## NEXT WEEK MEXICO ON THE EVE **OF ELECTIONS**

# Workers Age

-Weekly Paper of the Independent Labor League of America

TIME TO CALL A HALT IN AMERICA by B. D. Wolfe ..... STALINISTS FRAME UP GERMAN REFU-GEES, by F. Brockway ..... page 4

Saturday, June 22, 1940.

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**Behind the Headlines:** 

# Our Attitude to the War: Yesterday and Today–I

By JAY LOVESTONE

(We begin below a series of three articles by Jay Lovestone on fundamenta problems of policy raised by the present war situation. These articles are a contri bution to the discussion of these basic questions and they are therefore to be taken as the expression of the author's own views .-- Editor.)

WARSAW—Copenhagen—Oslo—Amsterdam—Brussels—Paris. . A new situation confronts the international labor movement. This situation demands a reexamination of attitudes and axioms, policies and programs applicable but two months ago. Today, the chances of an Allied victory are certainly not very bright. The best France and England can hope for just now is a stalemate and respite. First on the order of the

day, as an almost imminent question, is the danger of Nazi imperialism dealing a knockout blow, a coup de grace, thru incessant lightning attack. We face concretely a most sinister menace: the likelihood of Hitler imperialism overrunning and organizing most of Europe on a totalitarian basis. With such an outcome, none of us reckoned at the outbreak of the war or in the pre-war discussion days. We based our previous strategy on the prospect of an Allied victory or a stalemate and all-around ex- Administration last week and de-

I have never underestimated the menace of the Nazi movement; nor have I ever underestimated the tremendous power of the Nazi warmachine. The terrific vitality of the German fascist movement I sensed years before Hitler came to power—while too many were still sneering at Hitler as a dime-store Charlie Chaplin or a mere moron. Yet, I must say very frankly that I never imagined the strength of the German military machine to be anything like what it has shown itself in the last two months. Obviously, the unfolding of such a factor-quantitatively and qualitatively—is of paramount import and affects vitally all movements, their problems, activities, strategy and tactics.

Today, as much as ever, we can and must underline the following as basic: the present world war is an imperialist war; its major participants are imperialists; the objectives of the major combatants are unreservedly imperialist; the war was caused by the capitalist system itself, altho it was precipitated by the ugly Stalin-Hitler pact. Nazi imperialism has the initiative and plays the aggressive role in the struggle for the going on. And we know, and every imperialist redivision of the world. But none of this means that we are or should be indifferent to the outcome of the war.

What we want most as a result of this war is the social revolution the overthrow of the ruling classes and war-makers of all countries and the victory of socialism. But what we fear most-and what is today the most actual menace—is a Nazi victory with its total destruction of all democratic rights and labor organizations, with its liquidation of the na- Democratic party. But if it becomes present crisis precipitated by Italy's tional independence of many countries, big as well as small. In the latter countries, "under such circumstances there could be no question of any independent . . . working-class movement. The struggle for the establishment of national unity would absorb all energies. . . " (Engels). Unques- every one who is interested in the the Allies." tionably, a Hitler triumph would spell absolute disaster for our fundamental attitude which is "aimed at utilizing the war as thoroly as possible in the interests of the proletarian struggle for emancipation."

"plaque-on-both-your-houses" attitude may, at times, be very desirable war." in the abstract, but many things desirable in contemplation don't always Wheeler spoke in an "interrup- equivocal declaration keeping the reason. prove realizable or practical. In this sense, let me cite the following per- tion" of an address by Senator Rush United States out of the wars or Eutinent remarks made by the great Marxian scholar, Franz Mehring, in Holt of West Virginia. Holt pointed rope and Asia," the planks include his discussion of the two differing attitudes maintained by Marx and out that "today Wall Street is sup-Engels towards the two distinct phases of the Franco-Prussian War of porting the position of the Pres-1870-71: "Altho it may be possible and, perhaps effective, in private ident." life to declare to two opponents: You are both wrong and I refuse to have anything to do with your quarrel, it is not possible in the life of states went on, "that the very newspapers with this determination; pressure to when whole peoples have to suffer from the quarrels of kings."

Furthermore, in revaluating the international situation and estimating the resulting new tasks, we would be guided well by Mehring's ap- country—that every one without exproach when he wrote: "As historians, they (Marx and Engels) naturally ception is now praising the President the war victims; and opposition to did not adopt the utterly unhistorical attitude that war is war, and that to the skies, praising his foreign all attempts to curtail civil liberties. every war is tarred with the same brush. For them, every war had its policy. Why? Check their financial own definite causes and consequences, and upon these causes and consequences must depend the attitude taken up by the working class towards why. Check the financial background at Charlottesville, John T. Flynn,

I can only underscore the emphasis placed by Mehring on the need to consider CONSEQUENCES as well as causes. Here is the first pre- throughout the entire world, and war He called on the people of this requisite for a political, for an historical and not for a mere wishfully

# Petain, New French Premier, Asks for Separate Peace As Germans Drive On

## Wheeler May **Bolt Democrats** On War Issue

Senator Declares He Will Support No Candidate Trying to Get U. S. Into War

Washington, D. C. Senator Burton K. Wheeler, Montana Democrat, sharply attacked the war-making foreign policy of the clared that he would break with his party "if it is going to become a war party." He served notice that he would support no candidate for President. "no matter who he may be, who is going to try to get us into

"The other day a Senator on this floor said America ought to wake up," Senator Wheeler declared. "I agree with him. I agree that America ought to wake up. American mothers ought to wake up; American youth ought to wake up; the American working man ought to wake up, because everybody who has any sense at all knows what is happening. We know the propaganda that is member of the Senate knows, that every move is being made to lead us, if you please, down the road to war.

"I wish to say, so far as I am conto break with the Administration. I emergency meeting here last week do not want to have to oppose the "to formulate plans for meeting the necessary to break with the Demo- entry into the war and President it is going to be a war party. I want izing the nation's resources to aid matter to know that I am not going to support any candidate for President of the United States of America no matter who he may be, who which would be submitted for inclu-

"I wish to say," Senator Holt which the President said were controlled by the banks and the interwhen their investments are threat-

## "Circumstances Have Changed!"

OLLOWING publication of Alsop and Kintner's "American White Paper", a New York pub-lishing firm asked a famous United States Senator to write a book in reply, stating the non-interventionist view. The Senator agreed, a contract was signed, a ghostwriter hired and paid \$500 cash in advance. The writer turned in the manuscript. At that moment, Germany invaded the Lowlands. The New York publishing house informed the writer and the Senator that the book could not be published due to "changed circumstances."

## Peace Forces Urge Program For Crisis

Anti-War Congress to Pre-Party Conventions

New York City. Leaders of the Keep America Out of War Congress, of which John T. cerned, that I do not want to have Flynn is national chairman, held an

At the close of the meeting, it was announced that the leaders of the Congress had adopted six planks advocacy of "a Congressional commission to determine what the American people want to defend" and a defense program in keeping be brought by the United States for the "earliest possible armistice and ests which were trying to destroy this mediation"; a popular referendum on war; a generous policy of relief to

In a statement issued immediately background and you will find out after President Roosevelt's address of these newspapers and you will chairman of the K.A.O.W.C., desee that those interested in news- clared that the President's course papers have financial investments had brought America to the brink of country to act promptly to stop the

# From Neutrality to "Non-Belligerency"

N his Charlottesville address last week, President Roosevelt quite definitely proclaimed that the United States was no longer even officially neutral; it had already passed from that status to the dubious and uncertain status of "non-belligerency". To all intents and purposes, the United States is today an active participant in the war in every sense but the outright military. This is a fact and we had better face it.

It is also a fact that President's open abandonment of official neutrality in favor of non-belligerency is backed by a great part of the American people, who in their intense hatred of Hitler and their fervent desire to see the Allies win, fail to make the vital distinction between "measures short of war" and measures of aid that do not lead to war. In truth, what we are witnessing is a sudden shift of public opinion as the result of a wave of unreason and hysteria, an orgy of emotionalism, that is sweeping the country. In such an atmosphere anything with the Germans thru Francisco

Non-belligerency means unofficial war and official preparations for war. As Rose M. Stein pointed out in an article in the last issue of this paper, some major provisions of the war-time Industrial Mobilization Plan are already being put into effect and public morale is being "prepared" for the final eventuality. That helps explain President Roosevelt's inflammatory pronouncements in recent weeks, which certainly make no sense from the standpoint of the sober realities of the situation.

Is all lost then? Is the transition from non-belligerency to outright war absolutely inevitable? Is there nothing left for us to do at this critisent Six Planks to Coming cal moment? We do not think so!

> Of course, the situation has changed and so have our tasks. But now more than ever are the progressive anti-war forces faced with the supreme task of exerting every bit of their energy to save America from direct war involvement and the indescribable disasters that such involvement would bring with it. There is no room or reason for fatalistic despair.

Despite everything, the great majority of the American people, to- armies were driven back far beyond day almost as much as ever, want to keep America out of the war, that the prepared positions originally is, out of the actual fighting in Europe. If that sentiment could be clarified and implemented organizationally, it might still prove possible to cratic party, I shall break with it if Roosevelt's declared intention of util- hold the country back from sliding down the steep and fatal incline that leads from non-belligerency to outright war.

But to do that something must be done to dispel the heavy, stif- end and influential elements in the ling atmosphere of hysteria with which the country is being blanketed as with a poison gas that robs people of their wits. It may seem a hopeless job, considering the unrivalled fecilities for poisoning the public Obviously, we do differentiate between the combatants. The is going to try to get us into this gue-on-both-your-houses" attitude may, at times, be very desirable war."

| ca no matter who he may be, who is going to try to get us into this sion in the Republican and Demo-cratic platforms. Besides "an un-America we cherish to raise our voices in a plea for sanity and sober

> Congress must remain in session during the emergency and must insist on its right to discuss and act on American policy before it is put into effect. President Roosevelt's method in the past few weeks has quite brazenly been to head off any discussion in Congress by confronting that body as well as the people as a whole with one accomplished fact after lied armies, the successful evacuaanother. Perhaps if Congress had had a chance to discuss the swift transitions towards war perpetrated by the Administration entirely on its The second phase culminated in the own responsibility, public opinion might have been made to realize the overrunning of Northern France and implications of these policies and the wave of hysteria and panic stemmed to some degree at least.

The drive for a war-referendum amendment must be resumed with renewed energy precisely because we are so close to the brink and the very next step on the part of the Administration may mean the fatal

We must press for an open and public discussion of the problems of national defense in a sober, realistic and responsible manner. What are we to defend—continental United States, the western hemisphere, our so-called "vital interests" in Europe or the Far Pacific? And what, in concrete, specific terms, do we need for whatever defense we decide to go in for? There is every reason to suspect that the Administration is talking for public consumption in terms of defending our shores but is thinking and acting in terms of a foreign war.

Now is the time to make a firm stand to have the gigantic burdens of the Administration's super-armaments program placed upon those who can afford to pay thru heavier taxes in the upper-income brackets as well as thru steep levies on excess profits, particularly in the arms industry. The present tendency is entirely the other way: the House Ways and Means Committee has framed legislation to increase indirect Isles. taxes on articles of mass consumption and to add to the income-tax burden of the low and middle-income groups of the population, but it has postponed consideration of an excess-profits tax. Apparently, "soak plan. The actual condition of the the poor and spare the rich" is the motto in Washington.

Every single gain and achievement registered by organized labor cate that they were so broken as to on the legislative field is in mortal danger today as a result of the arms be hardly capable of further serious drive and the systematic unfolding of the Industrial Mobilization Plan. No reliance whatever can be put on the President's promise, which has already been violated in practise. The labor movement must make its voice heard in no uncertain terms.

