

Next Week:
RECREATING SOCIALISM
By LEWIS COREY

Workers Age

Weekly Paper of the Independent Labor League of America

THE A.L.P. AFTER THE ELECTIONS
editorial . . . page 4.
INDIAN PEOPLE OPPOSE WAR . . .
by J. Cork . . . page 3.

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5 CENTS

At First Glance:

Portents and Warnings

By JAY LOVESTONE

IT'S high time that there be struck a sober, tho not sour, note in regard to the present economic situation. The business index is high at the moment. The Federal Reserve Board and other government department indices reveal economic levels in the neighborhood of 1929, the highest in ten years, and about 20% above the average for the first six months of the present year. Renewed and extra dividends are the order of the day. The level of employment has risen and wage increases have ceased being a marked rarity.

Does all this spell general prosperity? What is the real situation at hand and what's ahead? First of all, if one takes into consideration the growth of population within the last ten years, he will find that the country is not as prosperous as surface static phenomena might lead one to conclude. Particularly does this fact stand out in bold and painful relief if one takes into consideration the growth in productive capacity. Furthermore, while the present economic upswing can be compared with that of 1929 and 1936-7, it must never be forgotten that in neither period was the high level maintained for more than a few months.

Crushing refutation of any notion as to prosperity being widespread and deepgoing is, of course, to be had in an examination of the persistent mass unemployment. A. F. Hinrichs, chief economist of the U. S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, put his finger on the sorest spot when he told the seventh Metropolitan Conference on Employment Guidance in New York that: "Irrespective of the volume of employment one may anticipate for the coming year, the problem of those who find employment for the unemployed is not solved. We are still going to count our unemployed in terms of millions" (November 18, 1939). Actually, according to Mr. Hinrichs, while the present volume of industrial activity is as great as it was in 1929 and 1937, employment is at least a million and a half lower than ten years ago. This permanent crisis is further aggravated by the yearly increase of about 500,000 new workers who try to find jobs.

But even in the immediate and limited sense there are grave defects in the present upward economic curve. The rise is heavily overweighed by steel production. And there is increasing evidence that consumption has not been coming up to the production rate in the steel industry. For instance, in the Cleveland area production will very likely register a sharp drop with the turn of the year. In general, inventories are piling up and production is running ahead of consumption. The much-expected war stimuli from abroad have, except for aircraft production, not materialized. Obviously, the possibilities of diplomatic maneuvering have not yet been exhausted and there is no over-riding certainty that there will be no trace of some sort in a few months. Besides, the British and French war supplies have not been used, let alone exhausted, in view of the actual all quiet on the western front. In short, there is no unusual export activity at hand. Here one must not overlook the fact that American economy as such is still plagued with too many problems of readjustment of plant capacity to permit it to throw caution to the wind and proceed feverishly with long scale operations.

It is for these reasons—felt but seldom consciously examined or understood—that American business has been displaying a lack of elan, a feeling of uncertainty even in the recent months of upswing. The reliable and intelligently edited Business Week portrays this mood when it declares: "It can be said that this recovery has a unique attribute—there are so many people who don't believe in it. At luncheon tables in business men's clubs, the question comes up, 'When is the decline coming, and how long will it last?' Nobody seems to offer any brief at all for a continuance of the present pace of activity much beyond the first of the year. Indeed even foreign publications discuss a downturn in American business as if it were a 'shunless destiny'" (November 18, 1939).

In view of the underpinnings of the present advance being nowhere nearly as strong as those of 1934-7, the above attitude is not at all surprising. The rapidity, irregularity, and limited nature of the present "prosperity" dictate caution and skepticism. An economic decline in the near future is probable. The coming recession, coupled with the very nature of the lingering upturn, further emphasizes the seriousness of the decay gnawing at the very vitals of the entire American economic system—the world's best-developed capitalist machine. Keen insight into this situation is manifested in the following observations of the London Economist:

"The basic question of whether the recovery can be continued to and maintained at a level which will represent diffused well-being or reasonably full employment lies where it has been for a long time. During a decade of almost continuous depression, our economic plant and equipment has not only not kept pace with the growth of population and the developments of technology, but in the aggregate, it appears to have actually deteriorated—altho there are conspicuous exceptions to this generalization.

"During this decade, not merely was investment in economic plant and equipment largely suspended, but there seems to have been a net of 'disinvestment'" (November 4, 1939).

Mind you, this timely and penetrating observation is not the con-

Hull Rulings Undermine Neutrality

State Department Regulations Permit Evasions On Credit and Shipping

Washington, D. C.

Regulations explaining and applying the new Neutrality Act were issued by the State Department last week making it clear that the Administration is determined to take advantage to the utmost of every loophole left in the law in order to circumvent its intent and aid the Allies no matter at what danger to the peace of this country.

Perhaps most important was the State Department regulation declaring that the neutrality law, while banning loans or credits to belligerent governments, "does not forbid the extension of credit to any person in a belligerent state who is not acting for or on behalf of a belligerent government", provided that the credit is not used to purchase arms or munitions of war. Under this ruling, dummy corporations might easily be set up in belligerent countries to purchase supplies on credit in America, to be handed over to the governments involved thru the forms of sale. Procedure such as this, permitted by the State Department, would seriously undermine the ban on loans and credits to belligerents.

Nor do the State Department regulations put any obstacles in the way of purchases of American goods, including arms and munitions, on credit by neutrals for the purpose of transshipment to belligerents. Such transactions are already being carried on on a fairly large scale by Belgium, Holland, Denmark and other European neutrals.

Typos Vote for 5-Day Week

Indianapolis, Ind.

Members of the International Typographical Union voted two to one to set up a five-day week in the printing industry by January 1, 1942. Woodruff Randolph, secretary-treasurer of the union, announced last week.

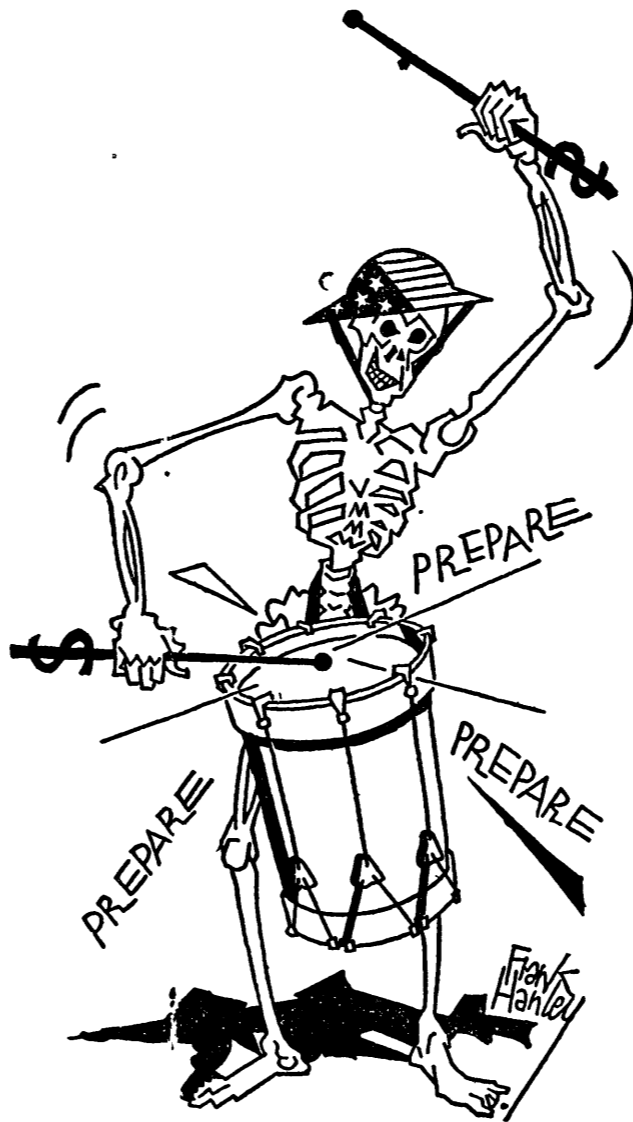
The present six-day week of six hours and forty minutes a day would be supplanted by five-day week contracts with publishers by 1942, according to the authority vested in union officials by a referendum conducted among the members by mail ballot.

The vote was 33,204 to 15,664.

The union rejected, 27,441 to 23,434, a proposal to reduce temporarily the pension and mortuary assessment from 2% to 1½%, followed by an increase to 2% as soon as the pension-fund balance dropped to \$1,500,000.

clusion of a Marxian economist. Only the most purblind would fail to see in the very character of the present economic upswing significant portents and warnings not only of what may be ahead in the nearest future but also additional proof of the inherent unsoundness of the entire socio-economic system. November 19, 1939.

DRUMMER OF DEATH



—from *Plaything and Novelty Worker*

Distress of Masses Bared In Report

Study of Income Structure Shows Widespread Poverty Among People

By FRANK HOWARD

Washington, D. C.

THE news of the week from Washington is not about neutrality. It is about another report of the National Resources Committee submitted to the President by Hildegarde Kneeland. It vividly documents the slogan, "One third of the nation, ill-fed, ill-housed, and ill-clothed."

The 195-page report says one third of the nation lived on incomes under \$780; a second third received incomes of \$780 to \$1,450, while the top third could boast of incomes ranging from \$1,450 to more than \$1,000,000, but half of this top third lived on less than \$2,000 annually. Two percent received incomes of \$5,000 to \$15,000 and only one-half of one percent boasted an income over \$15,000. The top one half of one percent—178,058 consumers—received nearly ten percent of the fifty-nine billion total consumer income—almost as much as the entire lower third.

The report is based on samplings from more than 60,000 families in (Continued on page 3)

The Administration Arms Program Menaces America

IT is time that the American people awoke to the sinister significance of the Administration's armament policy. In the mad rearmament campaign that the President is sponsoring are concentrated all of the most dangerous, reactionary features of the Fourth New Deal: the drive to war; the abandonment of social reform and governmental spending for socially-useful ends; the deliberate attempt to break down the morale of the people by stirring up war hysteria and a frenzy of nationalistic jingoism, by fomenting nerve-wracking scares of all sorts, ranging from imaginary spies and nameless submarines to impossible foreign invasions.

