

VOTE SOCIALIST!
NORMAN THOMAS
FOR PRESIDENT

Workers Age

Weekly Paper of the Independent Labor League of America

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Gen. de Gaulle Replies To Marceau Pivert

(In the July 20, 1940 issue of this paper, we published a letter from Marceau Pivert, secretary of the French Socialist Workers and Peasants Party, to General de Gaulle, head of the French National Committee in London. In this letter, Marceau Pivert, while noting the existence of fundamental differences in outlook and methods between himself as a socialist internationalist and de Gaulle as a French nationalist, nevertheless offered to place at his disposal "effective weapons" in the struggle against Hitler in the form of appeals of the International Workers Front Against War to the German workers and soldiers. These appeals Pivert urged de Gaulle to have distributed throughout Germany and the German-conquered regions by means of leaflets, radio and the like.

(We publish below the reply of General de Gaulle.—Editor.)

London, July 27, 1940.

To M. Marceau Pivert:

YOUR letter seemed very interesting to me and I have had the opportunity of communicating its contents to several English and French personalities.

Altho we evidently do not follow the same road, and altho the means you and I are willing to use to fight the enemy are not the same, I do note with attention your desire to fight Hitler and Mussolini who are for the moment victorious.

I do not want to judge in advance what will be or what should be the social state of France after victory. It seems certain to me that today the exploiters and tyrants of the working classes are Hitler and Mussolini. They are exploiters and tyrants directly with respect to those who are subject to them, and indirectly with respect to the others by diverting them from better purposes and compelling them to concentrate, for legitimate defense, on armaments that are deplorable and ruinous.

(Signed) GENERAL DE GAULLE

Senate Passes Peace-Time Conscription

Britain Slowly Gaining in Resistance to Nazi Attack

German Attempts to Establish Counter-Blockade of Island Failure So Far; Axis Forces New Partition of Rumania

As the first year of the war came to an end last week, the Nazi siege of Britain, as well as the British air offensive against Germany, mounted in tempo and scope. Extensive bombing raids were undertaken on both sides and the damage done appeared to be considerable. On the whole, the British seemed to have the best of the duel. Certainly, the British air fleet and air force proved superior in quality and effectiveness, to a degree perhaps sufficient to make up for the German advantage in numbers and quantity.

Official German quarters admitted that their raids thus far had not broken Britain's defense or irreparably damaged its war industries; they declared, however, that their activity hitherto had been only preliminary work and that the "systematic destruction" of Britain would soon begin. There was no talk at all of invasion.

In Britain, for the first time in months, some satisfaction was expressed with the course of the war. Only two weeks more, it was believed, remained for Hitler to attempt an invasion; after that, weather conditions would render that impracticable. Altho it was admitted that German air raids had done much damage, especially on the civilian population, it was stressed that these raids had had no decisive military effect and were not likely to have any such in the immediate future. Furthermore, the strengthening of the British Air Force, thru intensified production and purchase from America, would soon put it on a par even quantitatively with German air power and thus give Britain a definite superiority in the air. A three-hour British bombing attack on Berlin in the middle of the week contributed greatly to bolstering British morale.

On the whole, it seemed plain that the German plan of establishing a counter-blockade of Britain from the air by cutting the island's sea communications had not made any appreciable headway since the great Battle of Britain had begun; nor were the Nazis very much more successful in their attempt to cripple Britain's industrial war production or to shatter its morale. Direct invasion seemed to be more unlikely than ever. This brought the war to at least a temporary stalemate, which all military authorities agreed was immensely to the disadvantage of the Germans.

Last week also witnessed a new outbreak in the Balkans resulting in the further partition of Rumania under compulsion from Berlin and Moscow. The incident began with a series of border clashes between Rumanian and Russian troops in northern Moldavia, quickly followed by Rumanian-Hungarian clashes. The leaders of the Berlin-Rome Axis were apparently in no mood to tolerate disturbances in the Balkans at such a critical time and representatives of Rumania and Hungary were immediately summoned to appear before Foreign Ministers von Ribbentrop and Ciano at a conference in Vienna. Here the spokesmen for Hitler and Mussolini, after adjusting some reported differences of their own, dictated a settlement by awarding Hungary approximately

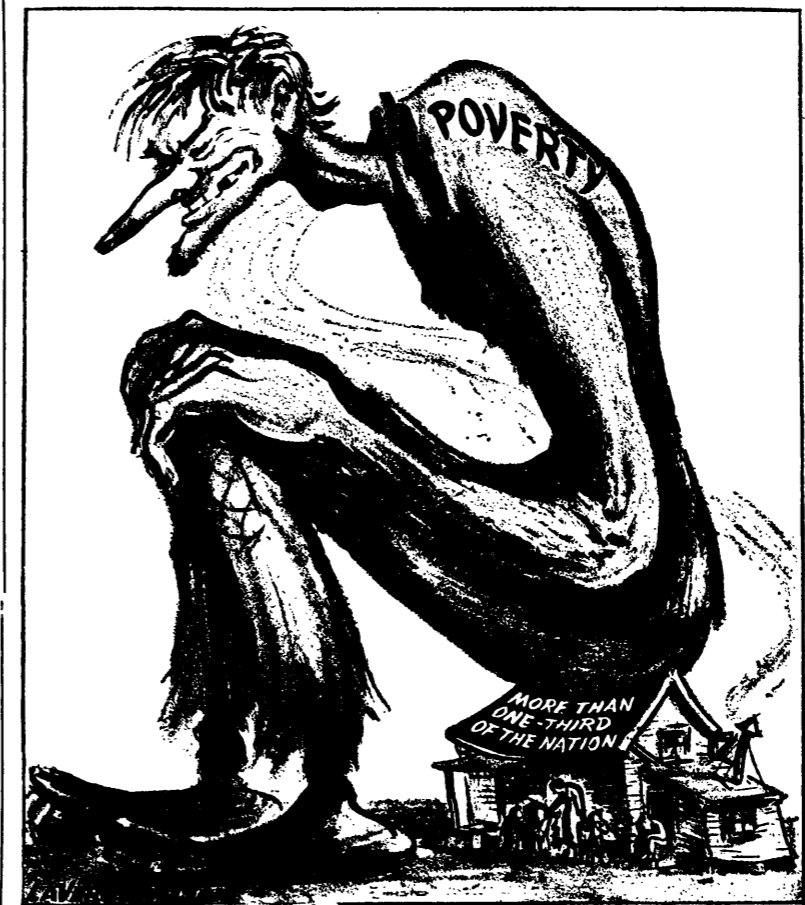
half of the province of Transylvania and "permanently guaranteeing" the new borders of both states. In return, it was rumored, Germany would receive sweeping economic concessions, as well as military and air bases. In Rumania, there was some protest against the forced settlement but it was suppressed.

