

VOTE SOCIALIST!
NORMAN THOMAS
FOR PRESIDENT

Workers Age

Weekly Paper of the Independent Labor League of America

MARX'S ATTITUDE TO WAR . . . by D. Graham . . . page 3.
THE A. F. L. AND UNEMPLOYMENT
by George L. Meany . . . page 2

Vol. 9, No. 30.

NEW YORK, N. Y., SATURDAY, AUGUST 10, 1940.

5 CENTS

Another Issue Missed . . . Now It's Up to YOU!

ANOTHER issue of the Workers Age has been missed—the second this Summer. The response we received to our last appeal was enough to carry us thru for two issues, but no more. And so we were obliged to miss last week's issue—precisely at a time at home and abroad when the voice of the Workers Age is most needed.

The going is becoming harder and harder. We don't know if we'll be able to get out the paper next week. It depends on YOU and you alone whether we'll be able to pull thru or have to suspend indefinitely.

It depends on you—on what you think this paper is worth to you. There is only one way you can answer this question—by deeds, by exerting your utmost effort to save this paper! We need every cent that you can raise—and we need it immediately, without delay!

The many inquiries and complaints we have received during the past week on the non-appearance of the last issue indicate a wide concern and interest among our readers in the fate of this paper—for which we express our deep appreciation. But unless this concern and interest are translated into terms of material aid, and that IMMEDIATELY, they will prove of but little avail.

EVERYTHING DEPENDS UPON YOUR RESPONSE!

Were Social Reforms to Blame for French Fall?

Hanighen Challenges Reactionary Tale
By Laying Bare Real Facts of Case

By FRANK C. HANIGHEN

THE United States is starting on an immense industrial effort to rearm. Many individuals and publications, most of them in good faith, are hastening to point out that in this task we should avoid what they call the errors of France's Popular Front government. The United States, they say, must arm with no governmental interference in business, with strikes forbidden, and with repeal or modification of the various social laws passed since the beginning of the New Deal. David Lawrence summarized this view when he wrote: "The Popular Front in Paris frustrated the French industrial machine, and today tens of thousands of Britons and Frenchmen are dead because of such criminal blunders." The National Association of Manufacturers no doubt had such a belief in mind when it asserted that production for defense "calls for the removal of such legislative and administrative restrictions as military and industrial experience have demonstrated to be barriers to maximum production." Senators and Congressmen have inveighed against the "communized and socialized" French war industry as the cause of the French defeat.

The facts do not support these contentions. This writer served as a working journalist in France during a large part of this period. He studied attentively the French "New Deal" and the Popular Front. Alone among foreign correspondents in Paris, he made a special survey of the nationalization of French defense industry. He presents the following picture to prove that neither the Popular Front nor the nationalization act caused the French debacle.

BACKGROUND OF NATIONALIZATION

The lack of airplanes is another matter. Explaining it involves an extensive examination of the so-called "nationalization" of French defense industries. The Popular Front government nationalized its defense industries in July-August 1936. This legislation was passed, not so much for "socialistic" reasons, as for moral and technical reasons. Scandals in the private manufacture and trade in arms before, during and after the World War had made so deep an impression on the minds of the French people that popular feeling demanded nationalization. But technical reasons were also involved. Daladier himself, then Minister of War, in his speech in the Chamber urging passage of the bill, dealt at length with its advantages from the stand-

point of industrial preparedness (Journal Officiel, July 17, 1936). Henri Bouche, editor of L'Aeronautique, principal trade journal of the aviation industry, wrote in July 1936: "The private system has drained almost the entire aeronautical industry of its substance; it has forced it to be dependent on banks to whom has thereby been conferred the authority, in respect to matters of defense, which ought to remain in the hands of the government." The bill was passed in the Chamber by a large majority, 484 to 85. Many conservatives voted in favor of this bill, which American critics call "socialistic."

The law had two parts. One completely nationalized (with payment to owners) 12 factories or parts of factories which made guns, ammunition, tanks, etc. The other section semi-nationalized the aviation industry. This semi-nationalization was accomplished by having the government take majority participations of stock in certain reorganized air-frame companies. At the same time, not only a number of air-frame and accessory companies but also the two big airplane motor companies—Hispano-Suiza and Gnome et Rhone—were left in private hands. The semi-nationalized air-frame companies were reorganized into six regional companies which were to build and equip new plants. This was intended to transfer some of the aviation industry from the Paris region, where it had remained dangerously concentrated, and to spread it in units in different parts of the country—for obvious military reasons. An effort was also made to induce the two private motor companies to decentralize their plants. The nationalizations went into effect in the first three months of 1937.

Now it is important to emphasize that all the criticism in France against nationalization has been centered on the airplane industry. In examining French newspapers and publications before, during and after the war, one finds no criticism of the nationalized factories producing tanks, guns, ammunition, etc. Therefore, one may well assume that these categories of production rendered satisfaction.

WHAT THE RECORD SHOWS

What, then, are the reasons for the well-known fact that France suffered from an inferiority in airplanes? The truth is that France delayed nationalization too long. Take the record of the private airplane industry after the advent of Hitler. In 1934, Air Minister General Denain obtained passage of a bill to buy 1,000 airplanes from private industry. This order was not completed and delivered until three years later—when the planes were already obsolete. In other words, private industry was able to produce not more than 30 planes a month. Moreover, in spite of the urgings of General Denain, private industry did not decentralize or tool up for mass production.

By comparison, the semi-nationalized industry did not do badly. Beginning in 1937 to tool up and decentralize, it was able to turn out about 30 planes a month—in spite of all the delays involved in build-

1. "Note sur la Nationalisation des Fabrications de Guerre," leaflet issued by the office of the Controleur-General, April 22, 1937.
2. Le Populaire, February 16, 1939.

Opposition to Conscription Bill Mounts

Molotov Reasserts Russo-Nazi 'Amity'

Alliance Based on "Fundamental State Interests," Russian Premier Declares

In an address before the Supreme Soviet in Moscow last week, Russian Premier and Foreign Minister Molotov, speaking for Dictator Stalin, denounced the United States and Great Britain and reaffirmed Russia's pact and alliance with Nazi Germany.

The end of the war is not in sight, Molotov said, adding that Russia still intended to remain out of the conflict. He laid great stress on the point that Russia's pact with Hitler had "assured Germany of a calm feeling of security" against any hostile move from the East.

He attacked the United States for its "imperialistic designs" which, he thought, might turn the war into a "world imperialist war." He hesitated to dwell on Russian relations with the United States, he said, because "there is nothing good that can be said about them." He flayed Britain for "continuing the war" and for hostility to Russia. Relations with Italy, however, he continued, had "lately improved" and relations with Japan "have been normalized."

Molotov ridiculed those who saw a straining of relations with Germany because of Russia's recent expansion in the Baltic and Danubian regions. He emphasized that the Russo-German alliance was based "not on fortuitous considerations of a transient nature but on the fundamental state interests of both the U.S.S.R. and Germany."

Premier Molotov's address was greeted with jubilation by authoritative Nazi spokesmen in Berlin who declared it left no doubt that any attempt to bring about a serious rift between the two totalitarian countries was doomed.

Meanwhile, however, developments were under way in the Balkans bound to have their effect on the Russo-German alliance. Rumania was apparently helpless in Nazi toils. Hitler, enthroned at Salzburg and Berchtesgaden, gave audience to the representatives of Hungary, Bulgaria and Rumania in quick succession, hearing the claims of the first two against the third. What took place at these conferences was not known, but by the end of the week it was clear that Rumania was preparing to cede large slices of territory to the Balkan claimants. Negotiations with Bulgaria, which demanded all of southern Dobruja and perhaps more, and with Hungary, which insisted on Transylvania, were expected to start very soon, although, of course, all essential questions had already been decided by Hitler.

Furious air and sea fighting continued during the last fortnight—the forty-seventh and forty-eighth weeks of the war, with Britain

ing and equipping. Revelation of this figure caused a scandal among the uninformed, who did not realize, as do Americans today, that it takes time before large-scale production can be achieved. But after the outcry, more money was poured into equipment, and the production rate during the Winter of 1938-39 rose from 30 to 94. By the Summer of 1939, it had reached 250 a month, and by the Spring of 1940 it was unofficially estimated at 400 a month.

This is, of course, only a fraction of Germany's rate of production (estimated at 2,000-2,500 a month) and far below Britain's monthly production in March 1940 (800). But France is a small industrial country, in plant and labor resources, compared with Germany and Britain. It could never, without warping the structure of its industry and finance, rival these nations in plane production. L'Aeronautique said (May 1938) that the ratio between the normal powers of German and French manufacturing was about 4 1/2 to 1.

France's semi-nationalized industry, which did not do badly, could have done better were it not for a number of obstacles. One of them arose not from the semi-nationalized factories but from the privately owned and operated motor factories—Hispano-Suiza and Gnome et Rhone. The motor industry in France, as today in the United States, was the bottleneck of the airplane industry. M. Peyronnet de Torres, aviation editor of the great conservative daily, L'Intransigent, criticized these companies for producing inferior types. There is also evidence that Gnome et Rhone motors were sold to Germany to be mounted on Dorniers sold to Yugo-

slavia very heavily against Germany. Official sources in London declared that the port of Hamburg had been virtually destroyed by air bombardments conducted by the R.A.F.

A sensation was created during (Continued on Page 2)

"Land of the Free . . ."

APPEARING before the Senate Military Affairs Committee, peace leader Frederick J. Libby declared the [conscription] bill would fill our jails and prisons, not only with young men but with their pastors and with church leaders.

Retorted Senator Sherman Minlon (a 100% Roosevelt man.—Editor): "Then we'll build more prisons." —Pearson and Allen, in their "Washington Merry-Go-Round" column, July 30, 1940.

Congress Deluged With Appeals Against Burke-Wadsworth Plan; Senate Group Decides to Limit Draft Age to 21-31

Washington, D. C. Opposition to the Burke-Wadsworth peace-time military-conscription bill mounted rapidly last week in Congress and thruout the country, reaching proportions that caused advocates of the idea to offer concessions and compromises in order to head off complete defeat.

In the Senate, the attack on the bill—which originally required the registration of all male inhabitants of this country between the ages of 18 and 64 for a year's compulsory military training and service at the

President's discretion thru a system of selection and deferment—was led by Senator Wheeler. He was vigorously supported by Taft, Capper, Vandenberg and others. A particularly effective denunciation of the bill was made by Senator Capper who declared that "compulsory registration has no place and can never form part of a true democracy." Peace-time conscription, he added, would "lead us closer all the time to the European war." He and other anti-conscription Senators urged that voluntary enlistment in the armed forces be made more attractive, especially by reducing the period from the three years to one.