Last week, in these columns, we published a Washington dispatch revealing the fantastic figures which army and navy expenditures will reach next year if the Administration has its way. The talk is of a "national-defense" budget going beyond two and a half billion dollars. This year's top-flight figures, regarded even in certain expert military circles as utterly unjustifiable by the strict requirements of defense, are already completely outdated. Nothing but large-scale American participation in a foreign war in Europe or the Far East could possibly explain such sweeping preparations.

What will these vast expenditures for military and naval purposes mean to the American people, quite apart from the acute danger of war they imply? A significant Washington report in the New York Times of November 6 supplies more than a hint:

"Senator Byrnes of South Carolina, one of the Administration's legislative strategists, (the generalissimo of the embargo-repeal forces.—Editor.), said he thought that there would be a popular demand for a reduction in all expenditures except those for defense . . .

"Most legislators believe that any major cuts in spending will have to be made on such items as relief . . . and farm subsidies . . .

"Mr. Byrnes, who is chairman of the Senate Unemployment and Relief Committee, said he was hopeful that increased employment would permit a cut in W.P.A. appropriations for the new year."

The meaning is as clear as daylight. In order to make possible skyrocketing war appropriations, the Administration is going to move to slash expenditures for unemployment and agricultural relief. The swollen arms budget is going to be taken out of the hides of the workers and farmers, if the Administration plans go thru.

Remember that this year's relief budget was already cut to the bone in order to make possible record peace-time "national-defense" expenditures. Remember that literally millions of unemployed are denied federal relief and that hundreds of thousands more have been driven from W.P.A. jobs they once had—not to mention the ruthless wage cuts that hit practically every relief worker in the country in the course of the last year. Remember, too, that improvement in the economic situation today does not necessarily mean any substantial increase in employment, as official figures show. The conclusion is plain: Let the people starve but the army and navy must have their fill and more! Our own New Deal version of "cannon before butter"!

The fight against runaway rearmament, the snowballing expansion of the arms budget at the expense of social welfare, is going to be a hard one, primarily because the masses of the people are not at all awake to the danger. Let us not blink at the fact. The overwhelming majority of the American people are determined to keep out of war and are ready to resist every move in foreign policy that seems to threaten America's peace. But the people are not equally aroused over skyrocketing arms expenditures. In fact, in an unthinking, routine sort of way, they even approve of them. After all, so the habit of thought runs, we must have "adequate defense" in a world of force and savagery.

And yet the fight must be waged and waged with increasing effectiveness, for a great deal of the future of the American people depends upon it. The people must be shown what the Administration's armament program really means in terms of danger of involvement in war, in terms of falling standards of living, in terms of ruthless slashes in jobless relief, farm aid and other welfare services. Under the slogan, "Rearmament means reaction and war", an intensive campaign of education and mobilization of popular opinion must be launched by the anti-war movement.

Japan Hints at Pact With Soviet Russia

Official Agency Declares "Powerful Elements" Urge Accord, Talks Begin

"Powerful elements" in Tokyo, said to include representatives of the extreme nationalists and top army circles, were reported by the semi-official Domei news agency last week to be urging the government to conclude a "non-aggression" treaty with Russia "without paying the slightest attention to displeasure felt and loudly voiced" by Britain and the United States. The Domei agency, which usually expresses the opinions of the Japanese Foreign Office, said that it was felt in Tokyo that "a fundamental adjustment in relations between Japan and Russia is needed in connection with the maintenance of peace in the Far East."

Some observers believed that the Domei statement was part of a campaign to impress London and Washington with the necessity of adopting a "reasonable" attitude towards Japan's imperialistic aims in the Far East. On the other hand, negotiations were already under way last week between Japanese Foreign Minister Nomura and Soviet Ambassador Smetanin for a "non-aggression" pact. In Moscow the controlled press expressed great hope in these negotiations and declared an accord with Japan "particularly necessary and desirable under the present circumstances." A Russian understand-

ing with Japan would, of course, mean the withdrawal of Soviet support from Chiang Kai-shek's regime and the granting of a free hand to Japan for its war in China. On the other side, Russia would be able to concentrate upon its plans of expansion in the Baltic and the Balkans, with some measure of security on its eastern frontiers.

The Soviet campaign of expansion in the Baltic was at a standstill last week as the negotiations with Finland definitely broke down and the Finnish emissaries returned home, having rejected the Russian demand for the cession of a naval base. Over the Russian radio and in the Russian press, the campaign against Finland grew more bitter and unrestrained. Hints that Finland would suffer the fate of Poland multiplied as did also reports of "incidents" to arouse Russian resentment, including the alleged shooting down of a Soviet plane over Finland. Germany was reported to have sent submarines and other warships into the Gulf of Finland to help the Soviet Union set up an economic blockade of Finland, altho in some quarters it was hinted that Berlin was not altogether grieved at Finnish resistance, since that might slow up Russia's sweep of the Baltic.

As indications increased that Moscow might soon turn its attention to Rumania and nearby regions, the fascist press in Italy issued loud warnings against Russian intervention in the Balkans, which were described as an "Italian sphere of influence."

Serious revolts broke out among Czech students in Prague last week. German troops ruthlessly crushed these outbreaks, shooting nine students, imprisoning over 1,200, and putting the entire region under martial law.

There were no military operations of any size or importance last week, the eleventh week of the war. The launching of large-scale warfare by the Germans on the western front and in the air, forecast in many quarters the week before, did not yet materialize.

Tammany Gets 14 in City Council

New York City.

The New York City Council will consist of 21 members—14 Democrats, 2 Republicans, 2 Laborites, 2 Fusionists, and 1 Independent, tabulations completed last week showed. Despite the fact that it polled nearly 240,000 votes in the city, even increasing somewhat its proportion of the total vote cast as against last year, the American Labor Party will have only two members of the new Council. One of the two is Salvatore Ninfo, Bronx, who topped the list in that county with over 80,000 votes. The other is from Brooklyn, Harry W. Laidler, well-known socialist, with over 59,000 votes. In 1937, the A.L.P. elected six Councilmen.

The decline in A.L.P. representation in the Council was due not only to the big Tammany sweep and to the reduction of total vote cast and hence of the size of the Council; it was due also to the sabotage of the Stalinists, many of them in key posts in the A.L.P., who deliberately knifed the party's candidates and hampered its campaign in every way. This was especially true in Manhattan.

The Communist Party's write-in candidates received a total of about 47,000 votes thruout the city, far from enough, of course, to elect any one of its candidates. Michael Quill, running in the Bronx, backed by the Stalinists tho officially "independent," was also defeated. He had been refused A.L.P. support because of his Stalinist connections.

Forward to a Socialist Peace

By C. A. SMITH and FENNER BROCKWAY

(C. A. Smith and Fenner Brockway are respectively chairman and political secretary of the Independent Labor Party of Great Britain—Editor)

London, England.

IT is easy to understand the support that has been given to the war. Judged merely by the immediate events which preceded it, there is no doubt that Hitler was the aggressor. It is only the man or woman with a socialist or pacifist philosophy who is able to withstand the pressure of broadcast and press and public opinion. The socialist places events in their historical perspective and analyzes the fundamental causes of them. The pacifist has enduring principles unmoved by temporary circumstances.

A proper judgment cannot be reached by considering the events of the last three months or of the last three years. One must go back at least to the end of the war of 1914-18.

The end of that war was accompanied by a democratic political revolution in Germany, overthrowing the Kaiserism and Prussianism which were said to be the real enemy, just as Hitlerism is said to be the real enemy in the present war. But the British and French governments imposed a peace of humiliation, demanded impossible reparations and continued a cruel blockade which starved the civil population long after the guns had ceased to fire. Despite the mounting difficulties which threatened Germany's succes-

sive democratic governments, the British and French governments refused the relief which could enable them to continue to function.

It was in these circumstances that the Nazi dictatorship arose in Germany. The Versailles Treaty was the parent of Hitlerism. The democratic governments of Germany had begged relief. Hitler said: "We will beg no longer—we will rebuild a mighty war machine so that we can take."

The capitalist governments of Britain and France gave Hitlerism its opportunity. If their object in this war is to end Hitlerism, they are engaged in the destruction of their own creation.

That is the historical perspective of this war. It throws a different light on recent events. But the socialist analysis goes even deeper. Why did the governments of Britain and France behave in this way?

The answer is to be found in the capitalist system itself. The root cause of the war of 1914-18 was the competition between the possessing classes of the two sides, and particularly of Britain and Germany. British capitalism had arisen first. It had won its empire, its markets, its sources of raw materials, its spheres for the investment of surplus value. Then German capitalism arose, challenging British domination, beginning its empire, competing with British capitalism for markets, raw materials, spheres of investment. This underlying rivalry clothed itself in clashing foreign policies and rising armaments—and finally brought the war of 1914.

When the time came to draw up the terms of peace, British capitalism determined that the competition of German capitalism should be destroyed. The German empire was taken away and, to use the phrase of Sir Auckland Geddes, German economy was "squeezed until the pips squeaked."

But even the burdens which were imposed could not prevent the re-emergence of German industrialism and it demanded its markets and raw materials. It had to expand in imperialism or explode in revolution. Shut out of the other continents, its imperialism broke out in Europe.

That is the explanation of German aggression. It is not due merely to the culpability of a person. It has its roots in the economic processes of capitalism.

In truth, this war is a renewal of the war of 1914-18 after a generation of truce. Behind all the immediate events there is the same capitalist-imperialist cause.

THE PART OF SOVIET RUSSIA

The conflict between the rival imperialisms has been complicated by the part played by Russia. What is the explanation of the Russian-German pact which proved Hitler's trump card in the maneuvers preceding his invasion of Poland, of the Russian invasion of Poland and its partition between Germany and Russia, of the pact signed recently by which Russia's material aid was pledged to Germany in the war, and

of the Russian ultimatums to Estonia and Latvia which have already made the former into a military and economic colony of Russia and which threaten the same destiny for the latter?