Finally, we must exert all our energies to preserve what democracy we still have from falling victim to the war hysteria and preparedness panic. Indescribable outrages are being perpetrated thruout the country in the name of "patriotism" and "defense": civil rights are violated with impunity, aliens are hounded and persecuted, men are thrown off relief rolls and told to enlist. Christian pacifists are mobbed and arrested, a "Fifth Column" spy-mania is rampant. No one can tell how far this madness may go unless an effort is made to halt it before it's too late.

#### WHAT WOULD ALLIED VICTORY BRING?

end no mortal eye can see. That er everywhere. On the other hand, what is there to hope for from vicrights in the warring democracies is tory for the Allies? Let us keep our ndubitable. England, even France, heads clear, however strong our emos certainly not yet totalitarian on tions may be. Let us face facts. All the German model, but there can be available evidence unites to show no mistaking the trend, nor the furi- that official Britain and France are fighting Germany not of hatred for the troops came officials of the Mos-Hitlerism and all that Hitlerism stands for, certainly not to bring the blessings of liberty to the German people, but simply because resurgent German imperialism has become an intolerable menace to their imperial interests. From the mouths of official and semi-official spokesmen such as Churchill, Henderson and Duff Cooper, from the very logic of

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# Reynaud Out; Britain to Fight On

5 CENTS

Italy Enters War; Russia Invades Baltic; FDR Address Marks End of Neutrality

After a series of emergency cabinet meetings held last Sunday at the second temporary capital of Bordeaux, Premier Paul Reynaud resigned and was succeeded by Marshal Petain.

The new government, with Generalissimo Weygand as Defense Ministed, immediately took steps to enter into separate-peace negotiations Franco, Spanish dictator, as intermediary. The announcement of the capitulation of the French forces was made by Marshal Petain, the new premier.

The British cabinet, meeting at the same time, issued a statement that Britain would continue the struggle no matter what France might do, relying on its sea-power and on the vast resources of its colonies and dominions and of the United States.

Last week was the darkest and most disastrous for the Allies since the outbreak of hostilities forty-one weeks ago: Italy entered the war on the side of Germany-the French established by General Weygand-Paris fell to the invader and was occupied by the Nazis-the Germans were advancing on all fronts-French resistance was nearing an French government were calling for the immediate conclusion of a separate peace with the victorious Ger-

The fall of Paris, not of vital importance from a strictly military standpoint tho very damaging mor ally and economically, completed the that began May 10. The first was the Battle of Flanders, which ended with a smashing defeat of the Altion saved most of the British forces. the occupation of Paris. The chief drive of the third, or "final," phase appeared to be directed against the flank of the Maginot Line thru Champagne and the Argonne Forest. Montmedy, western anchor of the Line, was reported taken, and this was followed by the fall of Verdun. A definite break-thru had apparently been accomplished by the Nazis.

With the new German drive getting under way, the general nature of German grand strategy became clearer. In the Battle of Flanders, Germany had knocked England out of the war as far as any land operations this Summer were concerned. Now the objective was to knock France out and to gain enough ports on the Atlantic to challenge the British blockade and to prepare for some sort of attack on the British

The French army still remained the big obstacle to carrying out this French forces was far from clear last week. Reports seemed to indiresistance, particularly in view of the loss of important industrial resources and supplies as a result of the spreading occupation of northern France by the enemy.

The entry of Italy into the war on June 10 did not bring about any immediate change in the military situation, altho of course it did extend the war to the Mediterranean, the Near East and Africa. Italy's part in the war was still far from clear; an attack on southern France thru Alpine passes was reported and a move on the Balkans was rumored.

While the world's attention was centered on the western front, Russia moved swiftly last week to occupy Lithuania. Acting on the pretext of an alleged treaty violation, Russian troops poured into the Lithuanian capital, Kaunas, and took over complete control. Along with cow Foreign Office who quickly "reorganized" the Lithuanian government, converting it into an outright puppet state. Latvia and Estonia were next on Moscow's list of invasion.

Exactly what the Russian moves might indicate was far from clearperhaps no more than the tightening of Moscow's hold on the Baltic,

(Continued on Page. 2)

# It DOES Make a Difference Who Wins

TN the May 23, 1940 issue of this paper, we published a series of questions

By WILL HERBERG

THE best way to approach the L very important problems raised in E.B.'s letter ("Doesn't It Make A Real Difference Who Wins?" Workers Age, May 23, 1940) is to state at the very outset that it is certainly not realistic to equate the bourgeoisdemocratic states with the totalitarian states just because both are imperialistic. There is a vast difference between the two. It also makes a great deal of difference who wins the war now raging in Europe. The problem for us is to determine more precisely just what these differences are and what implications they have for our policy. With that as a background, it should not be difficult to deal with the many detailed questions asked by our correspondent.

#### IMPERIALIST WAR ON BOTH SIDES

First, as to some differences that

do NOT exist. The war is in its origins imperialistic on both sides. On the German side, that is obvious. It is equally true on the Anglo-French side, tho perhaps not equally obvious. Practistressed the point that the Allies "vital intrests." No one has been Nevile Henderson, the last pre-war writes in his semi-official memoirs

by E. B. dealing with our position on the war. The problems raised in these questions are dealt with in a series of articles by Will Herberg beginning in this issue. A discussion on this subject is now going on in the ranks of the I.L.L.A. and an official resolution will be published shortly. This article is therefore to be taken as the expression of the author's own views.—Editor.

possessors and imperialist aggresdivision of the spoils of imperialism -and, in that sense, fundamentally a resumption of the last World War ades devoted to recuperation and preparation.

Most emphatically, the Allies did not go into this war in order to 'smash Hitlerism,' or in order to conduct a crusade on behalf of democracy and the rights of small nations against fascism, dictatorship and totalitarianism. As long as it offered no threat to their empire interests, they had no objections to fascism with all its horrors; on the contrary, cally every British spokesman has they praised and eulogized it. Winston Churchill, who now stands at were compelled to go to war because the helm in England, has publicly Hitler had gone "too far," that is, hailed Mussolini and Hitler as savibecause he was encroaching on their ors of their countries. In 1927, he franker in this respect than Sir had been an Italian, I am sure I fort to rearm and equip itself for crucial significance in a general view British ambassador to Berlin, who with you fascists from start to finish. . . . Your movement has ren-("Failure of A Mission"): "Nor dered a service to the world." In traditional British "balance-of-powwould the world have failed to ac- 1937, hardly three years ago, he paid er" system on the continent. Let us

Munich and the Nuremberg decrees our country were defeated, I hope for the Jews" (emphasis mine.- | we should find a champion as in-W.H.). There cannot be any serious domitable to restore our courage and doubt that the war was precipitated | lead us back to our place among as a struggle between imperialist nations." Chamberlain's attitude is only too notorious. And in his memsors, as a struggle for a forced re- oirs, Sir Nevile Henderson has gone out of his way to hail "the great services which Signor Mussolini has rendered Italy" and to "acafter a breathing-spell of two dec- claim" Hitler. Indeed, incredible as it may seem, even after the war had iron heel quite as ruthless and opalready broken out, the British White pressive as any made in Nazi Ger-Paper, published October 7, 1939, many. assured us, again in Sir Nevile's words, that "Herr Hitler deserves praise for restoring Germany's selfrespect and for introducing many excellent social reforms."

Before we accept at face value the pretensions of the ruling groups in England and France to be the champions of civilization and democracy against fascism and barbarism, let us recall that it was official England that virtually built up the Nazi regime in Germany (and, before that, the Mussolini regime in declared after a visit to Italy: "If I Italy), that financed Germany's efwould have been whole-heartedly conquest, that on more than one occasion backed Hitler against France—all in order to maintain the claim Hitler as a great German IF a similar tribute to Hitler: "One not forget that it was Britain and HE HAD KNOWN WHEN TO may dislike Hitler's system and yet France that contributed so heavily STOP; even, for instance, after admit his patriotic achievements. If towards strangling the anti-fascist war means spreading totalitarian- rism on the continent, and an im-

cause in Spain, thereby helping to enthrone fascist barbarism on the Iberian Peninsula. Let us not forget that, at this very moment, Allied diplomacy is carrying on a behindthe-scenes intrigue with the ruthless totalitarian despot, Joseph Stalin, hoping to woo him from Hitler by concessions that involve the sanctioning of the Polish and Finnish grabs and a prospective Bessarabian grab, just as yesterday Hitler's grab of Austria and Czecho-Slovakia and Mussolini's grab of Ethiopia were sanctioned by London and Paris.

Nor let us, if we have any human decency at all, forget that, while we are talking and discussing, there are millions of colored people, in South Africa and Indo-China, for example, who groan under a "democratic"

No; this war is in its origin an

imperialist war on both sides, and the ruling-class regimes in Britain and France are not the stainless knights of democracy out to slay the dragon of fascism that Allied propaganda, aided by American emotionalism, would make them out to be. There is some difference in the two types of imperialism, it is true. As Norman Thomas says in the Socialist Call of June 1, 1940, "Hitler's imperialism is younger, even more completely amoral, and more ag-

of the situation.

gressive." That is true, but not of

ism at home, and where that will mense accession to its dynamic pow there is little left of democratic ous tempo of development.

And what about the outcome of the war? What the world would Nor does the difference lie entire- have to expect from a victory by ly or even decisively in the kind of the Hitler-Stalin-Mussolini Axis is domestic regime that prevails in the too dreadfully apparent to need decountries involved. If we learn any- scription—the enslavement of Euthing from this war, let us learn at rope, the entrenchment of totalitaleast this: that involvement in total rian dictatorship and fascist barba- the struggle itself, we know that perhaps the prelude to a new im-

# **Progressive Teachers Gain in Elections**

### Unity of Constructive Forces Prime Need

By D. BENJAMIN

New York City. THE elections held recently in the New York Teachers Union, Local 5, show that the membership has begun to turn away from the Stalinist-controlled administration in the direction of the progressive opposition movement within that local. The opposition movement more than doubled its strength during the year, polling 20% of the votes as against 9% the previous year. Its presidential candidate, Dr. Alex Fichandler, obtained over 800 votes to the 3,200 cast for Charles Hendley. The opposition elected 20 delegates to the national convention of the American Federation of Teachers, as against 65 elected by the administration. On the Executive Board, the opposition doubled its strength from 2 to 4, and would have elected a fifth member had there been some coordination of the opposition forces-

Two outstanding facts faced th union membership during the past year: first, the beginning of a decline in membership and growing isola tion on the part of the union, and secondly, the obvious connection between changes in policy of the Soviet Union and the Communist Party and similar changes on the part of the administration of Local 5. That there was an organic relationship between the first and the second point, that teachers were turning, and that these cannot be achieved political control over the union exercised by the Stalinists, was made quite clear by both of the opposition groups-that is, by the Liberal and Independent Groups. In spite of certain vigorous campaigns conducted by the union against attempts to cut state aid to education, against overcrowding in the schools, against tive leadership, there is danger that various attacks on teachers conditions, no gain was made in union membership; in fact, there was a loss in both regular and substitute teachers. At the same time, certain reactionary and anti-union organizations—the Signpost and the Teachers such unification of opposition forces Alliance-had come into existence and grown rapidly. About, 1,800 members, almost a third of the union, had dropped out in a period to unification with the Teachers rifles, pistols or shotguns. of a year and a half, showing that tremendous dissatisfaction existed in the ranks. The 1,650 new members admitted could not hide the mounting discontent and the inner crisis that had set in.

In actions that spoke louder than words, the administration gave a definite political label to the union After having in previous years continually called for the condemnation of aggressors, as in the case of the fascist and Nazi invasions of Spain, Austria and Czecho-Slovakia, the administration had nothing to say against Russia's invasion of Finland. In previous years, union meetings had rung loud with calls for action against Hitler, for "collective security," for a united front of the democracies; after the Stalin-Hitler pact, the tirades against Hitler and danger of Nazism, and for support to the democracies suddenly ceased. In the same manner, overnight changes were made on such questions as affiliation with the American League for Peace and Democracy, militarization of youth, the war referendum amendment and keeping America out of war.