Opponents of the bill stressed that peace-time conscription was not necessary for national defense in the sense of defense against foreign invasion or attack. They pointed out that practically every military authority, including outstanding spokesmen of the army and navy, had expressed themselves to that effect, directly or indirectly, freely or reluctantly. Peace-time conscription, they emphasized, had a meaning only in terms of stirring up a war fever at home or preparing for foreign war in Europe or Asia.

As a result of the barrage of attacks in Congress and the increasing protests from all parts of the country, the Senate Military Affairs Committee decided towards the middle of last week to make a drastic change in the bill by requiring only the registration of men between the ages of 21 and 31, instead of between 18 and 64 as in the original draft of the measure. The committee also decided to recommend that men between the ages of 18 and 35 be permitted to enlist voluntarily for a period of one year instead of the three years now required.

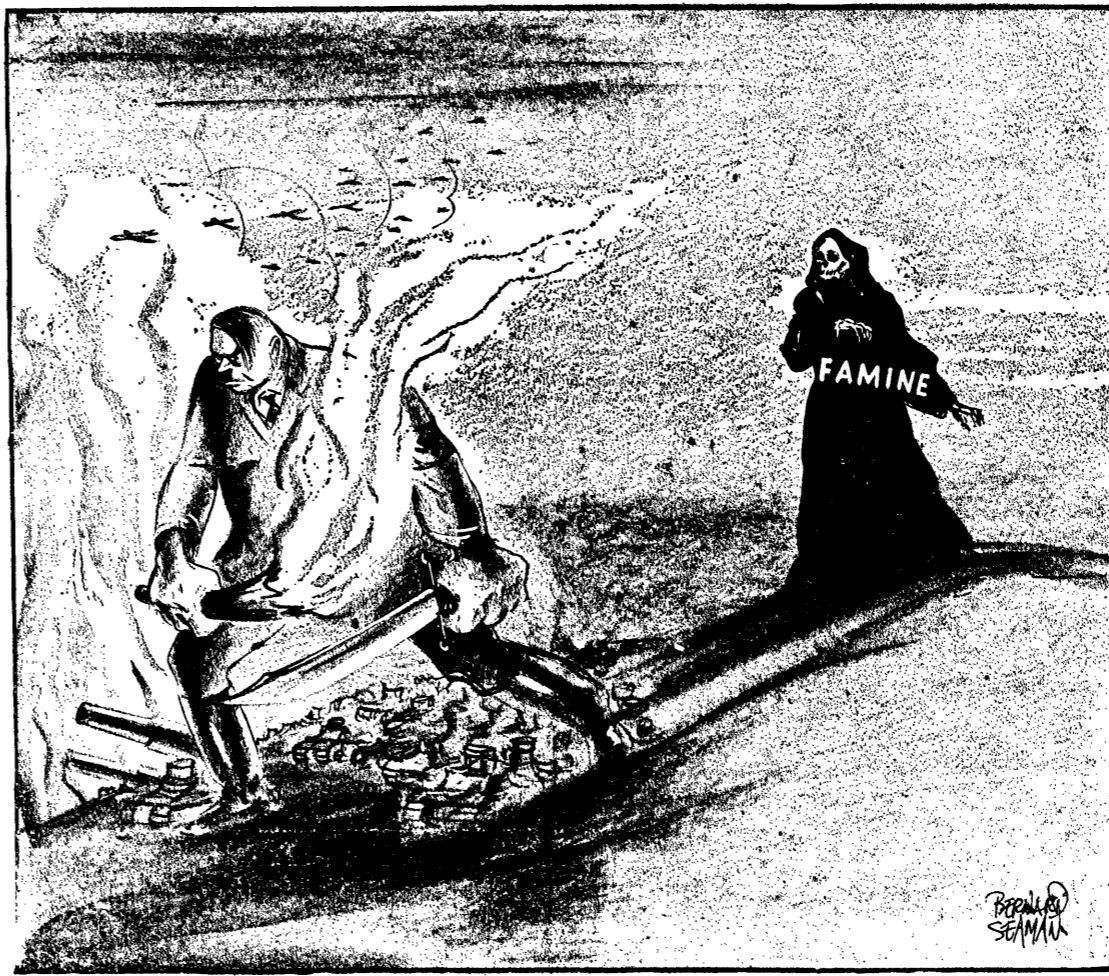
Another proposal, advanced by Senator Maloney, was to go thru with the registration immediately but to postpone the actual draft for several months, during which an intensive drive for one-year volunteers would be made. If there were insufficient volunteers to meet the army's needs by the specified date, conscription would go into effect automatically but only enough men would be summoned to make up the deficit.

The Senate committee, very significantly, took action immediately after War Secretary Stimson had attempted to stampede the House Military Affairs Committee with a declaration that reached the low point of hysterical panic-mongering to date. In the face of the facts of the situation and the testimony of practically all responsible military authorities, Mr. Stimson did not hesitate to state that a "very grave danger" existed at the present time of a direct attack by Germany on the United States! But apparently his irresponsible scare-mongering just fell flat, especially as his testimony was countered the next day by former War Secretary Woodring, who strongly advised against peace-time conscription. Administration circles hoped that President Roosevelt's strong endorsement of "a selective-service bill," made public last week, would prove more effective, but this seemed doubtful.

An upsurge of public sentiment against peace-time conscription was strongly marked last week in all parts of the country. "Members of Congress," reported the United States News of August 2, "are beginning to notice a rising volume of protest against compulsory military service in the mail they receive." According to the New York World-Telegram of July 31, "hales of letters from constituents are arriving, the great majority of them—20 to 1 in some cases—against conscription." Senator Vandenberg stated that he had received 10,000 letters over the week-end, a record-breaking volume, and that 99% were opposed to compulsory service.

Strong voices in opposition began to be raised in the ranks of labor too (Continued on Page 2)

SHE FOLLOWS HER LEADER



from Justice

Convention of UAW-CIO Hits Draft Measure

Delegates Also Brand Russia As 'Totalitarian Aggressor,' Oppose Foreign Wars

St. Louis, Mo. A resolution expressing "unalterable opposition" to peace-time military conscription in the United States as "opposed to our mode of life and existence" and a "potential danger to organized labor" was adopted unanimously last week by the convention of the C.I.O.'s United Automobile Workers of America in session here. This action followed John L. Lewis's denunciation of conscription in his address at an earlier session and strongly endorsed the C.I.O. leader's stand.

The resolution stressed the pledge recently made by the C.I.O. to uphold the national-defense program and urged "voluntary enlistment in peace times and no large standing army." A declaration strongly opposing involvement in wars on foreign soil was also adopted.

The convention, made up of 550 delegates said to represent 295,000 employees in the automobile industry, vigorously applauded John L. Lewis's slashing attack on peace-time conscription and on the platform political parties, but the delegates also staged an enthusiastic demonstration for President Roosevelt and voted overwhelmingly to support his candidacy for a third term.

Sidney Hillman spoke the day after Lewis, and his address was in content if not in form a reply to the C.I.O. head. Mr. Hillman stressed the intention of the Administration to maintain labor standards in the emergency. He also strongly urged the unification of the ranks of labor.

The convention was, of course, faced with an acute communist problem, for Stalinists form an influential section of its top leadership. After a bitter discussion, it adopted by a large majority a resolution condemning "the brutal dictatorships and wars of aggression of the totalitarian governments of Germany, Italy, Russia and Japan." Only about 20 of the 550 delegates registered their opposition to this resolution.

U.S. Puts Thru Program At Havana Conference

Parley in Agreement on Colonies, Joint Economic Action and "Fifth Column"

Havana, Cuba

After two weeks of high-pressure diplomatic negotiations to reconcile conflicting viewpoints and interests, especially between the United States and Argentina, the Pan-American Conference in session here ended with the unanimous adoption of a number of very important decisions determining the attitude of the American nations to repercussions of the European war in this hemisphere.

The most important decisions of this conference of twenty-one American states were:

1. A resolution, known as the Act of Havana, providing for the temporary administration of European colonies and possessions in this hemisphere in the event they should be threatened with transfer, direct or indirect, official or unofficial, from one non-American power to another because of the fortunes of war in Europe. The reference is, of course, to British, French and Dutch colonies in the New World over which Germany might try to extend control. No such transfer would be recognized or permitted to take place, the conference decided.

This resolution provides for the speedy establishment of a special committee of representatives of the American republics to administer provisionally European-owned territory in this hemisphere should the need arise. Even more important, it gives individual American nations the right to act in emergencies and take over and administer such territories themselves pending action by the full committee. With the return of 'normal' conditions, the resolution declares, the territories are to be turned over to their former sovereigns or else be given their independence, as circumstances may dictate.

The final formulation of this resolution represented an adjustment between the varying viewpoints advanced by the United States and Argentina. The substance of the U. S. position was adopted altho the U. S. formula, "collective trusteeship," was replaced by the Argentinian concept of "provisional ad-

ministration." 2. A declaration providing for economic collaboration among the American republics. This declaration—very vague and general in its provisions—emphasizes the desirability of concerted action by the American states in world trade and urges the adoption of formal plans to meet problems created by surpluses and conditions arising out of the war. As finally adopted, it runs somewhat short of the resolution originally introduced by the U. S. delegation.

3. Agreement on "close consultation" among the American republics on "Fifth Column" activities in this hemisphere and investigation of the abuse of their immunity and privileges by diplomatic and consular agents of non-American powers (Germany, Italy).

The outcome of the conference was undoubtedly a diplomatic victory of considerable proportions for Secretary of State Hull and the U. S. delegation. But, as careful observers pointed out, this victory "was made possible only by a conference strategy which gave no help or encouragement to the democratic forces inside Central and South America" (New York Herald-Tribune, July 30), but which, on the contrary, actually helped consolidate the regimes of the fascist-minded dictators thruout Latin America.

It was also pointed out that there was good reason to fear that a hemisphere campaign against "Fifth Columns" might help stifle the last vestiges of civil liberties in many a Latin American country with the aid and approval of the United States.

Furthermore, it was stressed, altho the decisions of the conference were unanimous, the conflict of interests and viewpoints was not by any means done away with. It was simply suppressed temporarily as a result both of the emergency situation and certain concessions on the part of the United States. But these conflicts are bound to crop up in more or less acute form in the near future as practical problems begin to be faced.

Indian National Congress Demands Full Independence

Poonah, India. The All-India Congress Executive Committee last week approved a resolution demanding complete independence for India and the establishment of a provisional national government. The vote was 95 to 46. The Congress promised full cooperation in Britain's war effort if Indian independence was established. Jawaharlal Nehru led the move to demand complete independence against Gandhi's strong opposition. After the vote, Gandhi declared that he "washed his hands of the whole matter."

A.F.L. Offers Plan to Meet Unemployment

Meany Presents 7-Point Program of Action

By GEORGE MEANY

(Mr. Meany is secretary-treasurer of the A. F. of L. The first article appeared in the last issue of this paper.—Editor.)