We must be careful in our analysis and judgment of this development.

The Soviet revolution of October 1917 was the greatest event of modern history. It was followed by wonderful achievements—the liberation of the peasants from serfdom, the control of factories by the workers, the administration of communal life by the soviets of the workers, the lifting of millions from illiteracy, the provision of all that modern science can give in health to the rising generation, the ending of the terror against the Jews, the removal of the fettering superstitions of the Greek Church, the creation of a sense of free, self-respecting power among the previously enslaved masses.

It is true that the direct administrative authority of the workers in factories, village and township has now been removed, but right up to this time private capitalism has been abolished in Russia and has been replaced by a state ownership which could be developed into full socialism. This has persisted, despite all the disappointments of Russian policy, internal and external.

What, then, is the explanation of the terror inside Russia and of its policy of aggression outside? (Concluded in next issue)

Curran Policies Cripple N. M. U. in Shipping Crisis

Stalinist Control Paralyzed Union During Boom Days

By JACK SODERBERG

November 7, 1939.

ON September 27, three days before the agreement between the shipowners and the National Maritime Union expired, we predicted that when the new neutrality legislation went into effect, "many ships will follow the example set by Standard Oil and host the Panamanian flag on the masthead, hire the crews from England and continue in the British trade thru the blockade."

In our criticism of Curran and the rest of the Stalinists in the N.M.U. leadership for their failure then to take the necessary steps insuring their members against loss of employment as well as cheating them out of their war bonus, we pointed out the danger facing the seamen once the legislation was over, and we asked: "Where will this leave Curran and the American seamen?"

NO ACTION DURING BOOM

At the time we warned against these eventualities, the agreement had three more days to run. Shipping was booming in anticipation of restricting legislation soon to follow. In addition, thousands of rich Americans were howling for ships to come to Europe and bring them back. Fabulous fees were paid by these people to the shipping lines. But the sailors received their usual pittance. To the suggestion of the rank and file that steps be taken immediately to tie up the ships until the owners were forced to give the seamen some consideration, Curran answered by offering to bring these stranded Americans back home for no wages at all!

If there ever was a time to strike successfully, this was it. But Communist Party-controlled Curran, without asking permission from the membership, proposed to extend the existing agreement for another thirty days. Later, this was extended still another thirty days.

In the meantime, the shipowners, having secured themselves, with the assistance of Curran, against any action on the part of the men on the ships, continued to cash in on the boom. By now, most of these rich Americans have returned, and most of the freight of immediate importance to the Allies, has been sent across. The shipowners no longer care a damn for Curran or his masters at the East 13th Street Kremlin. They made some dough and in the meantime the Maritime Commission has given its tentative blessing to the transfer to foreign registry and Curran and his union are left out in the cold. So why negotiate with them at all?

THEN THE "LINE" CHANGED

In the meantime, there arrived from Moscow the new instructions as to the change in the "party line." Of course, you may call this a mere coincidence but immediately after this change of line occurred, Curran began talking strike. A referendum vote is now to be issued as to whether or not a strike is to be called at the end of this month when the final extension of the agreement expires. Two months ago, when the shipowners pulled their own junkies out of the boneyards, smeared a coat of paint over the rust spots and called them ships, and sent them to sea, when shipping was booming and the shipowners were prepared to consider demands, no thought of strike entered the head of Curran or his bosses. But now, when American ships have completely disappeared from the North Atlantic, when the American ships are sailing under foreign flags with the N.M.U. membership barred because of legislation—in short, when some twenty thousand members are on the beach unable to obtain a berth, Curran talks of striking!

All thru last Winter, when the Sailors Union of the Pacific maintained a picket line around the Commission fink halls on this coast, Curran, Smith and others in the N.M.U. leadership led their men thru these picket lines day after day. The most bitter attacks and slander were leveled at the leadership of the S.U.P. and the Seamen's International Union because they tried to prevent scabbing thru these halls, supported and controlled by the Maritime Commission in opposition to the union hiring halls. Time and again, we were told that picketing these halls meant picketing a government

agency and "you cannot strike against the government." Eventually, the S.U.P. was compelled to withdraw its picket lines because of continued scabbing on the part of the N.M.U. officialdom. The S.U.P. succeeded, however, in preventing the opening of such halls on the West Coast, with the result that no man ships on the West Coast today unless he ships thru his union hall, in strict rotation. The man longest ashore, first job!

N.M.U. BACKS FINK TRAINING SCHOOLS

The N.M.U. continued its active support of the Commission, including the Seamen's "Training Schools for Officers." These fink-manufacturing establishments were run with the full blessing and support of the Stalinists controlling the N.M.U. And today comes the news that the Maritime Commission has opened two additional training schools, one at St. Petersburg, Fla., and the other at New London, Conn. When you consider that there are now some twenty thousand unemployed seamen on the beach, unable to obtain a ship, you may ask: Why train still more seamen when you can't take care of those already in existence? The answer lies in the possibility of America going to war in the near future.

Despite the fact that the building program of the Maritime Commission is way ahead of schedule at this time, the program is still being enlarged and speeded up. Ships, and plenty of them, will be needed in the war to come, and sailors and plenty of them will be needed to man these ships when the war comes. And the kind of sailors who will be wanted then will not be the kind who went thru the old trade-union school on the ships, but rather the kind brought up in these training schools under the guidance of the navy, as exemplified in the U. S. Coast Guard which is now training the men in these schools. These men did not come thru the days of '34 and '36

and so never did taste their own power, nor have they ever heard of such demands as the four-watch system (six-hour day) now being proposed by the men on the beach. They will be just the type the retired admirals in charge of the Commission require.

Let no one say that all this could not have been foreseen and consequently prevented months ago. Time and again, we pointed out to the Curran leadership precisely such an eventuality which has now become real. Time and again, members in the union warned against the real purpose of these training schools. But in every instance, such warning brought forth a tirade of abuse such as "phonies," "shipowners' stooges," "Lovestonettes," "Trotskyites," "disrupters," and so on and so forth. Strict adherence to the Stalinist policy of collaboration with the Administration and its appointed agencies was the order of the day. Even long after the purpose of these scab-herding agencies had become clear to all, the policy of collaboration continued and any opposition promptly squelched. Frame-ups, in addition to the usual name-calling and character assassination, were developed into a fine art. At the first sign of opposition, the member was simply brought up on "charges" and expelled. The Communist Party was riding high, wide and handsome over the heads of the American seamen in the N.M.U. This has been the picture of this union dominated from the East 13th Street Kremlin.

RECORD ON THE WEST COAST

Compare this with the organized seamen on the West Coast as exemplified in the Sailors Union of the Pacific, headed by Harry Lundeborg. When, in 1936, it became clear that a concerted effort was being made by the Stalinists, thru the Harry Bridges machine, to capture the control of this union, steps were at once taken to remove this menace to honest unionism. A militant program

Letters from Our Readers:

"United Front" in Local 22

New York City Editor, Workers Age:

AFTER more than two years of "unity" with the Stalinists, one is tempted to evaluate its contribution to our union, Local 22 of the I.L.G.W.U.

What were the main reasons for unity with the Stalinists? Cynics say it was because the administration wanted to stop criticism, to quiet down the opposition, so as to remain in control. But this is unfounded suspicion. The reasons for unity advanced by our administration were that we must be united for the good of our union, that the Communist Party had apparently changed, had given up its dual unionism and really meant to be a constructive force in the labor movement. That, in essence, was the argument for unity.

Yet it was with a feeling of apprehension that we, active members, raised our hands for a united front. Most of us had a premonition that our new "friends" could not be trusted.

After the lapse of time, we know what unity has meant to them. It surely has not consisted of working in harmony with the administration. By harmony, I don't mean refrain-

ing from criticism on questions of trade problems. I mean to work unitedly in a spirit of good-will within our local particularly and in the International as a whole. They have never done that. Their position, their approach, has always been "political" in character—to put over a "party line."

So it was when our local decided not to march last year on May First; so it was when the 1938 C.I.O. convention took place and our local decided to abide by the decision of the Executive Board of the I.L.G.W.U. not to send delegates to the convention. This year, they also urged our members to march with the Stalinists instead of celebrating May Day with our local.

Some months ago, Dora Zucker, a member of the Executive Board of our local, reported at a Communist Party convention that she was sorry she could not report that the Lovestonettes had already been driven out of the union. Was that "unity"? Every good union member, regardless of political belief, must condemn such an attitude. At a certain Executive Board meeting, our "friends" proposed that we send delegates to a new "Trade Union Relief Committee for Spain." Naturally, the Board opposed it, as there was already such a committee functioning of which Brother Zimmerman was the chairman. In the heat of the argument, it almost came to a fight. But that also was not new.

Lately, they are resorting to the old tactics of tearing down, of blaming our local for not "doing enough," although they are supposed to be part of the administration. A child can understand that their refusal to assume responsibility, their blaming and tearing down, is pure demagoguery. They know as well as we do that everything possible under the circumstances has been done for our membership as well as for the entire labor movement.

Recent section meetings of our local are also reminiscent of our "good old days": organized intolerance, boos, bringing up irrelevant issues, rude attempts to prevent the chairlady of the local from speaking. . . .

The "united front" has been a continuous process of trying to enforce the "party line," of trying to choke us with kisses. Now that elections are approaching, they are preparing the ground for a desperate effort to gain more power.

What should be the attitude of our administration towards our "partners" in the coming elections? It is my belief that we cannot go on with them any longer without demoralizing a great part of our membership—especially now, when the Stalinists have become pro-Hitler and even anti-Semitic. We must have the courage to say to them as follows: "We have united with you in a spirit of good-will to work together for the benefit of our union, for the entire labor movement. By your approach, you have violated the good faith of our local and of the International. We thought that you had changed. Your behavior in our local as well as in others, proves the contrary. We therefore can no longer work with you. To do so would mean to demoralize our membership, to lose our integrity. In our local, we have nothing to hide, nothing to cover up. Everything possible has been done for our membership, for the labor movement. In the elections, we will stand on our record of the past and on our program for the future."