The conflict with Russia was quickly ended, at least for the time being. The demands of Bulgaria were satisfied by ceding the southern part of Dobruja. Nevertheless, the Balkans continued seething with irreconcilable hates, rivalries and ambitions, and only the iron fist of the Axis could keep the lid down.

In France, the difficulties of the puppet government at Vichy multiplied daily. Regarded by the French people with hatred and execration, profound the passive, its support by Mussolini and the Pope did not save it from the contempt of the Nazi overlords, who made no secret of their growing conviction that it was too discredited and futile

to serve the purposes of Berlin. And then, to top at all, reports came in last week that revolts against the Vichy regime had broken out in the colonies, in French Indo-China, French West Africa, the Cameroons and Equatorial Africa. Leaders of the revolts were said to be in communication with General de Gaulle in London.

THE FORGOTTEN ISSUE



Wheeler Hits Paish for War Propaganda

Senator Charges Englishman Said He Was Striving to Involve America in the War

Washington, D. C. Senator Burton K. Wheeler of Montana charged on the floor of the Senate last week that Sir George Paish, British economist, who was a White House caller on August 16, had been lobbying among Senators in favor of legislation that would aid Great Britain and speed American involvement in war, altho he had not registered as an alien agent at the State Department.

During the debate on the Burke-Wadsworth bill, Senator Wheeler asserted that Sir George called upon him and advocated legislation assuring Great Britain of fifty of American World War destroyers, and urging repeal of the Johnson Act which bans loans to governments in default on debts to the United States government. Continuing, the Senator declared that Sir George had said to him:

"I am responsible for getting the United States into the last war. I am over here now and I am going to cross the United States on a speaking tour. I am going to get this country into this war."
"He was very, very frank about it," Senator Wheeler went on. "He was an adviser to Lloyd George in the last war. He has gone to see several other Senators. He told me that he had seen numerous Senators and other Senators have told me that he saw them."

Senator Wheeler said he had challenged the assertion of Sir George that he could get this country into war and that the Britisher then said that "he wanted us to do everything short of war." He also expressed considerable interest in the passage of the conscription bill.

"I had a friend call up the Department [of State], to find out whether this man was registered, and they said he was not. Whether or not we represent the British government, I cannot say."

Senator Wheeler said his visitor "came to see me at his request and talked to me, but I think he went farther with me in conversation than he did with any one else, because he spent a longer time with me."

The British Embassy said later in the day that Sir George was in the United States in a private capacity in no way connected with the British government, but declined to comment on Senator Wheeler's charges.

imaginative military leadership. The U.S. military hierarchy has been the slave of tradition. Since brains cannot be provided by Congressional enactment, laymen can only trust that the streamlining of the U.S. high command and the planning of grand strategy along modern lines will keep pace with the needs of today.

4. Material: Congress has voted billions for instruments of war. How much of this money will pay for material and how much will be profit for arms manufacturers is still to be decided. When the material will be on hand is a matter

Washington, D. C. The Senate last week adopted the Burke-Wadsworth military-conscription bill, the first peace-time draft measure in the country's history. The vote came after several weeks of discussion in the Senate, in the course of which the original resolution was considerably amended.

The final vote on the measure was 58 to 31. For the bill were 50 Democrats and 8 Republicans. Against it were 17 Democrats, 10 Republicans, 2 Farmer-Laborites (Lundeen, Shipstead), 1 Progressive (La Follette) and 1 Independent (Norris). The high point of anti-con-

scription strength in the Senate came on an amendment to defer operation of the draft for sixty days after enactment for a further test of the volunteer system. This was defeated by the very narrow margin of 43 to 41. A similar amendment by Senator Maloney, deferring conscription to next year, was defeated by 50 to 35.

Attached to the measure as adopted were two amendments dealing with defense industry. One, offered by Senators Overton and Russell, would permit the government to take over factories and facilities necessary for defense if the owners prove recalcitrant in meeting defense needs. The other, offered by Senator Adams of Colorado, puts a profit limitation of 7% or 8% upon all war materials produced for the government.

As finally adopted, the bill provides that all males who have reached their twenty-first birthday and not reached their thirty-first must register in their home localities on a day set by the government. From these men, estimated at about 12,000,000, there will be selected a certain number for one year's military training and service. By an amendment offered by Senator Taft and adopted by the Senate, no more than 900,000 men can be in draft service at any one time. Plans announced by the army provide for calling 400,000 into service in increments up to January 1.

By an amendment sponsored by Senator Lodge and approved by the Senate, the possible field of service of those drafted is limited to the territories and possessions of the United States, including the Philippines. The period of service of one year may be extended indefinitely if Congress decides that a national emergency exists or if a state of war is declared.

By an amendment presented by Senator Wagner and passed by the Senate, Negroes are assured equal rights to training in the armed services, including aviation units.

Exempt from registration are officials but not employees of the federal and state governments. Exempt from military service, but not from registration, are those conscientious objectors who can prove to the satisfaction of the Department of Justice that their objections are based on "legitimate" religious scruples. Exemptions and deferments will also be granted on grounds of dependents, indispensability to industry and agriculture, and the like.

Pay during the first four months of service will be \$21 a month, and for the next eight \$30 a month. The bill includes certain vague provisions for the reinstatement into their jobs of drafted men after their term of service is over.

Evading the draft or assisting anyone to do so is punishable by up to five years imprisonment and \$10,000 fine, or both.

The conscription bill was vigorously

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House Approves Profit-Grab Tax Legislation

Bill Lifts Profit Limitation, Provides Five-Year Amortization Against Taxes

Washington, D. C. The House Ways and Means Committee last week reported out and the House approved a so-called "excess-profits" tax bill that in actual fact grants heavy concessions to big business interests engaged on the defense program.

The bill wipes out the existing 8% limitation on profits in the construction of airplanes and naval vessels. It also permits concerns engaged in defense production to pay for the cost of plant expansion in five years out of profits, these profits to be free of all taxation.

5. Men: Experts differ on the number of men needed. They disagree because they have conflicting answers to the questions: What is to be defended and how? On these questions there is no declared and accepted national policy. If there were, experts might agree on the number of men needed. On this point, however, there has been much uninformed discussion and a definite demand. The Administration wants peace-time conscription.

Debate and action on national defense have skimmed over the basic considerations. Obviously, soldiers and machines are needed for national defense, just as laborers and concrete are needed to build a dam. But in both cases, there must be a dam site and a master plan. The lack of these essentials explains the lack of integration between men and material. The Administration, its military spokesmen and the bulk of the nation's press have simply urged the biggest appropriations for material and the biggest army of conscripts that a jittery nation would stand for. Since it is the most drastic departure from democratic defense, the conscription drive has met with the greatest opposition. Some advocates of the Burke-Wadsworth bill want peace-time conscription willy-nilly. The Military Training Camps Association, spearhead of the drive, is now trying to convince the nation that conscription is necessary because of the present emergency. It is worth bearing in mind that the M.T.C.A. has advocated conscription for twenty years.