CONSCIOUS of the size and crucial importance of the task before us, I wish to present on behalf of the American Federation of Labor a constructive program to end idleness of workers, machines and capital.

PUBLIC WORKS AND HOUSING

1. A long-range program of permanent public works, planned in advance, which could be expanded and curtailed to offset fluctuations in private construction activity.

A public-works program, planned in advance and based on the long-range evaluation of the requirements of growth of individual communities as well as of the entire nation, would add infinitely more to our wealth and resources than any temporary emergency program. We, therefore, propose the creation of a permanent public-works planning board which could formulate in advance a long-term plan of public works projects and determine the basis on which the program could be curtailed and expanded to offset fluctuations in private-construction activity and take up the slack in private employment.

2. Continuation and expansion of slum-clearance and low-rent housing program administered by the United States Housing Authority and utilization of this program for construction of industrial housing necessitated by defense production.

The present U.S.H.A. program, by providing low-rent housing to needy families living in slums, goes straight to the heart of our most urgent economic need. At the same time, the present low-rent housing program has proved to be not only the most effective but also the most economical employment program. It provides work on construction of residential housing under private contract—providing jobs where the lag in employment has been the greatest. In addition to 500,000 jobs in private building which the renewal of the present program would provide, such renewal would give employment to 750,000 workers in related building-materials trades and industries.

OUTLETS FOR SAVINGS

3. A program of federal insurance of long-term loans made by private lending institutions for productive expansion.

This plan is proposed by the American Federation of Labor to provide a productive outlet for pent-up savings thru partial insurance by the federal government of private loans for production, approved on the condition that minimum competitive and labor standards be met.

Large-scale reemployment in private industry cannot be achieved without putting to work the investment capital which now lies idle. During the past decade, capital outlays within the going industrial plants have been far below normal. Lack of long-term confidence sufficient to undertake the risk involved in the employment of venture capital has restricted new investment outlets for funds. Potential opportunities for productive employment of men and money are enormous.

To translate these opportunities into reality, we need machinery which would facilitate the flow of private funds into new or expanded private enterprise. Instead of government loans to industries, as a substitute investment channel, we believe preferable a method which would make available to industry private investment funds for activities most productive of employment.

Federal insurance of private loans for production would enable the government to introduce the element of long-term stability where the absence of such stability has prevented expansion to-date. We propose that the already available machinery of the R.F.C. be utilized in the administration of this program so that it could be administered at practically no additional cost to the taxpayers.

I believe that this proposal of the American Federation of Labor is the first one to provide an answer to the most baffling problem of recovery and industrial expansion. To the success of this program the American Federation of Labor pledges its support and active cooperation.

MAINTENANCE OF LABOR STANDARDS

4. Maintenance of the minimum-wage and maximum-hour standards and improvement of wage and hour standards thru collective bargaining to insure full measure of reemployment and increased real purchasing power to those who work.

In the presence of an immense reserve of unemployed workers, there is no justification for the weakening of the existing statutory standards of hours of work. Maximum-hour requirements under our laws allow great flexibility and none of these laws places a rigid limit on the length of the work-week or work-day. Both the Fair Labor Standards Act and the Walsh-Healy Public Contracts Act merely require that overtime compensation

be paid for excessively long hours of employment. Labor believes that these laws do provide the necessary basic standards determining the length of the work-week in industry. Shortening of the hours of work is essential to achieve reemployment. Basic statutory standards together with the unrestricted right of collective bargaining will go a long way to facilitate reemployment in industry.

5. A national program of vocational and apprentice training based on national minimum standards developed by agreements of representative groups concerned.

Despite widespread allegations of labor shortages in certain occupations, the available facts demonstrate conclusively that in every instance there is still a large surplus of unemployed workers with skill, training, and experience necessary to fill the job. Geographical distribution of available labor may be such as to create a temporary lack of readily available workers in exceptional situations.

Labor fully recognizes the need for sound vocational-education and apprentice-training programs to enable the young men and women coming into industry to equip themselves for productive activity. Such training can only be useful when it is definitely related to specific employment opportunities. Workers cannot be trained in a vacuum. Nor should men be apprenticed to skills in which no immediate prospect of employment exists. These considerations make it imperative that the problem of vocational education and apprentice training be approached nationally and be developed by active participation thru national representatives of labor and management groups concerned in each problem.

6. Employment and improvement of job-placement facilities of employment services. In carrying out a reemployment program, it is of paramount importance to create facilities for bringing together the worker and the job for which he is best fitted. With each spurt of industrial production, we have witnessed mass tragedies of workers flocking to active production centers far in excess of the current requirements. Masses of stranded workers in these situations become a burden to the community and, at the same time, prevent their employment in other centers of production where new activity develops.

Thus it is possible in times of expanding production that with a large surplus of labor in one community or one section of the country, a shortage in a specialized occupation may develop at another point. Substantial enlargement of existing employment-service facilities must therefore play an integral part in a national program of reemployment.

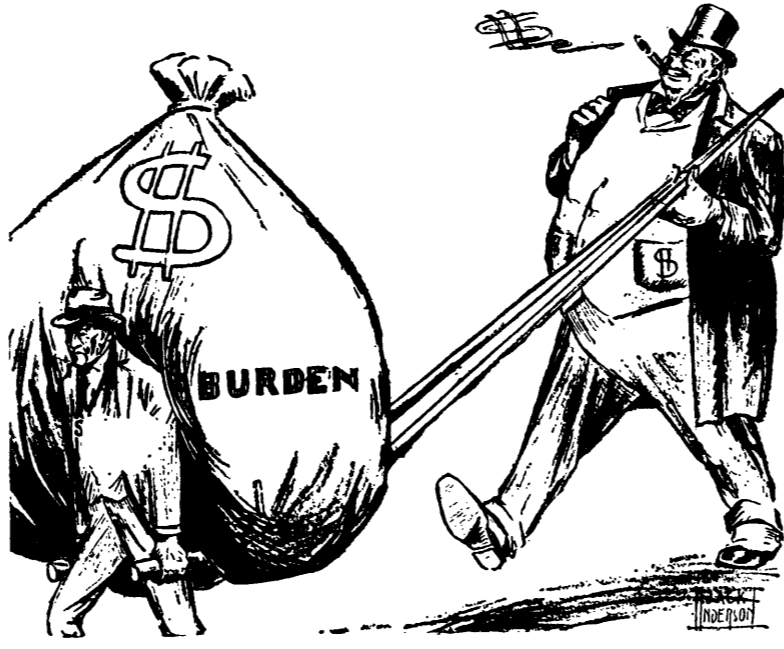
RELIEF FOR THE UNEMPLOYED

7. Full measure of relief to workers and their families as long as these workers remain unemployed. Labor considers it fundamental that until our nation achieves full employment, wage earners and their families must be given adequate assistance by the community. A full and adequate program of federal and local relief to the unemployed is therefore essential to any plan of recovery and reemployment.

Continuing unemployment is the most dangerous breach in our national defense. Forced idleness of millions of productive workers on whom families depend for livelihood saps the strength of the entire nation, eats deeply into the moral and spiritual fibre of the people, and undermines their will to achieve. National defense means not only the defense of lives, homes, communities and resources. To the American people, national defense also means the defense of their democratic institutions, the defense of government by consent, and above all, the defense of those fundamental rights we have inherited and established as a living democracy and which make up the American way of life.

Production of implements of defensive warfare must be carried out with unstinted cooperation of all. Yet we must not forget that production of implements of war, while it adds to our national strength, contributes little to our national wealth. Jobs created by accelerated defense production are not normal jobs. We must not mistakenly consider reemployment generated by such emergency production as last-

HOW ABOUT EVENING IT UP A LITTLE?



—from the New Leader

One-Fifth Fired W.P.A. Workers Without Jobs

Wide Distress Shown in Official Probe

Washington, D. C. — When Congress in 1939 amended the Relief Act to dismiss all those on W.P.A. after 18 months of employment, it said it did so with the idea that once workers got on W.P.A. they refuse to seek employment in private industry. It did not occur to the Congressmen that if there were jobs to be had at higher pay than W.P.A. rates, the workers would leave W.P.A. without any prodding. Figures released by W.P.A. Administrator Harrington show the Congressmen to have been wrong.

W.P.A. recently undertook a survey to find out what happened to those who were taken off its rolls. It discovered that more than half of them were back on W.P.A. again. About one-ninth of the total were found receiving direct relief. That

is, more than two-thirds couldn't find private employment. The lucky ones got other W.P.A. jobs, and the less lucky had to subsist on relief handouts.

Only one-eighth of those dismissed found jobs in private industry, and half of these were earning less than they received on W.P.A.

The real unlucky ones, or one-fifth, neither had jobs nor were receiving relief!

The hardest hit were workers above 40 years of age. Less than one-tenth of those above 40 had found employment in private industry.

If Congress introduced the dismissal clause because it was sincerely convinced that workers refused to take private jobs, it can now admit its grievous error and repeal that obnoxious limitation

Defense Revenue Act Puts Heavy Burden on Masses

Progressive Leader Urges Fight for Equitable Tax Program

By ROBT M. LAFOLLETTE

VAST national defense appropriations in this session of Congress present a vital issue. Who is to pay the bill—and how?

This is a question which the sponsors of the Revenue Act of 1940 claimed it answered. But, as finally written into law, it is a sham and a delusion. It will raise only a part of the revenue needed to finance the defense program, and the taxes it imposes, as well as those it failed to enact, mark it as one of the most unjust and ill-advised measures put on the statute books in a long time.

Those who were behind the bill advertised it as a proposal which would over a period of five years pay for our expanded defense program. It does not come within gunshot of that goal. Congress increased defense appropriations by \$3,500,000,000 prior to the recess for recovery and reemployment.

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under consideration for presentation to Congress in the next few weeks. To meet this expense the Revenue Act of 1940 proposes to raise only \$994,000,000 in increased revenue, or less than one-third of the increased appropriations already made, to say nothing of additional outlays to come.

The only answer given in reply to this charge is the promise that a more adequate and thoroughgoing revision of the tax laws will be made in the near future, a promise that we have heard for the last fifteen years without results. Republican and Democratic administrations alike have gone along from year to year, promising a complete overhauling of the tax structure, but never proposing anything concrete except the usual patchwork propositions, such as this Revenue Act of 1940.

On the familiar promise of complete tax revision some time in the future, the bill was amended thru without substantial amendment in a legislative "Blitzkrieg." Even tho the Senate adopted an excess-profits tax as a part of the bill so that manufacturers profiting from the defense appropriations would be required to pay a share of taxes, this extremely important amendment was rejected when the bill went to conference between the representatives of the House and Senate to secure agreement on its final form.

