Roosevelt for opposite reasons. 3. No international movement or action can be based on monopoly of leadership by a single party, or some faction of it. This was the real cause of the undoing of the Comintern, as Rosa Luxemburg foresaw from the beginning, and is equally fatal to Trotskyism-witness the justification of Stalin's Finnish invasion. Internationalism can only be reconstructed on the basis of genuine national movements securely rooted in and responsive to their own people and problems, and cooperating on the basis of equality with the parties of other countries wherever the problems run, as they inevitably do in part, beyond boundary lines. Cooperation in the struggle against war, as exemplified in the International Workers Front Against War, is the basic task and heart of all international effort and reconstruc-

SOCIALIST

UNITY NEEDED to discover the roots-and remove ternational: Did they learn to out- your endeavors. them—out of which they may grow | grow the splitting mania? The here. Too often, radicals have found monolithic party? The dogmatic

church and infallible leader? The unscrupulous use of any means counting on the hoped-for ends to sanctify them? The uncritical acceptance of everything Russian as socialist and as universally appli-

5. What we need in America in the basis of acceptance of any core." The process of splintering and who agree on such matters as the following:

a. Socialism is inseparable from

freedom and democracy. b. Opposition to involvement of America in war. In war lies the chief danger to such freedoms as we have, the chief source of totalitarian dictatorship and economic and political ruin. Keeping out of war is a prerequisite to all help to the European masses in all warring coun-

c. Work for a united and democratically organized labor movement and independent political action of

labor. d. No radical party can be a substitute for the broad mass movement of trade unions, labor party, etc. At its best, it can be a healthful leaven therein; at its worst, a development of labor. We cannot move faster than the mass of our people, but if we are well organized capable of clarifying problems and assisting development, we can hasten that general movement and help it to be fruitful.

CONDITIONS FOR RECONSTRUCTION

The conditions for radical reco struction are really not many or complicated. The chief obstacles are old prejudices and antagonisms, organizational conservatism, cliquism. The reconstructed movement could not include pro-war elements, Stalinites or Trotskyites, but would be a ringing call to those who have dropped out or are becoming demoralized; would attract anti-war elements from the Social-Democratic traitors up against a wall and shoot Federation; would include, I think, the S.P. and the Independent Labor League, and would bring some more people out of the C.P. and Trotskyite camp, and rally the unattached radical.

My own organization has named a standing committee for conference question, has had lengthy negotiawith the Socialist Party. It intends to support Norman Thomas for President provided he runs on a 4. The breach in labor's ranks platform that is primarily anti-war under fairly constant fire from which, however, is even now a dead resulting from division on war in and broader than the Socialist Party, liberal groups. problems. Marxism is a brilliant 1914, and on the Russian Revolution which campaign we believe the S.F. generalization, but the art of politics in 1917, should be healed, and can will decide upon. We hope that such consists in discovering its general be, by cooperation of all who have campaign will further the course of learned from the quarter century of radical reconstruction, and will conconditions of one's own country. defeats, errors and experiences. No tribute to it in that sense, and bedistinction as to which International lieve that you and your corresponone came from has any value. For dents might well do the same withthose who came from the Second In- out giving up, at this stage, your ternational, the only question is: Did independent examination and "corthey learn from the error of Gov- respondence committee for greater ly universal-the struggle against ernment and War Socialism? The unity and effectiveness in the whole war, against fascism, etc.—these error of opposing the revolutionary Left." The words in quotations struggles begin at home. It is far struggle against war? The error of marks are from your first bulleting easier to denounce war-mongering in social-democratic collaboration with and correspond very closely to what other lands than to combat it effec- and defense of capitalism in coun- we, too, are trying to accomplish tively in one's own; to blow spitballs tries like Germany in 1918? For and hope to see realized. For that at dictators across the pond, than those who came from the Third In- reason, I cannot but wish you well in

BERTRAM D. WOLFE March 23, 1940

Low Lands

(Continued from Page 1) and Herbert Morrison to join the new "national-unity" cabinet, the two former to become part of the inner group directing the war.

