By WILL HERBERG

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After the Elections: Some Lessons and Tasks....

WHATEVER else may be said about the results of the elections, this much at least is certain—President Roosevelt owes his victory very largely to the support of labor and allied groups thruout the country. In the pivotal state of New York, the American Labor Party's 350,000 votes more than covered the President's greatly reduced lead. In the key industrial states of Pennsylvania, Ohio, Massachusetts, Illinois and New Jersey, his majorities, some of them very narrow, obviously came from the organized labor vote and were obtained largely thru the efforts of organized labor. Labor's crucial, decisive role in this election is a fact and, whatever opinion one may have of the wisdom of the course it followed, the fact itself must be recognized. From this fact, certain conclusions follow.

In his pre-election appeal for Willkie, John L. Lewis solemnly pledged that should Mr. Roosevelt be reelected, he would resign as little time to do much beyond going inefficiency of the Conservative par- that social programs should not be president of the C.I.O. Well, Mr. Roosevelt has been reelected, and to work and then returning home it is now up to Mr. Lewis to resign. It is the best service he could render and snatching a sound sleep between the labor movement at this time. Already, however, there are moves air-raid warnings. You will have under way, inspired by Mr. Lewis's henchmen and the Stalinists, to "persuade" him to continue as head of the C.I.O., to "draft" him for another term in office, or something of the sort. There are also indications outside of St. Paul's Cathedral. We that Mr. Lewis is calculating on putting over a formal resignation that were three days away from the flat will leave him in effectual control of the C.I.O. All these schemes must but we moved into the flat of a be blocked. If labor is to achieve unity in the critical period ahead, the friend who had a very good library influence of Lewis and his Stalinist allies must be broken once and for and so we made up for lost time

Organized labor gave its enthusiastic support to President Roose- as a matter of course. They seem to velt because it was afraid of what would happen to the great labor work to a schedule and so we know and social reforms of the last seven years under a utilities executive, that at or around 8:30 P. M. we fronting for big-business reaction, as President. Labor supported Roosevelt because, rightly or wrongly, it put full trust in his pledge to protect and advance the interests of the masses of the people, to keep the country out of foreign war, to preserve the gains of labor and the social COOPERATION legislation of the New Deal in the national-defense effort. Now it is for labor to see that the Administration redeems these pledges. It will not be easy. Sober realism, vigilance and a greater measure of independence

From a long-range standpoint, perhaps the most important lesson of the election is this—that if ever a labor party is to emerge in the near future, it will have to come from the ranks of the workers who stood in the fore of the campaign to reelect President Roosevelt, for, aside from a handful of socialists and radicals, they are undoubtedly the most advanced, the most conscious section of the American working class. All plans and programs looking towards a labor party must take this fundamental fact into consideration. To ignore, overlook or refuse to build on it would be sheerest self-isolation.

are the chief needs of the hour for labor.

Stalin Tightens Ties With Fascist Axis

From A London Air Shelter

-Editor.)

London, September 18, 1940. My dear Lovestone:

JOUR letter received, but in the rush of things there has been heard of the delayed-action bomb Now we take the air-raid warnings must prepare for the evening and the night ahead of us.

UNDER FIRE

raid shelter from where I am writ- class and the division is not so easily ing this letter. We are all tenants of the flat building and we cooperate and so we have our tea and biscuits when the moment demands it. which is very often. A small contribution of sixpence a week assures us of adequate supplies of tea and we to the luckless night traveler caught out in a raid.

(We present below a very interest- | There are interesting conversa- | mination to carry the war thru is | them I do not care to say because ing letter from a London correspondent. tions held thru the night. There is around 99.9%. There is no social the question seems superfluous. You much discussion of the trend of program that sums up the attitude do not ask a man caught in a storm present-day events. The middle class of mind of the various social groups. I believe it will develop, for there is timate outcome of things than many resentment—even in the Church OLD PHRASES others. To the middle-class person the hope is in the Labor Party, but Church of England-against the it is more of a protest against the suggestion of ultra-Tory organs ty than a recognition of the necessity for a profound social change. the Labor Party will emerge the Among the workers who come into strongest party in the country. the shelter is the unskilled type who There is no other alternate party to has no particular vocation. He is the Tory party. If I were to tell profoundly grateful for the tea and you of the people in high places who shelter. He feels that the world is are now very pro-Labor, you would full of kind people and the war de- be surprised. monstrates how kind people can be It is interesting to note the pained LONG WAR reaction of the middle-class man to FORESEEN the attitude of this type of worker. He feels the latter ought to be more self-assertive and cannot under- the orbit of present-day relations, stand why a man should be thankful are too vital and far-reaching in like to believe that this is in some for only a bed in a well-ventilated their potentialities to permit of a shelter and a cup of tea. "You ought to see the place I live in" is an the system by a reversion to the answer beyond the understanding of past w'll fail and any military enthe middle-class person, who feels there is no place like your own home. The fetish of the middle class We take a camp bed into the air- is the stark reality of the working

ALL SUPPORT WAR EFFORT

THE WAR AS A WAR. The deter- to whether that will be good for

Times, semi-official organ of the discussed during the war. I feel that

This war is not going to be a short one. The issues, even within compromise. The attempt to sustain raid shelter, I cannot give myself deaver on its behalf would also fail. But life is not so logical as that and so we may expect surprises. But with the full weight of America that I am in the best of health, getbehind us, we cannot lose.

The Soviet Union will be in this war before very long. There is no neutrality in this war, just as in the normal development of the economic We occasionally have civil ser- conflict there is no neutrality. The vants. They have a much clearer logic—the savage logic, if I may say conception of the situation. They so-will compel the U.S.S.R. to enhave a surplus which we hand out understand the war. I HAVE MET ter a war it sought to exploit and NO ONE WHO IS OPPOSED TO now cannot much longer avoid. As

AFL, CIO Opens Conventions;

So all around us there is this conflict raging in increasing tensity. What can we do about it? Can we avoid it? Or must we become a part of it and realize that thru the strength of our forces we may direct haven in which war is not alone illogical but impossible. I know that one can raise himself up and with hands clasped pray to the god of Karl Marx and his successors and, in the mumbling of political precepts, remain pure at heart with not a grain of dust of the changing world to stain our garments. I would way possible, but sitting in an airthe luxury of even thinking of it in terms of reality, much less believing it is so.

There is not much else to tell you at the moment, except to tell you ting lots to eat, irregular but adechildren in our air-raid shelter who would welcome comics from the New York papers. I would welcome as many as you can raise among your

My regards to all and all of the

EDUCATION-FOR WHAT?

By WILL HERBERG

sion of the American Council on published by the American Council Education, a research and policy or- on Education. The book defines ganization with headquarters in Washington, D. C. It is an article by Frances V. Rummel, a high-school teacher of French, introducing the findings and conclusions contained in Dr. Howard M. Bell's study, "Matching Youth and Jobs," just published by the Council. I don't know what impression Miss Rummel's article and Dr. Bell's book will make on others; as for myself, I must say that I certainly was shocked and trial society which make it pracdepressed. But let the reader judge for himself. I wish I could quote Tom in time of the following facts: Miss Rummel's article entire, but I must restrict myself to some characteristic passages:

OF WHAT GOOD IS OUR EDUCATION?

"Every teacher at one time or an other asks himself a searching question that goes something like this: 'What am I doing to prepare Evelyn and Tom for the turbulent world that lies beyond the classroom windows?' . . . Before I left teaching last year, I asked myself the question many times and always with growing concern. Most of the thirtyfive pupils in front of me were potential truck-drivers, cooks, laundry workers, subway guards, department-store wrappers, butchers. And but if Tom follows his trade, he will what were they learning in my room? Esoteric refinements of ous operation in an assembly line-French syntax, not to mention a pseudo-native accent, neither of which they would remember a day after high-school graduation, when eight out of ten of them would go job-hunting, if he has been told immediately into the job market . . . "It is not fair to suggest that

language is the only subject whose waste may be great. I'll let other teachers of other subjects speak for themselves. But I believe, so far as my subject is concerned, that the American Youth Commission is right in . . . suggesting that the public high school has not got over its high-toned beginnings when the elite smoothed its benches preparing for school in some such way as Miss medicine, law and the ministry . . .

pupils have no taste for manual labor. Time and time again, in talking with pupils, I have observed that regardless of circumstances or same futile and wasteful manner. aptitude, Evelyn and Tom have their heads full of professional dreams and trust in fairy-tale endings. But why shouldn't they? . . . Hasn't the all education, should be useful, the average high school encouraged this visionary attitude, by negative if not by positive implications? . . .

"There is no intention here to thirds of all jobs can be filled by suggest that the high school should try to stop a boy's day-dreaming entirely. . . . Any wholesale throt-tling of ambition would be an unthinkable violation of our democratic ways. At the same time, teachers may gently pull air castles and daydreams into a focus that has some

elements of reality. . . .

"Howard M. Bell's comments on the situation appear in 'Matching HAVE before me a press bulletin of the American Youth Commission, and hankering for definition, and it presents forthright, logical answers to critical questions imposed on an inkeeping up with the times-is still generally classical. . . .

> "High-school teachers may learn from 'Matching Youth and Jobs' some of the conditions of our industicable for them to warn Evelyn and

"In the opinion of employers and analysts, almost half the jobs in American business and industry demand nothing in the way of 'education' beyond ability to speak, read and write. Two-thirds of all jobs can their own personal fate for, as div-tion in October and Lewis's preelecbe filled by persons who have had only eighth-grade education or less. The remaining third require some formal education beyond elementary was motivated by a conscientious wards a showdown. school....

"In spite of the great American penchant for talking about 'rugged individualism' and 'man-made opportunity,' the era when these phrases rang with meaning is drawing its last breath. Tom's grandfather may have been a craftsman proud of his art in fashioning and making shoes; be responsible for a single monotonpunching eyelets for laces or trimming the tongue. Tom's morale is likely to be far more sound, after he begins pounding the pavements about the assembly line. Better still he'll know how and where to look for a job making shoes. . . .

"It will have to be a tactful level ling off, a humane problem for teachers of every subject."

WHAT . . . ?

Now I don't for a moment doubt that French is being taught in high Rummel describes: "Esoteric refine-"Far too many of our young ments of syntax, not to mention a pseudo-native accent . . . " Nor do I doubt that many other subjects are But that is not the question; the real issue goes much deeper. Granted that high-school education, like question remains—useful for what? Useful in making a living? But

Miss Rummel points out that "twopersons who have had only eighthgrade education or less." If educa-

wasted on two-thirds of them. From Miss Rummel's article and as they are, where will these young remain within the C.I.O., at least convention or immediately after is from Dr. Bell's study, it would seem

Conscientious Objectors Given Year in Prison

Eight Theological Students Are First Victims of Preparedness Legislation

New York City.

The first prison sentences to be meted out under the new war-prepadustrial society by a school system redeness legislation were handed which—for all our prattling about down last week when eight divinity students were given terms of a year and a day by Federal Judge Mandelbaum for violating the Selective Service Act. They were the Union Theological Seminary students who had refused to register for the draft on conscientious grounds and had been indicted by a federal grand jury not long after. Since they had pleaded guilty, there was no jury trial.