Both the Liberal and Independent Groups pointed to this fundamental deficiency in the union—the political label and the political tie-up-and showed that until the leadership and methods of work were changed in Local 5, little hope could be entertained for the achievement of teachers-union unity (unity with the Teachers Guild, headed by Dr. Lefkowitz, Dr. Linville and Mr. Smallheiser), for readmission to the New York Central Trades and Labor for the Defense of the Suspended Council, for regaining the confidence | Furriers, organized some weeks ago. of the teaching staff, and for an increase in union membership. Without these, campaigns on teacher and school issues could not be truly ef-

WHY TWO **OPPOSITIONS?** 

The fundamental difference between the Independent and the Liberal Groups lay in the fact that the Independent Group had been the traditional opposition to the admin istration, the one that had analyzed and forecast for years the situation now confronting the union, while the Liberal Group was made up mainly of elements that had recently broken with the administration, and now at last saw the problem essentially as the Independent Group did. The Independent Group proposed cooperation between the two groups as their program and analysis were in essential agreement; the Liberal Group refused the offer, feeling perhaps it would be in a better position to win over supporters from the ad-

KEEP AMERICA OUT OF WAR

By Norman Thomas Bertram D. Wolfe

\$1.50 WORKERS AGE BOOKSHOP 131 W. 33rd St., N. Y. C.

Senator Mangles Civil Libministration if it waged an indepenerties Measure, Attaches dent campaign. On account of the Alien-Baiting Rider sharp fight that had gone on for NE of the saddest casualties in

years between the administration and the Independent Group, many supporters of the administration, as they broke away preferred to join a teria is the LaFollette civil-liberties new and third group in the unior bill designed to outlaw the · use of rather than go with the Indepenprofessional labor spies and strikedents. The Independent Group did breakers. Product of four years of not run a seperate slate for officers extensive research, the bill is supbut called upon the membership to ported by the American Federation support those run by the Liberal

union members to support the Liberals after voting for the partial slate of the Independents for the Executive Board and for delegates to the convention-

since both feel that unity with the

about as well as reinstatement to the

method-there is no valid reason for

dination of efforts would make it

possible to utilize the undoubted

trend in union ranks for a change

in the union and in its way of func-

tioning. Unless this growing dissat-

isfaction is given strong, construc-

many will "solve" the problem by

leaving the teachers-union movement

altogether. Upon the Liberal Group,

which became the leading opposition

force in the recent elections, there

lies the great responsibility to make

possible. It would then also be pos-

sible to go forward to the unification

of the union on a sound basis, then

Guild. This would tend to bring into

existence a new, broad and truly ef-

By B. BARAZ

BOUT 500 delegates represent-

ing 160 organizations, amongst

them Workmen's Circle branches,

branches of the Jewish Workers Na-

the Socialist Party, the Social-Dem-

ocratic Federation, the Independent

Labor League, the Jewish Socialist

Verband and the Anarchist Federa-

guests, filled the main hall in Bee-

thoven Hall, on Tuesday evening,

May 28, 1940, to listen to

speeches delivered by such outstand-

ing men in the labor movement as

Norman Thomas, Judge Panken, Al-

gernon Lee, N. Chanin, S. Burstein

and others. All of them responded

to the call of the Labor Committee

Considering the fact that the com-

mittee had only two weeks time to

arrange the conference, this unex-

pectedly successful response proved

to the committee how well people

in the labor movement were posted

on the furriers situation, and how

great was the desire on the part of

ther and to help work out a policy

of ridding the labor movement of

dictatorships such as has oppressed

The chairman of the conference

was Dr. Bohn, director of the Rand

evening was Max Frankle of the law

firm of Frankle, Ash and Rifkin,

representing the defense committee

of the suspended furriers. Mr.

Frankle proved how irresponsible

was the conduct of the administra-

a statement of retraction issued by

Mr. Potash, manager of the union.

It seems that the Furriers Union

some time in January issued a cir-

cular in which Mr. Potash made

libelous accusations against the law-

yer of the American Federation of

Fur Workers, Gustave A Gerber.

When called to account, Mr. Potash

bought himself out by paying Mr.

Gerber several hundred dollars from

the union treasury and by issuing

a statement of retraction declaring

everything that he had said was

Mr. Frankle presented facts of

actual discrimination against union

members opposed to the administra-

tion. He reviewed the case of the

the illegality of these suspensions.

six suspended members and proved the union to account.

tion of the Furriers Union. He read forces and to cleanse the labor move-

applause.

the Furriers Union for years.

workers organizations to get toge-

Labor Parley Supports

Fight Against Stalinist Administration

Of Fur Union Is Mapped at Conference

munist Party.

**Suspended Furriers** 

New York City

Teachers Guild must be brought

New York Central Trades Council,

UNITY OF OPPOSITION

NECESSARY

Group. It also called upon the

Led by ranting Robert Reynolds of North Carolina, a jittery Senate The interests of the union demand added a section making it a criminal a unification of the oppositions duroffense for any employer engaged ing the coming year. Since their in interstate or foreign commerce indictment of the present administo employ a member of the Commutration is the same; since both nist Party or of any Nazi organizagroups feel that a broad democratic, non-politically-controlled union is ers to assign more than one out of before adjournmentneeded, a union representative of every ten jobs to aliens, including the mass of the teachers; since both are pledged to the reelection of Prothose who have obtained their first fessor Counts as president of the American Federation of Teachers;

thus threaten its effectiveness.

of Labor, the Congress of Industrial

Organizations, the railway brother-

hoods and many enlightened em-

ployers. It has passed the Senate

Washington, D. C.

Much less publicized, but no less important was a successful move to strip from the bill many of its enforcement provisions which were patterned on the wage-hour, foodand-drug, and Walsh-Healey laws. at enforcement of the act by withtheir not getting together. A coor- holding federal contracts from violators, barring their products from interstate commerce, and denying or canceling R.F.C. and other federal financial aid to violators.

Altho the bill in its present form prohibits labor espionage in general, an employer, as Senator La Follette pointed out, is free to "spy upon his employees to ascertain their political and economic beliefs." Also, the bill prohibits the inclusion in plant arsenals of machine-guns, sawed-off shotguns and gas projectiles, but there is no limit to the number of private guards or police a company may have, nor is there any prohibi tion against their being armed with

A Senate, fearful of reprisals from organized labor, passed the amendfective teachers-union movement in ments by voice rather than record votes. The bill is now in the House

He concluded by saying that he

atrocities of Stalinist dictatorship

Norman Thomas, who spoke on

was well-equipped with information

the labor movement to gather their

ment from within before any dema-

gogue came and "cleansed" it from

without. There was very little time

left; the job must be done as quickly

as possible, Thomas concluded. The

conference responded with strong

Judge Panken, in a fiery speech,

declared that the right to criticize

was the basis upon which free people

build their institutions. Without

criticism, there can be no progress.

Trade unions are not sacred. Like

any other organizations, they are

bound to make mistakes. These mis-

takes can be corrected only thru

free speech and criticism. When a

union committed a crime against

these principles, it was time to call

Sol Burstein of the Jewish Work-

### LaFollette Bill Knitgoods Strikers Is Victim of Win Wide Labor Help War Hysteria

AFL, CIO Aid in Fight on Gantner-Mattern

Brooklyn, N. Y. gaining labor and public support, the rooms in New York City. eastern headquarters of the strike the present wave of war hyscommittee announced last week.

ployed for decades, have been locked Labor and the San Francisco Labor out for five months. All attempts of Council have unanimously voted to the union, an affiliate of the Inter- place Gantner and Mattern on the national Ladies Garment Workers "We Don't Patronize" list. Union, to reach an agreement have failed. The firm has refused to ar- United Retail and Wholesale Embitrate and seems determined to smash unionism in the knitwear in- the C.I.O., in a statement, promised dustry.

with amendments not only vicious in themselves but which may raise the issue of constitutionality and devoted study of workers rights, ognition and a decent, American visions might start a House contro- the American people.' versy about the proper committees would provide the excuse for anti- ganizations, etc. tion. Another amendment makes it labor interests to kill or stall the a criminal offense for such employ- | bill during the short time remaining | Committee, with eastern headquar-

Committee on Military Affairs has of a bill presented to Senator Morris Sheppard of Texas by George A. Hill, Jr., president of the Houston Oil Company, in behalf of the Houston Chamber of Commerce. The bill proposes to set up within factories away from the union because of the without a change of leadership and These eliminated safeguards aimed armed bodies of employees (controlled by the employers) who would have U. S. marshal powers "to prevent interference with the govern ment's program in preparing for defense, and to give adequate protec tion to all industries of every nature now or hereafter declared to be es sential to national defense; to discover and combat subversive and treacherous activity." It would be called the "National Industrial Defense Corps." If passed, it could not only be used to nullify the LaFollette anti-labor-spy bill but also to threaten every right organized labor has

This firm is one of the leading THE struggle of the workers of bathing-suit and beachwear houses ■ Gantner and Mattern, a knit- in the country. Located in San Franwear firm, for union recognition is cisco, the company has its show

The just claims of the strikers have brought support from all sides The workers, who have been em- The California State Federation of

Samuel Wolchok, president of the ployees of America, an affiliate of "whole-hearted support of the retail clerks to the Gantner and Mattern where no hearings or committee ac- strikers. The workers of Gantner and tion have been taken. After years of Mattern are fighting for union rec-Senator LaFollette now fears that standard of living. Their just case inclusion in his bill of anti-alien pro- | will be recognized and supported by

Support has been received also for the bill's consideration which from Y.W.C.A. chapters, youth or-

The Gantner and Mattern Strike ters at 1023 Broadway, Brooklyn During recent weeks, the Senate New York, called on labor and the consumer public for their support been discussing, in private, the text | The committee pointed out that the consumer public had it in its power to convince the firm to modify its anti-union bias.

Labor and progressive organizations were urged to take the following action:

1. Place the firm of Gantner and Mattern on the "Unfair List." (The firm also uses the trade names of Golden Gate, Hi-Boy, and Wikies or its merchandise.)

2. Adopt a resolution in suppor of the strikers of Gantner and Mattern and send copies to the company in San Francisco, to the strike committee, and to the general press.

3. Inform merchants in the com munity that the firm of Gantner and Mattern is on the unfair list and appeal to them to support the strikers in their just demands.

4. Write to the strike committee for leaflets and stickers.

## Wheeler May | Petain Asks Bolt Democrats For Peace On War Issue

(Continued from Page 1) ened they want American boys to go

Senator Holt stated that altho the Committee to Defend America by Aiding the Allies, whose position was endorsed by the President, was organized by William Allen White its backers were eighteen prominent bankers who "met secretly on the twenty-ninth day of April."

Senator Wheeler joined in supporthoped that the Jonference would ing Senator Holt when the latter give the committee the necessary charged that newspapers refuse to powers to take legal measures for give the same publicity to oppothe reinstatement of these members. nents of American participation in

The chairman then introduced N. the war as to the advocates. Chanin, educational director of the The attack on the Administration Workmen's Circle. Chanin made a was taken up by other Senators, intional Alliance, labor unions, work- dramatic appeal to the delegates to cluding Walsh, Tydings, Bennett ing-class political organizations like help the committee against the Clark, Nye, Bone and Chavez.

Senator Chavez declared that "a in the Furriers Union. Chanin made few more speeches, either in this a vigorous attack against the Gold body or elsewhere, by public officials leadership which was destroying the on war-mongering will certainly not once powerful Furriers Union in aid in electing a Democrat next tion, as well as many visitors and order to establish its own rule and time." He was understood as referdictatorship on behalf of the Com- ring to the President's Charlottesville speech.