If we act in this manner, we will win the admiration not only of the dressmakers but also of the labor movement as a whole.

MAX POLLACK
Member of Local 22, I.L.G.W.U.

On Our Policy Towards the A.L.P.

New York City Editor, Workers Age

THE recent developments in the American Labor Party have once more raised the question of what tactics a revolutionary socialist tendency should pursue in mass or-

Labor and the Law

by Joseph Elwood

TRENDS IN EMPLOYEE ELECTIONS

AN analysis of employee elections conducted by the National Labor Relations Board in the year ending September 30, 1939 shows, by comparison with previous periods, that while the C.I.O. unions have continued to win more contests, their lead over A. F. of L. unions has narrowed very substantially. Independent unions have lost ground as they did last year, and the proportion of elections in which no union was chosen, has fallen by comparison with earlier periods.

The results, when classified to show how A. F. of L. unions, C.I.O. unions, and independent unions fared as groups, reveal the following as compared with the previous year.

1. A F. of L. unions participated in a larger proportion of elections than last year, won a larger proportion of all votes.

2. C.I.O. unions participated in a smaller proportion of all elections than in the previous year, won a smaller proportion of all elections, and polled a smaller proportion of all votes cast. C.I.O. unions, however, continued to poll the highest proportion of votes as compared with A. F. of L. or independent unions.

3. Independent unions participated in a smaller proportion of elections, won a smaller proportion of all elections, and polled a smaller proportion of total votes cast.

4. All unions were rejected in a smaller proportion of all elections, although the proportion of votes cast against unions rose slightly, from 21% to 22%.

5. In percentage of victories, based on the number of contests in which each group participated, C.I.O. unions had a slight edge over A. F. of L. unions, winning 59.5% of their contests as against the A. F. of L.'s 58.2% of victories in contests in which its affiliates participated. The C.I.O. figure, however, was down slightly from the previous year—59.5%, as compared with 60%. The A. F. of L. figure was substantially higher than in the previous year—52.2% as compared with 44.8%. Independent unions won 47.6% of elections in which they took part, as compared with 50% in the year before. Viewed in perspective, it is to be seen that independent unions have continuously lost ground as to total elections won from the early

days of employee balloting, although when they do participate in elections, their proportion of successes is large.

A Foremen's Union!

An unprecedented contract has come to our attention. The most unusual feature of the contract is the fact that it is made with a union of supervisors and foremen.

The union, known as the United Foremen and Supervisors, Local Industrial Union No. 918, is directly affiliated with the C.I.O. The company involved, the Universal Cooler Corporation, Detroit, has an agreement covering its production workers with the United Auto Workers (C.I.O.). The foremen were not included in that contract.

Not being eligible for membership in the auto union, the supervisors and foremen obtained a charter direct from the C.I.O. This new "union" then signed an agreement with the corporation which was made a supplement to the agreement concluded by the U.A.W.-C.I.O.

Hitherto, supervisors and foremen have been considered as representing the employers in all negotiations between workers and the management.

A peculiar result of the arrangement appears in the handling of grievances. The first step in grievance procedure in the auto industry is a conference between the shop steward of the auto union and a foreman. Now we shall witness the ridiculous and, at the same time, most dangerous procedure in which an auto worker will have to appeal for settlement of his grievance to his immediate boss, the foreman, who at the same time is a member of the same parent organization, the C.I.O.

ganzations of labor in general and in the A.L.P. in particular.

There are a few fundamentals on which every one in our organization is agreed:

1. That we participate in the mass organizations of labor in a constructive fashion, help to improve the conditions of the workers and work to build and strengthen these organizations.

2. That we attempt to advance this day-to-day struggle to a higher class consciousness.

In order to effectively carry out these aims in the mass labor organizations, a maximum of unity in action is a vital necessity. For this, we must have a clear approach to other constructive tendencies who participate in the daily struggles of the working class. However, the aim of achieving maximum unity must go hand in hand with the fundamental purpose of raising the daily class struggle of the labor movement to a higher class basis.

At no time can we or should we forget that we are an independent radical tendency in the American labor movement who have something to say and at times must make our independent opinions clear by expressing them as vigorously and intelligently as we know how, even if this may result in a temporary loss of popularity. This should in no way bar us from our constructive daily collaboration with other working-class tendencies in the mass labor organizations.

In the light of the above remarks, let us discuss the question of how a revolutionary socialist tendency can influence the A.L.P. to adopt a correct position on the war question.

The resolution on war which the A.L.P. officially adopted at the October 4 city conference echoes clearly in many respects the war position of the Roosevelt-New Deal Administration. Although the resolution expressly states that the A.L.P. is for keeping America out of war, the

logic of A.L.P.'s present position will ultimately aid America's entry into the European conflict. Already, the A.L.P. resolution clearly expresses preference and sympathy for the Anglo-French alliance. How long will it be before the A.L.P. will officially call for our entry into the war to crush the Anglo-Nazi axis? How long will it be before jingoism will become the official platform of the A.L.P. spokesmen?

The only road for revolutionary socialists in the ranks of the A.L.P. it seems to me, is to clearly state their position on this fundamental problem facing the labor movement. We are duty-bound to point out our differences with the position adopted and the inevitable logic of that position, although that logic may not be clear, at present, to the A.L.P. leadership and to wide sections of the membership. At no time can we gloss over our fundamental differences with the official position of the A.L.P. At the same time, these differences should not stop us from our daily collaboration with the A.L.P. leadership on matters on which we are in agreement. Such is the basic privilege that any tendency in the labor movement possesses at all times. Furthermore, a discussion in the ranks of the A.L.P. of basic questions thru the placing of independent positions will aid in clarifying and educating the A.L.P. membership on these vital questions. Of course, we agree that we have to work within the democratic framework of the A.L.P. and abide by organizational discipline.

Unless the independent position of the I.L.L.A. on the war question, as well as a differentiation from the officially adopted position are clearly placed before the A.L.P. membership wherever possible, we will not be carrying out that fundamental purpose to which our organization is dedicated—to advance the class consciousness of the American labor movement.

PAUL TAUBER

Furriers Union Clique Raises False Cry of "No Politics"

Gold Administration Tries to Head Off Membership Revolt

By B BARAZ

New York City

ON Tuesday, October 31, there took place a membership meeting of the fur workers union in New York. The purpose of this meeting, as it was announced in circulars and letters to the membership, was to discuss international problems as well as the new developments in the American Labor Party coming as a result of the affairs in Europe.

How did the Stalinist leadership in our union react to these problems? Mr. Potash, manager of the union, utterly disregarded the opinion and feeling of the union membership. He was the first, and so far the only, trade unionist to sign the Stalinist resolution endorsing the Stalin-Hitler pact. But this was not enough for Mr. Potash. He thereafter appeared at the meeting of the American Labor Party and took an open stand in defense of the pact. At this A.L.P. meeting, Mr. Potash certainly did not speak for himself as an individual. He represented the Furriers Union. The membership of the union had never approved of his action. There were plenty of heated discussions about it. The members were only waiting for an opportunity to throw this betrayal back into Potash's face. Mr. Potash, however, cared very little about it all. He carried out the ukase of his party leaders, regardless whether the members of the union liked it or not.

The United Progressive Furriers immediately issued a circular condemning the action of Mr. Potash. This was followed by a circular of the furriers branch of the Social Democratic Federation which took a similar position.

A conference of active members of the Furriers Union was held at the Rand School. The conference adopted a resolution which sharply criticized Mr. Potash and demanded that the Joint Council withdraw from Communist Party undercover organizations such as the League for Peace and Democracy, the International Labor Defense, the American Youth Congress, the National Negro Congress, etc.

The few so-called "right-wingers" in the Joint Council also started to raise a rumpus with the Stalinists.

SUDDEN CHANGE OF FRONT

This seemingly had its effect upon the union administration, and before they came to the October 31 meeting, they decided to change the program. From an open discussion of the situation in Europe, it dwindled down to—"No politics." This enraged the workers. The great mass of fur workers, who are generally inactive, did not participate in the meeting, and only the most active people on both sides—the administration as well as the opposition—attended the meeting. When Messrs.

Gold and Potash entered the hall, they were met with a thunder of boos. Voices from all parts of the hall shouted "Down with the Communist Party," "Down with Hitler's partners," "Take away the Red-Brown guards."

The noise continued for about five minutes and was repeated time and again during the course of the meeting.

This most unfriendly reception threw the leadership into confusion. They had done a lot of preparatory work for this meeting. The Communist Party fraction was fully mobilized. A secret meeting of the most loyal members had been held. Everything was done by them to raise a sentiment for the meeting and for the administration's policy. But nothing could prevent those who came to the meeting from expressing their feelings of hatred towards the Communist-Nazi fraternity.

I must say that Potash tried hard to sell the fur workers Molotov's idea of Hitlerism as a "deed" which every one has a right to like or dislike. He then urged that we fur workers should be more concerned about our own economic problems than about international affairs.

Potash's report met with the approval of his own followers, whom he had mobilized in advance for it. Those opposed did not change their minds.

POTASH "DENIES" POLITICS

It was both tragic and comic to see Mr. Potash, the chief commissar of the Stalin party in the Furriers Union, the same Potash who used to tell the fur workers, and correct-ly so, that economics is inseparable from politics, now declare that our union was not going to "take sides" on international questions. He quoted sarcastically from the circular of the United Progressive Furriers in which the opposition stated that every honest person must at this time make clear his views on the European situation. No matter how important the daily economic struggle might be, international problems are of vital significance.

In these tragic days, the international solidarity of the workers is most essential. The lesson that you cannot separate economics from politics was never more appropriate than now. But Mr. Potash, echoing and rejoicing in the Stalinist line, took from the shelf the stale, discredited formula of "pure-and-simple trade unionism" and declared that we should not "mix in politics." A moment later, however, he forgot that our union was committed to "no politics" and he brought up an endorsement of Michael Quill for the City Council. Mr. Quill is known as a Stalinist stooge, one of those who refused to support the A.L.P. resolution against the Hitler-Stalin pact.