Their refusal to register had noinity students, these young men tion swing to Willkie did the rift conviction against taking part in any procedure or arrangement ser-

ving a military purpose. Against the instructions of his clients, Kenneth Walser, their lawyer, pleaded for leniency and asked that a suspended sentence be given. The court, however, sentenced them to prison terms. Ernest Angell, chairman of the National Committee on Conscientious Objectors, said that the sentence was "much more severe than that which would have been meted out to a non-registrant in England even in war-time."

that high-school education has an other purpose, a rather sad one-in Miss Rummel's own words, "gently to pull the air castles and daydreams [of the students] into a focus that has some elements of reality." The day of open frontiers, of boundless aspiration and achieve- will continue to hold the strings of ment, of "man-made opportunity" is the C.I.O. in his hands. You can't ing national-defense measures. gone, our very practical educators tell us; the great bulk of our youth are doomed to be tied down for life to performing "a single monotonous operation in an assembly line" or to some trade equally monotonous and humdrum. Let's recognize the fact and frankly adapt our educational being taught the same way, in the program to it. At least then our youth won't be filled with impossible ambitions leading to inevitable heart-sickening disillusionment. In other words, words rather crude perhaps but not unfair to the Bell-Rummel thesis, education should teach the boys and girls of the lowerin society and to rest content in it.

that certain rather dubious "friends" tion is to serve the purpose merely of the Negro have been accustomed a living, then apparently all educa- youth a liberal education. "After tion beyond elementary school is you've gone and educated them,' (Continued on Page 3)

Labor Faces Big Problems War Economy Issues Throw Shadow Over Both Gatherings; Fight Against Lewis Regime and Stalinists Seen at CIO Meet

Atlantic City, N. J. The Congress of Industrial Organizations has just opened its most momentous gathering in the five that 2 opened its sessions at New years of its existence. The events of Orleans on November 18 faces a the past few months and the offanything may happen at this annual convention of the industrial union federation-but probably will Federation gathering and indicate

The C.I.O. is split wide open. Of course, there has been a wide rift in the leadership for quite a while over a lot of questions, but not until thing to do with considerations of the New York State C.I.O. convenwould have been exempted under become public and official. Now it the draft law anyway. Their action seems that things are moving to-

Roosevelt's reelection, he is obliged to make a gesture at redeeming his pledge and offering his resignation. What will happen then? The Stalinist affiliates and officials in the C.I.O. have already launched a move to "draft" him, that is, to refuse to accept his resignation, on the ground that he is "indispensable" to the C.I.O. But from all indications, Lewis's strategy will be something different. He will insist on resigning, it is said. If he does, Philip Murray seems slated for the job, and everybody is agreed that, despite their differences on the elections, Lewis and Murray will continue to work together as part of the closely-knit "official family" of the United Mine Workers. So it seems that for all the terrific blow that his political escapade has dealt to his prestige, Lewis

write him off as easily as some peple seem to think. What will the other faction, grouped around the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, do? Sidney Hillman, as a Defense Commissioner, may not even be present at the convention. His lieutenants have come here with a program demanding democracy in the C.I.O., unity with the A. F. of L., and a curb on Stalinism. This is a program of war to the bitter end as far as Lewis is concerned, and the Amalgamated people are not likely to get anywhere with it as long as Lewis continues to have anvincome groups to know their station things to say about it. And he still continues to have a lot to say. Thru We are familiar with the warnings his U.M.W. people and Stalinist stooges he has a tight grip on this convention. Will the Amalgamated of training boys and girls to make to voice against giving the Negro and its associates bolt the C.I.O.? This is far from certain. The general | means the unanimous opinion, how impression seems to be that when ever, and there are those who mainthey say, "what then? With things all the shouting is over, they will tain that an official split right at the for the time being. This is by no inevitable.

Washington, D. C. The annual convention of the American Federation of Labor

emerge from the convention. It is no secret that there is mounting bitterness in the A. F. of L about the unsatisfactory relations between the Federation and the government on national defense. In the last war, the A. F. of L. was the very center of labor policy. Today, because of the divided state of the labor movement and for other reasons of a political nature, the A. F ing what Lewis will do. In view of altho a number of high A. F. of L. officials do occupy key positions. In some quarters, there is a tendency to blame President Green and to make unfavorable comparisons between him and President Gompers in World War days. However that may be, everybody in the A. F. of L. resents a situation where organized labor has to "live by the grace of Sidney Hillman". Perhaps this drives for membership during the whole issue will not even be discussed officially at the convention, ganizing purposes will not be apbut it is safe to say that it will be controlling problem that will occupy a great deal of the thought and deliberations of the top officials.

As far as resolutions are concerned, those dealing with national defense will probably run along the following lines, demanding: 1. Adequate representation of la

bor in formulating and administer 2. No "dilution" or lowering of existing standards except by conference and agreement with the unions

concerned. 3. National standards mutually acceptable to labor and employers for training in defense production. 4. No reduction or undermining of wage-hour or other social-legislation

5. Payment of dismissal wages under defense contracts and in the readjustment period after the emergency is over.

standards.

The larger questions of foreign policy in which these problems are embedded are not likely to receive extensive or important discussion at the convention. The traditional A. F. of L. position will almost cer-

tainly be reaffirmed: aid to Britain "short of war", no involvement in war, "adequate" national defense. Conscription, as the law of the land, series of situations and problems is already a dead issue for most A the-record talk of the leaders and calling for some first-rate thinking F. of L. leaders, altho there probabdelegations here make it clear that and planning. It is the purpose of ly will be some consideration of the this article to mention a number of many difficult problems arising out the vital issues that confront the of the impact of the draft on labor organization. The selective and deferment features of the law may be some of the policies that may made to work out in very different

ways as far as labor is concerned.

MEMBERSHIP AND ORGANIZATION

Without question, a record membership will be reported to the convention, for the membership of the A. F. of L. is now higher than it has ever been in history, well above four million. The Federation leaders believe that membership will increase even more rapidly in coming months because of the national-defense effort. They believe this increase will be largely automatic, as it was during the World War-thru new workers taken on in unionized industries as well as thru new unions formed under the protection of federal laws. They are therefore not planning to initiate any big "emergency" period. Strikes for orproved, nor will big money be appropriated for membership campaigns. This is the way practically of action. Bombers reports, conall influential A. F. of L. leaders firmed by reconnaissance plane look at it.

There are some, however, who believe that such strategy is a big two cruisers listed heavily in pools World War conditions will be du- partly submerged. The British also (Continued on Page 2)

Molotov Visit Points to Far-Flung Deal

British Destroy Large Part Of Italian Fleet in Daring Raid: Greeks Press Gains

The fascist Axis consolidated its position somewhat on the diplomatic front last week but suffered heavy reverses on the fighting front in Greece and the Mediterranean, Thru it into those channels thru which we a daring British air raid on the may eventually find that desired Italian fleet at Taranto, Italy's naval power was virtually crippled at one blow.

The Russo-German alliance reached a new stage when Russian Premier-Foreign Minister Molotov. acting for Dictator Stalin, visited Berlin for a series of far-reaching "discussions" with Dictator Hitler and the Berlin Foreign Office. Official communiques were brief and formal, indicating merely, in the words of the Red Star, Russian army paper, a "strengtening and development of Soviet-German relations in the interests of both counquate quantities of sleep. There are tries." Informed observers, studying the situation, were of the opinion that the talks at Berlin ranged over two continents and touched on questions of immediate decisive import-

> 1. The Berlin-Moscow Axis, recently somewhat strained by Hitler's push in the Balkans, was reconsolidated by at least a temporary settlement of outstanding issues. Recent efforts of Britain and the United States to "appease" Stalin were thus proved to be quite futile.

2. Russia's place in the Nazi "New Order in Europe" was discussed, especially as relating to the Balkans and the Near East. In all probability, Moscow's claims were met by an arrangement whereby Russia would establish some form of "protectorate" over Turkey with full control of the Dardanelles.

3. In the Far East, Germany undertook to serve as middleman in tween Russia and Japan by the terms of which China and adjacent regions would be parcelled out into spheres of influence for Moscow and Tokyo. Chiang Kai-shek's Nationalist government at Chungking would be abandoned by Russia-the relations between the two are already quite sharp-and a new puppet regime set up to consummate the

Of great significance in this respect was the reaction of the Japanese press to Molotov's visit to Berlin, Whereas hitherto a Russo-German rapprochement had been viewed with terror by Japanese publicists, this time the Hitler-Molotov talks were actually hailed in all Tokyo papers as foreshadowing an expansion and strengthening of the fascist Axis. Negotiations for a farreaching agreement with Russia were reported as under way both in Moscow and Tokyo.

Virtually all the active operations of the war, aside from the continued bombing of England by the German Luftwaffe and of Germany by the R.A.F., were limited to the Mediterranean and Near Eastern theater of war last week. Here the British scored a terrific victory as a result of a spectacular air raid on the Italian fleet anchored at the base harbor of Taranto. According to an official report to the House of Commons, the British Fleet Air Arm put half of Mussolini's battleships out photographs, indicated that three Italian battleships were crippled, mistake. They do not believe that of oil and two fleet auxiliaries were (Continued on Page 2)

Here's the Score:

THE table below presents the results of the last three Presidential elections in terms of the two major parties. The Democratic Presidential candidate in each case was Franklin D. Roosevelt; the Republican were Herbert Hoover in 1932, Alfred M. Landon in 1936, and Wendell L.

	DEMOCRATIC PARTY		REPUBLICAN PARTY	
1940				
Popular vote	26,913,000	(54.9%)	22,067,000	(45.1%)
States	38		10	
Electoral vote	449		82	
1936				
Popular vote	27,476,000	(62.2%)	16,679,000	(37.8%)
States	46		2	
Electoral vote	523		8	
1932				
Popular vote	22,821,000	(59.1%)	15,761,000	(40.9%)
States	42		6	
Electoral vote	472		59	

Labor's Role and Tasks in Defense

By MATTHEW WOLL

an address on "Labor's Part in National City.—Editor.)

WHAT then are our duties and responsibilities as citizens of a free nation?

Most assuredly, it is that in world which has been rocked to its foundation by a totalitarian revolution it would be utter folly not to prepare to make America impregnable against any attack from whatever quarter or on whatever pretext. There must be national defense adequate to the protection of our continental and hemispheric zone of interests-a defense founded

on contemporary technology of war. The challenge to us is to save America from the fate overshadowing the very few remaining democracies abroad. The challenge to us is to realize the necessity to prepare for whatever betides our peo-

It is quite true that in dealing with the defense of our country as well as of the western hemisphere, we have to deal with three unknown factors: the outcome of the conflict World War, control was exercised abroad, the timetable of the totalitarian governments, and the trend Working conditions were standardof public opinion. We are confident of this country's ability to prevent either an internal or external totalitarian penetration and we are fairly optimistic no such penetration can take place in South and Central America. Nevertheless, we view with apprehension the attitude and actions of one or more of the governments in South America.

It is likewise true that in undertaking the defense of our neighbors in South and Central America, we may here and there give encouragement and support to republics that are merely democratic in name and dictatorial in fact. Nevertheless, if we maintain our democratic processes in our dealings and relations with the nations to the South of us, we can be of tremendous service in furthering a democratic spirit in such countries dominated by petty tyrants, and prove of invaluable help to the workers of all South and Central America.

WARNS AGAINST WAR **PSYCHOLOGY**

Above all else, we should and ever must be mindful that as a nation, we are not at war. We are still at peace with all nations of the world. Our preparations for defense should have for their first and principal objective the prevention of war. Whatever may be the personal feelings of each and every one of us-and while free to manifest these feelings-as a government we must be careful not to substitute a diplomacy of abuse for a diplomacy of firm correctness. Yes, let the world understand our might, but let them as well realize our sense of right and love of peace.