The net result is that the so-called "temporary excise taxes" which would have expired in 1941 have been increased and extended until 1945. Last year, almost 400,000,000 was collected from manufacturers excise taxes, which are in the last analysis passed on to the consuming public. The new law will increase these nuisance taxes by more than \$140,000,000, of which \$112,000,000 will come in gas tax alone from the people who operate automobiles.

Progressives have consistently opposed this kind of taxation because it violates the principle of ability to pay. It constitutes a heavy burden for the man who has to spend all of his income on his family's living expenses, but it falls lightly on the wealthy tax-payer who spends only a small part of his income for the items taxed.

The Revenue Act just passed by Congress only serves to make existing inequalities of the tax burden worse. One of the vicious characteristics of sales taxes is that once they are levied they are seldom if ever repealed.

I am therefore to renew the effort at this session of Congress for an excess-profits tax. The huge defense expenditures plus profits from the sale of war material to nations abroad results in fat profits to corporations which benefit both directly and indirectly. The bill just passed increased corporate taxes only 17%, as compared with a 35% increase in yield of excise taxes, and a 37%

C.I.O. Calls for Ban On N.L.R.A. Violators

Demands U. S. Government Obey Own Law

Washington, D. C. — A receiving government defense orders, as well as all other government contractors, to abide strictly by the collective-bargaining provisions of the Wagner Act was recently initiated by C.I.O. headquarters here.

In a letter to members of the C.I.O. Executive Committee, enlisting the support of all C.I.O. organizations and their affiliates, John L. Lewis, president of the C.I.O., charged that "under the urge of a declared emergency, the government's making patriotism profitable for American finance and industry."

Attacking the Administration, Mr. Lewis declared it "high time to renew the effort for the acceptance of the simple formula that lawless corporations and individuals should not be privileged to act in the capacity of purveyors to our government."

A mass of legal memoranda and correspondence between him and President Roosevelt was made public to demonstrate the measures taken thus far by Mr. Lewis to attain his objective.

Mr. Lewis blamed the army, navy and the National Association of Manufacturers for the inability of the C.I.O. to get any remedial legislation thru Congress. He charged that New Deal officials were aligned with the N.A.M. in believing that defense "must necessarily involve the destruction of labor unions and deprivation of the fundamental rights of the workers to organize into unions of their own choosing."

Stating that the objectives he set forth were of tremendous importance, he told the members of the C.I.O. Executive Committee that "surely it is not too much to expect of government that it will also protect the inherent and statutory rights of labor to organize and bargain collectively."

"Labor, as well as industry," he

went on, "has declared its willingness and desire to cooperate completely in making effective a program of national defense. Assuredly, if under this program industry is to wax opulent, then labor as a partner of government should at least be permitted to live and not be deprived of its rights by concerns which enjoy attractive and profitable government contracts."

"For three years, the C.I.O. has sought to have the Congress or the Executive branch of the government agree that corporations and individuals contracting with the government should stipulate that they will conform to the provisions of the National Labor Relations Act. Legislation to this end has passed the Senate three times, and each time it was killed in the House of Representatives by the Rules Committee and the House majority organization."

Mr. Lewis also informed the Executive Committee that he had written to Sidney Hillman, the member of the National Defense Advisory Commission in charge of labor supply, urging "the very great importance of establishing the proper governmental policy at this time."

"I have expressed to you previously," he wrote to Mr. Hillman on July 15, "my conviction that a governmental policy of that kind can best be put into effect at this time thru the medium of an Executive order to be issued by the President of the United States, requiring the insertion of appropriate provisions in all government contracts."

In accompanying memoranda and documents, Mr. Lewis recounted his vain efforts to get the President to bar violators of the Wagner Act from obtaining government contracts, and after the President had said that there was "grave legal doubt" as to his powers in this regard, to get remedial legislation in the form of an amendment of the Walsh-Healy Act.

Opposition to Conscription Bill Mounts

(Continued from page 1)

Last week, John L. Lewis, in a letter addressed to the Senate and House Military Affairs Committees, declared that the C.I.O. and its organizations were in fundamental opposition to the Burke-Wadsworth bill. The C.I.O., he added, supported the national-defense effort but peace-time conscription was not necessary to national defense and would, moreover, tend to destroy "our basic democratic institutions." Mr. Lewis repeated his attack on the bill in his address before the convention of the C.I.O.'s United Automobile Workers in St. Louis. The delegates vigorously applauded his remarks and later adopted a resolution to the same effect.

In the messages of protest and opposition pouring in on Washington, it was noted, expressions of labor and religious organizations predominated.

The Keep America Out of War Congress reported that, together with its affiliated and associated organizations, it was conducting a nationwide campaign to mobilize public opposition to the Burke-Wadsworth bill and to convert this opposition into political pressure effective in Washington. A rally at the capital on August 1 marked the high point of the campaign.

A hard fight over the bill is expected in committee and on the floor of the two houses of Congress. A great deal of the outcome will depend, of course, on how effectively public opinion makes its will known and felt in Washington. Letters, telegrams and messages from the people back home may prove decisive. Fewer than 10% of the 531 members of the House and Senate have as yet taken a definite stand on either side of the issue.

Relatively little opposition was voiced to the President's request for authority to call out the National Guard and put it into intensive training for a year. The Senate Military Affairs Committee voted last week to approve the request.

Read—Spread WORKERS AGE

Railway Clerks, Red Caps Clash On Jurisdiction

Brotherhood Insists on Representing Negroes The Barrening Them As Members

Chicago, Ill.

A conflict which has been brewing beneath the surface for the past two years between the United Transport Service Employees of America and the Brotherhood of Railway Clerks, an A. F. of L. affiliate, was brought into the open recently when the U.T.S.E.A. went before the National Mediation Board to challenge the legality of arbitrary scope agreements with railroad companies covering many crafts and classes of employment, under which a large number of employees are denied a voice in the operation of these agreements.

The case is widely considered one of the most significant in the history of the Railway Labor Act, since the scope-agreement practice has operated unfavorably to thousands of Negro railroad workers who are not permitted to join the standard brotherhoods, and who hitherto have been forced out of the industry by the job-control mechanisms in many of these scope agreements.

The particular case involves the Red-Caps at the St. Paul Terminal who are allegedly covered by a scope agreement with the Brotherhood of Railway Clerks. Because of this, U.T.S.E.A. officials stated, the company has refused to bargain with the Red-Caps union despite the fact that over 95% of the employees have selected the U.T.S.E.A. as their bargaining agency. Aside from their work as Red-Caps, a minor portion of their duties are janitorial.

The United Transport Service Employees Union contends that these employees constitute a craft or class of employees within the meaning of the Railway Labor Act, and are therefore entitled to separate representation. The union is demanding certification as the collective-bargaining agency.

Willard S. Townsend, U.T.S.E.A. president, recently appeared before the National Mediation Board with representatives of the clerks union for a preliminary hearing on the matter, at which time a compromise settlement was attempted, but did not materialize.

The case has been docketed by the Board and both organizations have filed memoranda outlining their positions on the question. It is expected to come up for formal hearing within the next few weeks.

Molotov Says Nazi Alliance Remains Firm

(Continued from Page 1)

The week by statements of Italy's authoritative commentator, Virginia Gayda, presaging further delay in any attempt to invade England. The subjugation of the British Isles, Gayda said, would have to take a "very long time." No knockout blow was possible, he pointed out. "The war against England," he explained, "could not be lightning, spectacular and massive like the conquest of France. It must be a process of hammering and wearing down." Almost simultaneously, in Berlin, the Labor Front leader, Dr. Robert Ley, warned the Germans that a "Blitzkrieg" conquest of Britain must not be expected.

With all these statements, German plans against Britain were far from clear last week, altho the likelihood of an attempt at invasion did not seem to be very imminent.

In the Far East, Anglo-Japanese relations took a decided turn for the worse during the week, despite Britain's concession in closing the Burma road. A number of British subjects were arrested in Tokyo and other hostile demonstrations carried thru. In England, retaliatory arrests of Japanese followed. A Japanese attempt to seize Hong-Kong was feared in London, altho it was believed that Tokyo would stop short of war.

In a sudden move, President Roosevelt last week halted all exports of American oil and scrap metal except under special license. Most affected will be Japan, which has recently purchased from the United States as much as 65% of its oil and more than 85% of its scrap metal. Also affected will be the Axis powers which, it is believed, have been receiving shipments of American oil thru Spanish and Portuguese ports. Following up this step, Mr. Roosevelt issued a further order prohibiting the export of aviation gasoline to countries outside the western hemisphere.

In Washington, these actions were believed to be connected with the simultaneous decision of the British government to extend its blockade to Spain and Portugal, thereby imposing its naval control on the whole European continent.

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Socialist Policy on the War:

Marx's Attitude to War

By DONALD GRAHAM

(This is a discussion article on socialist policy on the war. As in all discussion articles, the views expressed are those of the writer himself and not necessarily those of this paper or of the I.L.L.A.—Editor.)

IN the Workers Age of July 6, 1940, P.F.M. takes issue with Jay Lovestone's discussion of the applicability of Marx's war position during the Franco-Prussian War of 1870 to the present stage of the war in Europe. He goes further. He denies the applicability of Marx's policy not only to the war today, but even in 1870. No one can maintain papal infallibility for Marx in every policy put forward by him, and certainly Marx never laid claim himself to such perfection. What is important, and much more decisive than whether Marx was right from July to September 1870 in advocating a German victory, is the reason and method by which he arrived at his policy, which reason and method determined the war position of Marx and Engels over a period of almost fifty years. P.F.M. gives a reason for Marx and Engels being wrong in 1870 which, if it were valid, would make every position they took for half a century totally false, and would make utterly incomprehensible our own support of national and colonial struggles for independence today. For P.F.M. maintains that Marx and Engels were wrong as against Wilhelm Liebknecht because "the role of the working class should not even at that time have been to support the bourgeoisie even when the latter was doing a 'progressive' work." He asserts that "only working-class opposition is progressive." Literally, this is a revival of the Lassallean theory that all sections of the population other than the proletariat are reactionary. It can only lead to the conclusion that the independence movements in India and other colonial countries are not progressive, and that the Chinese regime now fighting the Japanese invasion should receive no support from the workers throughout the world—for that certainly is no working-class regime. On the basis of this "principle," Marx must have been wrong in supporting the Northern bourgeoisie in the American Civil War. I doubt whether P.F.M. meant to go that far, but what he presented as the reason for Marx being in error in 1870 can only lead to such sterile conclusions.