> behalf of the Civil Liberties Union, ers Alliance and Algernon Lee of the stated that the real importance lay Social-Democratic Federation were not in what he would say, but in the last speakers. They joined in the what the conference would do. "I fight for clean, democratic unionism am used," Thomas said, "to fighting and promised the support of their against capitalist injustice, but to organizations. A collection was taken my regret I came here to protest up which brought in about \$400, and against the injustices committed by the conference pledged itself to ina labor union against its workers. crease this to \$1,000. Louis Nelson It is the most tragic thing to try manager of the Knitgoods Workers to convince workers to fight for a Union, Local 155 of the I.L.G.W.U. higher form of workers democracy, donated \$50; the furriers collection when we still have such shame in brought in \$21. the labor movement like the dicta-

> The conference adopted a resolutorial rule in the Furriers Union. tion which "calls for condemning Not even a Tammany mayor would terroristic methods in the Furriers dare to prohibit the distribution of Union, demands reinstatement of the leaflets, but the dictators of the suspended members with full mem-Furriers Union do. Tammany people | bership rights, and demands that the knew how to handle an election, but Furriers Union administration agree the leaders of the Furriers Union to a committee of the labor moveseem to know this game even bet- ment to investigate charges and ter." Thomas further stated that he counter charges of both sides."

The elected executive committee School. The first speaker of the from both sides in regards to the was empowered by the conference, inner-union struggle. He was inter- in case the leadership of the Furested in the clean fight for democratic rights which the progressives of the conference, to proceed with were carrying on in the union. He court action. made a strong plea to the people in

# With Nazis

(Continued from Page 1)

perialist venture of far-reaching

Speculation was rife as to the implications of the Russian thrust in relation to Germany. It was regardtimed to take place coincidentally with the announcement of the conclusion of a new treaty between Russia and Germany dealing mainly with "frontier problems."

The Allies suffered a diplomatic defeat of some importance during the week when Turkey, non-belligerent ally of Britain and France, signed a trade agreement with Germany. This was held to imply closer political connections with Germany and Russia. Nor did the efforts of Allied diplomacy to woo Stalin away from Hitler seem to make any pro gress The Russo-Japanese frontier accord, signed in Moscow, forecasting a closer rapprochement with Tokyo, increased Russia's freedom of action in the West to some degree but freed the hands of Japan in the Far East even more.

The United States continued its feverish activities to aid the Allies with all the resources at its command. In an address at Charlottesville immediately after Italy entered the war, President Roosevelt not only denounced Dictator Mussolini's action but also formally proclaimed America's abandonment of neutrality in favor of the status of non-belligerency by pledging every possible assistance to the Allies. The terms of his address were such as seemed to imply actual intervention in the war, which aroused considerable protest in many parts of the country. A few days later, the President, in reply to an appeal for aid sent to him by Premier Reynaud of France, declared that America would intensify its efforts to aid the Allies but that no military commitments were implied; only Congress, the President said, could do that. Mr. Roosevelt also pledged that the United States would refuse to recognize any infringement by force of the independence or territorial integrity of France. In general, it was

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WHERE YOU DO AS YOU PLEASE

# ILGWU Delegates Register Vote Against Support of FDR

STATEMENT expressing opposition to supporting President Roosevelt A for a third term as well as to the stand of the Stalinites on the question was submitted for the record at the recent convention of the I.L.G.W.U. by a group of delegates headed by Louis Nelson, manager of Knitgoods Workers Union Local 155, and Minnie Lurye, chairman of Dressmakers

Union Local 22. The delegates signing the statement included: Louis Nelson (Local 155), Minnie Lurye (Local 22), Louis Levenson (Local 155), Helen Taublieb (Local 155), Daniel lelardi (Local 155), Paul Tauber (Local 155), Sue Stern (Local 22), Rose Cohen (Local 22), Anna Tillman (Local 22), Yetta Horn (Local 22), M. Feinberg (Local 117). The

"We, the undersigned delegates to this convention, find ourselves in disagreement with the majority report [endorsing President Roosevelt for a third term]. Nevertheless, we do not in any manner, shape or form wish to be identified with the minority (Stalinist) viewpoint on the gues-

"At the same time, we do not concur with the interpretation (contained in the Daily Bulletin of Tuesday, June 4, page 314) to the effect that all delegates, except the four Stalinites, voted for the Roosevelt-

"We, therefore, declare our vote to be against both reports, tho our attitude is motivated by different reasons and political viewpoints."

# I.L.G.W.U.-C.I.O.-A.F.L.

(We conclude below the publication of the most important sections of the port of the General Executive Board of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union to the recent convention of this union on the question of labor unity and relations to the A. F. of L. and C.I.O. Other documents dealing with this vital question, including the addresses of President Dubinsky and Matthew Woll, will appear in subsequent issues -- Edifor.)

(Concluded from the last issue) **▼** TNDETERRED by failure of former efforts, the President made still another effort in January 1939, to bring both parties to the conference table. A series of meetings by conferees from the A. F. of L. and the C.I.O. took place in February and March at which the main points at issue were gone into. Prospects for peace brightened for a while as the A. F. of L. side declared that it would be ready to admit without contest in order to speed reconciliation, leaving particulars to be adjudicated later, the original suspended unions not only on their old numerical and jurisdictional strength but also in fields and jurisdictions which they had assumed since. (Specifically, the reference was made to the entrance of the United Mine Workers into coke and other coal-product industries and to the absorption by the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of the laundry workers and the glove workers.) These hopes, however, were extinguished when President Lewis of the C.I.O. definitely vetoed all proposals and declared that negotiations were at an end.

Since then, President Roosevelt relation to Germany. It was regard-ed as not without significance that on several occasions met with Presi-November 11, 1938, and printed the occupation of Lithuania was dent Green of the A. F. of L. and President Lewis of the C.I.O. in further efforts to revive peace opportunities. . . . In the same spirit, he again addressed communications to the conventions of both organizations in the Fall of 1939. These moves, nevertheless, were productive of no results.

> REAFFILIATION WITH A.F.L.

To bring the summed-up attitude of the I.L.G.W.U. with regard to C.I.O.-A. F. of L. peace closer to date, it is in place here to reprint a resolution adopted by the General at its sixth quarterly meeting. It

Our attitude with regard to the supreme importance of peace in American labor has undergone no change. We still con-sider labor peace as a primary factor to

felt in Washington that the only answer to Raynaud's "final, desperate appeal" for aid was that everything possible, short of war, was already being done. The only other things the country could do, it was pointed out, was to grant the medal. There are also decided credits, which the Allies didn't disadvantages of standing alone in need, or to send men to Europe, which would mean official involve- we were organized as an internament in war and could not effectively done for many months any- we were a part of the general labor way. In Congress, suggestions for organization of America. We derived a change in the neutrality law by our moral and spiritual sustenance relaxing the Johnson Act and other- | from being an integral part of the wise permitting war loans and entire labor movement and we have credits met with strong opposition. given just as freely and as gladly Even Chairman Key Pittman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, a strong supporter of the Administration's foreign policy, declared himself against such a move

An ominous sign that all was not well with the Administration's 'hemisphere-solidarity" policy came last week in an address by President Vargas of Brazil, in which he ridiculed the "sterile demagogy of po litical democracy" and declared that filiated with the International Fed-"virile peoples must follow the line of their aspirations instead of standing still and gazing at a structure that is tumbling down," thus vir tually justifying Germany and Italy in the war. The State Department in Washington tried to play down the incident and whitewash the Brazilian dictator, while Brazilian spokesmen declared that Vargas's speech was wholly for home consumption" (Brazil has large German and Italian colonies) and had "no significance for foreign policy" But it was clear that very little in of the labor movement and to the the way of real western-hemisphere solidarity in defense of democracy body within it, we refused to be a could be achieved as long as so party to any move that would efmany Latin-American countries remained dominated by ruthless dic- the breach and would lead further tators much closer in their ideas to Hitler, Mussolini and fascism | between the two parts of the labor than to democracy.

the well-being and the progress of American workers. Furthermore, we still are firmly of the opinion that the fundamental obstacles which stood in the way of a united labor movement when the C.I.O. was organized, namely, the ecognition of industrial unionism for the mass-production industries and a greater measure of democracy in union government, have largely disappeared with the substantial change of the position of the A. F. of L, on these issues.

The prospects of an early peace in the labor movement, unfortunately, are not bright at this hour. We regret that the several efforts of President Roosevelt in this direction have met with little success tho we are glad to know that the President Ras retained an abiding and sincere interest in the cause of labor peace.

Our union still retains its position outside either that A. E. of I. 1.

Our union still retains its position outside either the A. F. of L. or C.I.O. In refusing to join a permanent C.I.O. organization last year, we decided to remain independent until peace is established in the labor movement or until our status is otherwise determined by a convention of our International Union. We had hoped, and we still hope, that by the time our convention takes place in May 1940, peace will be realized so that we might join a united labor movement.

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

A year and a half has now passed since we have assumed the status of an independent union, unaffiliated with any central national body. We need not enlarge at this point on the underlying motives and causes which prompted us to decide on that course. A careful perusal of the above, will supply the needed information. Nevertheless, we deem it both necessary and advisable to convey to you some of the observations and experiences we have accumulated during this period of our independent existence which should serve, we believe, as guidance in your deliberations on our future course and policy.

TWO SIDES OF INDEPENDENT STATUS

We have no hesitancy in stating that we have felt quite comfortable in staying out of either warring Executive Board in November 1939, camp during this period. There is beyond doubt a measure of solid advantage in remaining independent at a time when affiliation with one or the other side means sharing the discomforts and sacrifices of a belligerent. Our union, besides, is so deeply entrenched in the functional existence of our industry that barring minor clashes and annovances we can hardly fear inroads or invasion of our jurisdiction by either side.

This, however, is but one side of the labor movement. From the day tional body, some forty years ago, of our own material and moral resources to the central body and to those of its affiliates which needed our aid and support. Nor can it be denied that our influence in framing general labor policies, in aiding to shape labor and social legislation, is bound to be less pronounced and effective without the support which affiliation with a central national body affords. Our union is one of the few American labor unions aferation of Trades Unions thru the International Clothing Workers Federation, which we helped to rebuild after the First World War.

We deeply deplore the rift in the labor movement and what resulted from it. Valuing highly the original basic objectives of the C.I.O. to here organize the unorganized in massproduction industries along industrial-union lines, we had gone into it with zeal and a generous spirit. But being just as zealously opposed to the permanent splitting organization of a dual national fectuate such dualism, would widen away from reconciliation and peace movement. . . .

### Socialist Fundamentals Reexamined:

# **Basic Dilemma of Socialism**

By WILL HERBERG

(Concluded from last issue)

Traditional Marxism is power-conscious; it is a docpolitics of power in the furtherance and realization of for which the revolution had presumably been madepotential, that it has a kick-back that may prove most disastrous. Corey is acutely, and very properly, conscious of this negative side, of this dangerous, often self-defeating aspect of the politics of power. And so he ignores politics and power almost completely. Read thru his account of the transition from capitalism to socialism. It includes an excellent transition program of economic transformation. But how about politics and power relations? Will not the transition program require political power to implement it? Where is this groups, and how exerted? How about the political struggles that are bound to break in and affect the course of economic transition? Not a hint, not a suggestion of an answer in Corey's articles.

Traditional Marxism, particularly in its Leninist variety, is a frank and somewhat naive votary of Realpolitik. It strives to cut all Gordian knots with the sword of power, and it is confident it can do so, realizing all too little how double-edged is this sword, how easily it may main and destroy its own wielder. Corey is very much aware of this danger, and this is one of his strong points, but he seeks an escape in simply ignoring power and politics-hardly a very realistic course to take.

Again, the dilemma is a real one, inherent in the facts themselves. It cannot be overcome simply by ignoring it.