MEN AND EQUIPMENT

After weeks of evasive talk about the status of war orders, starting

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Why American Youth Should Support Thomas and Krueger

(We publish below an eloquent appeal issued by the Youth Campaign for Thomas and Krueger, a youth group engaged in mobilizing support for Norman Thomas and Maynard Krueger, socialist candidates for the presidency and vice-presidency respectively.—Editor.)

YOUTH OF AMERICA!

YOU are an engineer, two years out of college and no job in sight . . . you are a farmer, bound to a land that will feed you but that doesn't need you to till it—not you, and your brother, and your father too . . . you are the girl around the corner who turns delicate wires all day long . . . you are her sister who can't get on N.Y.A. because one job in a family is enough . . . you are my brother who has gone off to the army because two without jobs are too many . . . I am a nobody, never had a job, and just about stopped looking.

Where are we going?

One with his long years of training. One with her long years of toil. My brother in the army. Your sister still at home, day after day stretching into years.

What are we doing?

Waiting for a job. Waiting for a wage you can marry on. Waiting for a chance to go to school. Waiting for relief checks—food!

Just waiting?

Watching the soil sweep off of the farm—seeing it barren when the cities need food. Watching the white boy four blocks over get the job you can't apply for because your skin is dark. Watching while war creeps out of the headlines into your life.

Watching . . . the wealth of America—great cities, fine lands, production plants with untested capacities, mines and seacoasts, manpower . . . the poverty of Americans—share-cropper South and city slums; permanent unemployed, millions of us. Old age without comfort and youth without hope.

Is this our America?

It has been ten years now since the '29 depression shattered our Golden Age into smithereens and reduced half the American people to a subsistence living standard, and less. Then, and now, the Republican contribution to a way out has been to return responsibility for keeping the economy going (and the people alive) to the states and the municipalities. A Democratic Administration shouldered the job nationally, and for eight of the ten depression years, has been trying to make the capitalist system work. When Roosevelt took office, there were perhaps twelve million people unemployed—nobody knew just how many. Today, there are about eleven million people unemployed—nobody has ever quite found out!

Today, the "grand old parties" have found unexpected unity, despite Republican

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War Propaganda Spreads Confusion on Defense Issue

Administration Refuses to Answer Most Vital Questions

A rational discussion of U. S. defense would seem to proceed logically thru the following points:

1. Are the people convinced there is something to fight for? Essentially this is a question of morale. It is not the kind of morale general staffs talk about or can reasonably be expected to understand. For the military martinet, morale may be created by conscripting the unemployed and belittling at them when their shoelaces are untied. If this does not instill enough morale, the commanding officer will supply more with a rousing speech about "duty." The kind of morale that counts has little to do with volunteers vs. conscription or with the neatness of a soldier's cot. Adolf Hitler's legions have morale that counts. Their morale is the ghastly afterbirth of the World War, incubated in the muck of Central Europe and nursed by megalomaniacs. It is monstrous, vindictive,

destructive. But it moves and it has not yet spent itself. The British people have morale that counts because it is based on more than defense of the Empire. Its verve comes from the promise of the leaders of the British workers that the outcome of this war will be the more abundant life for which labor has long striven.

2. Defense of an unsatisfactory status quo is not enough to touch off the winning spirit of a people. Recently it was reported from Washington that the House Rules Committee would not even permit consideration of a bill to authorize the appropriation of \$5,000,000 in subsidies to make possible the lending of \$150,000,000 thru the United States Housing Authority. That slum clearance might have something to do with national morale would never occur to the generals and admirals to whose press conferences reporters now flock to get inspiring words for

the American people. Of the deeper kind of morale which is the basic defense need there has been virtually no discussion.

WHAT IS TO BE DEFENDED?

2. Exactly what is to be defended? By what it has said and left unsaid, the Administration has aroused the suspicion that it is planning to defend the Netherlands Indies and to give the British everything short of an expeditionary force. If national security means defense of the western hemisphere, how much of it should be defended? Independent experts have sketched plans to delimit hemisphere defense in terms of military realities. What the Administration might mean by hemisphere defense is not clear.

3. How is it to be defended? Nazi victories have impressed laymen with the need for bold,

Brooklyn Painters Ask Green to Help Cleanse Union

Brooklyn, N. Y. A request for aid from the A. F. of L. in ridding their union of "gangster and racketeering elements" was sent last week to President Green by the officials of District Council 18 of the Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers, and A. F. of L. affiliate.

Thru its president, Harry Brustein, and its secretary-treasurer, Sam Freeman, the District Council appealed specifically for the removal of Jacob (Jake the Bum) Wellner, business agent of Local 860, who was jailed for extortion in 1937 but who was returned to office in the union's general election last June. The District Council comprises six Brooklyn locals, with a combined membership of 3,000 painters.

In their letter to Mr. Green, the Council leaders said his refusal to tolerate the reelection of Joseph (Socks) Lanza, racketeer and former convict, as business agent of the United Sea Food Workers Union, Local 16,975, encouraged them to believe the A. F. of L. president would act in the Wellner case.

The communication, sent pursuant to a resolution adopted by the District Council at a meeting on August 19, accused Wellner of having brought gang influence into the union in 1927 and of having caused "adverse publicity which placed our union in the most unpopulous light in the eyes of the public and even placed our organization as a black sheep in the family of organized labor."

Wellner's reelection as business

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Progressives Sweep A. F. T. Convention

Counts Relected, Stalinist Forces Routed

By D. BENJAMIN

Buffalo, N. Y. THE twenty-fourth national convention of the American Federation of Teachers, marking the close of the greatest year of achievement in the history of the organization, resulted in the victory of the complete progressive slate, headed by Professor George S. Counts, the decisive defeat of the Stalinist forces and allies, the adoption of an unequivocal stand against totalitarianism, and the endorsement of a three program in defense of education.



GEORGE S. COUNTS

GAINS OF THE UNION

A great victory was registered during the past year in Jacksonville, Fla., where the local Teachers Union, aided by the A. F. of T. and the A. F. of L., met the dismissal of forty union teachers by electing the president of the local union superintendent of schools and gaining the majority on the local board of education. The aid of the Florida Federation of Labor was decisive. In the same period, the first real collective bargaining contract in the history of the American school system was achieved in Maywood, Ill.; the campaign to prevent the dismissal of married teachers in Peru, Ind., was won; and the teachers of Toledo, Ohio, were saved nearly a quarter of a million dollars, about three times the annual budget of the A. F. of T., thru the defeat of a salary cut. In all cases, the assistance of the organized labor movement played a vital role.