LIEBKNECHT AND MARX IN 1870

To assert that Liebknecht was correct does not begin to answer the question. In the first stage of the war of 1870, Liebknecht abstained in the vote on war credits. Marx, on the contrary, favored critical support of Germany against Bonapartist France. After the defeat and capture of Napoleon in September 1870, and the establishment of a French Republic, Marx and the First International made a complete change of policy. They came out then for the defeat of Germany, and for the victory of the French Republic. From that time till the end of the war, they regarded

Bismarck as waging a reactionary, imperialist war against the French Republic. Simultaneously, Liebknecht made a turn from abstentionism to voting against the war credits. From the time of the establishment of the French Republic, the disagreement between Marx and Liebknecht ceased. But, from the reasons put forth by P.F.M. for Marx being wrong during that stage of the war when he favored a German victory, one can only conclude that Marx and Liebknecht were equally wrong in favoring a victory for the French bourgeoisie republic. For, if it is incorrect to favor victory for one side because of the bourgeois character of the government, it was also wrong to support the victory of the other side at a later date because of a political transformation from Bonapartist absolutism to a bourgeois republic. In addition, P.F.M. is unable to explain the change of policy of Liebknecht from abstention to voting against war credits on the basis of the rule of never supporting the bourgeoisie. For, if one has the undying principle of never supporting the bourgeoisie no matter how "progressive," it should have made no difference whether Germany was at war with Napoleon or with a French republic. Apparently, it did make a difference, even to Liebknecht, whether Germany was fighting a reactionary absolutism or a democratic regime.

Marx and Engels went even further. When the military position of the French Republic became extremely precarious at the end of 1870, they came out for British military intervention on the side of the French. They were thoroughly aware of the bourgeois character of the British government. They were not ignorant of the fact that England oppressed and exploited millions of colonial subjects in India and other colonies. And they also knew of and warned against the danger of monarchists in leading positions in the French Republic at that time. Yet their position remained "internationalist," that is, in the interests of both the French and German labor movements. They felt that if Bismarck crushed France, the French republic would be destroyed, the French revolutionary socialist movement would be annihilated, and the German labor movement would then be confronted with a victorious, chauvinistic regime at home.

To indicate to what extremes Marx and Engels went in their war position, one need only recall that, fearing that Russia might enter the war on the side of Bismarck, they advocated in such eventuality that Austria, Italy and Turkey (none of them particularly happy examples of even a bourgeois-democratic government) should be rallied to the side of France and England. Nor is this an isolated instance. Their policy in relation to the Crimean War was similar.

MARX'S PRINCIPLE IN WAR POLICY

I think we can learn much from a discussion of Marx's war position, not in the sense of mechanically duplicating it today in a different

the analogous situation, but in understanding his method and application. For Marx and Engels, there was not set "internationalist" policy or dogma correct and unalterable for all wars, or for all situations in a given war. The only guiding principle that I can gather from an examination of their war policies over half a century is the following—the interest of the labor movement is paramount, and takes precedence over any "principle," dogma or formula. Concretely, if they regarded that the victory of one side in a war would weaken or destroy the labor and socialist movement (Czarist Russia, for example), and a victory of the other would strengthen the labor movement (France or England or Germany in any war at that time with Russia), they were for the victory of the latter. If a victory of one side or the other made no difference to the labor movement, then they condemned both. They supported wars for national unity, national independence and self-determination, not because of any dogma, but because these wars would develop the possibility of growth and would strengthen the labor movement.

To speak of a free labor movement when an entire nation is enslaved they regarded as an absurdity. In supporting a German victory in 1870, their main consideration was to forestall the destructive effects upon both the French and German labor movements of a victory of Bonaparte. In supporting the French Republic, the question of national unification did not arise as it had in the support of Germany, for France had gained national unity long before.

But in supporting one side as against another in a war, Marx and Engels never failed to stress the independent aims, program and interests of labor. In supporting a bourgeois-democratic government against an absolutist regime, they never at any time became chauvinist. Never did they glorify the bourgeois ruling class. They condemned the unconditional support given to Bismarck by the Lassalleans, and had only the highest praise for the courageous fight put up against the German ruling class by Liebknecht and Bebel under war-time conditions. They favored the victory of a democratic republic against an absolutism, not because of "social patriotism," but, on the contrary, because such a victory, thru preserving or advancing the working-class movement, would facilitate the achievement of power by the workers. It is in this sense that Lenin at the later date helped the Kerensky regime defeat Kornilov. The main enemy at the moment was the Kornilov counter-revolution, and not the Kerensky government. This policy is not in contradiction to "socialism is the answer," but a necessary condition for marching forward to socialism. Somehow, it never occurred to Marx and Engels at any time that the entire annihilation of a socialist and labor movement by Bonaparte or the Czars conducive to the development of socialism.

Another way of looking at what is happening is to point out the ideological consistency which is developing. It was correct for radicals to say that there was no difference between the two old parties of capitalism. This can be said less accurately now. The Republican party is becoming a party of conservatism—far to the right of the Conservative party of England. The Democratic party is becoming the party of labor and the farmer with a political line some place between Labor and Liberal parties. For this reason, the fight of the reactionaries against the new Deal will be exceedingly bitter. However, that both parties still remain parties of capitalism and don't scare the workers—that is too much to be made clear by a statement in the financial section of the New York Times for July 21, which declares: "Wall Street will follow the coming political campaign with unusual interest. Whoever wins, it does not fear further regulations or restrictions."

A united labor movement may come out of the campaign. Leading A.F. of L. figures, as well as C.I.O.ers, are enthusiastic about their joint victory in Chicago. As a result of the strong Keep America Out of War sentiment, expressed at Chicago and Philadelphia, the party platforms are designed to catch all of the anti-war votes. The Socialist Party will have a time making clear that it is the only genuine peace party. Both Roosevelt and Willkie will be against "sending our boys abroad." However, in terms of fundamental

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troops will stay in the Medina (Moslem holy district) as long as necessary. We are not here to play politics. The French government unanimously supports what I have done and all France itself is behind me. Good citizens can work in order and peace. I will crush others." The Moroccan leader, Hallal El Fassi, was deported into the interior of the Congo to an intolerably unhealthy region. The Algerian leader, Messali Hadj, president of the Rassemblement Coloniale, was chained hand and foot, his hair, eyelashes and eyebrows shaved off, and thrown into a dungeon. The Tunisian leader, Habib Bourguibab, was sentenced before a military council. The North African Star and other Moroccan organizations were dissolved, their leaders arrested and deported. France has succeeded in making the whole world believe that it is liberal-minded in colonial matters. By an appearance of good-will toward colonials in Europe, it has managed to support its reputation in colonial policy. But the facts are quite otherwise.

Imperialism must necessarily crush democratic rights among enslaved colonial peoples, and stifle many forms of progress, social development and the dignity of human personality. The reactionary tendency, always in action, is now strengthened by the decline of capitalism. This is inherent in the

Farmer-Labor Political Group Seen Emerging

Observer at Both Conventions Appraises Forces, Issues and Platforms.

(Observer was present at both the Republican convention in Philadelphia and the Democratic convention in Chicago.—Editor.)

Washington, D. C.

THE over-riding concern at the Democratic as well as the Republican convention was the threat of Nazism. Wendell Willkie and F.D.R. Wallace would not have had a chance to secure the nominations if we were not living in essentially revolutionary times. Anyone who fails to see the deeper significance of what happened in Philadelphia and Chicago is missing the long view. Unconventional politicians triumphed over the machines at both places. Bruce Barton and Willkie are politicians—simply the most highly streamlined type of an age noted for the development of scientific propaganda and publicity. No comment is necessary, in this respect, on F.D.R.

Such an observation does not deny the queer bed-fellows who came together in order to give birth to the all-star New Deal ticket. It was a sight to behold Monroe Sweetland of the L.L.D., now leader of the Oregon Commonwealth Federation; Jerry Voorhis, former socialist; Mayor Kelly, Jett Lauck, Jerome Byrnes, Frank Hague and Jimmy C. Doolittle, all voting for Wallace. But Lauck got a pledge in the platform for his conference of farmer, labor and business leaders for the purpose of working out a planned economy for industrial expansion to abolish unemployment.

There are evidences of the beginning of a rough farmer-labor political grouping in the new New Deal party. (The old Democratic party is pretty dead, as Burke and "Cotton Ed" Smith recognize; they will be joined in this recognition by hundreds of other "Jeffersonians.") If the New Deal party wins in November, it will be only by the aid of organized labor and the organized farm and unemployed vote. If it is defeated, the farmer-labor political combine, which will develop in this campaign, gives more promise of sticking together and going places than ever before in our history.

Another way of looking at what is happening is to point out the ideological consistency which is developing. It was correct for radicals to say that there was no difference between the two old parties of capitalism. This can be said less accurately now. The Republican party is becoming a party of conservatism—far to the right of the Conservative party of England. The Democratic party is becoming the party of labor and the farmer with a political line some place between Labor and Liberal parties. For this reason, the fight of the reactionaries against the new Deal will be exceedingly bitter. However, that both parties still remain parties of capitalism and don't scare the workers—that is too much to be made clear by a statement in the financial section of the New York Times for July 21, which declares: "Wall Street will follow the coming political campaign with unusual interest. Whoever wins, it does not fear further regulations or restrictions."

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Labor Independence Key to War Problem

French and Spanish Experiences Show Way

By D. BENJAMIN

(This is the third of a series of articles by D. Benjamin on policy on the war. Since they are discussion articles, they represent the views of the writer himself and not necessarily those of this paper or of the I.L.L.A.—Editor.)

IMPERIAL Britain has had and still has many opportunities to make clear the issue, as it puts it, of "freedom" against fascism, and thus arouse the peoples of the world, including the United States, to the fight against Nazi Germany. It has only to declare India independent, the African peoples free, Ireland and Ulster united, luxury incomes in Britain abolished, the Versailles Treaty and its own responsibility therefor repudiated, and a pledge given to the world and to the German people of its desire and willingness to help bring about a just peace for all the peoples concerned. Under such conditions, the war could be transformed into a progressive war. People would know on which side they should fight.

But imperial Britain has done none of these things, let alone all of them. Even tho it is faced with a life-and-death struggle, with everything at stake, it refuses—in fact, it does not even consider acting along these lines. It would rather gamble with the lives of millions, risk defeat or arrive at some compromise with Nazi Germany, than take any real step that might mean a fundamental change in its social and imperial order. The war against Hitler could be won by such actions—freeing colonial peoples would inspire revolts against Mussolini in Ethiopia and Libya, against Petain and Franco in Morocco; united Ireland could not be used so easily as a base by Hitler; the German people would begin to understand the issues a little more clearly; British morale would be strengthened; the Arabian masses would be inspired to prevent Syria from being utilized by Hitler-Mussolini; and so on. But the British ruling class figures that for itself under such circumstances all would be lost. In other words, the only way to defeat Hitler is not thru "ordinary war," but thru new, revolutionary methods of struggle, and these the imperialist bourgeoisie reject. They prefer to see Hitler win rather than to win such a war against Hitler.