And, of course, Potash railroaded thru his endorsement.

GOLD PUTS ON AN ACT

GOLD, in his acrobatic way, delivered a speech pretending that he too was heartbroken over the tragic fate of the Jews in Europe. As a shrewd politician, he tried to avoid the international issue so as to leave the impression that he too was somehow dissatisfied with the situation. But there was no difference whatever between Gold and Potash on political problems. Both were and are carrying out orders of the same party. It is true that in the course of his political career and advance to power, Gold has passed thru many strange phases. He switched overnight from a Lovestonette to a Postertist, from a Lovestonette to a Lovestonette. Then he broke his ties with the Lovestonettes and rushed on the Browder bandwagon. Nevertheless, I must expect that there is nothing to be trusted from Gold at present. He is in the clutches of the Stalinist party and will not be able to move. Personally, and as a figure in politics, Gold has never been taken seriously. His comic acts may still make him popular with certain furriers, but he is beginning to lose ground even here. The fear of losing out with the furriers has brought to Gold a new idea. He now threatens the furriers with mysterious enemies who want to break the union. His aim is obviously to throw the furriers into a panic.

As it is, the situation in the fur trade is bad enough. There is complete collaboration between the bosses and the union officials. The conditions of the workers have been driven down to the limit. The dealers, as well as the manufacturers, are piling up profits and the workers just look on, bound hand and foot by the treacherous agreement. Yet, even under these conditions, the workers would never permit any one to harm their union. Only the Golds and the Potashes talk of splits.

OUR AIM IS TO BUILD

Our aim is to build, to reconstruct, and not to break. I maintain that a union that is as morally and financially bankrupt as ours is, is particularly exposed to attacks of the bosses, and we want to strengthen the union against these attacks. It is the aim of the progressive forces to rebuild the furriers union, to make it worthy of its name, to make it a union inspired with real militancy, a union which would educate its membership to face and react to economic problems and to political changes in our country as well as in the entire world. And last but not least, we want to restore genuine democracy in place of the present dictatorial regime in the union.

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Return to '29 Cannot Bring Prosperity

Production Way Up, Millions Still Jobless

Washington, D. C. American industry again is operating at a level above the average of the "prosperity" year 1929.

More industrial goods were turned out in October of this year than in any October since that month ten years ago when the boom of the 1920's blew up to become the depression of the 1930's.

The prospect is that even more goods will be turned out in November and in December 1939 than have been turned out by industry in October.

This sounds mighty good. By all of the old standards these should be boom times in industry.

In 1929, the average rate of industrial production—as measured by the Federal Reserve Board index with the 1923-25 level taken as 100—was 119. By October 1932, three years later, it had fallen to 66. One year ago in October, the average was 96. Today, the rate of industrial activity is 120.

In 1929, today's rate of industrial activity represented prosperity. There were jobs for nearly all who wanted them. Profits were large. Farmers were fairly well off. Government had a surplus income over outgo.

In 1939, ten years later, the same rate of activity is still a depression rate. Millions remain out of work. Farmers still have their troubles. Government income is not within three billion of its outgo on an annual basis.

What once represented prosperity no longer represents prosperity.

The goal of getting back to 1929 has been reached only to reveal that this goal does not represent anywhere near full recovery.

Present industrial activity at the 1929 level has produced an estimated 700,000 more jobs in manufacturing industries over the last three months. Through trade and industry and agriculture, it is estimated that nearly 1,500,000 additional jobs have developed since June. Official figures show that applications for unemployment insurance are taking a sharp nose-dive.

But officials still estimate that well over eight million persons who want employment are without jobs.

And official figures disclose that, even after recent price advances, the buying power of farm products, translated into terms of things farmers buy, is only 80% of its 1910-14 level.

What accounts for this startling fact that 1929 production levels do not represent prosperity by any means today?

So far as industry is concerned, there are two major reasons.

One reason is that each year for the last ten years an average of 600,000 more young workers have come on the scene looking for jobs. In ten years, this has meant an increase of six million persons in the available labor supply.

A second reason is that industry has learned, thru speed-up, economies and greater efficiency, to get along with fewer workers. One government estimate is that industry since 1929 has proved able to produce 20% more goods with the same labor supply than it was able to produce in 1929.

So far as agriculture is concerned, there also are two major reasons why the 1929 level of industrial production does not now represent prosperity.

One reason is that farmers are very dependent upon foreign markets, and those markets have gradually narrowed.

The second reason is that the income of city workers still is lower than it was in 1929, while farmers are able to turn out a larger volume of goods to press on available markets.

What, then, is the answer to full recovery—if any?

Government advisers say that prosperity today will prevail when the F.R.B. index of industrial production ranges between 140% and 150% of the 1923-25 level.

In that range, at a price level somewhat higher than at present, there would be a national income of approximately \$90 billion. A national income of that amount would make possible a balanced federal government budget at present tax rates and at the present rate of spending. An income at that level would mean about five million more jobs than at present. Those added jobs would represent a purchasing power in the cities that would absorb a much larger volume of farm products and would bolster the income of agriculture.

But little prospect exists that industry will ever be able to reach

this prosperity level anywhere in the measurable future.

One big reason is that the existing level of production is supported in important measure by inventory buying and does not represent buying for immediate consumption. Once inventories are stocked, industry most probably will slow down while the goods now being produced are consumed. Mass buying power is still far behind productive capacity and is slipping farther and farther behind.

Past war, with heavy demand for American goods, could lead to pressures that would produce plant expansion and an enlargement of production that represents full recovery. That seems to be the hope in certain business circles.

Right now, however, the nation apparently will not be able to go beyond a return to the 1929 level of industrial activity. And this return reveals clearly that something better than the 1929 production level is needed to provide any measure of real prosperity.

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Soviétisation ou Stalination?

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Above is reproduced part of the front page of the October 8, 1939 issue of Juin 36, the official paper of the French Socialist Workers and Peasants Party (P.S.O.P.). The titles of the articles are, "The Party Goes On," "We Remain Faithful to Socialism," and "Soviétisation or Stalination?" The blank spaces are the marks of the censor's work. The P.S.O.P. carries on a steady fight against the war and against the Daladier military dictatorship.

Loopholes in Neutral Law Real Danger

By FLORENCE B. BOECKEL

Washington, D. C. CAN they do it? Can those who urged and secured a repeal of the arms embargo now keep America out of war? They have pledged themselves to do it. The country can only hope they will succeed. They themselves must realize that the job will be a hard one. No sooner was the repeal passed than some of them began to show signs of alarm in the face of instant, tremendous orders from England and France and of rejoicing in those countries over the aid of the United States. Official statements have been made trying to prevent a boom psychology. Newspapers and columnists who ardently supported repeal began at once to emphasize that those who had supported sale of arms must now assume the responsibility of keeping this country out of war. They called upon England, with phrases that could almost be described as panicky, not to read too much into our willingness to sell them arms.

During the neutrality debate, there was clear evidence that the cash policy will not hold unless the public demands with all possible vigor that it be maintained. The original Administration bill allowed for 90-day credits. This was eliminated but, under the present law, citizens of foreign governments may still get credit or loans. An amendment to the neutrality law designed to prevent extension of credits under the R.F.C. and the Export-Import Bank was defeated. Congress, at the regular session may still, if pressed, alter the regulations of these institutions, and so prevent nullification of the Johnson Act which prohibits loans to governments that have not yet paid their debts from the last war. The defeat of an amendment providing for restriction of sales to a peace-time basis was significant.

Adoption of the President's em-

Elegy

The men that worked for England, They have their graves at home; And bees and birds of England About the cross can roam.

But they that fought for England, Following a falling star, Alas, alas, for England They have their graves afar

And they that rule in England In stately conclaves met, Alas, alas, for England They have no graves as yet.

G. K. CHESTERTON

bargo repeal policy is bound to be accepted by the Administration as an O.K. on its general foreign policy of giving aid to England and France. What further steps it will feel justified in taking along this line will depend entirely upon the reaction of the people. Each step taken will increase the momentum and makes it harder to stop the next one. Each step will inevitably be less and less "short of war."

The plea to the people of this country to support England has been based on the World War slogan of "strengthening democracy." It wasn't until the end of the World War that we saw how little part democracy played in the ambitions of that conflict. Today we need not wait for the end of the war to see whether or not democracy is to be strengthened. We can watch what happens to India. India is demanding complete self-government and control of its own armed forces. Gandhi has said to England: "Make good on your war statements about democracy by extending democracy to India now." Published reports from England are to the alarming effect that, assured of help from the United States, she will not feel it necessary to satisfy Indian demands. We can find out more about war aims by watching India than from any statements of aims that may be issued to satisfy the demands of those who remain doubtful as to the true purposes of this war.

Distress of Masses Bared in U. S. Report

Income Study Proves Widespread Poverty

(Continued from page 1)

30 states and tells the story of how 39,000,000 American families and single persons spend their income. It takes its place along with Gardner Means's "The Structure of American Economy," previous Resources Committee study, as evidence of some of the basic research and thinking which is being done by left New Dealers here.

Two factors were of decisive importance in erasing the 41-vote majority which last Summer in the House wrote an arms embargo into the Bloom bill. The Administration won not only because it convinced some Congressmen that Great Britain and France must be aided "short of war," if they are to win the war, but also because it used the census-patronage "big stick" and "found" more than \$33,000,000 for drought relief.

The drought problem was brought to the Administration's attention when a committee of Congressmen was formed to seek immediate action for drought relief. This Administration, by "finding" this money where none apparently existed—in Farm Security, Disaster Loan Corporation (subsidiary of R.F.C.) and Federal Surplus Commodities Corporation budgets—was able to stave off a rising demand that Congress remain in session and was also able to line up several uncertain votes against the embargo by agreeing to take care of drought-suffering constituents. Another factor in the surprisingly large margin for the Administration was Molotov's speech. Few Congressmen want even to risk being called Stalinist stooges. Stalin is almost more of an object of hatred here than Hitler since the Dies revelations, the Flint case, and the attack on F.D.R.'s policy. I am not reporting this as necessarily a good sign; it is simply a fact.