It is important, moreover, that we do not let a preparedness policy and psychology lead us into the adoption of measures only justified in a state of war. We must be careful that in our effort to protect our liberties and freedom against foreign attack, we do not leave them defenseless against attack from

We are not unmindful that a constantly increasing pressure for military preparedness may and does threaten some of the fundamentals authoritative quarters pointed out. of our structure as a democracy.

The full use of our material resources, the construction of naval vessels, airplanes, tanks, guns and war material, is but a part of national preparedness. Full realization of any goal set for the production of material to be used in the creation of adequate national defense necessarily involves the creation of an army large and strong and efficient even the communiques issued at enough to man our defenses and to Rome admitted reverses. Perhaps it resist successfully any attempt by was this critical situation that formany enemy, however large or powerful it might be, to set foot on our conference at Innsbruck last week homeland. We would have preferred between Marshal Pietro Badoglio of that the government had attempted Italy and Field Marshal Wilhelm to mobilize an adequate man-power Keitel, chief of the German High for national defense by the voluntary enlistment plan rather than by the compulsory method of conscription. We should have preferred the Swiss system of citizen soldiery—a proven democratic, efficient and inexpensive system. The draft system recently adopted and put into operation is not a system to maintain a citizen soldiery. It is a system to transform a citizen soldiery into a standing army and possibly into an expeditionary force.

DANGERS OF CONSCRIPTION

The system adopted proposes to take a million men away from their jobs for at least a year, during which time they will be trained as professional soldiers. At the end of a year, the nation must either continue to maintain that standing army or return most of these men, skilled in militarism, to their respective communities either to find jobs or replace others in jobs. In any event, they may become a menace to our industrial and political peace and safety. Thus, we have good reason to fear that a temporary entry into a system of militarism in time of peace will develop into a permanent system and thus be fraught with all the dangers inherent in such military systems.

Then, too, there is embraced the extreme danger that this compulsory system of military training may be used for other purposes of

(The following paragraphs are from Peace and Democracy Are thew Woll, vice-president of the A. F. of L., at the Rand School in New York Not Built on Want....

PEACE and democracy are not built on want and hunger. Recent United States reports reveal that net profits of the 400 leading American corporations were 58.6% higher in the first six months of cult of all economic problems pre-1940 than in the same period of 1939. Payrolls rose only 13%, according to U. S. Department of Labor figures.

The effect on the working population of this disparity between profits and wages can be seen more clearly when it is noted that 45,000,-000 people are "living below the safety line right now." according to Miss Harriet Elliott, consumer commissioner on the National Defense Advisory Commission.

The September Economic Outlook, C.I.O. publication, analyzing a study made by the Heller Committee for Research in Social Economics at the University of California, reports that an average family of five should have an income of \$2,184 a year to live at an acceptable level. Yet "one-third of the families in the U.S.A. averaged \$471 a year," the Outlook finds. "The next one-third averaged \$1,078 while the upper third averaged only about \$3,000 a year. Actually 86% of our entire population has an average income of less than the minimum budget for a wage-earner's family as estimated by the Heller Committee.'

over workers as well as their standards and conditions of employment.

During our participation in the over labor as well as over industry. not actually forced to remain on in a full measure the task and reto allocate labor to activities deem- est order in industry. ed essential. The danger is that labor may lose STANDARDS MUST

much of its peace-time freedom BE MAINTAINED under the emergencies of our desoon be followed by a warning against strikes in plants engaged in defense production and transportation even the under private ownership and control. It must be evident that if the government will dominate and control business of every essential type and character and of materials and services that enter therein, then a strike of any kind will be against the government and will be dealt with accordingly.

Then, too, legislative standards relating to minimum wages, hours The road to national safety lies in of work, industrial relations as em- | maintaining and constantly increasbraced in the National Labor Rela- ing real wages. The way to accomtions Act, child labor and other leg- plish that is by ever improving our islative standards for safety and se- methods and processes of production curity, are being jeopardized and and of distribution. The only way treated with slight consideration in that industry can expand is by ever

(Continued from page 1)

Otranto, within Italian waters, des-

troying the supply ships and

The British feat at Taranto was

bound to change markedly the rela-

tion of forces in the Mediterranean,

British control of the sea would be

definitely established, and it might

even be possible for London to

transfer some of its ships to the

Atlantic to hunt down German sub-

With full British assistance, the

Greeks continued to drive the Italian

invaders before them all along the

line, reports from Athens said, and

ed the subject of discussion at the

Command. Altho Berlin was not very

enthusiastic over Mussolini's adven-

ture, it was recognized that an

Italian defeat in Greece would have

serious repercussions in virtually

destroying Axis influence in the

Near East and badly damaging its

prestige everywhere. In some quar-

ters, it was suggested that a counter-

blow at Gibraltar was being plan-

marines and other raiders.

damaging one of the two accom-

panying crusiers.

tercepted a convoy in the Strait of to Berlin.

Stalin Welds Ties

With Fascist Axis

Molotov Visit Points to Far-Reaching

Deal: British Smash at Italian Fleet

reported that their warships had in- of Spain's Foreign Minister Suner

industrial conscription and control | and of a possible war. Standards of ork and working conditions se ured thru collective action are be ig likewise jeopardized.

In pledging support to our govern ment in defense, we insist, however, won the assurance that social inized as well, and employers urged dustrial and economic standards not to advertise for labor but to thus far attained, whether in pubturn instead to the national govern- lic or in private employment, will be ment for help. Altho workers were maintained. In return, we assume their jobs, indirect controls served sponsibility for service of the high-

Here in America we have built fense program. Indeed, we have al- up a high standard of living under ready been cautioned against strikes our democratic institutions. Work against the government. This may ers and their families have come to enjoy these higher standards of living. It means to them the whole of their economic and social life. Democracy has thus become endeared to them. They must be assured that in the defense of our democratic institutions, they are not to suffer a loss or a lowering in their standards of work and liv-

The American standard of living is the product of high wages to producers and low prices to consumers. the interests of the "emergency" raising the standards of living and

ned; hence the sudden summoning

The German air offensive against

last week when 500 Nazi planes,

the important industrial city of Co-

Syllabus - Outline

of the course

now being given by

Will Herberg

I. REVALUATION OF

MARXIST PHILOSOPHY

(in two parts)

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was not disclosed.

ployed or perhaps to become unem-

increasing the hours of service.

not by lowering wages or by

Then, too, in any program for na

tional defense we must embrace consideration for those already unemployed by a shifting of economic endeavors made essential by military requirements. This problem of unemployment is one of the most diffi sented for solution. We are confident that all demands for skilled and semi-skilled workers can be met in a reasonable way, if properly registered and mobilized. We believe therefore, no change should be made in our employment situation until those who are idle are accorded an opportunity to work and earn a liv ing under prevailing standards of employment and compensation.

We believe our first duty is to absorb the unemployed; then, if nec essary, and only then, to work beyond scheduled hours of work and at overtime rates.

PERIL OF GROWING BUROCRACY

With the growth of industrial and governmental forces and controls we must continue to add unceasing protection from abuse and exploitation. We must be liberal in reward to those who add service, material or spiritual wealth, to our land. It is vital that opportunity in life shall be preserved; that the frontier of instiative and of enterprise shall not be closed; that the future shall not be burdened by unbearable debt; that our lives and opportunities shall not be unduly circumscribed and limited; that our individual liberties and responsible constitutional government, as opposed to un-American regimentation and burocratic domination, be avoided at all times. What good will we have accomplish ed if, in our planning for national defense, we have failed to safeguard the very principles that underlie our freedom as citizens of our great American democracy?

Finally, our task in America is not alone that of arms and munitions, of planes and tanks, of dreadnaughts and destroyers, of international trends and commerce. These are important; but they are not wholly sufficient unto themselves. There is the task of strengthening the inner spirit of America, of deepening the sources of our faith, of seeing anew the path along which our destiny lies.

We have taken for granted democracy and freedom in America. We have failed to appreciate fully the counsel of the revolutionary faprice of liberty". Liberty is not a heritage but a fresh conquest for each generation. And that conquest we must make right speedily. We must make it by strengthening and invigorating our democracy by banances. We must see to it that the basic freedoms to speak, to print, to assemble and to worship are not sworn to uphold them or by those cious acts.

NEW DYNAMIC FOR DEMOCRACY

It is important to remember, Britain scored an unusual success much as we may condemn totalitarianism for its methods and objecraining incendiary and demolition tives, that totalitarianism abroad bombs for over ten hours, devastated ventry. The extent of the damage be mindful that the menace to Amerwithout, but as well from within. We are immensely rich in national resources, not seriously dependent upon other countries for our own prosperity. Yet we have a great problem of unemployment. We cannot hope indefinitely to shift the burden of carrying nine to ten millions of unemployed, together with an increasing number of aged and disabled, upon the shoulders of an ever proportionately lessening number of employed without serious reckoning. We cannot look forward with complacency and unconcern to the two and one quarter million youngsters released each year from purposes. Perhaps a general/nationour schools, colleges and universities into community life without also be urged. hope of doing something usefulsomething which potentially enlarges the possibility of human happiness, welfare or knowledge.

It is evident the movement of destruction is rampant thruout the has its fantastic adherents everywhere. And the lean body is easy prey to the teachings of reaction masked under pretense of progress. Those who see wisely into the future must, if we are to be saved from fires more consuming than those we have known, so shape our course as to offer this hideous wrath of destruction no foothold.

This is a time when all of us must take counsel together not of our fears but of our faith in those immutable principles of liberty and democracy which, after all, under-

gird our civilization. American labor is making its contribution to the economic, religious, security of our democracy which can hardly be overestimated. Labor's contribution to American democracy has been impressive, far-reaching and continuous. It is a contribution which begins with the very beginning of America and will continue so long as America continues to exist. For the labor movement partakes of democracy. Democracy is the life of the labor movement; it is oppose the enlargement of power of

Youth Anti-War Committee Ruling Eases Issues Call for Convention

(We publish below the call of the Youth Committee Against War for it. Fourth National Youth Anti-War Congress to be held during the Christmas holidays at some midwestern college not yet determined. The Y.C.A.W. is an affiliate of the Keep America Out of War Congress with offices at 22 East 17 Street, New York City. The call is signed by Fay Bennett, executive secretary

New York City.

MERICA has taken long strides down the road to war. In our headlong plunge we have reached many of the outposts of domestic dictatorship. We have not increased nor made any plans to improve the level of living of our people.

Openly and avowedly, our vast productive resources are being turned toward destructive purposes; our youth are being forced into military service; our educational institutions are being militarized; our economy is being bound up with that of a warring British Empire; our policy is increasingly that of a belligerent.

Instead of a war on poverty, hunger, disease, oppression, we are being brought to the brink of a war that will increase these dread enemies of mankind's progress. Instead of providing succor to the suffering peoples of warring and conquered nations, our entry into war would increase the area of suffering.

While every sacrifice is demanded of workers, farmers, consumers and young eople, manufacturers do not accept war production orders until their profits are

If America goes to war, it will not be fighting to preserve democracy or to extend it. It is not even now building the kind of society in which democracy can time. flourish and defend itself. Instead, it is taking steps which will strangle civil liberties stifle the right to organize and strike, lower the standard of living, increase the profits and defend the markets of a small minority, and preserve economic and political empires that impoverish and oppress millions of people.