The working class, when aroused nature of French capitalism today. Mr. Achilles argues that the atrocities committed against colonial peoples by French imperialism were committed by selfish industrialists and careless officers far removed from controlling administrators, from parliament and the tribunal of French public opinion; and that the government has tried to remedy these conditions. This assertion is not supported by facts. In 1905, French public was aroused over the atrocities committed against the natives in the French Congo. De Brazza, a former governor, was sent out to study conditions in the French Congo and report to the new regime. He confirmed the reports of atrocities and sadistic treatment of the native population in the French Congo. De Brazza died on his way from the colony; his staff was forbidden by the French government to draw up a report from the material collected. All that happened was a three-day debate in the French Chamber (February 19-21, 1906). The demand for the publication of De Brazza's material was defeated by 345 to 167, although grave charges naming very serious crimes were made against particular companies. No steps whatever, either then or subsequently, were taken against these companies. In 1928, Andre Gide, the great French writer, on a semi-official mission in the French Congo, found that where the natives were under the direct control of the French government, they were poverty-stricken—sometimes starving—but once their rubber tax, amounting to one month's work in the year, had been paid, they had some degree of freedom. But in the interior, where concessions had been granted, he found the old evils still going on. In the February 1931 issue of Asia, M. Luc-Durtain gave an account of the rubber plantations of Indo-China. It is a description of brutal compulsion and misery, inflicted upon Annamese victims.

H. G. Wells, in his book, "The Work, Wealth and Happiness of Mankind," describes the massacre of natives in French colonies, and comes to the conclusion that, "this account of the massacre of primitive and barbaric societies by the uncontrolled forces of modern industrialism, enterprise and finance threatens to grow out of proportion to the rest of our review of human life. It has run away with the pen." Paul Faure, vested with full authority to speak for the French colonial peoples, declared before the Conference on Peace and Empire, held in June 1938 in London, under the presidency of Jawaharlal Nehru, that the French colonials placed no reliance on the democracies of Europe to "give" them their freedom no matter how anti-fascist these latter might style themselves. They were convinced that the only possible means they had of winning freedom lay in the struggle for independence in the colonies themselves and, what is most essential, in the close union of all oppressed masses in that struggle.

Had it not been for the rotten and treacherous role of the "great democracies"—the Edens, the Duff Coopers, the Churchills, the Reynauds, as well as the Chamberlains, the Daladiers, and Leon Blum, Thorez, and Roosevelt can also be added—the Spanish workers and peasants might have fought their way thru to victory. This would have been the spark that would have led to a general battle for freedom on the European continent. The France of 1936 was not far from a socialist revolution! Who can tell what fires might have ignited under Hitler and Mussolini then? The socialist workers of Vienna and Austria had not yet forgotten the inspiration of the heroic resistance against Dollfuss.

POLICY APPLIED TO PRESENT WAR All this has been mentioned to make clear that the European working class is a social force capable of conquering against seemingly insurmountable odds, once it is started on the road of independent class action, once the issues are made clear to it, once it has a leadership relying on the power and ability to sacrifice. Had organized labor in England and France acted in such manner from the very outset of the war, educating the people at every step and

to an independent course of action on a clear-cut issue, can do wonders and achieve results that previously would have been considered impossible and utopian. In 1928, thru its Councils of Action, British labor succeeded in preventing a war by Britain against the Soviet Union. In 1926, when British labor engaged in the great general strike of that year, the ruling class there began to feel that the beginning of the end for itself had set in. Even today, the rulers of England know they do not have any chance of winning unless labor is completely behind the government and the war—that was why Chamberlain had to give way to Churchill. There is real power in an independent, militant, French labor strike in which the French workers in one city and province after another occupied the factories. This movement had the French ruling class shivering for its very life.

The same story can be told with regard to the French working class. In 1934, in an almost spontaneous manner, the workers of Paris defeated the attempt of the Cagoulauds to make a fascist coup d'etat. In 1936, there occurred the great general strike in which the French workers in one city and province after another occupied the factories. This movement had the French ruling class shivering for its very life.

Had the French labor movement shown such militancy and class independence and played its own role since the present war began, educating the people as to the real character of the governments of Daladier, Reynaud, and Petain and the need for a basic change in the set-up of a real fight against Nazi Germany was to be made, while leading the resistance against Hitler's invasion, there is reason to question if the Petain government could have betrayed the fight against Hitler as easily as it did. There would have been present a powerful social force—and in France, the organized labor movement on the economic and political fields was a powerful factor—that would have led the movement to overturn the Petain government before much more damage was done. The same force could then have given a clearer, more inspiring and vigorous lead to the struggle against Hitlerism, without and within.

Nor should we forget the unbelievable accomplishments of the Spanish workers and peasants in their two and a half years of civil war against native fascists, aided by Hitler and Mussolini. In spite of the counter-revolutionary role of the Stalinists and the Soviet Union, the "non-intervention" policies of the "great democracies," England and France, the embargo placed by the "democratic" Roosevelt Administration on munitions to Loyalist Spain, the paralyzing effect of the capitalist politicians and officials in the People's Front government, the Spanish workers, almost with bare hands to begin with, receiving the splendid aid of international labor and anti-fascist forces, including German and Italian, practically fought the fascists and invaders to a standstill. They showed what independent working-class action could accomplish. The P.O.U.M., the Durruti Anarchists, many elements among the F.A.I., C.N.T., and Left socialists, showed it was possible to resist the fascist invader and attacker, and yet to work for a change in the political set-up that would unleash all mass and progressive forces in one mighty torrent against reaction and totalitarianism.

Had it not been for the rotten and treacherous role of the "great democracies"—the Edens, the Duff Coopers, the Churchills, the Reynauds, as well as the Chamberlains, the Daladiers, and Leon Blum, Thorez, and Roosevelt can also be added—the Spanish workers and peasants might have fought their way thru to victory. This would have been the spark that would have led to a general battle for freedom on the European continent. The France of 1936 was not far from a socialist revolution! Who can tell what fires might have ignited under Hitler and Mussolini then? The socialist workers of Vienna and Austria had not yet forgotten the inspiration of the heroic resistance against Dollfuss.

POLICY APPLIED TO PRESENT WAR All this has been mentioned to make clear that the European working class is a social force capable of conquering against seemingly insurmountable odds, once it is started on the road of independent class action, once the issues are made clear to it, once it has a leadership relying on the power and ability to sacrifice. Had organized labor in England and France acted in such manner from the very outset of the war, educating the people at every step and

to an independent course of action on a clear-cut issue, can do wonders and achieve results that previously would have been considered impossible and utopian. In 1928, thru its Councils of Action, British labor succeeded in preventing a war by Britain against the Soviet Union. In 1926, when British labor engaged in the great general strike of that year, the ruling class there began to feel that the beginning of the end for itself had set in. Even today, the rulers of England know they do not have any chance of winning unless labor is completely behind the government and the war—that was why Chamberlain had to give way to Churchill. There is real power in an independent, militant, French labor strike in which the French workers in one city and province after another occupied the factories. This movement had the French ruling class shivering for its very life.

Had the French labor movement shown such militancy and class independence and played its own role since the present war began, educating the people as to the real character of the governments of Daladier, Reynaud, and Petain and the need for a basic change in the set-up of a real fight against Nazi Germany was to be made, while leading the resistance against Hitler's invasion, there is reason to question if the Petain government could have betrayed the fight against Hitler as easily as it did. There would have been present a powerful social force—and in France, the organized labor movement on the economic and political fields was a powerful factor—that would have led the movement to overturn the Petain government before much more damage was done. The same force could then have given a clearer, more inspiring and vigorous lead to the struggle against Hitlerism, without and within.

Sound Warning On Stalinist "Peace" Front

Labor Anti-War Council Issues Exposure of C.P. "Mobilization" August 28.

New York City.

THE Communist Party is working day and night to stir up sentiment for the formation of a new "innocent" organization with which to confuse the American people. The "great outpouring of the masses" will hit Chicago, Illinois on August 28th. It is being called "The Emergency Peace Mobilization" and will, in convention assembled, follow completely the latest zig-zag of the ever zig-zagging Communist Party "line," declared Albert W. Hamilton last week in a special letter to members of Labor Anti-War Council, warning them of the new "front." The Council devotes itself to the education of working people to the necessity of keeping America a democratic nation by keeping it out of war. The Council is opposed, without reservations, to any form of totalitarianism.

Mr. Hamilton pointed out that "a number of individuals have written to us asking for information concerning this so-called 'mobilization'." We have replied, pointing out the Stalinist origin of this "anti-war" mobilization. The "mobilization," like such "fronts" as the American Youth Congress, will not come out and attack the Russian dictatorship as being a totalitarian force along with the Italian, German and other totalitarian forms of government.

"The 'mobilization' will, without doubt, adopt a confused and totally untenable set of resolutions promising all things to all men. This will be because of the hesitancy and confusion existing in the communist movement at present, because of the impenetrable and enigmatic foreign policy of the Kremlin, seemingly pro-Hitler, one day, and seemingly anti-Hitler the next. In short, the local Stalin boot-lickers as yet do not know what it is all about."

at every moment to the need of a fundamental change, while playing the leading role in beating back the fascist invaders, the situation today would be far different from that which we actually confront. The issues then would have become clear in the entire world, with repercussions difficult for us to visualize now. The Spanish workers would have been inspired again to battle, and this alone would have prevented Hitler and Mussolini using Franco Spain today as a base in their attack against Gibraltar and England. Such a development would have come to the attention of the masses and the underground movements of Germany and Italy with effects in the long run hard for us to appreciate. Nor should we leave out of account the Russian masses and possible pressure against the Stalinist government and its pact with Hitler. The question of aid to a Workers France and a Workers England really carrying on a struggle against Hitlerism would take on a new significance for the labor and progressive forces in the U.S.A.

These are not day-dreams. The history of revolutions shows what great efforts can be put forth in such times. The history of the international working-class movement gives many examples of the heights to which the working class can rise when it follows the path of the class struggle. And in war-time, the workers can be gotten to learn fast. The fruits that came from the Reynaud government—Petain, Weygand, Ybergarray—could be a good object lesson of what might come from the Tory partners of Churchill, the danger of a Hitler victory and fascist oppression could be used to drive home the lesson of how the colonial peoples view British imperial oppression.

Labor sacrificed its independent role in 1914-18 and got nowhere. In fact, it got a worse war and fascism to boot. Yet the problems of 1939-40 are much more difficult and complicated. Why should one think that support of the imperialist bourgeoisie will get us any further on the road to a solution of these problems? Even a respite cannot be won that way. Not those who depend upon the independent role and power of labor are abstract and utopian, but rather those that think that the imperialist bourgeoisie and its government (such as exists in England) can be the main basis by means of which Hitlerism can be fought and defeated.

It is not too late. British labor can show the way. The road proposed by the British Independent Labor Party and its paper, the New Leader, would effect the basic change necessary for a victorious struggle against Hitlerism from without and the fascist potential from within.