While speaking of Stalinists, it is of interest to note the new belliger-

ency of the bitter-enders who have not deserted the sinking ship. They are now saying to me and others, "We told you so." Stalin has not deserted the revolution, they claim. Then they go on to put over the most confused combination of juvenile nonsense and pseudo-"revolutionary" slogans that has been heard in these parts since way back in 1932. They quote Molotov; they quote Stalin; they quote Marx and Lenin; they even quote Litvinov. Most of this effort might be laughed off if some of the people who do this were not fairly important persons in the labor movement and the government. It is this curdling process within the New Deal's stomach which is giving Mr. Roosevelt indignation and which is responsible for his recent provocative statement hinting that Browder may be preaching treason. There is no use denying that the New Deal used the blank checks which the Stalinists presented to them and used them many times. Now, the New Deal is in a dilemma as to what to do with these "foes within the fold."

From the standpoint of the progressive and labor movement, the tragedy of what is happening here is that the Stalinists are seriously confusing many sincere people and making it more difficult at a very difficult time to present effectively a valid anti-war position, rooted in America. All of us need a clear, sharp statement clarifying the present confusion and particularly pointing out that, in addition to fighting war and advocating socialism as the solution of the present economic crisis, it is necessary to unmask the fake program of the Stalinists. It would be more correct to say that now, more than ever, in order to advocate successfully a positive program, it is first necessary to differentiate one's self clearly from the Communist Party and Moscow connections.

Indian People Oppose War Despite Gandhi

Remember Lies, Terror of British in Past

By J. CORK

ENGLAND is having plenty of headaches these days in regard to India. The rebellious attitude of the Indian masses promises to develop beyond anything since the formation of the Indian National Congress in 1885. The temper of the people is rising steadily, as indicated by the increased belligerency of tone and demand of the leadership of the Indian National Congress.

On October 13, Gandhi was saying:

"I see impatience seize some members of the Congress, who want to do something to signify opposition to the war which they believe to be defending imperialism.

"I beseech the members of the Congress at this critical juncture to desist from any action which would savor of indiscipline or defiance."

Yet, a few days later, he was instructing the governments in those provinces controlled by the Indian National Congress to resign, and by November 13, but a month later, he was forced to mouth demands of complete independence for India. We may expect some surprises in the future, tho, from this compromising leader of the native Indian bourgeoisie. In the debate on the Indian question in the House of Lords on November 2, Lord Samuel made the following interesting disclosure:

"He hoped that the use of the word independence by Mohandas K. Gandhi would not alarm the British government, as Mr. Gandhi had explained to him and others that he did not necessarily mean separation from the British Empire, but that the Indian people should have the right to determine their own future status."

"Many of us," continued Lord Samuel, "think that if they were allowed that right, they would unquestionably continue membership in the British Commonwealth."

This indicates what the British ruling class may be expecting of Gandhi and his fellow-leaders of the Indian bourgeoisie. Today, the latter are spouting radical phrases in order to stay at the head of the developing mass movement, the better later to be able to bargain with their English masters.

It is doubtful whether England will have as easy a time dragging India behind its war chariot this time as it had in 1914; India had some sad experiences in 1914 which it has not forgotten by any means. The same bait of promises of increased rights and freedom after the war was held out then as now. Most of the nationalist leaders succumbed to the bait and went along to cooperate in the fight for "democracy," thus cutting off a promising movement, especially amongst the peasants, against cooperating with England's imperialist war. The peasants in the villages regarded England as the main enemy. They had applauded Boer successes in the Boer war, and in certain sections developed a sort of primitive, tho confused, defeatism. They even rejoiced at the fall of Kut, tho it was being defended by Indian soldiers and, according to Reginald Reynolds ("The White Sahibs in India"), they wanted to know who "those cursed Americans could be who had come to rescue the defeated English."

When the war was over, there was agitation all over India for realization of England's pre-war promises. Home rule was demanded. England replied in characteristically brutal fashion, passing a series of repressive measures, the infamous Rowlatt Acts, which provided for arrests without warrants and indefinite detention without trial for nationalist "agitators." Immediately, a campaign against these acts was launched all over India.

The government increased its repressive terroristic regime against the people. The terror culminated in

the infamous Amritsar massacre in the Punjab. Soldiers shot at a peaceful public meeting of protest convened at the Jolanwala Bogh, a public garden, with only one entrance to it. The troops placed themselves at this only entrance and simply fired on the peaceful, unarmed crowd. An official British commission estimated the number killed at 379, and the number wounded at 1,200, tho this was a terrific understatement. General (Butcher) Dye admitted the following before an official commission of investigation:

"I had made up my mind that I would do all the men to death, if they were going to continue the meeting." He had committed this act, he said, because he "thought it would be doing a jolly lot of good and they would realize they were not to be wickered."

The massacre did not end the terror regime of the government. At Amritsar, a center of agitation at the time, a regime was established of a character deliberately calculated to break down all opposition. Martial law was imposed; eighteen death sentences were passed and immediately carried out; twenty eight were sentenced to transportation for life; military tribunals sat daily; for the slightest indication of "disrespect" Indians were publicly flogged; water supplies were cut off from Indian houses; prisoners were kept in open cages under the scorching sun; and—the final humiliation, Butcher Dyer's pet order—all Indians passing along a certain street were made to crawl on their bellies, on pain of instant death! Through out the rest of the Punjab, a vast number of people were killed by bombs rained from the air.

This was how the "mother of democracies" kept her promises, the way she proved her claim of fighting to save the world for civilized ideals. India has not forgotten this bitter lesson of 1919.

England cannot afford to lose India. Its imperialist interests demand its retention. Its strategic location for British Empire control is apparent. England has followed exactly the same tactics this time as it did in the last war. Lord Linnithgow, Viceroy of India, promised India dominion status after the war. He tried the bait of offering the Indian National Congress, as well as the Moslem League, representation on the executive committee of the central government. Both offers were rejected by the Indian National Congress. Its answer was resignation of the governments in those provinces controlled by the Congress. These are eight in number: Madras, Bombay, United Provinces, Central Provinces, Bihar, Orissa, Assam, and North-West Frontier.

The other three provinces, Bengal, Sind and Punjab, controlled by the Moslems, refused to resign and are supporting the British government, thus dramatizing the unfortunate division between Hindu and Moslem. These three latter provinces supply most of the Indian Army, which has already been pressed into war service.

India's demand for independence was, of course, met with a flat refusal by England, which now threatens to take over control by decree as provided for in the new slave constitution. This would mean a rule of terror. Pretexts given by English statesmen can hardly be surpassed for hypocrisy in the long annals of official imperialist apologies. Duty to the native Indian princes, to the Moslem minority, and even to the untouchables, said Lord Zetland, (Continued on Page 4)

Belligerent "War Aims" And the Basis for Peace

EVEN a "war for democracy" (England and France), or alternatively a "war of national liberation" (Germany), must have its war aims, if only for display. Yet the propagandists on both sides of the present European conflict seem hard put to it even to formulate a set of official war aims that will not collapse of their own falsity and rotteness.

Germany has no war aims, Herr Goebbels's propaganda mill in Berlin never ceases to broadcast to the world. Germany "desires no war"; it "asks for nothing"; it just wants the present hostilities to cease. And no wonder! With the aid of Stalin, Hitler has already accomplished his immediate objective by grabbing more than half of Poland. He would like nothing better just now than a good-sized breathing-spell before another thrust either to the East or the West. The Reich's war aims may therefore be summed up in these words: "This round of the war is already over. Let's have a truce and prepare for the next round."

Britain and France are hardly in a better position. The governments simply refuse to formulate their war aims officially. It is true, Foreign Minister Halifax made a semi-official declaration some days ago in which he spoke vaguely of a "new world order of law" with "insane armed force" excluded, with "small nations having the same right to exist" as great powers. And President Lebrun followed with a demand that "reparation for the injustices that force has imposed on Austria, Czechoslovakia and Poland" be made by Germany. But of what value are such phrases? What do they mean? And what relation do they bear to the real war aims of the Allies?

On the very day that Lord Halifax spoke in London, influential Paris papers, virtual mouthpieces of the French Foreign Office, declared emphatically that the only "solution" of the European crisis was the partition of Germany and that the Allies would have to "complete" in this war what they had left undone in 1918 Versailles was not ruthless enough! So much for a "new world order of law" with "insane armed force" banned. Or does anyone believe that the partition of Germany could be brought about and maintained by the magic spell of "law," without the permanent resort to armed force?

Some days before Lord Halifax broadcast his glittering phrases, Alfred Duff-Cooper, former First Lord of the Admiralty, arriving to this country on a propaganda mission for the British government, "predicted" that the war would end with a "revolution from the right in Germany, a conservative revolution," which, according to Mr. Duff-Cooper, would install the Junkers, the Reichswehr generals and certain "reasonable" Nazis in power. Essentially the same notion was expressed by War Secretary Fore-Belisha when he spoke of the "necessity of a responsible government replacing the regime of Hitler, a strong, conservative government capable of mastering the forces of chaos and subversion." In other words, a military-Junker dictatorship of the counter-revolution! So much for the "war for democracy."

Less than a week before President Lebrun called for "reparation for the injustices . . . imposed on . . . Poland", Prime Minister Chamberlain made a direct bid to Joseph Stalin offering to let him keep his share of the Polish spoils if only he would break away from Adolph Hitler. A brazen piece of power-politics, truly worthy of "perfidious Albion"! But what becomes of the "rights of small nations", of the "sanctity of treaties" and of the "reparation of injustices"?

In the last war, it was Woodrow Wilson's Fourteen Points that served as deceptive camouflage behind which the atrocity of Versailles was perpetrated. So far in this war, the role seems to have fallen mainly to Lord Halifax. Behind the smokescreen of his vague, fine-sounding platitudes, a new Versailles, a super-Versailles, is being prepared.