In France, too, the cabinet was reorganized, tho not so drastically. The extreme right-wing leaders, Louis Marin and Jean Ybarnegaray, were given portfolios as Ministers of State. Thus the cabinet took on the character of a "national-unity" coali-

In America, the German assault on the Low Countries aroused intense indignation everywhere. The Administration immediately sought to take advantage of this state of popular feeling to advance its warinvolvement policy. At Washington, President Roosevelt delivered an address to a Pan-American scientific congress in which he scathingly attacked the "isolationist" position and virtually forecast American involvement in the war. Commenting on this extraordinary address of the President, Ludwell Denny wrote in the New York World-Telegram of May

"There are two interpretations here of the President's Pan-Amercan speech on the European crisis. "One is that he forgot that he is the official spokesman of a neutral nation and permitted himself the luxury of a private citizen expressing a sheer human horror at Hitler's

butchery. deliberately tried to stir emotions to whelming opposition to the United fear and hatred—the emotions which States going in to any foreign war. drive men and nations to war. That | but Congress is receiving little mail. he intentionally gave to the world- Only pressure from the people friend and foe-the impression that against war can offset the pressure America is getting ready to go to for it—every Congressman I talk

War Spreads, War 'Inevitable' Profits Rose Nazis Invade Talk Reappears In Big Spurt In Washington Last Quarter

(Continued from Page 1) neutrality law said would happen if THE first 250 corporations to rethe arms embargo were repealed has happened. We are already deeply in- 1940 last week disclosed that their volved financially in Europe's war. Our munitions industry is being expanded to meet Europe's needs. The buying gold at a price far in excess up 60%. of its normal value, we have increased Allied purchasing power in this country.

I was very much interested to hear a Senator who had done everything to stimulate airplane business and to get new factories in his state say the other day that he was beginning to worry about what would happen when airplane orders ended and all these new unemployed were left in his state to be supported.

There is also the pressure of the wear and tear on our nerves. When up profits of \$25,134,000 against \$6,-"whirl is king," there is a tremendous pull that must be constantly resisted to avoid being drawn into the vortex.

Is there hope that this pressure to get into the war will not get us

Reports from the country accord-"The other is that the President ing to all surveys, still show overto tells me that.

Washington, D. C. port for the initial quarter of profits were 50% greater than for the same period a year ago.

All major industrial groups for which comparisons could be made moment when credits must be ad- showed larger incomes than those vanced to keep this business going of last year. Excluding the Ameridraws nearer. Ways have been found can Telephone and Telegraph Co., to evade the Johnson Act and by in the total, first quarter profits went whose large earnings weigh heavily Net income of the 250 corpora

tions, according to an Associated Press compilation, totaled \$272, 291,000 for the three months, compared with \$181,375,000 in the same period in 1939. Biggest gains were reported by

nine railroad-equipment companies whose earnings totaled \$4,365,000 as against \$906,000 a year ago. Eight petroleum companies more

than quadrupled last year's results, showing net income of \$13,269,000 865,000 a year ago.

Earnings of pulp and paper manufacturers reflected the higher prices prevailing since the war eopardized shipments from Scandinavian countries. Profits of seven companies totaled \$2,544,000 compared with \$1,267,000 for the first quarter of 1939.

Read—Spread

WORKERS AGE

Socialism Is the Only Hope

(Continued from Page 3)

in the very important and comthat is, about 120 million dollars, a policy. day. Socialists have never before had to face such profound political and economic upheavals. And never before have the fundamental principles of socialism been subjected to such trials

But we are able to learn from the experiences of two world wars and of twenty-five years of struggle and defeat, and we can see before us the profound crisis in the capitalpestiferous obstacle to the general error, but those who claimed wrongly to speak for them. Thru this crisis, fascism, dictatorship and war of the insufficient political maturity you our greetings!

of the masses. But are we then going importance of an energetic decision, to let ourselves drift with the curwhich would eliminate all hesitation rent of passivism, which is the in the very important and cominevitable result of Stalinist deplicated field of international work. generation and of "social-patriotic" Time is very short. Every day the corruption? If we should be tempted members of the International Work- to do this, we have but to think of ers Front Against War have to the wonderful example of socialist reconstitute their system of contacts faith which is shown to us by the and connections, which are again and comrades of the International Workparticular is socialist unity, not on again broken by the repression, the ers Front Against War, who are sufcensorship, the war-time laws. But fering under great repression but group, party or tendency as "the every day, in spite of this, the who do not despair. Think of them, international socialist message cir- at this moment, over in Europe, and demoralization must be ended by a culates everywhere. For history thruout the great empires—think public coming-together of all forces itself brings the remedies at the of the German, the Czech, the same time that it brings the ills. It Polish, the Austrian workers who depends on man to seize his op- are risking their lives to communportunity. Remember that the eco- icate with our comrades of the I.L.P. nomic exhaustion of capitalism is or those in the Scandinavian coungetting more and more aggravated. tries or in America. Or think of the These three countries alone-Eng-workers in North Africa, in South land, France, and Germany-are Africa, in Indo-China or Syria, who spending five to six billion francs, are supporters of the same socialist

And what would they say to you if they could speak to you as I am doing tonight? I know what they would say, and these words that they would utter are my last words to you:

American comrades: Keep America out of war!