It is my essential thesis that these dilemmas—real dilemmas, rooted in the very nature of the situationconfront us at every turn, at every level of socialist action, whenever we make use of means to realize ends. Perhaps it is an aspect of the contradictory, the dialectic character of social reality. At any rate, the dilemmas are there.

#### Organization and Burocracy

over the country.

when Italy sent a half million

To bring such an army would re-

quire a thousand ocean-going ves-

queror would have to carry immense

stores, arms, ammunition. He would

have to bring for an army of 1,000,

000 men 400,000 vehicles-tanks

trucks, cannon carriers, wagons, etc.

He would have to bring gasoline to

service those trucks and tanks 50,

000,000 gallons for a limited period

of nine months. He would have to

bring machine guns and countless

shiploads filled with ammunition for

How many additional ships this

All these men and all this mater-

ial would have to come all at once-

not in installments-because it

would be ridiculous for a foreign

would take one may only estimate,

these guns.

thousand.

from their base.

barefoot people of Ethiopia-

have to be landed all at once.

Let me show you how deep this self-contradiction penetrates. The first step in the realization of any social goal, on any view of the matter, whether Corey's or that of traditional Marxism, is organization. But even organization has its double potential. Without organization, obviously nothing can be accomplished. But the very act of organization sets in motion processes that threaten the goal, if the goal is the socialist goal of freedom. For organization, even the most democratic, necessarily creates two categories, the leaders and the led, who are not and cannot in the nature of the case be entirely interchangeable. We have here the first dim foreshadowing—a sort of prefigurement, so to speak-of authoritarian hierarchy, which may reach its culmination in the totalitarian Leadership system of Stalin, Hitler and Mussolini, or in the initiativekilling, paralyzing system of drill-yard discipline that characterized German social-democracy and contributed so materially to its downfall.

Rosa Luxemburg well understood this problem and this difficulty, as she understood so many others that her quick genius was able to penetrate. That is very clear from her profound discussion of "spontaneity" in organization and her impassioned opposition to

The super-centralized, authoritarian form of Bolshevik without fear, favor or dogmatical prejudice. Never, I Chinese war, such a threat is serparty organization was molded by the conditions of think, than in the present difficult situation in which revolutionary struggle under Czarism. It was an the socialist movement finds itself, was that ancient Hence its feverish attempts to deeminently realistic and effective form under those Biblical injunction more fitting and proper which bids velop heavy industries at home. conditions. It was a form of organization that made us: "Prove all things and hold fast that which is Hence the renewed energy with it possible for the Bolshevik party to carry thru a good!"

successful revolution in Russia, and I very much doubt if any very widely different form of organization could have done as much. But with the revolution accomplished, this very form of organization became a trine of Realpolitik. It places great stress on the very grave hindrance to the realization of the goal socialist goals. Marx accepts the instrumentality of socialism and freedom. For this super-centralized, power single-mindedly and without any foreboding. We authoritarian, undemocratic organizational form was have learned, all to our sorrow, that power is at best undoubtedly an important factor making for the a most dangerous instrumentality, that it has a double emergence of Soviet totalitarianism, first under Lenin and Trotsky, and then in its most monstrous shape, under Stalin.

Here, then, is the dilemma: The very form of organization that facilitated-nay, was indispensable for -the struggle against Czarism and the victory of the revolution, turned out to be the form of organization that helped turn the fruits of the revolution into ashes, that led to Stalinism and totalitarianism.

But this happened in Russia, you will say, under the most exceptional conditions. True; but consider that political power to come from? From what classes or in one respect at least, these exceptional conditionsrequiring a revolutionary organization to take the form of a super-centralized, authoritarian, conspiratorial, semi-military organization of an elite, instead of an open and democratic mass movement-these exceptional conditions, I say, are now being repeated on an increasing scale wherever fascism holds sway. What will that mean for the socialist movement developed under those conditions? There is much matter for serious thought here.

I think I have shown how fundamental and all pervasive is this dilemma-situation to which I have referred so frequently. Again I repeat: it is irreducible; it is inherent in the situation, in the very nature of

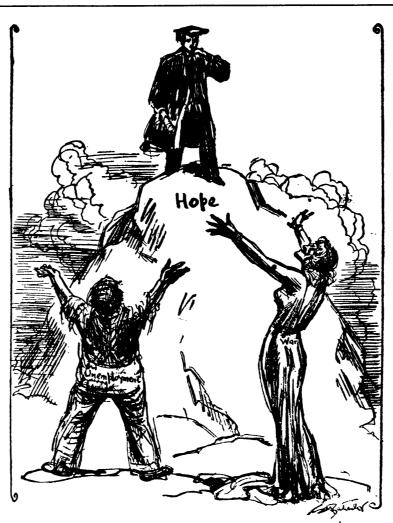
#### How Can the Dilemma Be Resolved?

If you ask me how this dilemma, or these dilemmas taken singly or collectively, may be avoided or overcome, I will tell you that I don't know. Furthermore, don't think that any answer in such general form is possible. No practical dilemma, it seems to me, can find a solution in a general, abstract, theoretical formbut only in a specific, concrete, practical form, thru an experimental process of adjustment and improvisation. Here the Deed, which we learn was the beginning of all things, will have to have the last word as well

Institutional restraints and safeguards are absolutely necessary, of course; in fact, they are quite indispensable, and Corey very properly lays great stress upon them. But such safeguards, particularly in the generalized form in which alone it is possible to plan them in advance, are by no means sufficient. Supplementing and implementing them is needed a strong, between America and Japan in imunflagging will-to-freedom permeating every functional group and every section of the population, and manifesting itself in eternal vigilance and an everready determination to act. Such a collective spirit States for vital peace-time and warmight be relied upon, I believe, to exert itself effectively in each specific emergency to the degree permitted by the concrete circumstances, thus giving life and efficacy to democratic institutions. But this will-to- States has attempted to make use of freedom, if it is to be anything more than a phrase, must be illumined by a consciousness of the issues at stake, by a sober and realistic understanding of the which, of course, involves vital varying potentialities of the situation and the instrumentalities at hand. Wishful thinking of whatever the Pacific. The United States abrosort, is bound to prove fatal.

And this brings me to the end of my remarks. But and holds over the latter the poten-I want to stress again before I conclude, how valuable tial threat of an embargo on such I regard the viewpoints developed by Corey in his basic materials as oil, minerals, articles to be, even where I differ with or criticize them to a degree. Especially do I value his readiness ducts, etc. With Japanese economy Let me place this problem a little more concretely. to question all things, to examine them fundamentally, subjected to the terrific strain of the

### BRIGHT DREAMS OF YOUTH



-from the New York Daily News

# **Economic War Rages** Between U.S.A., Japan

Struggle to Control Raw Materials Acute

By J. CORK

BEHIND the scenes of polite diplomatic exchanges, an intense economic and trade war is going on portant sections of the world, chiefly in Latin America. Japan has been heavily dependent upon the United time raw materials and manufactured goods, as well as for a market for its own exports. The United this advantage to the hilt to slow up Japan's drive for control of Asia, American imperialist interests in gated the trade treaty with Japan scrap iron, heavy industrial proious enough to give Japan pause. which it is searching for new mar-

kets for its products as well as for new sources of those materials for which it has been so dependent upon the U.S.A. The main drive of Japanese trade policy today is, therefore, to reduce decisively that fatal dependence upon America which is slowing up its entire drive for conrol of Asia.

Japan's hesitation, for instance, in grabbing the Dutch East Indies, of the East Indies, America would which it obviously means to do at the first propitious moment, is probably due as much to its fear of American economic reprisals as to could be found. Bolivia is one of the the American fleet stationed within important producers of tungsten and striking distance. Germany has already given Japan the go-ahead sig- Japan has increased its purchase of so defenseless that people asked nal as far as the Dutch Indies are concerned, and for Japan these is- even the it could have gotten both eight billions he had spent upon lands are of supreme importance not only strategically but also economi- back-door in China. The intent is cally. Only one other region, I think British Malaya, produces more rubber than the East Indies. The Dutch COUNTER-STEPS colonies are also one of the world's OF THE U.S.A. chief producers of tin and oil. Jap- Of course, the United States is an gets one quarter of its oil there In addition, the islands export sugar, coffee, quinine, tobacco, copra spices, cattle, timber, coal, gold, silver-all of which Japan can certainly use. The 60 million inhabitants, moreover, furnish an important market for Japanese textiles and cheap manufactured goods. Yet, in spite of all this, Japan treads captiously, tho plainly biding its time. It is striving first to reduce

#### DRIVE IN LATIN AMERICA

for its basic motivation.

This drive dates roughly from the time of America's abrogation in January, of the trade treaty with Japan, With the exception of machinery, practically everything that 000 to almost \$9,000,000. The Unit-Japan needs and for which it depends on the Unites States, is produced in the countries south of the of the difficulties created by the Rio Grande. Admittedly, Japan has war, but partly also as a result of its work cut out for it in attempting deliberate policy, American woolen cause he looked at the machinery in to undermine American (and English) influence in Latin America in view of the latter's tremendous economic and financial strength and big head-start in the field. Nevertheless. Japanese inroads are making themselves felt.

its economic dependence upon Amer-

ica. Japan's recent energetic wooing

of Latin American trade has this

So far, Japan has begun trade ne gotiations with Chile, Uruguay, Mexico, Argentina, Peru, Colombia and Venezuela. Argentina and Uruguav have already signed trade agree ments, and most of the others seem to be on the verge of doing so From Chile, Japan is trying to get nitrates, proposing to increase its purchases from 30,000 to 70,000 tons annually. With Mexico, Japan is trying to arrange a barter agreement for oil. On March 17, a Mexican trade commission left for Tokyo to discuss this question and also possible Japanese investments in Mexican industry. From Mexico City, on April 20, came the announcement that a Japanese firm had signed a \$3,000,000 contract for the purchase of oil, gasoline and kerosene from the Mexican government. With Colombia and Venezuela, Japan is also dickering about oil.

The Japanese trade treaty with Argentina has special significance since it specifically discriminates against the United States. Japan is to provide textiles, certain types of machinery and other manufactured goods to Argentina, and in return buy Argentinian cotton and food products. Japan gets favorable treatment on more than 1,200 items, about a thousand of which had previously figured among U.S. exports to Argentina.

Japan is also engaged in negotiaminerals which are of basic import- as any other single factor.

# It's High Time to Call A Halt in America!

**War Panic Threatens to Engulf Democracy** 

By BERTRAM D. WOLFE

ray, Chicago psychologist, commented on the "Fifth Column" hys- into the hearts of the jittery and illteria that is sweeping Washington informed. The State Department foland much of the rest of America. "I lowed up with lurid tales of Fifth venture the prediction," he said. Column activities in Mexico and "that before this hysteria runs its course you are likely to see the worst witch-hunt in American history public's sadistic tendencies come to goes down the rat-hole. The probability is that the hysteria is going to run wild. Everybody is going to

**CYNICAL** MANIPULATION

The warning is timely. The hysteria is being deliberately fomented manipulators of the mass mind who Hitler does. And jittery columnists their moments of sanity and reason

House. With relish and cold calcula- term in office assured without a contion, the President of the United test. It means an expenditure with-States played on the low-grade men- out question of two, three, four, five tality that fell for the Orson Welles billions on armaments, sufficient to fairy-tale of the invasion from Mars. put this country into a war fever He cited the distances, carefully and make good any secret promises measured, from Berlin to some cape or understandings to intervene on in Africa, from the cape in Africa behalf of England and France in to a cape in Brazil, from Brazil to Europe. It means a raising of the Panama, from Panama to Tampico,

ance to the United States. The United States itself now depends upon the East Indies for tin and upon China for antimony and tungsten. Japan has already made a bid to close the Chinese sources to the U.S.A. If Japan should get control actually be dependent upon Japan for these minerals, unless other sources for some or all of them tin. But recent figures show that tended. He made the country seem Bolivian tungsten very considerably what had happened to the seven or of these more cheaply at its own

not taking things lying down. It is fully aware of these developments and is taking steps to meet them. In regard to Mexico, a more liberal to offset the Japanese bid.