And what if the Allies prove able to realize their war aims, prove able to put over the super-Versailles they are now concocting? Would that bring even a measure of peace to the world, not to speak of democracy? Who can believe it? A super-Versailles, attempting to crush Germany as a nation "for all time", even to the point of dismembering it, would only aggravate the morbid conditions of national humiliation and resentment out of which Nazism has grown and on which it thrives. It would only feed the fires of fascism and war. Another outbreak of the fierce imperialist duel to the death that began in 1914, came to a temporary halt in 1918, and was resumed in September of this year, would become inevitable just as soon as Germany had recovered its powers.

No, the war aims of neither group of belligerents—the real war aims, that is, and not the treacherous phrases of the propaganda offices—hold out any hope whatever for the peoples of the world. Whichever side wins, not peace but war in permanence, not the "rule of law" but the iron heel of militarism, would be the result. Only if the entire imperialist system is brought to an end and a democratic peace established on the basis of the self-determination of peoples will the world be able to breathe freely once more.

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By Norman Thomas and Bertram D. Wolfe

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Have You Done Your Bit?

LAST week, we made our first appeal to the readers of the Age to aid in our current drive to obtain help in the form of hard cash. A number have responded and to them we want to extend our most grateful thanks. But we do know that there are a great number of our friends who have simply delayed. We appeal to such of our friends to do now what they plan to do some time in the future. We simply cannot wait. We need cash in the form of copper, nickel, silver and paper. Let us be in a position to thank even a greater number in the next issue of the Age. Send on your contribution!

THE A.L.P. AFTER THE ELECTIONS

THERE is no reason for discouragement, there is every reason for encouragement and satisfaction in the showing made by the American Labor Party in the city elections on November 7. Of course, it is too bad that the party's quota of councilmen has been so reduced. But that was to be expected in view of the greatly diminished total vote cast and the other almost insuperable handicaps which the A.L.P. faced this year.

The party went into the elections in an off-year, with very little public interest displayed in the issues or the outcome. It went into the elections without any outside banner-bearer, such as President Roosevelt, Governor Lehman, Senator Wagner or Mayor LaGuardia, to attract votes; for the first time, it ran a completely independent ticket. It went into the elections torn apart by a serious split resulting from the "purge" of the Stalinists. That "purge" was necessary; indeed, it was long overdue. But its effects on the party, particularly severe because it was so long delayed, cannot be overlooked or denied. The Stalinists, and their "fellow-travelers", who had been allowed to get into key positions in many party organizations, did everything in their power, openly and publicly, to sabotage the campaign of the party. A mere list of the crimes perpetrated by them, from campaigning against the A.L.P. candidates to tearing up nominating petitions, would exhaust the space at our disposal.

Yet, despite everything, as State Secretary Rose pointed out in a statement published in the last issue of this paper, the A.L.P. actually received a higher proportion of the total vote cast than last year—15.4% as against 14.7% in 1938! Despite everything, it received over 238,000 votes in the city! These figures tell a story of the vitality of the labor-party idea and the loyalty of the more conscious workers of this city that is of vast significance.

These 238,000 votes are straight labor-party votes; they are votes based on conviction and class consciousness, even though this class consciousness is far from mature. For these 238,000 voted A.L.P. because they believe in a labor party, an independent party of labor. In this election, there was nothing else to attract their support to the A.L.P. ticket. It was a straight labor-party vote.

The A.L.P. can well be proud of having won the loyal support of so many thousands of people in this city. These 238,000 men and women provide a source of strength and inspiration that should stand the party in good stead in overcoming its internal crisis and in winning to its banner the great masses of the workers and middle-class people of this city.

But for this the party will have to overcome the shortcomings that have hitherto impeded its progress. The party cannot afford to have a repetition of the "see-nothing, hear-nothing" knowledge attitude of its leadership that enabled the Stalinist disrupters to worm their way into key positions and that hampered every effort to rid the party of these corrupting elements. A greater measure of effective democracy should be instituted in the party, not merely provided for in the constitution but operative in the actual functioning of the organization. The party structure should be drastically reorganized so as to grant the trade-union affiliates a position of decisive influence in the policy-making and every-day work of the party. The party should clarify its uncertain, contradictory position on the war and should give militant expression to the determination of the American people to keep out of the European conflict. And, above all, the party should persist, consciously and energetically, along the path of political independence it marked out in this year's elections. If the A.L.P. strikes out along this road, it has every reason to look forward to the future with full trust and confidence.

AT the very moment that the press was blazoning forth in full-page headlines the seizure of the City of Flint, a dozen American ships were being held under very much the same circumstances in British ports. But not even the smallest outcry in the press; not even a one-column headline.

It was this kind of "neutrality" practised by the State Department and the press that helped get us into the World War twenty-two years ago.

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Towards A Better America:

Approaches to Socialism

By LOUIS WALDMAN

(We publish below the address delivered by Louis Waldman at the symposium, "Towards A Better America," held recently in New York City under the auspices of the Independent Labor Institute—Editor)

IT seems to me that, as I look back twenty or twenty-five years to the struggles of the socialist and labor movement, I find that radicals can unite most enthusiastically on the things they don't want, on the things they oppose, on the things they hate, but that they find it terribly difficult to unite on the things they do want.



LOUIS WALDMAN

It seems to me that you can get a thousand radicals in a hall to shout themselves hoarse in denouncing their particular hate, but they will fly at each other's throats when the remedies begin to come forth to eradicate those hated evils. It seems to me, as I look back, that if all the radicals in the United States could as readily unite on what they want as they unite on what they don't want, we would have a political movement in the United States stronger than even the Democratic or Republican party. In the short period of twenty-five years, I see the road strewn with defunct labor parties, socialist parties, federations, groups. Each of these struggled with its own little sect, each exaggerated its differences with the others and minimized the points of agreement. The great task before radicals of America today, for that matter, for radicals in the world today, is to find out how much they really have in common and to organize on common, affirmative grounds and minimize the differences that exist between them.

The reason why we differ very frequently is that we bring to our evaluation of our social problems of the day our own diverse philosophies and basic assumptions. That, of course, is only natural.

For example, today we are all united in opposing war—and let nobody mislead you on this point. The American Labor Party, the Social-Democratic Federation, the Socialist Party, the Independent Labor League, all of the groups—except perhaps the Communist Party and the German-American Bund, each of which is battling for its own principal abroad—are united in opposing war. But we are apart in our proposals of how to maintain peace.

For myself, I see in the world today a struggle on whose outcome depend not only the life and fortunes of the European countries, but also the peace and future of the United States. And, if we take a certain position, if we crystallize our sympathy on the side of the governments which have accepted the challenge of the totalitarian states, it is because we feel that the future peace of the United States is dependent upon the defeat of Hitler and the rest of the totalitarians.

We are opposed to poverty. But we differ as to what particular forms our plans and programs will take in substituting for the social order which produces poverty a social order which will give us a better and saner social organization.

We are opposed to totalitarianism, but we differ radically on how to preserve democracy.

In my opinion, the institutions of democracy and freedom are unsafe so long as Stalinism and Hitlerism and Mussolinism exist in the world. Their agents are trying to inject the poison of dictatorship in the United States. So long as the issue of totalitarianism versus freedom and democracy continues, it will be the duty of all democracy-loving peoples to unite in the crushing of totalitarianism—brown, red or black! I know it is hard for you to listen to my naming of this combination. But I beg of you to remember that this combination was not made by me or by anybody else here; this combination has been written down in a pact, in an alliance between Stalin and Hitler. That pact is more evidence to me of their common character than any indictment which a radical or labor opponent could bring against those gentlemen.

If we intend to oppose totalitarianism, we must also see our way clear to fight for the social conditions under which freedom may prevail—cultural freedom, civic freedom and economic freedom, and the equality of all peoples, regardless of race, color or religion. This is the basis for a better America.

My conception of a better America is an America in which poverty and riches, unemployment and under-consumption, are abolished; in which the economic and social resources are so organized as to establish plenty, freedom and the greatest opportunity for the individual's self-expression in life, as a free person and not as a puppet of the state.

I summarize this conception because I desire to state certain basic assumptions which underlie the approach which those who believe in democratic socialism have held all thru the years, thru all the trials and tribulations of recent years which only reaffirm the soundness of those assumptions.

There are certain basic assumptions on which we proceed. The first assumption is that radicals cannot formulate a program or a plan for a better world in a vacuum, detached from the social, spiritual and traditional values of the country in which they live. If the radicals are to play a significant part in the United States, then they must take into consideration the social, and political, and spiritual, and traditional values in the country. That is a starting point.

My second basic assumption in formulating a plan for a better America is that you cannot develop any plan for our country which is unrelated to the position of our country in the international scene. Shibboleths and formulas that may have been good twenty years ago no longer hold true today, because in the reign of Hitler and Mussolini, the same formulas do not apply which served in the pre-totalitarian era. Therefore, the whole theory of "isolationism"—that we can "stand alone, detached from the world"—is to me an impossible assumption for formulating a program for democracy and social readjustment.

My third assumption, which I regard as basic in any program of looking towards a better America, is the belief that within the present structure of the United States there lies the possibility for peaceful, orderly, intelligent social change—and so many radical groups and movements have gone down to a mere sect because they refused to recognize this assumption.

I see in recent history a marvelous lesson that Russia can teach us, that Germany can teach us, that Italy can teach us. If we have learned the lesson of the history of this period, we must begin, not by scrapping all the civil liberties, like free speech, free press, free assembly, not by scrapping these things, but by conserving them and by improving them, and in that way alone social readjustment proceed in a proper and orderly way.

And there is a fourth basic assumption which we make in our seeking for a better America, and that is the assumption that evolution towards a better America is not automatic and predestined. Social evolution can also go astray, because deep social currents and movements may deflect the evolution of society, as witness again Russia, Germany and Italy.

In order to achieve a better social order, evolution must be helped along by the creative genius, by the good will, by the public opinion, by the well-directed human intelligence, with which civilization has endowed mankind.