In the University of Montana, five professors were restored to their positions thanks to the aid of the Montana Federation of Labor, which indicated it might withdraw all labor support from the university if a satisfactory settlement was not reached.

GREEN ADDRESSES CONVENTION

The importance of this convention, both for the teachers and the labor movement as a whole, could be seen from the fact that William Green, president of the A. F. of L., came personally to its sessions to address it. He made a strong plea for labor unity, declaring that no conditions would be placed on the C.I.O. unions returning to the A. F. of L., and emphasizing that C.I.O. supporters would have full rights to argue for their point of view within the Federation. A united labor movement, he stressed, would be a powerful force in the country and could accomplish a great deal of good for the laboring masses.

Dealing with matters of foreign policy, Mr. Green expressed sympathy with the peoples of countries invaded and conquered by Nazi Germany and urged aid, without, however, involving the U.S.A. in the European war. His reference to keeping America out of war received the greatest amount of applause at the convention. Mr. Green supported national defense, but opposed the Burke-Wadsworth peace-time conscription bill. Under all conditions, he emphasized, labor rights, conditions and legislation must be protected and maintained.

Mr. Green then passed over to a question that occupied the minds and attention of the big majority of the delegates, both prior to and during the convention—the problem of Communist Party influence in the A. F. of T., especially in the New York locals. He emphasized that the A. F. of T. had not yet tackled the real job of organizing the one million teachers of the country, that this job could not be tackled effectively so long as the great mass of teachers considered the A. F. of T. or its locals as dominated or influenced by the Communist Party; that the A. F. of L., which was eager to help in the organization of the teachers of America, could not do so until this condition in the union was changed. He pointed to the fact that Local 5 had been expelled from the Central Trades and Labor Council in New York. As was to be expected, Mr. Green was greeted with a number of boos from the New York delegation, but the further proceedings of the convention amply demonstrated that the overwhelming majority of the delegates knew from their own experience that Mr. Green had indeed touched the central issue before the convention.

Thomas Lyons, president of the New York State Federation of Labor, emphasized the same point in his talk before the convention. The A. F. of L., he said, had cooperated very closely with the New York State Federation of Teachers Unions thruout the year, particularly in regard to state aid and other legislative issues in Albany. Appeals on his part to other teacher groups and organizations to join the Teachers Union, however, met with rebuffs, he reported, because the teachers-union movement had become plastered with the communist label.

LOCAL 5 ADMINISTRATION EXPOSED

The administration of Local 5, New York, tried to answer these charges in a mimeographed bulletin

entitled "An Answer to President Green." It tried to prove that the communist label was attached to Local 5 because of its progressivism and militancy. The minority delegates of Local 5 thereupon countered with a bulletin called "The Communist Party Line and Local 5," which laid bare beyond any possibility of doubt the deadly parallel between the line of the Communist Party and the line followed by the administration group in Local 5 from 1930 on. The minority statement stressed the right of every member to his political opinion and affiliation, but categorically opposed any political domination of the union, and showed how such domination was preventing the further growth of the organization. This bulletin made a distinct impression on the delegates because it was full of facts, well-documented and clearly presented, because it showed plainly the definite relationship between the Communist Party line and that followed by the Local 5 administration.

An analysis of the membership figures of the A. F. of T. disclosed the fact that whereas the A. F. of T. as a whole had been stationary during the year, there was a considerable loss of membership in the New York (985 members) and Philadelphia (815 members) areas—in the latter case amounting to fully 40% of the membership! In both of these regions, the policies of the union and of the C.P. had become identical in the eyes of the teaching staff.

PROGRESSIVES SWEEP ALL

The convention gave a decisive answer to this problem when it re-elected Professor Counts, leader of the progressive, anti-Stalinist forces, as president of the A. F. of T. by an almost two-to-one majority, by 418 votes to 239 for his opponent, Professor De Boer. The fifteen vice-presidents elected were all of the progressive slate. Among them were Mark Starr, educational director of the I.L.G.W.U., and Layle Lane, both of New York; Ruth Wanger, of Philadelphia; Arthur Elder, of Michigan; John Connors, of Massachusetts; Professor Axtelle, of the College Department; Mildred Berelman, of Chicago; Michael Eck, of Cleveland; and Jane Souba, of New Rochelle.

TOTALITARIANISM BIG ISSUE

Next to the question of Stalinist control, the question that received major consideration at the convention was that of totalitarianism. The majority of the resolutions committee recommended the adoption of the following resolution: "That we support 'government of the people, by the people and for the people,' and will work that such government 'shall not perish from the earth,' while we unequivocally condemn and utterly oppose all dictatorships, whether of Nazi, fascist or communist origin, whether in Germany, Italy or Russia, and the transplanting or practise of their ideas and methods within the confines of our country or our profession." The minority of the resolutions committee introduced an amendment similar to that sponsored by the C.P. in other unions, proposing the condemnation of "all dictatorships, whether foreign or domestic." The Stalinists and their allies fought vigorously against the specific condemnation of Russia and the Communist Party, hoping to cover up the defense of these latter thru a general, vague condemnation of totalitarianism in the abstract. The debate made clear that the A. F. of T. was faced with a duty to the teachers and the public to make clear in no uncertain terms its devotion to the democratic spirit and its definite opposition to the totalitarian way of life as it has already asserted itself in Germany, Italy and Russia, and as it is developing in many ways in the United States and other countries of the world.

The Stalinist forces tried hard to prevent a roll-call vote on this most important question; they hoped to take advantage of the fact that many delegates had already left for home, precisely those delegates who, coming from distant parts, had more than one vote each. But a roll call was finally taken and the Stalinist position was decisively defeated. For the vote was 358 to 250 against the amendment to strike out the names of countries and movements identified as totalitarian. After that, the convention adopted the original resolution.

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Labor and Democracy

From the A.F.L. Auto Worker

(These paragraphs are from a recent issue of the A.F.L. Auto Worker, official publication of the A. F. of L.'s United Automobile Workers of America.—Editor.)

WHY was France defeated? According to Colonel McCormick, publisher of the Chicago Tribune, it was because of the social reforms enacted for labor's benefit in France prior to the war. He says that such laws as that providing for the forty-hour week undermined the government by making it impossible to arm. The moral which the Colonel wishes drawn from this is obvious. He feels that our country should not make the same "mistake." We should junk our labor laws right away to permit wages to be slashed and hours lengthened.

We have our own ideas about why France was defeated. For many years before the war, powerful financial and political groups in both France and England were pro-Hitler and pro-Mussolini.

Winston Churchill, who now heads Britain's government, stated in 1937: "One may dislike Hitler's system and yet admit his patriotic achievements. If our country were defeated, I hope we should find a champion as indomitable to restore our courage and lead us back to our place among nations." Chamberlain was notoriously pro-Hitler.