To meet and help turn the tidal wave of war and dictatorship, to ally ourselves under terms of contract. with the forces that really can build and defend democracy, the Youth Committee Against War calls upon all young people who are opposed to America's participation in the war and who are against totalitarianism all over the world to meet together during this Christmas season of 1940. No greater responsibility or higher duty can call us together. We dare spare no efforts to attend and to make this congress an unmistakable demonstration of our determination to extend our liberties, to repeal conscription, to improve our living, and to keep America out of war.

Collection of **Union Dues**

Arbitrator Rules That Dues May Be Solicited on Company Property and Time

New York City THE right of union representa-L to collect dues on company property, even on company time, as long as it does not interfere with production, was granted last week to the Steel Workers Organizing Committee of the C.I.O. under an arbitrator's decision in a dispute with the Crucible Steel Corporation, with which the S.W.O.C. has a contract.

If applied generally, this decision would materially aid unions which do not have the closed shop or the check-off system of dues collection. In the specific grievance at the Atna plant in Harrison, N. Y., Edwin Krusieski was suspended and docked four-days pay for collecting dues in the plant after his quitting

When union and company officials were unable to agree on the grievance, Charles Johnson Post, U. S. Department of Labor conciliator, was called in as impartial arbitrator

Dues collection, according to Post's decision, is permissible on company property provided it does not interfere with production. The decision indicated that the company would have to show loss or interference with production in order to halt such collections.

AFL, CIO Opens Conventions; Labor Faces Big Problems

War Economy Issues Throw Shadow Over Both Gatherings; Fight Against Lewis Regime and Stalinists Seen at CIO Meet

(Continued from page 1) plicated and that hundreds of thousands of new members will fall into the lap of the Federation without effort. But above all, they point out that the crucial problem is how to hold the vast new membership. They recall that, while during the World War A. F. of L. membership reached the top figure of 4,078,740, after the war the membership quickly dropped by about a third, to only there that: "Eternal vigilance is the to hold the new accessions, the A. 2,728,468 in 1923. They stress that F. of L. and affiliated internationals must not simply stand by with folded arms and watch the new members stream in; the unions must do something concrete and substantial for these new members, and that

the I.L.G.W.U.

Next to national defense and organization, the big problem staring the delegates in the face is undoubtedly the economic situation and unemployment. It is said that the 1940 census figures show nearly is a result of conditions and causes | 11 million unemployed, and the most in post-War Europe. So, too, let us optimistic forecasts do not place the number likely to be absorbed by the ican democracy is not alone from national-defense effort at much above 5 million-which leaves 5 or 6 million out of jobs. From all indications, the A. F. of L. convention will voice the conviction that government cannot be relied upon to raise or even to sustain employment indefinitely, with all defense producthat the only sound solution is to raise the national income by putting money, man-power and equipment to work. Very probably, a Reemployment Finance Program will be ad vanced, with the main point a proposal that the R.F.C. insure longterm loans made by private lending institutions for approved productive al conference on unemployment will

There is every reason to believe that a vigorous attack will be launched on the Wage-Hour Administration, especially for laxness in enforcement of the law. Amendment of the law to provide for greater world. The philosophy of despair coverage will also be requested. In regard to the Wagner Act, the emphasis will probably be on better ad ministration and new personnel, altho the demand will certainly be repeated for a change in the law itself to make it mandatory on the N.L.R.B. to designate craft groups as collective-bargaining units should the majority of workers in the craft demand it. As for the rest, on housing, social security, Walsh-Healy Act, and the like, the usual A. F of L. position will be reiterated.

For the first time, the racketeering problem is pretty sure to be dealt with openly at the convention, altho it is by no means clear what action can or will be taken. One social and cultural foundation and thing that is likely is the strengthening of control by the Federation over the directly affiliated federal locals. However, any move to empower the Executive Council to intervene in the affairs of internation al unions in order to clean house is bound to be resisted by most of the internationals, for autonomy is still a very potent word in the A.F. of L. Local unions of internationals also

even when these powers are claimed; takes place at the convention of the to be necessary to fight racketeering, Building Trades Department, preas the Teamsters convention some months ago showed.

On the other hand, the state of public opinion, fear of government the A. F. of L.—the inner power regulation and the dramatization of the issue at the I.L.G.W.U. convention last May on the occasion of that union's reaffiliating with the election, following Lewis's sensa-Federation, make it mandatory that tional break with him, gives the A. something be done. Strongly worded resolutions will be adopted, with ministration, and within the A. F. of the first blast probably coming in L leadership, it means a certain rethe Metal Trades Department convention just before the convention

The menace of the anti-trust campaign against labor organizations C.I.O., was not split with any bitmeans a strategy of militancy right will figure large in the deliberations, thru the "emergency" period. In the To a certain extent, Arnold's atsame connection, an extensive pro- tacks have been sidetracked recentgram of mass education to convert | ly, altho many indictments are still abridged either by those who are the card-holders into conscious pending. However, this may be a unionists is obviously needed. Very mere temporary lull. The convention who would use them to cloak mali- little will, however, be done along will almost certainly demand clarithese lines, despite the example of fication of the application of the Sherman and Clayton Acts so that trade unions will be held free from prosecution under these laws. Whether legislative action will be asked for to accomplish this is not clear.

> The problem of jurisdictional disputes, a perennial headache in the A. F. of L., will hardly be forgotten, particularly in view of Thurman Ar- influence in Washington and the nold's attacks. Here, too, the attitude will most likely be: "Some- a quick resumption of the unity thing must be done about it—but movement, with growing chances of what?" The likelihood is for a substantial success. The official A. F. tightening up of existing procedures of L. attitude will very probably be of resolving disputes. Any further reiterated by the convention: "The action will probably depend on what door is open. Come in!"

ceding the A. F. of L. gathering. Bigger than any of these issues

loom the big "political" problems of line-up and relations with the C.I.O. Here, of course, everything flows from the elections. Roosevelt's reministration, and within the A. F. of alignment to the advantage of the original pro-Roosevelt elements. Despite divisions in the Executive Council the A. F. of L., unlike the healing should not be difficult. Nevertheless, some sort of realignment in power is indicated.

William Green is not excessively popular in certain quarters of the Federation leadership, and some anti-Green talk is being heard. But he undoubtedly will be reelected, as will also George Meany as secretarytreasurer.

Relations with the C.I.O. and the prospects for labor unity depend, of ourse, very largely on what happens at the C.I.O. convention at Atlantic City. With Roosevelt's reelection, Lewis is out of power and C.I.O. is split. The likelihood is for

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Socialist Policy on the War

About 'Adequate Defense'

By BERTRAM D. WOLFE

IN the October 26, 1940 issue of ment of a position which we have L the Workers Age Comrade Lovestone advances a "practical program for avoiding war, . . . for meeting held thruout its existence. If we are War: the critical world conditions." Towards this end, he makes as his first the slogans of "adequate defense" "concrete proposal . . . adequate na- and "hemispheric defense," it must tional defense." It is first on a list either be because it was never any of three proposals, the others being good, or because the new slogans "rejection of appeasement" and grow out of the changed circum-"proper, non-imperialist relations stances, the actual living realities of with all the countries of the western the present moment in America. It hemisphere." Elsewhere in his writ- is time to ask: What are those realings and in the resolution he sup- ities? ported at our National Committee meeting, he came out for "hemispheric defense" as a proper concrete slogan, surrounded by certain qualifications, to meet the third of mell and helter-skelter, an armahis three suggestions. I want to ment economy, a nation in arms, and examine the two defense slogans forces which are so gigantic that perts should be heard, the latter befirst. The question of "appeasement" | they can have no real meaning ex-I will leave for a subsequent article.

SOCIALIST VIEW OF DEFENSE

volutionary socialist circles that socialists could not support the "defense" budgets and "defense" projects of the great imperialist powers, for several reasons which seemed good and sufficient to us all: (1) that imperialist armament was not merely for defense in the strict and honest sense of that term but was for entrance into imperialist military strategy were agreed that war, involvement beyond our shores. subjection of less powerful and more "backward" neighbor lands, Asia; and during the course of the the grabbing off of a larger share past year or so, Herberg has made of the world's lands, or Lebensraum (to use the latest term for exclusive imperialist sphere); (2) that the enslavement of colonies and neighbor lands tended to react on the homeland, introducing elements of enslavement there; (3) that the militarization of a great power meant the increase in dictatorship at home; (4) that the building of a powerful civil life; it will convert our entire military machine tended to divert the homeland economy from production of consumers goods to arma- power of the state to monstrous ment; (5) that a great military machine would not be allowed to grow obsolete unused but would increase and instruments of thought; it will the temptation and impulsion to engage in military adventures and ed and reversed, and speedily-inwars abroad; (6) that under capital- evitably take us into imperialist adism, a great military machine is ventures in South America and Asia sooner or later used to break strikes and into war. and destroy liberties at home, (7) increases the power of the central THE K.A.O.W.C. government and the size of the ON DEFENSE burocracy, (8) and places an intolerable burden of taxation upon a socialist organization that respects the masses and indebtedness on gen- its socialism and the interests of the erations yet unborn; (9) that a American masses, can use the words genuine defense of such rights and "adequate defense" today in the freedoms as we had could only be face of that overwhelming reality, accomplished by revolutionary namely as the Keep America Out of ple, genuinely and understandably no consequence to us, and we will means, that is by extending them War Committee used it with the ap- desiring to defend themselves and surrender it to the enemy? Passive and giving each man and woman a proval—I think on the motion—of their homes and liberties against fatalism can never be the role of a real stake in our land, something Norman Thomas and myself: name- invasion, are easily taken in to sup- revolutionary party like the social- combines the struggle against both giving colonial peoples their free-thing to move down towards, not a even conscription, provided it is self at the disposal of the existing dom so that they too would have positive slogan of something to presented to them as a matter of class state, under the command of something to defend; by the aboli- build up towards; as a slogan of ex- mere "defense" and a means not of the ruling class, nor can it stand tion of standing armies whether conscript or volunteer, with their class tion's (and its loyal Republican "opstructure and class officership and class use, and substitution of the armed people with a stake to deall frontiers; by stirring thru contagious social example uprisings of conquered and subject peoples and slaves of autocracy in short, defense thru revolutionary war and social transformation which alone con-

tinies and an end to war itself. We were not indifferent to the problem of defense of our homes and personal liberties as far as we had any and the right to a regime of our own choosing as far as that existed, but we knew that the ruling class used, or rather abused, the genuine mass desire for the defense of these things, that under such plausible slogans they put thru their offiensive budgets and war plans and imperialist schemes and plots to enslave other peoples and the poisoning of life at home by militarization. So we refused to support their fraudulent slogans, devoted our energies to exposing them; against the defense of their interests, we proposed the slogans that summed up the defense of the interests of the mass of the people; we fought their adventures in enslavement of South American or other peoples, fought their M-Day plans and conscription schemes for goose-stepping our entire people, exposed and fought their secret diplomatic alliances and plans for involvement in overseas war. All this was especially easy for America since it is a rich, powerful and populous country with a heavy industry—the heaviest in the world and removed by two mighty oceans from the constant quarrels and alarms of Europe's bayonet-bristling continent with its outworn economic segmentation and heritage of national hatreds.

masses, control of their own des-

But even in Europe, the socialists followed the same procedure, shifting the emphasis on this or that part of our program according to changing situations: even now this is true of the French P.S.O.P., the Spanish P.O.U.M., the British Independent Labor Party, and the fragmented and crushed but not uprooted nor destroyed underground movements and atomized individuals and groups in all the conquered lands and in Germany and Italy as well.