Flynn Sees Nazis Confronted With Famine, Disease

By JOHN T. FLYNN

IT is necessary now to make another examination of the economic factors involved in this war. It was predicted—and the writer was among those who held this view—that Germany could not survive more than a year of a war of action. And everything that we know now tends to confirm that view.

But the Germany that confronts the world now is not the Germany which began the war. Hitler has enormously extended the lands from which he can draw resources of all sorts. He has added Norway, Denmark, Holland, Belgium, Poland and now France, to the dominions which, for the moment, can be made to supply him with coal, iron, oil, butter, meat, cheese, grain and many other products. In fact, already we read of plans to expand the ration cards of Germans on several substances.

Just what is the measure of the added supplies Hitler has obtained for a long pull is not yet clear. First of all, not only France and the Low Countries and Poland, but Germany herself, has suffered vast losses in potential food supplies for the coming year. Countries like Denmark, Belgium, Holland, northern France and Norway have much that Germany needs. But these countries are very far from being self-sufficient in the matter of food.

Where will Denmark and Holland and Belgium and northern France get the food they require for themselves in addition to those limited commodities they produce? It is difficult to escape the conviction that all these countries face an appalling famine in the coming year. We may assume that when this comes Germans will be the last to feel it. But they cannot escape.

First, Germany herself has not planted enough crops for the coming year. She has had to slaughter poultry and other stock which must live upon foods which humans must share

French Empire Kept Masses in Slavery

Colonial Atrocities Always Whitewashed

By CLARENCE JENKINS

(Continued from last issue)

IN 1937, the French Popular Front government raised the slogans of the French Revolution and promised to institute reforms in the colonies and alleviate the distressing conditions in North Africa caused by the economic crisis, customs controls and drought. Large sections of the colonials, notably among the Arabs and Indo-Chinese, placed their confidence in the Popular Front government as a champion of national independence

with them. Losses of cattle in the Low Countries are said to be terrifying. The prospect ahead for that stricken world is a dark one—and one which cannot be mended by guns and explosives. The rulers of this new German empire may find themselves the rulers of a population which is sullen from hunger and disease. They may not revolt—for revolt requires the tools of revolt, which they do not have. But that population may have but little will to fight.

All this is in the domain of speculation. Certainly, we can say that Germany's problem of food and steel and coal is solved for the moment, first by access to large supplies, and second, by her ability to get those supplies without having to face exchange problems. The question is how much time do these accessions add to Germany's battle tenure.

This is the issue upon which Britain gambles now. There remains one great ally—the ally which has conquered more empires than the soldiers have laid low—famine and disease. These alone can win for England now. And they are not entirely unavailing. (This article is from the New York World-Telegram.—Editor.)

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Workers Age

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

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

WILL HERBERG, Editor

Vol. 9. SATURDAY, AUGUST 10, 1940. No. 30.

VOTE SOCIALIST!

End Hunger in the Midst of Plenty!
Jobs and Security for All!
Keep America Out of War!
For Socialism, Peace and Freedom!

Vote for
Norman Thomas and Maynard Krueger
for President and Vice-President

CREeping TOTALITARIANISM

THE American people are today faced with the greatest menace to their rights and liberties in many decades. That menace comes not from Hitler, except indirectly; it comes from the tendency to creeping totalitarianism at home—a tendency which is at the moment embodied in its most challenging form in the vicious Burke-Wadsworth bill for peace-time conscription.

There is no possible justification for peace-time conscription in terms of genuine national defense. "Conscription in time of war may be justified", Hanson Baldwin, military analyst of the New York Times, tells us in a very significant article in Harpers Magazine for August. "But at a time like the present, it cannot be justified on a basis of hemisphere defense." In fact, peace-time conscription has no meaning whatsoever except in terms of militaristic regimentation, of whipping up a flagging war spirit, of preparation for a foreign war in Europe or Asia, or of all these factors combined. The testimony of army spokesmen has made that clear enough.

The debate in Congress and thruout the country is revealing the far-reaching implications of the Burke-Wadsworth bill as a measure of totalitarian regimentation. But special stress should be laid on the fact that labor will be the chief victim. In fact, organized labor will actually be shackled hand and foot under such a law. The bill invests the President—that is, the military authorities—with power to defer the military training of those employed in industry if he considers their employment "necessary to the maintenance of the national health, safety or interest." The military authorities would therefore have the power to remove any worker from his job and send him into the army simply by declaring his work "unnecessary" to the "national health, safety or interest". Any strike would easily be outlawed under the provisions of the bill. All the government would have to do would be to declare that the strike was interfering with "the administration of this act" and it would be suppressed, while the leaders would, of course, be deprived of their deferment and sent into the army. In short, labor would have no rights that the government would be bound to respect—and that in time of peace too!

There is still time to act. But action must be taken immediately. If you are interested in the preservation of democratic rights, of labor's freedom to organize and strike; if you want to help beat back totalitarianism in America—act now! Let your Congressman, your two Senators, and the President know that you do not want Hitlerism here in America! Demand the defeat of the peace-time military conscription bill!

THE S.P. ON WAR AND DEFENSE

(We publish below the concluding sections of a declaration on "War and Defense" adopted by the recent session of the National Executive Committee of the Socialist Party. This statement is essentially part of the platform on the basis of which Norman Thomas is campaigning for the presidency and is therefore of direct interest to all supporters of his candidacy.—Editor.)

WE state our position on vital issues emphasized by the march of fascism as follows:

1. We renew our unalterable opposition to totalitarianism in any form—Nazi, fascist, or communist.
2. Since American participation in war would be the shortest road toward American totalitarianism, we reiterate our determination to keep America out of war. In doing this, while we do not seek the repeal of the neutrality law under which England derives great benefit, we warn against the hypocritical and uncertain policies of the old parties and their leaders who mouth the slogans of peace while following policies which lead directly toward American intervention, including those steps, allegedly "short of war," which, if pursued to their logical conclusion, mean war itself.
3. We share the well-nigh universal hope that the British people may defeat the Nazi invader and we convey to the British workers our deepest sympathy and encouragement. We are persuaded, however, that a real victory for democracy in England and in Europe in general requires that the heroic British workers should transform the military collectivism now prevailing in England into democratic socialization. Thus they can defeat the danger of reversion at home while they struggle against the dangers of military conquest from without.
4. We pledge our unrelenting efforts toward aid by America and the Americas of the refugee victims of war and fascism, our support to such underground movements as now or in the future challenge the rule of the dictators.
5. In the name of genuine defense for American democracy, we denounce the Administration's armament economies as leading toward imperialism and war at enormous cost to the working masses of this nation. Without even answering the questions of what we are to defend and how, the government now and in the past seven years has poured out billions of dollars for military supplies—and of uncertain value for defensive purposes—instead of for the conquest of poverty. While we are convinced that the danger of military invasion of the United States is practically impossible at this time, we declare that we must seek our defense in the socialization and democratic planning of our industrial life. Only a defensive program which goes hand in hand with a program of rapid and democratic socialization can be effective against both the military and economic assaults of European totalitarianism. The history of the present war has demonstrated one basic truth—that the problem of national defense can be solved only on the basis of economic reorganization. America still has time to solve its defense problem on this basis.

IN its issue of July 29, Life presents some pictures that should prove very edifying to all worshippers at the Shrine of the Third Term. The prize is the picture of a little "family party" that took place in Chicago on the eve of the Democratic convention, tendered by Mayor Kelly of Chicago. Seated cheek by jowl around the table are the following personages: Mayor Kelly, boss of Chicago's Kelly-Nash machine, easily the most corrupt political outfit in the country; Federal Loan Administrator Jesse Jones; Attorney General Robert H. Jackson, whose Department of Justice, as his points out, "has cleaned up New Orleans and Kansas City, but not Chicago and Jersey City"; Secretary of the Interior Harold Ickes, veteran Chicago "reformer", one-time bitter foe of the Kelly-Nash gang, booted in 1938 as candidate for Mayor of Chicago in the hope of cleaning out the machine; Secretary of Labor Frances Perkins; Secretary of Agriculture Henry A. Wallace, a few days later nominated for vice-president as "a man of unexcelled integrity"; Mayor Frank Hague of Jersey City, boss of New Jersey's notorious Hague machine, a man widely denounced by liberal and labor elements as the "Jersey Hitler".

Boss Perkins, Henry Wallace and Harold Ickes hobnobbing with Boss Kelly and Frances Hague, plotting with them to put over the Third Term! That's what the New Deal has come to!

Socialist Policy on the War:

Draft Resolution on War

(We publish below a resolution presented by Will Herberg for adoption by the National Committee of the I.L.L.A. It is published here as a contribution to the discussion of policy on the war.—Editor.)

I. Fundamental Approach

IN approaching problems of war and foreign policy, as in other fields, it is necessary to take a positive, responsible attitude. By this is meant that, whenever a great and vital problem confronts the nation, it is the duty of socialists to offer a progressive, democratic program of meeting that problem in the interests of the people, and to counterpose this program to the reactionary programs offered in behalf of privileged groups. We cannot be satisfied with simply repeating the formula, "Socialism is the only solution," any more than we can in domestic policy. In the case of unemployment, we do not content ourselves with saying (as do the S.L.P. and certain anarchists), "Socialism will solve it"; we advance programs of government relief and action to meet the problem within the framework of the existing system, although we stress the inherent inadequacies of such efforts. Just so on questions of war and foreign policy. We must outgrow the attitude of ultra-radical abstentionism which still persists in this field although it has been almost completely eliminated in the field of domestic policy. We must learn to offer our progressive programs within the framework of the existing system, while at the same time pointing out the urgent necessity of going beyond this system towards socialism.

II. Character of the War

1. The present war is an imperialistic war in that it was precipitated as the clash of two gigantic imperialist coalitions and as the continuation of the World War of 1914-18. The major participants in the war are imperialistic powers.
2. Yet it does make a real difference who wins the war in terms of immediate prospects for democratic and labor forces thruout the world. The difference is circumscribed and short-run, but it is vital and decisive. From the standpoint of the democratic and labor forces, a victory for Hitler Germany would obviously be far more disastrous, and a victory for the Allies (Britain) very much preferable—albeit, of course, even the latter would solve nothing fundamental. Only socialism could do that.
3. The victory of one or the other side cannot reverse the fundamental trend of the decay of capitalism, but it can accelerate or retard the tendency for this trend of decay to manifest itself in the fascist form. And this is of decisive importance to the forces of democracy and labor. Basically, that is the reason why it does make a real difference who wins, and why a victory for Hitler Germany would be so much more disastrous, why it would be the very worst possible outcome of the war.
4. Having clearly distinguished this difference, it is necessary to stress that in the long run, Europe is doomed unless it can achieve continental integration on the basis of socialism, which of course implies an end to the entire imperialist system.