Then, there is the fifth and final assumption which I regard as a safe and sound rule in guiding us towards a better America.

How I wish that thru these years some of our movements, and the movements abroad, had made that assumption and accepted it: that in the labor and socialist movement, we must reject the proposition that the end justifies the means.

With this assumption ignored, the morality of our movement has been destroyed, the progress of the movement arrested, the great values attached by mankind to the higher and loftier ethics of labor destroyed. If labor is to win its proper place in the reshaping of the affairs of men, it must utterly reject the assumption that the end justifies the means, because it frequently happens, as it has happened, that the means in a social movement shape the end, and the end frequently becomes stultified by the means employed.

These five assumptions constitute in my opinion the key to the philosophy, the key to the approach of a movement that seeks a better and saner social order. It is the key by which we judge the problems arising on the international scene. It is the key by which we approach the problems at home.

Curran Policies Cripple N.M.U. in Shipping Crisis

(Continued from page 2)

stant opposition on the part of the West Coast sailors. In its place, a militant class struggle program was put forward and followed. The commissars stood no chance. They left in droves.

What is the result on the West Coast today? A new two-year contract providing the opening of the wage clause every six months has just been signed. Their ships are sailing, manned with S.U.P. men only. No one can board any of the vessels unless shipped thru the union hall. The ships delegate inspectors your credentials when you come aboard and, unless it is stamped by the dispatcher at the union hall the ship remains where she is. Rules agreed to are strictly enforced and any chiseling occurring on the part of the shipowners is usually settled on the spot by sitting the ship down. The wages are higher than on the East Coast and working conditions, definition of overtime, living conditions, etc., all far above those obtaining on the East Coast. The S.U.P., in fact as well as theory, is an in-

ment of economic power in the hands of its membership. The shipowners know it and don't fool around.

It is time the seamen on the East Coast took a leaf out of the book of the S.U.P. The question of expelling these Stalinist-controlled rodents from the union, bag and baggage, should be the order of the day. The American seamen can no longer afford to risk their very existence by harboring them in their midst. Too much has been lost already thru the fangling of these rodents and the use of the union as a political football. It is time they were gotten rid of. The union must be cleansed of these false Messiahs whose only loyalty belongs to the boss in Moscow. Let them choose—the union's decisions or the decisions of Moscow via the East 13th Street Kremlin.

LABOR CAN CLEANSE ITS OWN RANKS

We need no Dies Committee to help us in this. The Dies Committee is as much part of the shipping interests as is the Maritime Commission. We don't go to these people

with what we know. We don't go to the Maritime Commission for assistance to run our unions. Likewise, we don't go to the Dies Committee to rid our unions of the Moscow garbage. American labor generally is quite capable of running its own affairs as well as cleaning its unions. The same thing applies to American seamen. We can get rid of these scabby sores on the body of labor once we have made up our minds to do so. And we can do it ourselves. Once before, the American seamen rid themselves of a bunch of parasites when in 1936 they chucked overboard the Granges, the Mislands, the Hunts. Unfortunately, in the reorganization period that followed, another set of parasites managed to fasten themselves on our backs. But we can get rid of them too, the Currans, the Minks, the Hudsons, the Myers, the Lawrensons, and the rest of the ill-smelling, parasitical vermin. Let's complete the job now by throwing them overboard and building a union that is a union. Then follow it up by joining hands with our brothers in the S.I.U. and the S.U.P., building a union for all seamen, the Atlantic Coast, the Gulf and the West Coast. One book, one union, one agreement! The S.U.P. has shown the way, let the N.M.U. follow the footsteps.

Talking It Over:

Clarity and Struggle

by Bertram D. Wolfe

THE Trotskyist movement seems to be going thru a discussion on the war question. As far as we can tell from the peculiar documents in the case, it is—or may be—reconsidering its paralyzing theory of the "inevitability" of America's entrance into the war.

Of course, the discussion follows the strange pattern of discussions in that organization, a flood of vituperation against those who urged them to reconsider the fatal doctrine; a smuggling in of new and improved formulations without admitting that there was anything erroneous in the earlier views; a great hue and cry of "stop thief" and denunciation, as "war-mongers" of all those whose position they appear to be adopting. Still, if it results in the Trotskyite press ultimately coming out with a clear demand to keep America out of war, it will be all to the good.

The Talmudic accompaniments, the smuggling in of new views and correctives without drawing lessons, which we witnessed in the case of the rejection and acceptance of the labor-party idea, and the rejection and acceptance of the war-referendum amendment, are familiar phenomena, common to Stalinism and Trotskyism alike. Indeed, they seem inseparable from movements built around a Leader cult, a legend of infallibility and a world extension of Russian Byzantine practices. It may be too much to expect that the movement itself should change its nature, but it will be welcome if it at least changes its most dangerously false analysis and slogans.

"EXPOSING A FRAUD"

THE first "document" in this peculiar discussion is an item in Max Shachtman's "Corner" of October 17, entitled "Exposing a Fraud". In it, he pays his respects to "Messrs. Thomas and Wolfe" and then shows them up in this fashion:

"If that is the case—that America's entrance into the war can and must be stopped," writes Shachtman, "why does Travers Clement, National Secretary of Thomas's Socialist Party, send out a National Office Bulletin over his signature, . . . which contains the following 'paralyzing' and 'pessimistic' paragraph: 'In a few months, despite our efforts and those of all anti-war forces, we must realize that the United States may be plunged into this war. If that day comes, we shall be hounded as never before in history?'"

The little word "may" is not emphasized in Shachtman's quotation—just sort of smuggled in as unobtrusively as possible. But the little word "may," as against "must," is the whole crux of the matter: in the word "may," with its corollary "may not," is the whole breath of the class struggle as against the poisonous and paralyzing doctrine of inevitability.

And Shachtman's next sentence with its Pecksniffian unctuousness reminiscent of an Earl Browder:

"When Norman Thomas doesn't let his right hand (meaning, I suppose, Travers Clement) know what his left hand is doing, isn't that just a little bit of duplicity?"

To which there is no comment to make beyond what Shachtman has already made by heading his little item "Exposing a Fraud" . . . But the positive feature seems to be that Shachtman is reintroducing the word "may" into the whole unfortunate Trotskyist conception of "inevitability."

Shachtman then turns his attention to "the case of Wolfe," which he finds "even more deplorable." On Wolfe he tries the neat conjurer's trick of substituting the "inevitability of war under capitalism" for the inevitability of America's entrance into this particular one. From this, he skips to the position that "so long as the Roosevelt pro-war regime is in power, participation in the war is inevitable." Then "participation" and "entrance" are connected and made to seem identical. And a few sentences later, it appears that any capitalist regime, anything short of proletarian revolution, makes our "entrance dead certain." We're back where we started and the "may" has dropped out again.

NOT DUPLICITY

THE next "document" consists of a ponderous series of scholastic exercises tempered by vituperation from the pen of Felix Morrow. I notice that the last issue of the Workers Age carries an article by one "W" (which I hasten to assure Morrow is not the present writer despite the similarity of initials). "W" points out that Morrow practises the same substitution of "inevitability of war under capitalism" for "inevitability of American entrance into this particular one", and rightly decides that "any one who can't see the difference between these two concepts has no right to discuss serious questions." Frankly, I do not suspect Morrow of fraud in the matter, but, like "W", I suspect him of mere incapacity to theorize—just dopedness, not duplicity.

A BREATH OF THE CLASS STRUGGLE

THE third "document" is a vast improvement over the other two. It is an unsigned article entitled "The Second World War" in the October number of the New Internationalist, too, contains various and contradictory viewpoints.

In one place American entrance is a "virtual certainty", which is better than Shachtman's "dead certainty" but still hardly a basis for active struggle. Next comes an examination of some forces tending to push the country in, and other "factors which favor some delay". Here the word "some" is the issue. But, after balancing the factors that make for entrance and the factors that make for "some delay", we get the following formulation:

"Weighing these factors, we may conclude that the United States will probably enter the war in a period of from three to nine months after its outbreak. A delay beyond that time could be brought about only by an organized strengthening of the popular resistance to the war."

The last sentence is excellent, and if the Trotskyists are in process of switch, by their peculiar methods, to the position which it indicates, we can only welcome the switch as a big step forward, even if it is still far from clear guidance for the masses in the anti-war struggle.

Perhaps Coyoacan has agreed to the change, but the last word from Trotsky's pen is still his article on Stalin in the magazine, Life, where he cannot refrain from sticking in the irrelevant sentence:

"No civilized nation will be able to escape this cyclone, however strict and wise may be the laws of neutrality."

Until Coyoacan has said the last word, we must still wonder what will be the outcome of this Byzantine discussion on the most vital question of class struggle in present-day America. We are keeping our fingers crossed and hoping for the not too remote issue of the Socialist Appeal which will carry: "KEEP AMERICA OUT OF WAR", as its streamer headline.

Indian Masses Oppose War

(Continued from Page 3)

Secretary of State for India, prevents England from acceding to the demand of independence for India. Besides, he continued, defense of India could not be left to an Indian government. England's worry about the Indian princes, who viciously exploit their subjects with England's help, is, of course, understandable, but her tender solicitude for the untouchables and the Moslems is really touching. Playing off one against the other is an old imperial tactic. That it has succeeded in lining up the Moslems on the side of England, emphasizes a serious problem crying for solution by the forces in India driving for national independence, especially those on the side of the Hindus.

As far as the writer knows on the basis of evidence he has seen, not one outstanding voice in India of national reputation has come out uncompromisingly against the war as an imperialist war on both sides or has pressed for a revolutionary campaign for complete independence without any implied aid to England in the war. Leaders have rather bargained with England. A representative statement of this type is the recent one of Nehru, who is the chairman of the war-emergency committee of the Congress:

"The Congress policy is against fascism and wholly favoring democracy, but India must have a democracy to defend.

The implication of such a line is clear: "anti-fascist" aid to England's "democratic" war if only England will treat India right.