AMERICAN REALITIES

Be this last matter as it may, the fact remains that the slogans offered by Comrade Lovestone for America under present circum-

stances involve a complete abandon-| position's") war plans. Here is how held together for a quarter of a ica Out of War"), written during the century and which the I.L.L.A. has now to abandon it, and substitute

The first reality is that the Unit-

ed States at present has more than "adequate" armament for its defense, and is actually building, pellcept in terms of the policing of of agreeing with their commander-North and South America and the Far East, and an alliance with Great Britain for the purposes of entering Since the rise of imperialism, it has been accepted as a truism in resession of Congress appropriated a single penny of the \$25,572,819,337 (yes, I mean 25 BILLIONS), a sum greater than was appropriated or continents!" spent even during the first year of our defense was more than "adequate" if we kept out of Europe and out a brilliant case in the columns of the Workers Age for the view that our "defense" appropriations were already excessive and that no one, least of all our organization had any need of raising the slogan of "adequate defense."

Actually, the "defense" burden is staggering; it will militarize our economy ino an arms economy; it will swell our burocracy and the proportions; it will goose-step our institutions, our press and schools crush dissent; it will-unless check-

There is only one sense in which a negative slogan of someposure of the present Administra- preparing to enter but of keeping silently by to wait until the storm

we put it in our book ("Keep Amerfirst month of the Second World

"In this field, there is much cowardice and loose thinking. It is high time Congress ceased the automatic approval of fantastic and excessive arms budgets just because the Administration calls them appropriations for 'defense of our shores.' For several years now, our navy has been of such size and cost as can only have meaning for overseas warfare. Future military-naval budgets should be preceded by public hearings in which the estimates should be correlated with the foreign policy they are intended to subserve. Civilian and military exing released from the military duty .n-chief. Men like Admiral Leahy and Major Eliot and Major-General is the only substantial independent Rivers, and civilian experts like revolutionary socialist organization Hanson Baldwin and Charles Beard, functioning on a decisive sector have been in agreement that the which has some chance of impressrecent budgets have exceeded the ing its views on subsequent developwhen these experts include in their | ledge of its attitudes and activities use of the term the defense of two is highly pertinent for all of us. My

our participation in World War No. deal in the book which we wrote in to the position of the I.L.P. on some its essence, is fearfully more true based on knowledge. The writer billion dollar budget than it was position of great difficulty. when written. Here is how the K.A.O.W. committee put its views QUESTION OF on this question in a more recent program:

> "Opposition to a hysterical and unplanned armament program as leading to militarism, armament economics, and war. Support of a Congressional commission to determine what the American people want to defend and a rational defense program limited to the carrying out of that policy. Opposition to all plans for industrial mobilization and to military conscription in the name of defense.

> That program, too, is already out of-date since conscription and the latest arms budget, and will, I hope shortly be rewritten. But I quote it because an attempt has been made in the present discussion to make misuse of it ("Even Norman Thomas and Bert Wolfe are for 'rational defense'.")

ther misunderstanding. One of the this is an imperialist war, since we realities we took into account in do not enjoy in our country any soformulating that plank was the fact cialist self-determination, our counthat the mass of the American peo- try's existence or non-existence is of port these fantastic budgets and democracy. It must neither place it-

What Is the Policy of The I.L.P. in the War?

Party Supports War Efforts but Not Regime

By J. CORK

papers have been given in our paper best basis for national defense . . . to support conclusions which the 1.L.P. would find questionable. Some even think that a discussion of the

such a discussion is both necessary and valuable. The I.L.P., at present, needs of defensive armament, even ments. Such being the case, a knowpurpose in writing this article is, in It may be argued that a great the main, to furnish information as

NATIONAL DEFENSE

Everybody is talking and wondering about national defense. Can one be for national defense and still be true to socialist principles? There has been a mistaken notion for vears within socialist ranks that national defense and socialism are mutually exclusive. This is a mistaken notion, the question really being how to defend and in whose interests and for what ends. An excellent point of departure for the discussion of this question, as well as a good introduction to the entire I.L.P. position, is contained in Rosa Luxemburg's brilliant statement of the theoretical core of the problem during the first World War ("The Crisis In Social-Democracy"):

"What shall be the practical attitude of the social-democracy in the Just a few words to prevent fur- present war? Shall it declare since is past. It must adopt a policy of

active class politics, a policy that will whip the ruling class forward. THE position of the Independent The most elementary demand of na-Labor Party of Great Britain tional defense is that the nation has received a rather mixed recep- take its defense into its own hands tion in our organization. Everybody | The first step in this direction is the pays lip-service to it. Some, I am | militia, not only the immediate afraid, do so out of actual lack of armament of the entire adult male knowledge of the real position of the population, but above all popular I.L.P. Others do so by giving a decision in all matters of war and characteristic emphasis and weight peace. It must demand, furthermore, to some part of the I.L.P.'s position the immediate removal of every different from what the latter itself form of political oppression, since would give. Quotations from I.L.P. the greatest political freedom is the

This serves admirably to give the general spirit and direction of approach of a realistic socialist policy. I.L.P.'s position would do no ser- This approach is not only as tenable vice to that organization or our own. today as it was in 1914, but is even The writer, on the contrary, thinks more necessary because a greater disaster threatens to overwhelm the human race now than then. This approach, under the different concrete situation, the I.L.P. has followed to its logical conclusion.

ONLY SOCIALISM CAN

DEFEAT FASCISM Before the attempt at invasion of England, the I.L.P., indicating the imperialist roots of the war on both sides, and pointing to the suffering 1! Even military experts of the army 1939 is now out of date. That is true. of the fundamental questions of of the masses generally, said that and navy and civilian authorities on But the passage just quoted above, policy facing all of us, so that judgwith alterations that do not affect ment, one way or the other, may be class of neither side, that they had nothing to gain from the victory of today after the introduction of himself thinks that the I.L.P. has either side as constituted, and called peace-time conscription and the 25 done a splendid socialist job in a for the cessation of the war and for the peoples of both sides to rise conjointly and force a socialist peace upon their respective ruling classes. This is known to all who have read the I.L.P. New Leader. "But," say certain comrades, "when the Nazi Blitzkrieg shifted to Engand, the I.L.P. came out for supporting the war effort of the British government. It has changed its posi-This over-simplified analysis is

superficial. It merely leaves out the heart of the I.L.P. position, that's all. Does the I.L.P. support the mili tary effort against the Nazis? Of course! Only an insane person, certainly not a realistic socialist, would adopt an abstentionist, do-nothing position, with the bombs bursting all around. The defeat of fascism is its first plank. But the struggle against imperialism and its representative, the government, is also central to the purpose of the I.L.P., for it regards it as an impossibility to defeat fascism thru the support of a bourgeois capitalist government. Therefore, the main line of I.L.P. policy is not based simply on the ad- Corey, since he has not written on majority resolution states, could mitted difference between fascism and capitalist democracy or on the difference between a victory of one side or the other; it is a line which ficiently able economist to perceive pending the class struggle. On the fascism and imperialism in realistic Germany, profits, a stock exchange, fashion. It calls for the political overthrow of the ruling capitalist due fairness to Dwight Macdonald clique by posing the necessity of the social transformation of Britain into tone and Norman Thomas as "left socialism, by demanding the freedom of the colonies, and so on, as the I do not think that either regards only means of really defeating fas-

"If fascism is to be defeated on the ideological front, it must be defeated by its opposite-by socialism.

. . The possessing class must go. Social equality must come . Wealth must be conscripted. must carry thru the social revolution. Do that and this becomes the Great Civil War. Social equality in Britain, colonial freedom in the British Empire: this is the way . . But the British ruling class will not do this. It cannot defeat Nazism. It must be done by the British working class and socialism" (New Leader,

Some, the logic of whose position, whether they admit it or not, drives inexorably in the direction of suspension of the class struggle in England, might regard this as an abstract bow to an impossible ideal, as "turbulent world that lies beyond the a mere empty wish uttered to ease the socialist conscience, but not reallittle doubt that the school does not ly meant to be carried out in real opposite. Lenin described Italian do so today. But the trouble is not life or even capable of being carried fascism in 1922, before the stage of that our education is still too "class- out in real life. "How can you attack completed totalitarianism in that the Churchill government or urge a country, as a "Black Hundreds" change in the midst of its life-anddeath struggle against Nazism?

The key to the I.L.P.'s answer to that is found in the following "homely" quotation (New Leader, Septem-

ber 5, 1940): "People who say that to talk about socialism now is to split the national effort and therefore to help Hitler, have got to realize that the best critical support to a government of easy to swap horses in the middle of a stream, but when the horse one is riding is about to sink under the water, it is advisable to take the risk of getting on to a new horse

No, the I.L.P. is not merely uttering polite words about socialism for the record. It means the struggle for socialism in an immediate. literal, practical, everyday, continuing sense, and not as a postponed

Nazism cannot be defeated by the democratic-capitalist set-up as is. Over such a set-up, Nazism has an immense superiority in centralizamonstrated. Bourgeois democracy

Further Remarks on Nature of Fascism

Validity of Wolfe's Criticism Challenged

By DONALD GRAHAM

TN the Workers Age of October 12, Bertram D. Wolfe polemizes against "some false theories of fascism" allegedly held by leading members of the I.L.L.A. This cannot go unanswered because of the unpleasantly distorted character of the concepts ascribed to these leading members. I quote:

"To some, fascism is Hitler. It is an emanation from Germany. If Germany is licked, fascism is licked, and the world will go back to prefascist democratic capitalism." What member of the I.L.L.A. said

this, I do not know. Neither does

Wolfe. He gives no names. He gives no dates. He uses no quotation marks. Rather, he uses his imagination. I cannot imagine any member of the I.L.L.A. who fails to see fascism in Italy and in Spain, or who fails to see fascist movements and tendencies in other countries in the thruout and is seeking to carry thru world where they exist. Then what do we have here? A polemic in reality against the obvious idea that Hitler's is the most powerful, most vigorous, most dynamic of all fascist movements, because of the greater economic power and efficiency of German industry and higher military capacity. This is no created by Hitler. It had existed writes: prior to Nazism. But with this been able to do in a few years what Britain to administer a military de-Mussolini could not do in eighteen years—overrun thirteen neighboring march, or there is no more hope of countries and impose upon them a regime of fascist slavery. Now the Nazis are in a position to threaten an extension of their domination to still more countries. This is an undeniable fact. Only a vivid imagination can take these facts to mean that fascism came only from Hitler, comes only from Hitler, and ends entirely with the defeat of Hitler The "false theory" turns out to be only an invention of its opponent.

FASCISM AS A NEW

SOCIAL ORDER The second "false theory" is that fascism is a "new social order," and that socialism is "some remote music of the future." I know of no leading member of the I.L.L.A. who general who have expressed this concept in any way are Dwight Macdonald and Lewis Corey, and I doubt whether they agree in the formulation of this theory, or even mean and exploitation. Moreover, in all (in spite of his sneers at Jay Lovesopportunists") and to Lewis Corey, socialism as "some remote music of the future." This much is certain, that the theory of fascism as a new social order is not to be found in the majority resolution of Herberg, which is the position of the I.L.L.A., or in the articles of the leading Workers Age. Let any reader examine the articles in this discusfaction whether "leading spokesmen" of our organization advocate this "false theory."