General Maxim Weygand, who commanded the French forces before they surrendered, was forced to resign from his commission in 1936 because of popular pressure against his fascist sentiments and connections. Several members of Daladier's cabinet belonged to the Croix de Feu, French fascist organization.

The governments of both England and France had made heavy loans to finance Hitler's rise to power and to enable Germany to rearm. Shortly before the war, France sold 400 heavy tanks to Hitler. Even after the outbreak of the war, French capitalists sold coal, iron, and other supplies to Germany.

"The weakness of the democratic powers was not that they were democratic, but that they were not more democratic," said Attorney General Jackson recently, and we agree. The weakness of France and England lay in the fact that their governments were dominated by interests that were incapable of waging a real fight against Hitler because they were basically sympathetic to Hitler and Hitlerism.

Close observers said that after French workers saw that all of their gains in working conditions and living standards won thru years of hard struggle were wiped away by Daladier, they lost morale. They felt they were fighting someone else's war. They had no confidence as soldiers in a government that had waged war on them as workers by robbing them of all they had achieved.

The lesson to be learned from what has happened to France is that Hitler cannot be defeated by forces whose outlook is totalitarian. By this we mean that those who seek to grind labor down under the heel of repression, as Hitler has done, by putting labor in a strait-jacket, cutting wages, lengthening hours and other such measures, cannot be trusted to defend this country and its democratic institutions against the menace of Hitlerism.

The use of war hysteria and the cloak of false patriotism as an excuse to crack down on the labor movement and living standards is not a step towards defeating Hitler—it is a step

From the Typographical Journal

(These paragraphs are from an editorial in a recent issue of the Typographical Journal, official publication of the International Typographical Union.—Editor.)

WHENEVER democratic forms of government disappear, labor unions disappear. This fact alone is sufficient to indicate labor's interest in maintaining our democratic form of government. There is no question but what organized labor will exert its every effort in doing the things that need to be done to adequately prepare our country against outside influence or invasion.

In times of national crisis, great powers have always been concentrated in the hands of those administering our governmental processes, and it appears that within the next few years we may be called upon to accept, temporarily at least, a great deal of centralized control.

During the World War of 1917-1918, the country functioned under a practical dictatorship in the interests of putting our full strength into the war. After the war, we returned to democratic processes, as was expected. If we get into another war, it will be highly questionable whether at the conclusion thereof—win, lose or draw—it would be possible to return to democratic processes.

However, we are not at war and the great majority of our people do not want to become involved in war. They do want to perfect our defenses, and, of course, the government expects to pay for that defense thru taxes collected from the people.

There are those industrialists who have always combated the organization of workers and who still, in spite of the Wagner Act, do everything in their power to prevent labor from organizing. This type of industrialist is always the loudest spoken and seems to have a way of getting the most publicity for his union-hating ideas. This type of industrialist, and his mouthpiece in Congress, are very likely to insist that organized labor do all the sacrificing and those who are not organized remain unorganized "in the interests of national defense." Thousands of that type of industrialists became millionaires during the last war.

As long as we are not at war, there should be no interference with normal democratic procedures, one of which is organization of labor unions. Private industry will produce practically all of the machinery of national defense. It can do so under collective-bargaining agreements just as efficiently as it can under non-union sweat-shop conditions. Labor has just as much right to insist on fair wages and working conditions as an industrialist has to insist upon making a fair profit.

Those who work for a living and appreciate the great contribution made by organized labor to the well-being of this country and the safety of democracy will do well to scrutinize candidates for political office and to make every effort to elect those whose loyalty to democratic procedures is unquestioned. We cannot afford to permit "national defense" to be used as a club to destroy the very thing we are trying to defend.

towards adopting Hitlerism voluntarily. No one, therefore, who is sincere in his desire to defend democracy would propose to accomplish it by adopting the very program that Hitler used to smash it in Germany. We pass this tip on to those whose duty it is to track down alleged "Fifth Columnists."

Railroad Union Heads Flay Conscription

Washington, D. C.

STRONG opposition to peace-time conscription was voiced last week by the Railway Labor Executives Association, representing 1,000,000 railway employees, in letters to Senator Johnson of Colorado and Senator La Follette of Wisconsin. Julius G. Luhrsens, executive secretary of the Association, writing to Senator Johnson, said:

"There has been no demonstration that the voluntary method will not furnish the necessary manpower. Adoption of conscription in peace-time will fasten an odious military system upon the American people for generations.

"It will be a serious menace to civil and economic liberty and tend to completely destroy real American democracy."

The letter to Senator La Follette said in part:

"It is unbelievable that Congress should conscript man-power and neglect entirely to conscript big industry now on sit-down strike."

"All information is replete with repetition that big industry is again not only endeavoring to repeat the World War exaction of exorbitant profits but to outdistance that practise by now exceeding the unconscionable profit racketeering.

"Every evidence points in the same direction as during the last war, concerning which one of the largest industrialists declared that his obligation was to his trustees in preference to his government.

"The railway labor organization is fully cognizant of this method of unfairness to the government by big industry and is unwilling to have it countenanced by coercion, intimidation and threat. Our Association, representing more than a million men exclusive of the mothers and sons of their families, while in session in Washington, D. C., unanimously adopted the following:

"That a committee be appointed composed of one man from each of the four groups in connection with other organized labor groups for the purpose of formulating a program intended to meet the menace of the sit-down strike now being carried on by big business against the government and the people of this nation in refusing to cooperate in the present vital defense program until they are guaranteed excessive profits."

"Man-power has its income very materially reduced when loyalty to its government is demanded. Still industry demands unconscionable increases in its profits, and patriotism for this nation and its people is thrown on the discard."

Lundeberg Sues Stalinist Sheet On Draft Libel

San Francisco, Cal.

THE Sailors Union of the Pacific, at a membership meeting here recently, voted to bring action for libel against the Voice of the Federation, a Stalinist sheet, for the story it printed to the effect that Harry Lundeberg, secretary-treasurer of the S.U.P. and acting president of the Seafarers International Union, an A. F. of L. affiliate, had joined a committee with Roger Lapham, the West Coast shipowner, to boost the Burke-Wadsworth conscription bill.

"It's a goddam lie all the way thru as far as I am concerned," Lundeberg told the S.U.P. at a membership meeting "and now it's about time the membership of the S.U.P. takes a stand on whether or not they're going to let a lot of scab-herding, yellow-bellied communist stooges publicize a lot of filthy lies or whether to go to town and drive them back into their rat holes where they came from."

The membership voted unanimously to "go to town."

LABOR DAY GREETINGS

from the

Knitgoods Workers Union Local 155, I.L.G.W.U.