Socialist comrades of the United States of America: Help your class ist system. It is not the principles brothers in their heroic fight to end of socialism which have been in fascism and war and to build the Socialist United States of Europe and a socialist world!

American comrades: We have appear as the bitter results of the courage and confidence in our impotence of the leaders as well as socialist convictions and we send

War Threatens Civil Rights in Australia

Democracy is Imperilled thru Drastic Laws

(Continued from Page 1) traitorous, and later in the interview with the press representatives said: I wish I had the power to put them'.

LIBERAL, LABOR COUNTER-ATTACK

Even this selection from the liberties in Australia were in a for illegal arrest. with other organizations on this precarious condition when the pretions—still in process—particularly sary, however, to take note of the which are inconsistent with it, which Margayar on aggrica the government has been defeated in the courts, the judges of which are often men of independence and, in some instances, of strongly liberal views. This has all tended to keep the laws dormant, rather than active. But the situation was so bad that Mr. Justice H. V. Evatt of the High Court (that is, the Supreme Court) in December 1938 made a public statement in favor of incorporating a Bill of Rights into the Commonwealth Constitution, the absence of which is, of course, astonishing to Americans. The idea was not favorably received in government

> Australia has never formally ac cepted the Statute of Westminster and the pro-imperialists of Australia are resolved that it shall never be adopted. It was therefore possible for Prime Minister Menzies, who belongs to this school of thought, to put Australia into the war automatically, without even consulting Parliament. In this respect, Australia trailed constitutionally behind Canada and South Africa, where Parliament made the final decision to go to war, and Eire, where Parliament supported the resolve to remain neutral. The point is not that the Australian Parliament would have kept the country out of the war; the point is that it was not consulted on the matter at all. When Parliament was finally summoned, its first war job was to deal with the National Security Act. Altho labor succeeded in liberalizing some provisions, it is nevertheless the high-water mark in the attack on democracy in Australia. If full use is ever made of all of its provisions, and if the administrative rulings under it are made in an illiberal spirit, and not critically reviewed by Parliament and the public, Australia can quickly pass into the ranks of the totalitarian governments.

THE NATIONAL SECURITY ACT

The significant provisions of the act are these: The Governor-General compared with \$3,256,000 last year. (in fact, the Cabinet) is empowered Twenty-six steel companies rolled to make regulations for apprehending and proceeding against offenders, for taking possession of any property, for acting with regard to the property and civil rights of aliens, for prescribing the price, time and place at which goods may be sold, for controlling aliens, for controlling naturalized persons as if they were aliens, for requiring anybody to give information, for controlling the export of money and goods, for authorizing entry and search of any premises-and generally, to regulate everything and everybody that it is convenient to regulate. This regulation-making power has a limit: it does not extend to imposing industrial or mili-

tary conscription or to bringing civilians before courts-martial a limit Americans may come to envy one day.

Anybody who an officer suspects is about to commit an offence against the act, may be arrested without warrant. He may be held ten days only without a charge being made against him, a time limitation put in under labor pressure; but a mountain of data indicates that civil person not charged will have no case

A National Security Act regulasent war was imminent. It is neces- | tion overrides acts of Parliament facts that full use has never at any means that by regulation the Cabinet single moment been made of all the can sweep away every act except the repressive legislation, rulings and National Security Act itself and the tactics; and that all three have been | Constitution of the Commonwealth letter in many respects.

The only barrier between democracy and burocratic despotism in Australia today is a militant minority willing to take risks to defend its rights even in the shadow of stringent "security" legislation. Already the government has been rebuked in a by-election in which a labor member was returned to replace a U.A.P. member who had resigned to become Australian minister at Washington. The government's response was to open negotiations with the Country Party to form again the coalition, broken up when Mr. Menzies succeeded to the Prime Ministership because of personal difficulties between him and the Country Party leadership. The coalition, just concluded, may increase the arrogance of the conservatives. But over their heads will hang the threat of repudiation at the polls in the general election which must, unless postponed by Parliament, he held during 1940. Such a postponement would cut at the one remaining strong root of democracy

in Australia today. In such a position does Australian democracy rest today after having been thru one devastating war, a period of uneasy peace, mostly under the rule of a fear-haunted middle class, and carried into a second great war the true dimensions of which are as yet unknown. The case of Australia demonstrates that war is murderously hostile to democratic civil liberties which are of the essence of democracy itself.

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