Argentina will probably prove a harder nut to crack. For Argentina has been amongst the most intransigent of South American countries in regard to the United States. The ed in the world meat and grain markets. But the U.S.A. is making an effort to come to more amicable to improve general relations as well. In the first two months of 1940, Argentinian exports to the United States advanced about 80%, from \$11,000,000 to \$20,000,000. The chief factor in this rise was wool, shipments of which rose from \$2.000.ed States used to get most of its wool from Australia. Partly because two countries.

## SCIENCE DOES

ITS BIT In addition, American science and technology are helping the cause. As one commentator put it, the laboratory is engaged in a race with the State Department to see which can do more to win raw-material security. A method has been developed by the Bell Telephone Company for using calcium, which hardens bones, to harden lead in order to produce cable sheathing, for which Chinese antimony has always been used. Then the U.S. Industrial Alcohol Company has developed synthetic resins to replace tung oil from China and perilla oil from Manchukuo, the sources of both being completely controlled by Japan. Standard Oil of Louisiana is building a plant at Baton Rouge to produce buna, the German synthetic rubber. Before the year is up, Standard will to America for such freedom, they be able to produce 10,000 pounds a refuse to salute any man-made symday-so that the possible loss of bol or doff their hats to man or worubber supply in the East is already man, believing only God entitled to being anticipated and prepared such forms of reverence. That free-

And so the story goes. This growing economic and trade conflict between the United States and Japan litical tension likely to lead to an for position, in preparation for the day. Behind the growing militarization of the United States lurk Japan tions with Bolivia concerning certain and the Far East at least as much

against.

from Tampico to Florida and Oklahoma. The distances were no doubt THE other day Dr. Robert N. Mur- accurately given, the places carefully selected to strike cold terror -the Nazi was at the door!

Little details about how Hitler would get his planes to South Amerand possibly the establishment of ica, how he would supply them with concentration camps. In a hysteria, ammunition which requires the the veneer of civilization is stripped heaviest of heavy industry, how off and when this happens, all of the South America would develop a greater metallurgical industry than the fore. Reason is stopped. Logic the United States, what the American planes and factories and navy would be doing meanwhile, or how much strength any European counsee a Fifth Columnist under every try, "victor" or "vanquished," will have after the general European destruction and mass suicide is over, were conveniently overlooked. And why not? If millions will accept the idea of an invasion from Mars without attention to little details, surely by men who know better, cynical this is a more plausible story calling for less analysis and demonstration. regard it with the same contempt as The fact remains that our "American way," with all its democracy like Dorothy Thompson and weak- and literacy, has left a portion of minded intellectuals who repent of ignorance and fear and blind emotion on which to build an edifice which are whipping themselves and every- will be in nowise inferior to Hitler's body who will listen to them up into achievements if it once gets going at less cynical but no less dangerous the grand American tempo.

And the President is making The fount of hysteria is the White cynical use of it. It means a third debt limit by another five billion. from 45 to 50 billion! (How our children will curse us for that heritage!) It means an abandonment of attention to the unsolved problems of our depression and poverty, an abandonment not with defeat for the New Deal, but with drums beating and flags waving. It means the putting over of the War Resources Board once more and all the other cherished projects which had to be abandoned earlier under criticism.

> Like Orson Welles, the President had more effect even than he indefense already. His pride was hurt and he had to make a fireside correction softly assuring the nation that it was a time for panic, but not that much panic; that we were defenseless but not that defenseless!

## EXCESSES

The response was more than he could have hoped for. He asked for attitude may be forthcoming so as the placing of aliens under the Department of Justice—one of the most shameful measures of insult to our immigrants in the whole history of America-the exact opposite of one of our most cherished traditions we are supposed to gird to defend. He two countries have always compet- got it. And with it, aliens barred from business in Georgia, aliens barred from certain types of employment and put on quota in trade relations with Argentina and amendments to the LaFollette civilliberties measure, aliens insulted and tortured because of their accent all over the country.

A German revolutionist, who escaped to America from a concentration camp after carrying on an underground war against Hitler, writes from a southern university telling how he is ostracised, how he was put out of an automobile after its owner heard his accent, how he was cross-questioned as a spy betrade is being gradually shifted to a power house, how he is threatened Argentina. This may tend to ease up with expulsion from the university. the traditional friction between the Such pitiful, shameful, degrading stories could be multiplied by the thousands.

The newspaper stories have a note of obscenity about them, making one ashamed of the fragility of our boasted heritage. Maury Maverick wants anti-aircraft guns for San Antonio and gives his police machine-guns and armored motorcycles to defend the city from the invader from Mexico. "Nassau Will Combat the Fifth Column," "Hobo King Fights Reds Among Hoboes." Anti-aircraft units are sought by New Jersey, by Tulsa, by White Plains. Babylon maps its defense, determined to hold out even if the rest of America yields to the invader. Texans seize Jehovah's Witnesses; fifty of them who refuse to salute the flag for conscience sake, are taken into custody by a sheriff to prevent mob violence, and he says he will hold them until they salute the flag. Like the Quakers who came dom, so precious to them, part of our boasted heritage of freedom of conscience, goes glimmering as we prepare to "defend our freedom." is merely the foreshadowing of po- The Supreme Court ends its brief years of liberal decisions by throwexplosion in the not-too-distant fu- ing out of court the case of a school ture. The prospective opponents are child whose religious tenets forbade mending their fences, maneuvering her to salute the flag in daily ceremony.

> The Congress of the United States, both houses, solemnly pass a measure punishing the shooting of (Continued on page 4)

## Again the Invasion Scare Idea of Nazis "Capturing" British Navy Gen. Butler Shows Folly Of Panic at "Danger" of

Invasion by Germans FEAR that the British navy will interview in the Washington Times-turn itself over to Adolf Hitler Herald of May 24, said: "The Brit-I "threat" of imminent invasion of or be "captured" by him continues ish won't surrender their fleet. They United States by a victorious Hitler to be the main obsession of Wash- don't have to. The fleet's free to -a panic encouraged if not foment- ington alarmists. Scare-mongers get move anywhere it wants to. As long mean that he will get the British ed by the White House-it would be their greatest encouragement from as they have command of the ocean. well to recall the address delivered the State Department-from Sum- who's to stop them?" by Major General Smedley Butler ner Welles and Adolph A. Berle, Jr some months ago in a radio broad- But military circles refuse to get excast. General Butler, who has spent cited about either the possibility his life in active operations as the that Hitler will get the British flee commanding officer of the Marines, or the danger to America if he did. dealt with the question in a sober, During recent weeks, at least three realistic manner and his conclusions experts have put themselves on recshould certainly serve to allay the ord regarding these fears.

of sending fewer than a million men. After all, a million men would not be too many to send against ing to Canada. our rich and powerful 130,000,000

people 3,000 miles from Europe, against the almost unarmed and sels-large ones. And they would over naval vessels to the Germans But for every soldier the con- frightened politicians."

Admiral William D. Leahy, form-

to do this they would have to have fuel—coal or oil. Where would they factors that make up America's im- demanding anti-tank guns might be get it? Certainly, we would not be pregnability-factors that have not resting easier. at the beach to supply them with it

people be doing all this time? Retogether could not accomodate all at once 2,000 ships to unload their but not fewer than an additional men and munitions, assuming that the enemy had possession of themwhich, obviously, they would not.

would be equal to convoying such an armada across the seas? The whole enemy to land a few thousand men | thing is a preposterous tale, fit only on this coast, thousands of miles to frighten children. Yet, serious men are saying we had better go When the ships which landed them over and fight against Hitler in Euarrived, they would then have to re- rope rather than have to fight him

Called Absurd by Naval Authorities

Even those who are worried ad-

commission. What worries the wor-

no answer to the question: "What

a growing hysteria that is making

litically from discussion of "nation-

al unity in a crisis," has encour-

The possibility of a Nazi invasion

realities of Hitler's position in Eu-

hysteria that seems to be spreading On May 27, Rear Admiral Yates Stirling Jr., former Chief of Staff | could we do about it?" He said what, it seems, every per- of the U.S. Fleet, writing for Unitson must admit-that any country ed Press, insisted: "The British which sent a military expedition to navy will remain to protect Engthe United States would not think land, and will, to the last ship, if ing, before surrendering or retreat-

Major George Fielding Eliot, discussing the results of a British defeat in Life (May 27), wrote: "It fireside assurances that American munication and supply to them. probably would not mean the surrender of the British fleet to Germany, because we cannot imagine British officers and men handing his message to Congress. at the behest of any group of

er Chief of Naval Operations, in an

And what would the American nember, all of our great harbors put

And where is the navy which turn to bring more materials. And later on our shores!

been changed by recent events and are not likely to change in the predictable future. Adolf Hitler has much to do before he can threaten the safety of Kansas City, Omaha and St. Louis-

1. He must conquer England and France (which does not necessarily and French empires).

2. He must keep in subjugation 142,000,000 Englishmen, Frenchmen mit it would take the Nazis eighteen Belgians, Netherlanders, Danes, months to man the British fleet Norwegians, Poles, Czechs, and Ausproperly. To this must be added the trians-most of whom hate him as time it would take to recondition the men have rarely hated. ships that will have been put out of

3. He must then work out his selfproclaimed destiny in the East where riers most is the fact that there is there are the wheat and oil to feed and fuel his military machine. Here he must clash or compromise with The British fleet scare is part of Stalin, Mussolini and Turkey.

4. He must bury his dead, refill the ranks, rehabilitate his war otherwise sane Americans scare each other with talk of an invasion machine, add a great navy and whip necessary, sink, with its colors fly- by Hitler in the near future. The his war-weary people into a frenzy Administration, which profits po- of hatred against the United States. 5. Then he must establish naval and air bases in the western hemi-

aged such talk. President Roosevelt's sphere and protect his lines of comdefenses are not as inadequate as 6. Before he can land an expedisome think were no antidote for tionary force, he must sink the aerial time-tables he figured out for American navy, destroy our air forces and cripple our coast defenses.

7. He must then wipe out the American army. If this incomplete and undetailed time-table of Hitler's conquest of becomes fantastic in the face of the the United States had been added to President Roosevelt's message, rope and the fundamental strategic the Illinois farmers who have been

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THE TIME-TABLE

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underground, in more senses than

one, by a Nazi victory, without any

chance of raising their heads for

years to come. If the Allies win, it

will not mean enduring peace, but

rather another uneasy, tortured

breathing-spell between wars-in

which, however, it will certainly be

more possible to take up again the

fight for the basis of an enduring

peace. But if the Nazis win, it will

mean war continuous, unceasing,

spreading, without even a breathing-

spell. Victory for the Allies will not

mean the enthronement of liberty by

any means, but the defeat of Nazi

Germany will certainly deal a shat-

# Workers Age

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WILL HERBERG, Editor

SATURDAY, JUNE 22, 1940 Vol. 9.