III. Some Consequences

- In the light of this analysis, certain consequences follow:
1. Since at bottom only socialism can ultimately save Europe from utter ruin, and such ruin would seriously affect the entire world, it is our duty today more than ever to advance vigorously our socialist solution in terms as concrete and immediate as possible. It is also our duty to cooperate with and support those socialist forces in Europe who take a fundamentally similar position.
 2. Since, furthermore it does make a difference who wins, in the sense described above, the attitude of socialists cannot be the same in the Allied countries (England) as in Germany. This we already recognized some years ago when we, as part of the International Workers Front, rejected the slogan of revolutionary defeatism for England and France but retained and reemphasized it for Germany.
 3. In the Allied countries (England), the socialists certainly cannot refuse to participate in the struggle against Hitler Germany, that is, to participate in the war effort. As James Maxton is reported to have put it, "there is now no alternative to prosecution of the war". This does not by any means imply—from the socialist standpoint, it even excludes—support of the existing government—a government that, in its background, composition, character and even present policies, shows that it cannot be trusted for an uncompromising fight against Hitler and fascism, and that it is incapable of undertaking the social measures required for victory. (What happened in France should be a lesson enough.) From every standpoint, including that of defeating Hitler Germany, the labor movement must preserve its independence at all costs, and actively strive for a program of radical social and political change thru which alone the war can be effectively fought and won.
 4. In Germany, of course, it is the duty of all socialists and anti-fascists generally, in so far as they can, to obstruct and oppose the prosecution of the war. In Germany, revolutionary defeatism has a meaning in terms of the deepest interests of the masses of the German people.
 5. On the same ground that it does make a real difference who wins, it is also necessary to distinguish our attitude on the question of aid to belligerents.
- We are, of course, categorically opposed to any aid

whatsoever being given by the United States to Germany on the ground that we most emphatically do not want Germany aided.

On the other hand, we measure to certain Administration measures to aid the Allies not because we don't want the Allies to be aided, but because we don't want the U.S.A. to be drawn into the war or into a highly developed war economy, which these measures would tend to do. Here the criterion is our paramount duty of keeping America out of war. Every measure to aid the Allies must therefore be examined and tested from this viewpoint.

IV. America Can and Must Keep Out Of the War in Europe (or Asia)

1. America CAN keep out of a foreign war: (a) economically: The United States finds itself in a situation almost without parallel in the entire world. For, geographically and economically, it is virtually achieved that continental integration for which Europe has been striving so painfully and so vainly for over a century. Continuous sound functioning of our economic machinery on an expanding scale is quite possible on the basis of our domestic resources, as yet widely untapped, if only our economy is operated on the principle of welfare rather than that of private profit. Not any inescapable needs of our economy considered as a technological system, but the special interests of powerful exploiting groups in this country are the driving force behind our far-flung financial and commercial entanglements and our imperialistic ventures in all parts of the world. If the interests of the masses of the people constitute the decisive consideration, then it is for us to look to the "open door" at home, in this hemisphere, rather than in Europe or the Far East.

(b) militarily: In a military-political sense, too, the United States is so situated that it can keep measurably free of foreign entanglements, if only it is determined to do so. On the basis of a defense program directed strictly towards protecting against foreign invasion or attack, the United States, virtually to almost all responsible military opinion, is actually impregnable. This immense advantage would naturally be lost should this country be plunged into a foreign war.

(c) from the standpoint of resisting the challenge of fascism: Of course, the dynamic, expansive force of fascism would be greatly enhanced by a German victory, and that would be strongly felt in this country as well. But it would still remain true, particularly for the United States, that the danger of fascism is immensely greater from within than from without. It would still remain true that fascism could come to power in this country only as a result of the utter bankruptcy of our domestic institutions, economic, social and political, and not primarily as a result of foreign propaganda or ideological prestige. Our first and foremost line of defense against fascism remains what it has always been—the fight against unemployment, poverty, demoralization, despair. If we can so reorganize our economic and social system as to provide jobs for those who are able and willing to work, opportunity and a future for the youth, and a measure of security, welfare and freedom for all, we will have no reason whatever to fear the advent of fascism in this country no matter what happens in Europe. If we cannot remodel our social order along such lines as to make democracy work and open a way out of the hopeless blind-alley of crisis and decay in which we find ourselves today, we will be faced with disaster and totalitarianism in any case. For us in America, the great issue will be decided here in this country, on this continent, and not in Europe or Asia. From this angle, too, we can stay at home if we are determined to do so.

2. America MUST keep out of the war: Involvement in a foreign war, in Europe or in Asia, would be the worst possible calamity that could befall the people of this country today, and the labor movement above all. It would bring along with it a rigid system of universal regimentation and military dictatorship—already outlined in the M-Day plans and only waiting for the declaration of war to be put into complete effect—a system that would automatically deprive the masses of the people of their democratic rights and civil liberties, and labor of all its hard-won gains of recent years. Wages, hours, the Wagner Act, protective laws for women and children, even collective agreements would be put at the absolute mercy of military agencies, to be swept away at their arbitrary will. Involvement in foreign war would mean not only a vast outpouring of blood and treasure, but a wave of ruthless reaction and authoritarianism, accompanied by wild jingoistic hysteria and war frenzy, that would drive the country back many decades. It would bring wide distress and impoverishment, permanent reduction of living standards and further dislocation of our economic system. It would root out the most promising elements of American life, those elements of freedom, welfare and democracy that we cherish as the point of departure towards a better America. It would be a sum-total of disaster for the American people.

Nor would America's participation in the war advance the more abiding interests of the peoples of war-stricken Europe. For it would mean that the last potential force for sanity and reconstruction in the post-war period would be destroyed, and all would go down to ruin and barbarism together. If America manages to keep out of the bloodbath in Europe, it may still be able to play a powerful part in saving the world from utter ruin after the war. That would be a genuine service to mankind.

(Concluded in the next issue)

Farmer-Labor Political Group Seen

(Continued from Page 3)
position to war and the war system, they both are out of the same mould and are about as likely as Wilson to keep us out of war, if and when the occasion to enter arrives. Only the American working people, with their hourly vigilance, can succeed in averting our entrance into the war while keeping the government from not succumbing to the deadly peril of "appeasing" Hitler.

The Negroes were in the white hotel evidence socially (in the hotel lobby, etc.) in Philadelphia than in Chicago. The Republican party is still the party of the Negro to this extent. Nevertheless, I predict they will vote, almost as a block, for the New Deal. It is a matter of fine words and patronizing personal gestures being no match for substantial national gains for the race. The Democrats offer more

John L. Lewis was a pathetic figure at both conventions. He bet on the Wrongest Horse in Philadelphia (a definite deal had been made with Hoover, according to Pat Hurley). In Chicago, Murray, Kennedy, Lauck and Thomas ran the show for the C.I.O., and few people paid any attention to Lewis. Even Pressman followed Murray around like an obedient little dog.

Dubinsky's entrance into the A.F. of L. already has had its effect. Green's attitude toward the N.L.R.B. in his testimony before the resolutions committee at Chicago was as different from his previous attitude as Stalin's toward Hitler since the Berlin-Moscow pact.

The organized women tell me that Wilkie will lose many votes because Doris Stevens of the National Women's Party got AIF Landon in Philadelphia to write into the Republican platform the stupid upper-class women's "equal-rights" plank. OBSERVER

15 Billion for Arms—To Defend What...?

Washington, D. C.

JUST to keep our record and arithmetic straight, appropriations for defense passed by Congress this session already total \$5,377,552,058. Authorizations total about \$9,500,000,000, making a grand total of approximately 15 billion dollars.

Here is the breakdown:

Regular Army Bill	\$1,823,254,624
Regular Navy Bill	1,492,542,750
Supplemental Defense	1,768,913,908
Urgent deficiency	28,000,000
Emergency deficiency	252,340,776
Strategic materials	12,500,000
Total	\$5,377,552,058
Authorization for a Two-Ocean Navy Bill	4,600,000,000
Army-Navy Emergency	4,848,000,000
Grand Total	\$14,825,552,058

While 15 billion dollars has been authorized and appropriated for America's national defense, the American people have not yet been given an answer to two vital questions: What is our foreign policy? What are we to defend?

Were Social Reforms To Blame in France?

Hanighen Challenges Reactionary Falsehood

(Continued from Page 1)

slavia in 1938), and that the same firm delivered plans of its last motor-cannon model to an official of the Japanese government in March 1939. All this hardly constituted cooperation with the great national effort to rearm.

Another obstacle was the failure of the Chamber to appropriate enough money in time to build and equip the plants into operation requiring skill and aptitude. France, being a country of small workshops and factories, did not adapt itself easily to mass production.

LABOR IN THE CRISIS

Labor problems are part of this picture of difficulties. France, in the midst of her rearmament, had only about 49,000 workers in the aviation industry, as compared with Germany's 200,000. This—not the social reforms of the Popular Front—was the big labor obstacle to production. There is no evidence that the 40-hour week retarded production. Conceivably, it might have retarded production at a much later date. But when the 40-hour week was raised to 45 in October 1938, there was ample evidence that not enough equipment or material was available to justify that much time.

Strikes, of course, do temporarily retard industrial production, and the Popular Front was ushered in with a wave of strikes. But the time of the strikes and the industries they affected are important in reaching a judgment. To claim that the French army met its Waterloo in 1940 because of strikes which occurred four years before in 1936 is a thesis difficult to maintain. The big wave of strikes, the only wave that really halted French industry, occurred in June 1936. In the defense industries, they did not last more than a few weeks.

After the June strike wave, there were individual strikes in later years. But none of them were called in the armament industries. The important strikes in this period were as follows: the one-day bus strike in Paris, December 1937; the Goodrich tire company strike, Winter of 1937-38; the one-week strike in the Citroen plants in Paris in the Spring of 1938; the dockers strike in Marseilles, August-September 1938; the building strike at Lyon, September 1938; and finally the abortive 30-day general strike of November 30, 1938, which failed to get a response from the workers. This list does reveal considerable labor unrest. It does not indicate that French industry in general was "frustrated" for any important time or that the defense industries were retarded in their work.

EFFECTS OF THE POPULAR FRONT

But, it may be argued, rearmament was only part of the whole French economy, and this economy suffered so much under the Popular Front that the crack-up of 1940 was inevitable. This line of argument is based on further misconceptions about the Popular Front. To begin with, the Popular Front was in power only a little more than a year. Later governments, save the short-lived Blum cabinet in the Spring of 1938, did not represent the original Popular Front and did nothing to further its "New Deal" program. Whether the Popular Front could have avoided the debacle if it had remained in power long enough to achieve its end is largely an academic question.

In any case, the French "New Deal" failed for two reasons: (1) Blum did not proceed with the measures necessary to carry it thru; (2) French and international finance sabotaged it. Nine months after Blum took office, gold was flown

4. Replique, May 20, 1939; Juvenal, May 27, 1939.
5. Le Peuple, October 19, 1938.

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