Louis Levinson, President

Louis Nelson, Manager

LABOR DAY GREETINGS

Bonnaz and Hand Embroiderers, Tuckers, Stitchers and Pleaters Union

LOCAL 66, I.L.G.W.U.

Zachary L. Freedman, Manager



Bullitt Speech Part of Drive Against Labor

Washington, D. C.

EVIDENCE is accumulating with alarming swiftness that the warnings issued by John L. Lewis and other labor leaders that labor must "keep its guard up" in this emergency were certainly no understatement. Standing out in this evidence are two recent speeches. These are Wendell Wilkie's acceptance speech at Elwood, Ind., and Ambassador William Bullitt's speech at Liberty Hall, Philadelphia. No labor man or woman can read these speeches without keen awareness that arguments for national unity supposed to be based on European events largely focus against organized labor and against the social reforms which the organized labor movement and its friends have been able to bring during the past seven years from unwilling industry and finance.

Both Wilkie and Bullitt pay lip service to the rights of labor in a democracy and then both proceed to use the analogy of France and her debacle in the face of the Hitler machine as illustration of labor's "faithless" role in the struggle against the Nazi will to world domination. Bullitt is not as explicit on this score in his speech as is Wilkie but the total effect of Bullitt's utterances is to brand the entire organized labor movement of this country at this moment as a witting or unwitting instrument of collaborating communist and Nazi forces. He does this not by direct reference to the labor movement as such but by a blanket innuendo aimed at all those who question conscription proposals and other legislative and administrative acts and methods in the current defense program.

Since the labor movement is by all odds the largest single body of opinion in the nation to do so, it follows that Bullitt's observations must have been fashioned with that movement in mind as one of the major factors. In essence, he was asking the people of the country in his Liberty Hall speech to abandon all their critical faculties in this crisis and place absolute trust in the wisdom and justice of the Administration officials entrusted with developing the defense program. Put another way, he was insisting that right here and now the American public forsake its active practise of the democratic way of life as the only technique thru which that way of life can be defended against the Nazi way of life.

With industry and finance putting a "pistol at the government's head" in the grab for profits in the defense building program—to borrow the phrase of President O'Neal of the

Clayton Act Fails to Protect Trade Unions

Once Hailed, Has Since Proved Boomerang

By MATTHEW WOLL

(This is the second of a series of articles on labor and the anti-trust laws by Matthew Woll. Another article will appear in the next issue of this paper.—Editor.)

LABOR suffered severely under the Sherman Act. The American Federation of Labor immediately interested itself in having organized labor freed from the restrictions of this act, of the conspiracy doctrine and of the rules our courts had woven around that doctrine and the conception of restraint of trade. Ultimately, the American Federation of Labor succeeded. In 1914, it succeeded in having enacted what is known as the Clayton Act. Perhaps it will be remembered how Samuel Gompers proudly proclaimed the Clayton Act as a Magna Charta of labor. But again we had failed to reckon with the courts and the facility with which terms may be juggled and the ease with which phrases and nice-sounding terms could be converted into the most dangerous and poisonous weapons against labor.

The Clayton Act is very clear. A careful reading of it would give you the unquestioned impression that labor was exempt from the Sherman Act and that labor could not suffer under it for any reason. But what is the actual situation?

It wasn't long before the courts again ruled that labor was really not exempt from the restrictions of either the Sherman or the Clayton Acts. They held that the Clayton Act merely reaffirmed the old common-law doctrine of conspiracy and did not remove labor or labor organizations from the application of the Sherman or Clayton laws. They were indeed most clever, adroit and subtle in their interpretations and constructions of these laws.

PROVISIONS OF CLAYTON ACT

But what does Section 6 of the Clayton Act provide?

First of all, it declares that "labor is not a commodity or article of commerce." Interpreted literally,

American Farm Bureau—and with inside reports from the Defense Council continuing to portray a trend away from regard for labor standards, it is not surprising to hear some labor voices wondering where the sense lies in girthing one's loins for the fight against Hitler if one's nation is itself Hitlerized in the process.

If Bullitt was speaking for the President and the Administration—and there is now no doubt he was—the import and tone of his speech make it clear that the American people have been and are being denied access to the facts. Because Bullitt's remarks imply a whole series of facts of the utmost immediacy and gravity to this nation—facts which no Administration has a right to conceal from the common people whose fate is at stake. One may be pardoned for agreeing with the sentence or two in Wilkie's speech where he asks for the facts on the probabilities and possibilities of military action by Hitler against the United States. But the genuineness of Wilkie's request is put in doubt a few sentences further on when he too trots out labor and social reform as one of the basic causes of the French collapse.

Every impartial student of the French situation knows that the accusation brought by Wilkie and so many other big-business mouthpieces that it is now a central propaganda theme against labor is without foundation in the facts. In an article on the French defense-industry problem in a recent issue of this paper, Frank Hanighen, American journalist and co-author of "Merchants of Death," quoted Henri Bouche, editor of L'Aeronaute, principal trade journal of the industry, in July 1936 as follows: "This 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."

Hanighen showed how production improved after the semi-nationalization of the airplane industry. Pointing out that it would have done better except for a number of obstacles, he says: "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."

He analyzed the defense-industry strikes in France and pointed out that there were none of substantial duration after 1936, four years before the Hitler conquest of France. Evidence that the 40-hour week retarded French production is wholly lacking. In fact, as Administrator Fleming of the Wages and Hours Act has stated, the evidence is the other way. When the French hours were raised from 40 to 45 in October 1938, evidence was abundant that neither enough equipment nor material was available to warrant the increase in hours.

But what are mere facts when a reactionary hysteria has to be drummed up?

the philosophy woven about that legislative declaration removes labor, labor organizations and their activities completely from the field of interstate trade and commerce. Since commerce must deal actually with some physical transactions, and labor is not engaged in the sale of a commodity, therefore it is not embraced within the provisions of the Sherman Act. The labor of a human being could not possibly constitute the sale of a commodity because what labor sells is labor-power. Labor does not sell itself, but only its ability to produce. It does not sell that which is ultimately created, and hence could not come under the definition of trade or commerce.

Then Section 6 of the Clayton Act goes on to say that nothing in the anti-trust laws shall deny the existence or operation of labor, agricultural and horticultural organizations. Mind you, there was the distinct exemption first, that labor, agricultural and horticultural organizations shall not be declared illegal; second, that individual members shall not be held to have violated the law so long as their conduct was only for lawful objects and no illegal methods were employed; thirdly, that neither labor, agricultural or horticultural organizations, or individual members thereof, shall be held to be acting in restraint of trade or commerce or in a conspiracy to that end.

Yet, what do we find? The first exemption is that labor organizations shall not be declared illegal. So far, no court in the land has attempted to declare any of our trade or labor organizations illegal. Thus far they have honored this exemption.