### THE I.L.G.W.U. CONVENTION

THE fortieth anniversary convention of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union, that closed its sessions here last week, did a great service to the labor movement in effecting the reaffiliation of the I.L.G.W.U. to the A.F. of L. In any case, the return of the garmentworkers union to the Federation would have been a powerful stimulus to progressivism and unity in labor's ranks, but the particular manner in which it was accomplished greatly enhanced its significance and value. There cannot be much doubt that it was President Dubinsky's sharp. frank criticism of certain notorious evils in the A. F. of L., and his making the correction of these evils virtually a condition for reaffiliation, that stimulated the Executive Council of the A. F. of L. to take action. The anti-C.I.O. "war-tax" will almost certainly be abolished by the next Federation convention and the dubious powers of the Executive Council to suspend national or international unions definitely revoked. Nor will it be possible to ignore any longer the problem of racketeering and corruption in labor's ranks after Mr. Dubinsky's public denunciation of the evil and his publicly-proclaimed intention, embodied in an I.L.G. W.U. convention resolution, to raise the problem at the A. F. of L. gathering in New Orleans this Fall. Rarely has a union had the oppor- | ment, Willi Schlamm, editor of tunity and the vision and courage to do so signal a service to the labor movement as the International Ladies Garment Workers Union did last | Erich Wollenberg, a former official week.

This was not the only aspect of the convention to deserve recognition as the manifestation of a far-sighted, progressive outlook. But, on the other hand, there were other features of the convention, and crucial ones too, that can hardly be regarded in so favorable a light. We do not here refer to the convention's endorsement of a third term for President Roosevelt, altho we do not agree with it; after all, the convention merely echoed the sentiments of the rank-and-file of the American workers. Far more unworthy was the convention's action on the question of war and America's relation to it. With all its entirely proper denunciation of the totalitarian dictators and declarations of sympathy for the Allies, even with all its expressions of confidence-misplaced, in our opinion-in the President's foreign policy, the convention, conscious of its responsibility to the great masses of American people, might at least have repeated the stirring declaration made on May 15 by President Green, in the name of the A. F. of L. Executive Council: "On be- to prevent them getting visas. A half of the workers of this country, we make the flat declaration that the Communist Party member on the United States should remain out of war. We in America are devoted to the cause of freedom and democracy. But we do not see how the cause of democracy could be furthered by our involvement in a foreign war. The opposite is true. Democracy and freedom on this earth would be jeopardized if the United States were to go to war.

In failing to speak up with energy against American involvement in war, as Louis Nelson urged in his minority report, the I.L.G.W.U. convention failed in its duty to its wide membership and to the labor move-

Even more unfortunate was the impression created by many of its sessions that the I.L.G.W.U. was lending countenance to or even joining in the orgy of hysterical emotionalism that threatens to drown out every sign of tolerance and sanity in this country. From the convention platform, particularly from some of the guest speakers, could be heard the same jingoistic ranting, the same indecent incitements to the violation of the democratic rights of unpopular minorities, the same frantic appeals to hate, suspicion and repression, that we might expect to hear at a small-town business-men's "patriotic" rally. It was certainly out of low. place at the convention of a great and progressive labor organization.

We wonder, did any of the delegates who sat there listening to these irresponsible harangues ever pause a moment to think that the frenzy of jingoistic hysteria and hatred thus whipped up to their applause might, sooner or later, rebound on themselves, perhaps as much anti-Nazi activity. Emigrated to as on any other single group in America? The I.L.G.W.U. has a reputation for "radicalism"—indeed in some parts of the country, it is regarded as distinctly "Red"; it is composed in large part of foreign-born workers, many of them being Italians, now virtually "enemy aliens", and many more being Jews, always the butt and victim of alien-baiting outbursts: for such an organization to go in for the kind of thing that took place at the convention was indeed sowing the wind . . . and reaping the cluded in the list handed to the War

## OUR ATTITUDE TO THE WAR-I

(Continued from Page 1)

moral, approach to the tragedy of the present imperialist war. Hence, in developing our attitude. We MUST FIRST OF ALL VIEW THE WAR IN RELATION TO THE KIND OF PEACE WE WANT. What we want is a socialist peace along the lines indicated recently by the International Janet Chance, of the Refugee Au-Workers Front Against War. Instantly, two questions force themselves thors Buro of the P.E.N. Club, was foreign-born worker to the tender envy. upon us. One: Which outcome of the war would help most, would really insure, the realization of a socialist peace? The answer is simple: a new social order in the principal belligerent countries to replace all of the capitalist ruling classes and the imperialist war-makers. Two: Which outcome of the war would hurt most, would be fatal to, the likelihood of a socialist peace? The answer to this question is just as simple and unchallengeable: a Nazi victory.

Despite the collapse of the international labor movement, I do not, in the least, exclude the possibility of social revolution following the present world war. But we must distinguish between ideal possibility and baneful actuality. At the moment, the plaguing reality is the very acute danger of a victory for Nazi imperialism. Should the most improbable happen tomorrow, should the tables be turned, and the Allied imperialists wrest the upper hand and launch a campaign of dismemberment and annihilation of Germany, we would then have to face that as the most acute danger, the most menacing actuality. Under such conditions, we would have to shift our main fire against Anglo-French imperialism which above for the purpose of drawing mechanical parallels or resorting to such as they that a sound future can would then be the most serious obstacle to a genuine democratic and analogies. I present the above merely for the sake of establishing the fact socialist peace.

We Marxists have been flexible in our strategy in other situations of the actual situation. of striking similarity For example, at the outbreak of the Franco-Prussian War in 1870-71, Marx and Engels were for supporting the German government, for backing its war as a war of defense, because as Mehring said: "As far as Bonaparte's war policy was directed against the national unity of Germany, they (Marx and Engels) both recognized that Germany was on the defensive." On July 20, 1870, Marx wrote to Engels: "The French need a drubbing. If the Prussians are victorious, then the centralization of the state power will be favorable to the centralization of the working class. Germany's preponderance will shift the center of the working-class movement in Western Europe from France to Germany . . . Marx and Engels were even critical of Wilhelm Liebknecht and August Bebel for abstaining from voting for war credits at this stage, tho they recognized the courage of this act in itself.

On August 15, 1870, Engels wrote: "The situation seems to me to be as follows: Germany has been forced into a war to defend its national existence by Badinguet (Bonaparte). If Germany is defeated, then Bonapartism will be consolidated for years and Germany broken for years, perhaps for generations. Under such circumstances, there could be no question of any independent German working-class movement. The structe for the establishment of national unity would absorb all energies and, in the best case, the German workers would be taken in tow by the French. If Germany is victorious, then French Bonapartism is destroyed in any case. The eternal squabbling about the establishment of German unity will be ended at least. The German workers will be able to organize

# Stalinists Try to Frame Up German Refugees as 'Spies'

## **Brockway Presents First-Hand Evidence of Plots**

By FENNER BROCKWAY

No. 25

London, England THE first indications that Commu I nist Parties were using their influence against socialist refugees with anti-Stalinist views came at the time of our efforts to rescue comrades from the Nazi terror in Czecho-Slovakia. Investigation gave

some startling results. During the period when there were still prospects of an alliance between Russia and the Allies, the communists provided the Czech War Office with a list of prominent anti-Stalinists who should be arrested in the event of the Red Army entering Czecho-Slovakia.

This list was drawn up by Koenen former communist M.P. in the Prussian Parliament, and contained about 80 names, including both German refugees and German socialists in the Sudeten area. Among those on the list were Taub and Jacksch, socialist M.P.s in the Czech Parlia-Weltbuehne (a refugee paper), and of the Comintern

This list was not used for its original purpose, but when the Nazis invaded Czecho-Slovakia, it was used instead by the Communist Party members, who manned the key positions in the Central Refugee Committee in Prague, to prevent anti-Stalinists from securing visas. Among the officials was Katz, the German representative of the Com-

Many of the anti-Stalinists who vere betrayed in this way fell into the hands of the Gestapo, but some escaped to Poland. Even there, the tion from the Czech Refugee Trust Communist Party did all in its power staff of the British Consulate at Kattowitz, prevented anti-Stalinists Nazi agent. from seeing the British officials whenever he could.

The Communist Party again succeeded in placing members and "contacts" into key positions on the staff of the Czech Refugee Trust Fund in Britain. I have a list of the officials, both German and British associated with the Communist Party. The evidence is abundant that the Communist Party influence in the Czech Committee was used to prejudice the position of the anti-Stalinist socialist refugees and that disagreed with Communist Party about the facts, I would be prepared it went so far as to denounce them to the authorities as Nazi spies. I have particulars of a number of cases, of which I give examples be- he escaped to Poland and came to mittee, for investigation.

H. W., author. Worked with the Communist Party in Germany in Prague, 1933, and accepted an invitation to Moscow with his family Disagreed with Stalinist methods

and returned to Prague after nine months. He was hated by the Communist Party because of his criticism of Moscow "trials," and was in- \$500 and a year in prison on the defense; the income-tax rate is Office. Owing to Communist Party obstruction, he could not get a visa and hid in Prague for two months after the Nazi invasion, always hunted by the Gestapo. Finally he and his family escaped to Poland and got visas to England.

When H. W. appeared before the Aliens Tribunal, he was vouched for by A. Greenwood, M.P., E. Thurtle, M.P., and Miss Storm Jameson. Dr. one of his witnesses.

But a letter was sent to the Tri- F.B.I. without a murmur. The Wagbunal by a member of the staff of ner Act and the LaFollette bill be-

before the main issue.

for eighteen years.'

stuff to make a social revolution. . .

Here are words to ponder.

the Czech Refugee Trust Fund (I, England. know the name of the writer, as I do in all the cases cited below), de- from an official of the Czech Fund,

Dr. Chance. H. W. and his family were refused exemption from enemy-alien restric-

G. B., journalist, was editor of A.I.Z., the famous Berlin illustrated communist weekly. Developed political differences with the Commu Hitler's coming to power and edited the anti-Nazi Ostsee Beobachter. Went to Prague, where the communists sabotaged his efforts to get a visa to England, but, escaping to Kattowitz, got a visa. When the war broke out, the Czech Refugee Trust Fund stopped financial support and would not see him, but afterwards this was renewed.

Nevertheless, an official of the Czech Fund wrote the Tribunal, saying that he was a Gestapo agent and he was placed under enemy-alien restrictions.

H. W. and G. B. were two of the earlier cases to go before the Tribunal. The judge appears afterwards to have placed a proper value on the "denunciations" received, as these cases indicate.

W. S. was an employee of the Weltbuehne. He came into conflict with Communist Party policy.

Before he attended the Tribunal he asked for a letter of recommenda-Fund. He was given a good letter-But the same official who gave him this letter wrote privately to the Tribunal, denouncing W. S. as a

Dr. Janet Chance accompanied W. S. to the Tribunal and told the judge the truth about these "denunciations." The judge postoponed a decision for a fortnight and then removed all enemy-alien restrictions.

H. J. was a communist journalist from a Communist Party source. in Germany and leader of the Marx-Engels Institute in Frankfurt-on-Main. Went to Prague, 1933, and policy. Acted as editor of anti-Nazi to submit it, with the names of all

(Continued from Page 3)

The I.L.G.W.U. convention, the

A.C.W. convention, and American

Labor Party gatherings fall into

the trap and whoop it up against

the Fifth Column, delivering the

mercies of J. Edgar Hoover and the

partism, no matter what sort of government may follow there. The great would rather take our stand with

masses of the German people, all classes, have realized that the national them and take the consequences than

existence of Germany is at stake and they have, therefore, immediately hunt with the hounds of hysteria or

to me that a German political party can preach total obstruction à la can withstand the fury, only those

Wilhelm (Liebknecht) and place all sorts of subordinate considerations who can keep their heads in the

mechanical parallels. Analogies are poor arguments." I do not offer the the country out of war; it is only on

Here we have an estimate and approach pregnant with meaning ever powerful—it is only such as

Americas.

themselves on a far broader basis than previously, while the French work-

ers will also have much greater freedom of movement than under Bona-

sprung into the breach. Under these circumstances, it seems impossible

for us today. Naturally, some might say: "Well, you can't just simply draw

that, in approaching the present world war, the class-conscious worker

should not approach it abstractly but should judge it from the viewpoint

and the Anglo-French ruling classes themselves make it possible for Hitler

to win power, to hold power, and to build up his giant military machine?