FASCISM AS COUNTER-REVOLUTION I come now to the third "false

theory"-that "fascism is counterrevolution on the march." This is a formulation of Lovestone's. It is a ment. Since Wolfe maintains that it correct one. That fascism is reac- does make a difference whether Engtionary and counter-revolutionary is land or the Nazis win, he must indisputable. The ruthless destruc- therefore draw the logical consetion by fascism of socialist, labor and democratic movements is reactionary and counter-revolutionary. simple or simple-minded. Otherwise, the words have no meaning any more, or mean their movement. The Black Hundreds were the extreme counter-revolution and reaction in Czarist Russia. Trotsky described fascism as a twentieth-century Bonapartism. Certainly, Bonapartism, even that of the mid-nineteenth century, is a the end of hope for revolution or socounter-revolutionary movement. To the theoreticians of the socialdemocratic movement, such as Kautsky, fascism is an extreme reactionway to help Hitler is to give un- ary movement. What Lenin and Trotsky failed to do and were loath conservative traditionalists. It is not to do was to show to what degree the "Black Hundreds," Bonapartist Hitler victory, then he is unformovement of fascism learned from tunately unable to discern between and imitated the Bolsheviks in the technique of complete totalitarian suppression of all independent organizations, trade-union, social, fraternal and political, and the complete extinction of all independence of thought and expression. No wonder Mussolini and Hitler could boast | WHY IS THE DEFEAT OF how much they learned from Lenin HITLER PREFERABLE? and Trotsky! Nor is it surprising that Lenin and Trotsky should keep silent on that phase of the question.

That fascism is on the march is italism," where workers can be "delikewise indisputable. Some thirteen countries have been invaded by the better profits can be "democraticalfascist powers and had puppet fas- | ly" made, and the colonial countries cist regimes imposed upon them— | can be "democratically" enslaved, from without. This does not imply but in order to give the possibility that there were no tendencies to- to the labor movement thruout the ward fascism within these countries. Even Norway had its Quislings. But

the Quislings could not have over-thrown the Labor regime in Norway, wiped out the socialist and labor movement of that country, merely by force of their own native strength and power in 1940, without the invasion and military victory of Hitler.

The denial of the theory that "fascism is on the march," the theory advocated by Wolfe that fascism grows as a universal tendency in all countries of the world, and the theory that the greatest immediate menace of fascism comes in your own country and not from a Hitler-Mussolini victory, means just this: that the menace of fascism in Norway was greater from the fascist movement within Norway than from Hitler. This is a palpable absurdity. It is possible to believe absurdities. and to feel strongly about them, just as it is possible for millions of people to believe in miracles and witchcraft. But such belief does not negate the fact that it is an absur-

MISINTERPRETATION OF A CORRECT THEORY

How Wolfe combats the concept that fascism is "counter-revolution on the march" is typical. He makes an "interpretation," which interprefalse theory." This is a fact. The tation is then easy to knock down economic power and efficiency of because it has been set up so as to German industry has not been make it easy to knock down. Wolfe

"For them, the duty of the repower in their hands, the Nazis have volutionist is simple: aid Great feat to counter-revolution on the revolution or socialism in the world. A military victory of Hitler signifies the end of possibility of struggle, at least for our generation."

One should note that this is not a quotation, but a curious and imaginative interpretation of the thoughtful, complex and by no means "simple" articles of Lovestone. Actually, Lovestone never wrote that the military defeat of Great Britain would result in "no more hope of revolution or socialism in the world." Lovestone never wrote that "the duty of the revolutionist is simple: aid to Great Britain to administer a military defeat to fascism." This would be indeed "simple." Nor did Lovestone ever write that the struggle to defeat holds this theory. The only ones in Hitler is something separate from and in opposition to the struggle for socialism. Just the contrary! The struggle to defeat fascism is inseparable from and inextricably related to the struggle for socialism. the same thing. In the case of Only the victory of socialism, as the the subject, I do not know if a fair solve the problem of the menace of discussion can take place of his fascism in a "fundamental" sense. views. Certainly, Corey is a suf- Hitlerism cannot be defeated by suscontrary, the taking of socialist measures is required to ensure the defeat of Nazism. As Lovestone points out, the slogan of Laski (which is also that of the I.L.P.), "Thru Socialism to Victory over Hitlerism," is a correct one. This does not mean that you do not begin to struggle against a Hitler invasion until the day you have socialism in England. It means that the struggle for socialism and against Hitlerism are inseparable. Therefore, the duty of the socialist is not the simple one spokesmen of the I.L.L.A. in the of aiding England to defeat Hitler, but also one of aiding the struggle for socialism in England, America sion and determine to his own satis- and every, other country in the world. There is no contradiction. To those who think there is a contradiction the duty of the socialist must be a simple one indeed—to struggle for socialism in a vacuum where it makes no difference whether England defeats Hitler, or Hitler defeats England and crushes the English socialist and labor movequence from that concept that the duty of a socialist cannot be either

Lovestone never maintained that a victory for Hitler meant the "end of hope of revolution or socialism in the world." What he did say was that a victory for the Hitler reaction would result in a defeat, a terrific set-back for labor, the wiping out of the existing organized labor and socialist movements in the countries seized by the Nazis. No socialist ever maintained that a victory for counter-revolution meant cialism in the world. That is the theory of "counter-revolution in permanence." But no revolutionist ever maintained that a victory for counter-revolution was not a defeat for socialism. If Wolfe does not see a defeat for labor and socialism in a a victory for labor and a defeat for labor. If he does not see a terrific set-back for labor in a Hitler victory, then why does he prefer a British victory and say it does make a difference who wins?

The defeat of Hitlerism is desirable not because we can then "go back to pre-fascist, democratic capmocratically" exploited, bigger and world to revive, grow, increase its (Continued on Page 4)

(Continued on Page 4) armed people with a stake to defend; by international solidarity and fraternization of the masses across fraternization of the masses fraternization of the masses fraternizat

(Continued from page 1)

be able to find careers commensurate with their education? By educating tain the promise of victory for the them, you're only doing them a disservice, condemning them to hopeless discontent and misery. The best thing for them and for all concerned would be to educate them for the jobs they're going to hold, and no further." This kind of twisted logic, grounded in a passive acceptance of an inhuman status-quo, is now recommended to us as the last word of modern educational theory in a democracy, and is made to apply not merely to a portion of the population, which would be intolerable enough, but to the masses of

the people at large. It is particularly ironical that this program is being advanced in the name of democracy. For it as undemocratic a program of class discrimination as one could imagine. "Time and time again." Miss Rummel tells us, "I have observed that regardless of CIRCUMSTANCES or aptitude, Evelyn and Tom have their heads full of professional dreams. ... " (emphasis mine.—W. H.). If this means anything at all, it means

that education for professional careers should be restricted with an eye to the "circumstances" of the students, that is, with an eye to the economic or social status of the families from which the students masses of the American people to come. It's quite all right for those be whose "circumstances" permit to try drawers of water in a stagnant soto realize their aspirations; it's only the boys and girls coming

A YEAR SUB subscribe

ing." And this is education in a democracy!

STATIC SOCIETY IS DOOMED

Maybe Dr. Bell and Miss Rumme are right. Maybe the old days of the open frontier, the old days of boundless opportunity, are gone. Like practical people, our practical educators recognize the fact. But it seems to me that they're not quite practical enough and that they don't recognize all the facts. For as sure as death, once the youth of America become convinced that our society no longer holds out any hope theirs? to them of new worlds to conquer of great ambitions to achieve, they will turn against that society and will become the storm-troopers of some totalitarian demagogue who will know how to feed their aspira tions and ideals. A democracy that is not dynamic, that is not capable of opening the way to new frontiers of action at all levels of human life is doomed, and deserves its doom This is a very practical fact; let our practical educators think that over once or twice.

The program that this type of educator advocates is in effect a program of training the great satisfied with their lot; to function efficiently as cogs in the wheel of an industrial machine that grinds on and on without meaning and without hope. It is not a program of a

democracy worthy of the name. But there is still a more serious flaw in this program. For it conthe country simply as wage-earners, as job-holders. But these young men and women are also human beings. human personalities, each of transcendent worth; they are too, or are soon going to be, free citizens of a free democracy. Is it not an outrage committed against them and against society to bar them from a share and participation in the heritage of human culture simply because they may not need it in earning a living? In addition to knowing how to make a living, isn't it important that they

men and women of the colored race from low-income homes that should a good life, as befits civilized men be taught the folly of "day-dream- and women in a free society? How can they possibly learn to live a good life without being put into organic communion with the great thinkers and the great thoughts of the tradition of our culture?

EDUCATION FOR DEMOCRACY

From a social standpoint, the need is even more imperative. How is it June 20, 1940). possible for men and women to rule themselves in a true democracy if IS THIS POLICY JUST their education is restricted to the A GESTURE? bare necessity of earning a living, if they are shut out from the great cultural heritage that is rightfully

Yes, there is no doubt that the school should prepare youth for the classroom window." And there is as ical." The trouble-or rather one of the troubles, for the troubles with our school system are many indeed -is that our education is not "classical" enough, using that term in the traditional sense of a liberal education designed to bring the young mind into genuine contact with the living stream of our culture. The idea of liberal education was born as the education of an aristocracy, efficient hewers of wood and a social elite, to fit them to rule themselves and society. If democracy ciety of fixed status, and to be is to have any meaning at all, the entire mass of the people must raise themselves to the level of this social elite of the past and become genuinely capable of ruling themselves, of determining their own fate. They must become genuinely capable of rational choice and self-determination so that they will not be prone to fall ceives the young men and women of | vic im to every loud-mouthed demagogue that comes along. On the educational side, this seems to me to require the democratization of the great but hitherto aristocratic ideal of a liberal education. Instead of trying to make our education more narrowly "practical"-and falsely practical-our goal should be to develop and realize the ideal of a liberal education for all. Each and tion, coordination, striking power. If every boy and girl is worthy of the bourgeois-democratic set-up rereceiving such an education to the mains as is, Britain is doomed. That limit of his intellectual capacities, much the catastrophe of France deand, in a democracy, each and every should know how to live, how to live | boy and girl is entitled to it.

Why, that would be suicidal!"

with greater swimming powers."

distant perspective.

(Continued on Page 4)

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WILL HERBERG, Editor

SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 23, 1940

Vol. 9

CCORDING to the press, the New York State Industrial Union Coun-A cil, headed by Gustave A. Strebel and made up of the Hillman faction of the C.I.O., is going to the Atlantic City convention of the C.I.O. with a three-point program of action. The New York Times reports the attitude of the Council as follows:

"Curbs on the power of the president of the C.I.O. . . . will be demanded in a resolution to be introduced at the C.I.O. national convention in Atlantic City next week by Gustave A. Strebel, president of the not the 1914 business all over again clude not only Germany, but also State Industrial Union Council, the state organization announced yesterday.

"Mr. Strebel was instructed by the Council's Executive Board to urge adoption at Atlantic City of the proposition that the national management of the C.I.O. be carried on in a 'democratic manner con- last war and which repeated itself sistent with the spirit and practises of the labor movement' . . .

"Another resolution to be offered by Mr. Strebel in behalf of the league of Nations. This faith state body describes labor unity as 'most imperative' and demands that in the American from over the seas 'all red-tape and all petty considerations of personal prestige, ambition or face-saving' be cast aside in the effort to achieve peace between the A. F. of L. and the C.I.O.