The second exemption covers the individual member of labor organizations but only in so far as his actions may be for a "lawful" object and he does not use "illegal methods." While this exemption applies strictly to the individual members of the organization, the courts, nevertheless, have disregarded this clear distinction and by misinterpretation have dragged in labor organizations within this second classification and have thus held that these organizations were exempt only insofar as "lawful objects" and "illegal" methods were not involved. Thus the courts deliberately applied the conspiracy doctrine to these organizations, the Congress had specifically exempted them from these restrictions and limitations.

The third exemption runs to both the organizations and the individual members thereof, and states clearly and specifically that organizations of labor shall not be held to be organizations operating in restraint of trade or commerce or be held to be "conspiracies in restraint of trade and commerce." Yet, every decision ever since the enactment of the Clayton Act has held specifically that a "conspiracy" existed on the part of labor "in restraint of trade" because of this, that or the other thing. This came to a climax in the Duplex and the Bedford Stone cases.

CLAYTON ACT PROVES BOOMERANG

Now the Clayton Act, which we believed was going to remove labor from the restrictions of the Sherman Act, not only failed in so doing, but to the contrary, it put new shackles upon labor. We find that in the Clayton Act a fourth method of enforcement was provided which gave to the employer the opportunity of securing an injunction for an alleged violation of either the Sherman or Clayton Acts on the part of labor. Thus the door was thrown wide open to hostile employers again to attack labor not only by the civil method of triple damages but by the injunction method as well.

(Continued on Page 4)

GREETINGS

from the

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R. Zuckerman, Chairman

Benjamin Kaplan, Manager-Secretary

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America Faces the Crucial Problem of "Appeasement"

By WILL HERBERG

COLONEL Charles A. Lindbergh's recent radio address has brought the problem of "appeasement"—of "playing ball" or "co-operating" with a victorious Germany, master of Europe—to the fore as an issue of American policy on which public opinion will soon have to declare itself. It is a question of great complexity, one that cannot be answered by a few slogans or by insinuations as to motives. It can be answered only thru a sober, realistic, objective examination of the situation in the light of basic American interests, the interests not of a few privileged exploiting groups but of the masses of the people of this country.

WHERE LINDBERGH IS RIGHT AND WHERE WRONG

It is only fair, I think, to recognize that Colonel Lindbergh is on substantially firm ground in his comments on the general military situation confronting the United States. His warnings against American involvement in the European war are definitely in place, and his emphasis on our virtual immunity from invasion or attack by powers outside this hemisphere, provided we stay within it, is certainly in line with the best military opinion. Nevertheless, I think he goes altogether wrong when he comes to discuss what he describes as "the relationship we will have with Europe after this war is over." For he advocates an attitude and a course of action that seem to me to take no account of the actualities of the situation or of the real character of any system of world relations that can conceivably emerge from a German victory. It is on this aspect of the problem that I want to make a few remarks in this article.

Colonel Lindbergh himself places the issue in the following terms:

"While I advocate the non-interference by America in the internal affairs of Europe, I believe it is of the utmost importance for us to cooperate with Europe in our relationships with the other peoples of the earth. It is only by cooperation that we can maintain the supremacy of our western civilization and the right of our commerce to proceed unimpeded thruout the world. . . . In the past, we have dealt with a Europe dominated by England and France. In the future, we have to deal with a Europe dominated by Germany. But, whether England or Germany wins this war, western civilization will still depend upon two great centers, one in each hemisphere. . . . An agreement between us could maintain civilization and peace thruout the world as far into the future as we can see."

SAVING "CIVILIZATION" WITH HITLER

It is not difficult to demolish Colonel Lindbergh's own basis for his policy of "appeasement"—the maintenance of the "supremacy of our western civilization." A "western civilization" that includes a Nazified Germany as one of its chief pillars is surely a bloody farce; it has meaning only when conceived in racialistic terms. And indeed, it is only too obvious that the Colonel does most of his world-political thinking in racialistic terms. For what can the "supremacy of western civilization" as he uses it conceivably mean but the supremacy of the "white race" (or perhaps even of the "Aryan race") over the yellow and black peoples of Asia and Africa and the "semi-Asiatic hordes" of Russia?

To anyone not obsessed with the racialistic delusion, it should be obvious that western civilization in any true sense is entirely incompatible with Nazism, and that should Hitlerism prevail in Europe, it will mean the eclipse if not the extinction of that civilization. An alliance with Hitler to preserve "western civilization" makes about as much sense as an alliance with Al Capone or Dutch Schultz to maintain the supremacy of the law.

AMERICA AND A HITLER EUROPE

But the problem still remains. We see no reason as yet for writing off Great Britain as summarily as Colonel Lindbergh seems to do. However, should Hitler emerge triumphant from his present war, we will be faced with the problem of what ought then to be our guiding line in relation to a Nazi-dominated Europe? After all, American policy has always been to deal with Europe as it is without much regard to ideological or political antipathies, however marked. Quite satisfactory political and commercial relations were maintained with the Russia of the Czar and the Turkey of the Sultan, altho both of these regimes were executed by the great masses of Americans. (The one big exception to this rule was the refusal of Woodrow Wilson and his Republican successors to recognize Soviet Russia because they didn't like the communist regime, and that is now widely recognized among thinking Americans as a bad mistake.) Why not, then, take the same attitude towards a Hitler Europe despite our abomination of Hitlerism and all its works?

The difference, I think, is crucial, and it brings us right down to the

fundamentals of the situation. For Nazism differs in certain significant respects from the despotisms and the imperialisms of the past. All imperialisms are in their very nature expansive and aggressive, but the elemental dynamism of Nazism is something essentially new. Nazism—fascism generally—must expand or perish; unceasing thrusts outward, once it has exhausted its rather meager internal resources, are the very law of its

being. It can never settle down to "digest" its conquests, even for a relatively short period, as the Anglo-French "appeasers" of pre-war days discovered to their grief; it must ever drive forward restlessly, frantically to new gains, new achievements, new triumphs. Nazi dynamism is not merely a glib catchword coined by a sensational writer; it is an irreducible and crucially significant feature that can be ignored only at our peril.

Lewis Explains C.I.O. Stand On Peace-Time Conscription

(We publish below the most important sections of the statement recently issued by John L. Lewis, on behalf of the C.I.O., opposing peace-time conscription.—Editor.)

THE Congress of Industrial Organizations stands second to none in its desire for effective national defense. It has, therefore, pledged itself to the fullest cooperation with proper defense measures.

In the establishment of adequate national defense, however, it is just as essential that unwise and unworkable proposals be defeated, as it is that proper measures be taken. In the excitement of a period of crisis, measures are sometimes advanced so fundamentally in opposition to our national democratic traditions that their proponents would not dare propose them at any other time. It is our belief that peacetime military conscription is just such a measure.