Why should we then do anything or take sides in the conflict between

Hitler and those who helped make him what he is today?" I grant that

if it had not been for the French and the British, and by the way, also

the American bourgeoisie, neither Mussolini nor Hitler would today be

even a fly-speck on the map of Europe. However, that is not the decisive

question at the moment. I have cited the attitude of Marx and Engels to-

ward the first phase of the Franco-Prussian War. They took this attitude

despite the fact, as Mehring points out, that they did not forget "that it

was the ruling classes and the governments of Europe which had made it

possible for Bonaparte to play the brutal farce of restoring an empire

he said: "Amusing is Wilhelm's contention that because Bismarck was an

accomplice of Badinguet, the correct attitude is, therefore, one of neu-

trality. If that opinion were generally prevalent in Germany, we should

soon have the Rhineland League, and the noble Wilhelm would be hard

pressed to find what role he could play in it, not to speak of the working-

class movement. A people used only to blows and kicks is just the right

(The second article in this series will appear next week.-Editor.)

In one of his letters Engels dealt directly with this argument when

Yes, it might be said: "Didn't the Allied imperialist governments

At the Tribunal, a letter was read nouncing H. W. as a Nazi spy. This saying that the Aero Press was subletter was read in the presence of sidized by the Nazis.

Despite this, the judge was convinced that both H. J. and his wife were genuine anti-Nazis, and they were freed from enemy-alien restric-

Z., member of German Social-Democratic Party and trade unionist. He was denounced in a letter from nist Party. Went to Lithuania after a Czech Fund official as in the service of the German Military Espi-

> After investigation the judge decided that Z. was a genuine anti-Nazi, and he was released from re-

Finally, I give the case of Erna Liesegang, whose case led me to make this investigation. I had known annies that crush the peoples of her fiance, Wolf Nelki, a member of the Communist Opposition, for several vears.

guages in this country since 1937. been an active anti-Nazi. It was distress and back-breaking burdens only this Summer that she began to placed upon the people by the vicassociate with Communist Opposi- tors will feed the fierce discontents tion elements in Britain. The Communist Party then issued a warning fascism thrives. In the victorious against her, first as being "unreliable" and afterwards as being a Gestapo agent.

She was arrested the day before war was declared and kept in prison for twenty weeks whilst the Home Office Committee investigated a "denunciation" that she was a Nazi spy. I was in close touch with this case and was impressed by the thoroness with which Mr. Norman Birkett and the Committee went into every detail of the "denunciation." Finally, they were satisfied that every charge had been met, and Erna Liesegang was released from Holloway Prison.

I am not in a position to publish my evidence in this particular case. but I am sure, as in the cases cited above, that the "denunciation" came

In this article, it has not been possible to reproduce all the evidence collected, but if there are any doubts Aero Press. His visa for England the persons concerned, to a genuinewas sabotaged by communists, but ly representative working-class com-

gin to crumble like ice in a furnace;

The hysteria seizes millions, as

did the Mars invasion. But there are

other millions who refuse to fall for

they are still in a majority. But ma-

jority or minority, they are still mil-

lions. And millions or handfuls, we

keep silence. For it is only those who

midst of hysteria, only those who

can swim against the current how-

these on whom we can rely to keep

be built for this country and for

But today, we address ourselves

to those who are just beginning to

teeter on the edge of the maelstrom

those from whose parted throats the

first yell is just escaping, those who

or just feel their hearts and hands

begin to tremble. To them we say:

Now, before it is too late, it is time

to call a halt to this growing hys-

teria. Stop the trembling long

enough to ask whence and what the

nature of the danger. Stop the flag-

waving long enough to inquire what

you want the flag to mean and what

you want the country to be like, and

We began with the observations of

. Two such wars and two such epi-

the stage set for the second being

worse than the first-is it not time

we weighed the chances of ever re-

covering within our lifetimes? Is it

not time, and more than time, to

call a halt to the mounting hysteria

a psychologist; we end with those

what the chief peril is.

before it gets us?

humanity.

It's High Time to Call

War Panic Threatens to Engulf Democracy

an American eagle with a fine of strikes are denounced as hindering

ground that an eagle is not merely stepped up, the exemptions lowered;

'symbol of our unity and freedom"! ditures except armament is jammed

a biological creature but also a a 10% cut in all government expen-

A Halt in America!

# It Really DOES Make a Difference Who Wins!

(Continued from Page 1) the outcome of an Allied victory would be another and more ruthless Versailles-partition of Germany is already being suggested!-a super-Versailles aiming to keep Germany crushed and divided forever so that it will never again rise as a dangerous rival to Anglo-French interests. And out of this super-Versailles would inevitably come new bitterness, new hatreds, new pent-up nationalisms clamoring for release, new imperialistic rivalries, and another cycle of bloody, devastating

A victory for the Allies would not as such, bring democracy or socialism to Germany, but rather an effort to force on Germany a restoration of the monarchy or a military dictatorship, supported by England and France for the purpose of suppressing the revolutionary upsurge of the German people. Duff Cooper, and Churchill before him, have al ready indicated as much.

Out of the last "war for democracy" which America helped the Allies to win, were born the totalitarian tyr-Europe today. This war and its consequences, even if the Allies win, direction indicated by the facts themwill provide a fertile soil for the Erna has been a teacher of lan- growth of fascism and totalitarianism everywhere. In the defeated Before coming to England, she had countries, humiliation, embitterment, and nationalistic hatreds on which countries, the inescapable pressure of war will have created dictatorships that will probably be maintained and tightened in the postwar period in order to control the economic breakdown and social chaos that will face every country in Europe. Nor will even the victorious countries be altogether immune to outright fascism; witness Italy after the last war.

And, above all, nothing whatever would be solved. The underlying imperialistic rivalries that have already driven Europe and the world into two universal slaughters would remain, and would breed slaughters more frightful still.

For the racking malady that holds Europe in its deadly grip has no real, enduring cure within the framework of the present economic and political system. Fundamentally, this war and the World War before is are but episodes in the blind, catastrophic struggle of Europe for the continental integration that it im peratively needs and for which it is economically and technically ready, as part of a growing world integration. Either this integration will be achieved on a cooperative socialist basis, thus making possible a measor it will be attempted on an imuniversal hegemony of a single imperialist power or combination of powers-attempted thru seas of human blood but perhaps never achieved even in that form. In the long run, Europe is doomed unless socialism prevails and the entire system of predatory imperialism is

#### YET THERE IS A DIFFERENCE!

The difference is a short-run difference, more restricted but by no means less significant on that account. This war and its conseit. It is our faith in America that quences—we said above—even if the Allies win, will provide a fertile soil for the growth of fascism and totalitarianism everywhere. But if Nazi Germany wins, backed by Mussolini and Stalin, it will hardly be a question of creating a "fertile soil" for the growth of totalitarianism and fascism; victory for Nazi Germany will mean the exultant triumph of fascist totalitarianism, its political consolidation under the sway of the victor, its spiritual hegemony everywhere. Whatever be the outcome of the war, short of socialist revolution, even if the Allies win, there will be great retrogression in the conditions and standards of the masses, and immense loss of the hard-won gains of decades. But, should the Nazis win, it will mean the degradation of the working masses to a level below even that prevailing now in Greater Germany. see the first red spots before the eyes Whatever be the outcome of the war, short of socialist revolution, even if the Allies win, human rights and liberties, labor and civilization, will be gravely stricken. But should the

to the triumph of socialism and democracy; far from it. But it will of another. It is a common-place that leave at least some scope, however repetition smooths the paths of hablimited and precarious, for the activity of socialist and democratic demics of dictatorship and hysteria

> Read — Spread **WORKERS AGE**

destroyed

It is also, alas, a bird of prey, and thru; nuisance taxes and sales taxes at the present rate will soon be are prepared to put the burden on the We have described the prospect screaming once more "our exclusive masses. The New Deal looks like the in such stark and unrelieved terms sphere of influence" over the two Florida keys after the hurricane has not because we wish to imply it hit it A little more flag-waving in makes no difference who wins-we place of serious consideration of la- | believe it does-but because we want bor's needs in a few more labor con- to limit and define that difference ventions, and we will be on the road within its proper scope. But within to a regimentation in America that these definite limits, that difference even Hitler may yet have cause to is decisive.

> Nazis win, the very meaning of civilization will be denied, the very morale of democracy and socialism will be shattered, the very spirit of the labor movement will be broken for

decades to come. Victory for the Allies will not lead

tering, devastating blow to fascism and its ideology everywhere. Yes, it is a choice between evils. But it is a choice between two different orders of evil. It is a choice between the aggravation of a lingering illness that may lead to deathand death itself. We do not CHOOSE either of these evils; we choose the third way, the road to health, the road to socialism. But we do not refuse to distinguish the very real difference between the two orders of evil: nor do we refuse to concentrate our powers of resistance in the \LLIED VICTORY FAR PREFERABLE

We say, therefore, clearly and unequivocally, we would far rather the Allies win than Nazi Germany. And we are glad to note that as staunch an anti-war fighter as Norman Thomas has expressed the same viewpoint in his columns in the Socialist Call, especially in those of March 30, May 25, and June 1, 1940. There are plenty of sound reasons, he writes in his column of June 1, "why we Americans, from the depths of our hearts, should hope that the

... German drive on Paris and the English Channel should be decisively stopped. To wish this is entirely consistent with the conviction that we are witnessing an imperialist war, that the Allies themselves were largely responsible for the rise of their enemy, and that the miracle of another decisive victory for them would not restore either the old economic order or the old Europe. At best, Europe would only win another breathing space by the victory of the men and empires who won in 1918. . . . We want to see Hitler's drive checked. And we have a right to say so."

#### SOCIALISM MUST REMAIN INDEPENDENT

In line with this general conclusion, we believe that the European masses have a real and deep interest ure of enduring peace and welfare, or the Certainly, in the Allied countries dein the defeat of Hitler Germany. perialistic basis, on the basis of the featism is altogether out of the question, as we have pointed out on several occasions in the past. But we must add emphatically that, in our opinion, this does not at all imply that the European socialists owe political support to the ruling-class regimes dominating England and France and carrying on the war, the regimes of Churchill and Reynaud, thoroly Tory and reactionary to the core, despite the few tame socialists in the cabinet. They cannot support these regimes because they cannot share their imperialist war aims; pecause they cannot acquiesce in the imposition of a war dictatorship throttling all democratic rights and contrived for the essential purpose of forcing the masses to bear the heaviest burdens of the war, while their exploiters run things; because they cannot go along with the reckless destruction of the hard-won standards of labor while the rich still manage to rake in their profits and live without working; because they cannot condone the atrocities committed by these regimes against the subject peoples of the colonies; because they simply cannot trust the men in power, yesterday's admirers and friends of Hitler and Mussolini-

> Socialism cannot give any political support to the war regimes because, in the very midst of the carnage, socialism represents the future and fights for lasting peace thru the emancipation of mankind from the nightmare of imperialism; because, however desperate the emergency, it cannot and dare not keep silent about the intrigues of predatory power-politics that are already sowing the seeds of fresh wars after victory. In short, socialism cannot give political support to the rulingclass regimes in power because it must maintain scrupulously intact its independence as the champion of the abiding, fundamental interests of the producing masses, ever free to denounce despotism, injustice and brutality, ever determined to keep aloft the banner of socialist ideals.

> I certainly would not presume to teach the European socialists their duty. But I do believe that it is quite possible-and absolutely necessary-to combine this attitude of uncompromising class independence with an attitude that fully appreciates that it DOES make a differ-

(But where does this leave us here in America? If we are not indifferent as forces, who would be driven deep to the outcome of the war, does it follow that the United States should get into the war to help the Allies or take steps that bring nearer such involvement? And what about "national defense" here in this country? These questions will be dealt with in detail n the articles that follow.—Editor.)