"A third resolution calls upon the national convention to set forth its condemnation of communism. Nazism and fascism . . .

In other words, the three big planks in the program of the Hillman wing of the C.I.O. are: (1) democracy in the C.I.O., (2) unity in the labor movement, and (3) anti-Stalinism along with anti-fascism. In order to achieve these ends, they are apparently prepared to wage a fight against John L. Lewis all along the line.

Almost exactly two years ago, in November 1938, the National Council of the Independent Labor League of America adopted a resolution on the situation in the labor movement, a resolution made public at the time in the columns of this paper. The second section of this resolution is headed: "Three Big Problems Facing the C.I.O." It reads:

"There are three aspects of the present situation in the C.I.O. which are at once sources and manifestations of the crisis in which it finds itself: (1) the unity question, (2) union democracy and autonomy, and (3) Stalinism.

"I. The Unity Question: The reunification of the trade-union movement is the biggest and most urgent task of organized labor at the

"2. Democracy and Autonomy: A very grave defect in the C.I.O. from the very beginning has been the inability—and, to a large extent perhaps, even the lack of desire—to establish genuinely democratic foundations for the new movement. Real control has remained in the hands of one or two leaders at headquarters . . . Of democratic collective leadership, there has been hardly a sign. . . . These tendencies are in direct conflict with the best traditions of the American labor movement. . . .

"3. The Menace of Stalinism: The most baneful influence in the C.I.O. today is Stalinism. The very fact that Stalinism has been permitted to gain a preponderant influence in many sections of the movement is in itself a striking indication of the unhealthy condition of

This analysis, with a program of action based upon it, was made his new book, "Federalism or Solicialism?", makes this statement cialism?", makes this statement two years ago. How was it received by the leadership of the C.I.O. at that time? It was promptly denounced as "factional" and "disruptive," with a full realization of its implias a "vicious slander" against the C.I.O., as nothing but a "political cation and many leaders of the Lamaneuver" of the "Lovestoneites." In a number of unions, a veritable bor Party and trade unions will pogrom was launched against these "Lovestoneites" for daring to raise this program, and under the category of "Lovestoneites" every independent-minded, non-conformist worker was frequently included. Well, the counter-offensive succeeded; the "Lovestoneite" program of reform of the C.I.O. failed of realization; totalitarianism, Stalinism and dualism were strengthened and confirmed in the C.I.O. leadership until today the whole C.I.O. movement is in the throes of a desperate crisis.

We are not bringing all this forward at this time in the spirit of told you so." We have a moral to draw from this story. For the generalin-chief of the hosts of the C.I.O. against the "Lovestoneite factionalists and disrupters" who dared to raise the program of reform was none other than Sidney Hillman himself, who was then still doing John L. Lewis's dirty work. Today, it is Hillman and his lieutenants who are British Iron and Steel Federation very beginning. raising the same program and are being besmirched with the same and its subsidiaries could not mainfoul epithets in the same Stalinist press.

We bear no grudges, and we do not seek any further vindication than the events themselves bring. We urge all sincere progressive unionists in the C.I.O. to give their full support to the present campaign Toryism. On the other hand, a Nazi they will be incapable of fighting to rid the labor movement of the baneful influence of Lewisism and Stalinism.

THE CASE OF MRS. BROWDER

WE regard Earl Browder as the paid agent of a murderous foreign dictator hostile to the interests and welfare of the American people. We consider him a baneful influence, whose viciousness is limited only by his impotence. Nevertheless, we deplore and protest against the action of the Department of Justice in suddenly ordering the deportation of his wife, who happens to be a Russian-born alien resident in this

We protest against the deportation because it is inhuman and because it is a cheap political trick. The only ground for Mrs. Browder's deportation, as given by federal authorities, is her irregular entry way back in 1933; no crime, offense or improper conduct is charged against her during her stay in this country. Now the federal government was fully aware of the circumstances of her entry when she arrived in 1933, and it continued to be fully aware of these circumstances during the past seven years. Yet the authorities did nothing all this time, for this was the time when the Administration was casting hopeful eyes on Russia as a partner in the "democratic front" and was silently accepting the backing of the communists here. Now that the wheel of circumstance has turned, and Russia is an ally of Hitler and the Stalinists here are hostile to the Administration, the authorities in Washington have suddenly discovered Mrs. Browder's seven-year-old "crime"! This is cheap, contemptible trickery, and no decent person should countenance it.

We protest also on the grounds of humanity. To break up a family by the deportation of the wife and mother is a ruthless, inhuman act, even when the husband is Earl Browder. Furthermore, we are convinced that sending Mrs. Browder back to Stalin's Russia is sending her to her death. For a while, she would probably be made much of as a martyr; before long, however, because of her foreign residence and connections, she would fall under suspicion, and that would be the end of herespecially should Earl Browder ever fall into disfavor with his master in the Kremlin, as is not altogether impossible. Let us not forget that Stalinist Russia is the country where more communists have been murdered by the government than in any other country of the world, perhaps more than in all other European countries combined.

Finally, Mrs. Browder's deportation, so far from weakening Stalinism in America, would strengthen it by fortifying it with repression and martyrdom. Even from this standpoint, it is folly.

The deportation order should be withdrawn.

Another British Socialist View:

.S.A.—Brother or

By JON KIMCHE

(Jon Kimche is a leading member of the British Independent Labor Party. Our attitude on the question of an Anglo-American alliance was given in No. 39 an editorial article in the Workers Age of October 12, 1940, and an editorial from the British New Leader on the same subject was reprinted in our issue By 1924, however, this anticipation THE CHICKENS COME HOME TO ROOST of September 28, 1940.—Editor.)

London, England

TT took three years last time. and the revision of this theory was erly destroyers are sent across the periodic, scintillating, outstanding-Atlantic to aid Britain and the tell- ly brilliant reviews of the world sittale Gallup poll shows a small maj- uation. Writing in Pravda, he conority—for the first time—in support cluded, that the American economic for Britain even if it means the plan was "to place capitalist Eu-U.S. entry into the war. Yet this is rope on rations." This would inonly very much accelerated.

In responsible circles in Britain of the Left as well as of the Right -there is little of the hysterical hopefulness which marked "the Yanks are coming" period of the when President Wilson came to Europe to instal the new world order was deep-rooted at the time and not simply a popular quickly-forgotten idealistic cliches of the last war, we have now a cynical, slightly bitter and suspicious outlook on what America will do—and why!

Starting from this healthy basis, two schools of thought and influence have developed in Britain with the progress of the war.

The first, the "Hopeful" school, is made up of the popular press, the intellectual weeklies, the bulk of or- it would then probably become a ganized labor, so far as one can class England and—most important of all- the vigorous members of Britain's newer industries, who IS ENGLAND would prefer to become junior partners in an active Anglo-American imperialism to remaining senior partners in the more dubious venture of British imperialism unaided. These last have few illusions: they are aware that the tune of Anglo-American cooperation will be Yanpect and to stand the pace. This conclusion applies equally in varying degrees to the other components of this school. Vaguely perhaps, but the idea of coming to the rescue of quite definitely, they are prepared England," As for Macdonald, he to bear American domination rather than Nazi rule if it is a choice beprobably echo this sentiment.

The second school of thought, the "Fearful" school, also sees the implications of an Anglo-American alliance, but it sees supreme danger in its possibilities. In the words of Fenner Brockway, who holds this view: "If this all-powerful capitalist tions: either seek to out-totalitarian- italist government is admittedly country becomes united with Bri- ize the totalitarians, or to be trans- delicate and difficult tactic to carry tain, one thing is certain. It will not formed into socialist democracy. out. It cannot escape misinterpretaallow a workers social revolution in Europe." In addition to the I.L.P., British heavy industry is fearful of the former solution. Socialists must formal sense, aside from concrete too much American influence. The press for the latter, and from the differences in situation, its analogy tain themselves for a minute in an equal struggle with their American OF SOCIALISM counterpart. It would mean econom ic finis to the backbone of British victory might hardly affect the eco- the 'New Order' of fascism. The new nomics of the British Iron and Steel Federation.

This, then can be taken as a groups and scenes.

WHAT IS GERMANY DOING?

Germany is organizing the European continent economically. We are here not speaking hypothetically of Nazi horrors, but of simple economics recently explained in an important speech by the Nazi Finance Minister, Funk. In effect, he said order which is equally efficient bethis: Europe's continent west of the cause it will have the necessary cen-Soviet border will be organized as a tralization and coordination, and unit in the economic sense. The pri- which will provide a dynamic far mary purpose of this unit will be, superior to that of fascism, the not the equal well-being of all members, but the satisfaction first of all racial equality, liberty and fraterof the needs of the German Reich by its vassals. To do this, the Nazis 1940). will decide what and how much each vassal shall produce and what he shall not produce and what and how much shall be delivered to the Nazis at Nazi prices. Put simply, Europe outside U.S.S.R. and Britain will be rationed to satisfy the German elite. and exist itself as best it can on the left-over. In doing this, the Nazis will, of course, also make certain that the economic basis of potential future resistance is destroyed, as it has been in France.

This Nazi program of "rationing" Europe is most important in esti-



SEE **ANNOUNCEMENT** On Page 2

mating the role of Anglo-American others." Yet, today, ninety days afcooperation. After America's, vic- ter the collapse of France, London tory in 1918, it was customary in all is battle-scarred, but the cruisers the best and most intelligent Left are crossing the Atlantic. This is at circles to speak of "the coming con- once an admission of error by the flict between British and American imperialism." Lenin said it, so did Trotsky-and all the little Lenins the British.) However clear it is beand Trotskys repeated it faithfully. was proved to be erroneous, for tho there were plenty of conflicts, they had not led to the anticipated wars, pose, destroyers were desperately ■ This time—just over a year. Eld- the occasion of one of Trotsky's ed and needed soon. The fact that FEAR OF BRITAIN'S France and Britain, And in the at-EXAMPLE tempt to impose the American "rationing" plan economically and po-What is feared at present by litically on Britain, Trotsky saw the revised version of the world's great

imperialisms. This slight excursion into the history of the "rationing" theory is necessary because the source of most of the Left publicists in Europe and the U.S.A.—such as F. A. Ridley, Fenner Brockway and Dwight Macemanation: one has but to read the donald—who hold that there is mordiary of Harold Nicolson or to fol- tal danger in Anglo-American coltionship between the U.S.A. and Britain. On the contrary.

We have drawn attention to the Trotsky theory because it does indicate what will happen if the progressive forces in Britain and the U.S.A. are eliminated from the war: struggle between American and Gerjudge, the great mass of middle- man imperialism for the right to ration Europe.

"IN THE BAG"?

At the moment, however, this is not a live issue and it need now never become one. Frank Knox, Secretary of the Navy in Roosevelt's Cabinet, expressed the opinion after Petain's surrender that at the outside Britain would last sixty days. In the July issue of Partisan Review, Dwight Macdonald, the editor, says that "even President Roosevelt seems to have given up wastes no words: "England is in the bag with France, Holland and the

American government and should be a hint to the American Left (and to coming that, in the long run, only socialism will defeat the Nazis, it is vitally necessary that Britain shall not be defeated now. For this purneeded; anti-aircraft guns are need some of these have been made available by the Roosevelt government is an admission of Britain's increased chances. It is not the beginning of an Anglo-American alliance to crush the European social revolution.

American industry and finance is the much more imminent danger antagonism between these two rival that the example-with all its admitted limitations-of Bevinism might spread to the States. In a series of remarkable revelations, the New York Nation has produced much evidence of this.

The aviation industry-of crucial importance now-has been staging a sit-down strike of the employers., As a result, the Secretary of low the career of men like Brails- laboration under capitalist aegis is War, Henry L. Stimson, stated beford after the last war, or of H. G. this theory of Leon Trotsky. For the fore the Senate Finance Committee Wells during it, to note how much sake of accuracy, then, it can be on August 9, 1940 that of the intelligent men set upon American said that Trotsky's theory alloted 4,000 planes voted by Congress in influence. In place, however, of the to the United States the role now June, contracts had been let for only outlined for Nazi Germany by Funk, 33, and on August 24th the New and that nowhere in the theoretical York Herald Tribune revealed in a literature is there any analysis dispatch from Washington that on showing a coming harmonious rela-, that day the United States had actually eighty fewer combat planes than it had on the first of the year.

> A few samples from the American press indicate the reason for the sabotage by the powerful aviation industry of the U.S. For example, the financial editor of New York Sun was appalled by the British excessprofits tax. It was "difficult for many Americans to understand how Britain can expect anyone to make the tremendous extra productive effort required by war without some stimulus other than the vague one that it is necessary to save the country." When Congress at the end of June imposed an 8% net profit limit on government business, the aviation industry struck. The United States News accused the Treasury of harboring "a belief that patriotism rather than a desire for profits should motivate industry." The Battle for Britain did not concern the U.S. aviation industry; its primary concern was to prevent Bevin's "Bolshevism" from crossing the Atlantic.

(Continued in the next issue)

What Is the Policy Of the ILP in War?

Party Supports War Effort but Not Regime

(Continued from Page 3) This struggle on two fronts can move in either one of two direc-The ruling classes, England's in- tions and dangers. Yet it is nothing cluded, must in the long run seek new in socialist strategy. In a

POWERFUL DYNAMIC

"The ruling class wants to resist the fascist 'New Order,' . state of efficient, totalitarian, regimented capitalism, which is fascism, cannot be matched by the capitalism sketchy outline of the divergent ap- of the past stage. Nor can the old proach in Britain to the problem of order of capitalism provide the posi-Anglo-American relations. But we tive moral dynamic necessary to must look at the picture as a whole. stand up against the fascist We now have to fit in the following dynamic. Political democracy cannot arouse enthusiasm unless social and economic democracy is added to it. Freedom cannot be eulogized with sincerity so long as the repression and exploitation of political and economic empires continue.

"There is one power and one power alone which can challenge the New Order' of fascism and that is the 'New Order' of socialism, an dynamic of social, economic and nity" (New Leader, October 3

JUST ARRIVED FROM ENGLAND!

October 1940 issue of

LEFT

(Formerly Controversy) Articles by Jon Kimche, Walter

Padley, C. A. Smith, and others. 15c a copy

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can be found in the P.O.U.M. tactics in Spain. And here, as there, people will cry: "We are for socialism, of course, but let us first win the war!" And the answer, here, as there is: "You cannot win the war without a struggle for socialism being carried thru from the beginning! Only socialism can now defeat Hitler because only socialism can tap new sources of energy and unite the peo- thus have helped to expose the Ad- of our positive slogans and goals of ple in England. Only socialism can ensure new broad bases of support tention on the problems: For what in this field should be concentrated Only socialism can in time build chine of this size?, etc. We do not time conscription, the exposure of backfires in Hitler's own domain, both inside Germany and in the already conquered territories!"

(Another article by J. Cork on socialist policy in Britain will appear in the next issue of this paper.—Editor.)

Balabanoff to Be Given Dinner As Testimonial

New York City. TESTIMONIAL dinner to An-A gelica Balabanoff, world-famous socialist and author of "My Life As A Rebel," will be given by a group of her friends on December 6. 1940 at Hotel Diplomat, 108 West 43rd Street.

Among the sponsors of the dinner are such outstanding personalities as John Dewey, Babette Deutsch, Max Eastman, Mary Fox, Arturo Giovannitti, Suzanne LaFollette, Jay Lovestone, Giuseppe Lupis, Eugene Lyons, Louis Nelson, Rose Pesotta, Joseph Schlossberg, Mark Starr, Benjamin Stolberg, Norman Thomas, Carlo Tresca and Charles S. Zimmerman.

The sponsoring committee has expressed the hope that all those desiring to honor this great woman for her contribution to the casue of labor, peace and human liberties will attend the dinner. Tickets, at \$1.50, are on sale at the Workers Age, 131 West 33rd Street, LAckawanna 4-5282.

Fascist Barbarism in the Name of Anti-Fascism...

WE have had occasion more than once in these columns to comment on the sad havoc that Hitler and the war have wrought with the ideals and beliefs of our liberal intellectuals. These men, men of the type of Lewis Mumford, Waldo Frank and Archibald MacLeish, have literally lost their balance, have abandoned the convictions for which they once fought so valiantly, have turned themselves into ranting war-mongers, vulgar jingoes and wild-eyed advocates of intolerance and

Undoubtedly, the very low point in this retrogressive development has been reached by Lewis Mumford in his new book, "Faith for Living". Here is Mr. Mumford's "anti-fascist" program, as summarized by Malcolm Cowley in his recent review in the New Republic:

"He (Mumford) compares our civilization to a foundering vessel that cannot be saved unless its whole cargo of inessentials is thrown overboard. That may be true enough; but Mr. Mumford has a pretty far-reaching idea of what is inessential to a

"Let me mention just a few of the democratic rights that he wants to jettison. Free speech would go first of all. Mr. Mumford proposes a National Board of Censorship charged with the duty of keeping pro-fascist speakers off the air and profascist magazines out of the mails. From a reference on page 40, I assume that it would also be charged with suppressing plays like 'Tobacco Road' and 'Of Mice and Men,' which 'spread defilement.' Freedom of political organization would have to disappear, since all active leaders of fascist groups, including both Nazis and communists, would be immediately clapped into jail or sent into exile. 'Democracy must be preparad,' he says, 'to play the human game with the same ruthless consistency that fascism plays the anti-human game.' Behind this patriotic vista, one can see the barbed wire of concentration camps.

"But hese are only the first of Mr. Mumford's measures. Every boy and girl in the country, on nearing military age, would spend at least a year in a labor army. Men of the middle classes would be exhorted to work with their hands for an hour or more each day. Women would devote more time to cooking and having babies, less time to stenography and 'frivolous occupations,' Factory owners 'must take over the classic tradition of the professional classes: public service and public responsibility', while surrendering part of their incomes. Labor unions will thereupon surrender the right to strike. The population as a whole must abandon the economy of comfort for a new economy of sacrifice. 'The only abundance that our skill with machines will create will be an abundance of weapons, munitions, tanks, airplanes, warships.' And these will not be intended solely for defense. 'We need an overwhelming force, ready to strike on behalf of liberty and democracy and justice with overwhelming audacity: ready, like the armies of Napoleon, to IMPOSE liberty and democracy if need be rather than to see them perish utterly from the earth'."

Further Remarks on Nature of Fascism

Validity of Wolfe's Criticism Challenged

(Continued from Page 3) counter-revolutionary consequences of a victory. To ascribe to Marx and Engels a chauvinistic, bourgeois ap-

(Continued from Page 3)

On the Question Of "Defense"

out of war. Our problem, a "pedago gical" or tactical problem, is how to link up the genuine mass desire to keep out of war with a realization by the masses of the necessity of the core, to use the slogan as Lovesfighting the present peace-time con- stone has used it in the October 26 scription and the present get-into issue of the Workers Age, to set our the-war budget. If we could have group to fighting FOR an "adequate gotten a commission with a few national defense" is as self-defeathonest experts, civilian and military, ing and self-destroying as to put to examine the war budget, we would ministration's policies and focus at- the present moment. Our activities internationally from freed colonials. are we arming? Why a military ma- on a drive for the repeal of peaceexpect that such a commission will the present arms budget and war be appointed at present, or if ap- preparations for what they are: a pointed that many of its members would speak their minds freely. But to see the country able to defend we could send our own witnesses to itself, in order to utilize that desire testify. And the mere fight for an to put this country into war and examination of the President's true permanently militarize its economy aims in putting across the present and domestic life. budget and arms measures will serve to make people conscious of the drive home the socialist message problem involved. The motion was that the only true defense of Ameradopted by absolute pacifists in ica from totalitarianism, domestic favor of disarmament but believing and foreign, lies in reorganizing our that a proposal of their ultimate economy and institutions, extending program at this time would but cut | not curbing our political democracy, the K.A.O.W. off from the genuine establishing economic democracy anti-war sentiment of the mass of (socialism) and making its example our people instead of aiding in organizing and directing it. It was adopted by socialists with a socialist notion of defense, who also felt that to put their full program into the K.A.O.W. united front platform would have a similar effect.

WHY THE "DEFENSE" SLOGAN IS WRONG If the United States were

actual danger of invasion by the Axis troops — which it is not should favor an attitude on defense similar to that being advanced in every issue of the New Leader of the Independent Labor Party of Great Britain (to be analyzed in a future article). But, under the present realities of the present situation in America, with our Administration and Republican "opposition" united in putting over an army and navy for overseas war, peace-time conscription as a permanent feature of American life, an arms economy and budget, and life militarized to

and Engels in somewhat similar power and strength and acquire the situations, even if one regards possibility to move forward to a de- Marx and Engels and Lovestone as mocratic socialism. It is in this in error. Marx and Engels were sense that Marx and Engels desired wrong on occasion. But they did not the defeat of Czarism and Bonapart- cease being genuine socialists every ism, and advocated aid to those time they made a mistake. The countries at war with Napoleon and theory that "real" socialists are inwith the Russian Czar. Certainly, fallible is a dangerous one, fraught no one could ascribe to Marx and with reactionary consequences. The Engels a preference for the defeat worst of all possible errors that can of Bonapartism or Czarism because. be made in a socialist discussion is forsooth, Marx and Engels were not a false theory of fascism, not British or German patriots and ad- even the theory of "objective promired the bourgeois-democratic sys- gress" under Hitlerism held by tem of exploitation as the highest some spokesmen of the minority, but possible stage of development of the concept that a socialist who dishuman society. Their preference for agrees with you automatically bethe defeat of Bonapartism and Czar- comes a "social-patriot," one who ism in war-time was based on the "sits on the horn of British imperirevolutionary possibilities and con- alism," and one who "gilds the claws sequences of that defeat, and the of the American eagle." That is the worst possible error.

We thus have seen that the "false theories of fascism" held by anonyproach would not only be false, but mous spokesmen of the majority of malicious as well. I can see no the I.L.L.A. are either not held by reason for attempting to ascribe to anyone or are not false. It is not the Lovestone's analysis of fascism any concept of "fascism as counter-revoconcept of "fascism as counter-revoother approach than that of Marx lution on the march" which is false, but the complete misinterpretation placed upon it by Wolfe. One can be opposed to a correct concept because one does not, or is unable to, understand it, but misinterpretation of a correct theory does not make it any the less correct.

In the next article, I will discuss the remarkable theory of some minority spokesmen about "objective progress under Hitlerism."

"aid to Great Britain" in the center conspiracy to abuse the mass desire

Our longer-range aims are to contagious, giving every man and woman in America a stake in this rich country which will be something for him or her to defend, eliminating the rot from the social fabric in which the seeds of totalitarianism have a chance to sprout, harnessing our magnificent machinery to the production of abundance for all. For us there is no other "adequate defense."



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