REASON FOR OPPOSITION

Briefly these are the reasons which have impelled the C.I.O. to oppose the pending conscription measure:

1. There is a better way to recruit a proper army for defense than conscription. Voluntary enlistment under terms which have a real concern for the needs of the individual would quickly provide a suitable army. The period of enlistment should be shortened to one year. The pay should be raised at least to compare with that of the self-respecting workman. The right to return to private employment should be protected. Provision should be made for the continuation of social-security protection during the period of such enlistment. Private debts should be either assumed or suspended. Officers commissions should be more freely open to enlisted men so that an army career is open to men from the ranks. Under such circumstances the most effective and loyal kind of an army could be raised with much less cost to the nation than the enormous expenditures necessary for conscription.
2. Military conscription now would establish the principle in this nation that the lives of our young men are less privileged than the profit rights of dollars.

Today the nation is watching the shameful spectacle of our government yielding to the imperious demands of corporate industry for vast tax concessions and enormous loans as a precondition to manufacturing arms. The same interests who thus

strangle our national defense call loudly for the forcible conscription of our young men. They claim in one breath that no dollar will be turned to the defense of our nation without a fat and untaxed profit being assured, while almost at the same moment they call upon our young men, most of them workers, to cast aside their liberty and sacrifice their ambitions, or suffer punishment as a felon. It would be a terrible day in American history should our young men be forced to the draft while industry is free to lay down its ultimatum to the government.

3. Forced military service in peacetime would be an alarming departure from the basic principles of our democracy. It is the first step toward the breakdown of those free institutions which we seek to protect.

Citizens who become subject to conscription lose a substantial part of those civil rights and liberties which distinguish a free democracy from a totalitarian state.

Such conscription would further establish in the minds of the young people of the nation the idea that voluntary loyalty to the nation is no longer a necessary virtue. It would introduce them to the principle of compulsion, a principle native to the fascist state and alien to our own.

4. The production of equipment for an army has lagged far behind the enlistments into the military service.

Already there are more men available to the army and the National Guard than can be equipped for some time to come. The present speed of enlistments is far more rapid than the provision of equipment. From the point of effective defense, an efficient, loyal and highly trained army, highly mechanized, is many times more efficient than a sudden, ill-equipped, poorly trained conscript army of three times the size. Conscription now would be an enormous waste of money and manpower.

5. The entire fabric of the nation, both in industrial production and in community life, rent by conscription, would take years to heal. Therefore, the C.I.O. is opposed to provision for peacetime conscription as a measure inimical to the most effective kind of national defense and alien to the democratic way of life.

Britain Still Refuses Independence to India

Viceroy's Offer No More Than Old Scheme

By J. CORK

THE statement issued to India on August 8, 1940, by the Marquis of Linlithgow, Viceroy of India, which has been hailed in the press as "great new concessions to India," is in reality not new at all. England had previously promised India dominion status after the war, and rejected the demand for independence, either now or later, on the hypocritical plea of her responsibilities to the minorities (i.e., the Moslems). A careful reading of this latest statement indicates that Britain has not retreated one iota from her previous position. The same offers are repeated, the same reasons given.

In regard to the question of whether proposed "concessions" should be granted now or at the end of the war, the position of this document is the same as previously: "It is clear that a moment when the commonwealth is engaged in a struggle for existence is not one in which fundamental constitutional issues can be decisively resolved. But His Majesty's Government authorizes me to declare that they will most readily assent to the setting up after the conclusion of the war with the least possible delay, of a body representative of the principal elements, etc. . . ."

In regard to the minorities question, which England has continuously used as an excuse for not granting independence, the document says: "It goes without saying that they (the Government) could not contemplate the transfer of their present responsibilities for the peace and welfare of India to any system of government whose authority is directly denied by large and powerful elements in India's national life. Nor could they be parties to the coercion of such elements into submission to such a government."

That's very clear. As to the question of independ-

ence for India: "There has been very strong insistence that the scheme should be primarily the responsibility of Indians themselves and should originate from Indian conceptions of the social, economic and political structure of Indian life. His Majesty's Government are in sympathy with the desire and wish to see it given the fullest practical expression subject to the due fulfillment of the obligations which Great Britain's long connection with India has imposed on her and for which His Majesty's Government cannot divest themselves of responsibility. In plainer language, nothing doing!"

As a whole, the document is very "mild," and exudes sympathy for the aspirations of the Indian masses, but its real content is the same as always. It represents another spirited effort on England's part to reap the enormous potential resources of India in wealth and manpower for her war effort at a time when Italy's invasion of British Africa offers a great potential threat to the Near East and the route to India. The India has already contributed substantially to the war effort, it is as nothing compared to what she can do, if the opposition can be mollified. Hence, England's latest bid. Most of the help to England has come from the independent princes, who realize that they can perpetuate their thrones and their exploitative rights over the oppressed masses in the principalities only with the aid of Britain.

BRITISH TERROR CONTINUES

Meanwhile the British government is increasing its acts of terrorism against Indian nationalists. Arrests all over India now number many thousands. Most are held without trial. Left-wing radicals and labor leaders particularly are rounded up. Special attention is being paid to the Congress Socialist Party, Bose's

NO "COOPERATION" WITH HITLER

Nazism is war in permanence, with all economic, political, ideological and military forces fused into one outward thrust of aggression. Even that limited and very precarious stability of relations which we had become accustomed to regard as "peace" under traditional imperialism is no longer possible. To envisage "civilization and peace thruout the world" following a Nazi victory, as does Colonel Lindbergh, is sheer blindness or worse. For the United States to "co-operate" with Hitler in "reconstructing" Europe under his rule would simply mean that we would help build up the strength and power of the greatest menace to peace and civilization on earth today—a repetition on a far greater scale of the disastrous Chamberlain-Daladier "appeasement" experiment of pre-war days. It would be nothing short of suicidal folly.

Let it not be forgotten that Germany can very well win the war and yet emerge from it far from strong in essential respects, economic and military. In addition, new difficulties are bound to arise to confront the Nazi overlords. Hitler unmistakably looks to the Americas for the resources to sustain his regime and perpetuate his dominion. A policy of "appeasement" would help him achieve this end, which it is manifestly not in our interest to do.

From an international standpoint, too, the same conclusion is to be reached. For, within the orbit of its own power, Nazism is also war in permanence—a silent war without mercy or respite waged against the masses of the underlying population. "Cooperation" with Hitler would mean American assistance to him in his efforts to bolster his barbarous rule over enslaved and conquered Europe. It would be a crime a thousand times more monstrous than the "cooperation" with Russian Czarism in the period of reaction

following the abortive revolution of 1905. It is not a policy that any liberal-minded American could tolerate.

In short, both national interests properly understood and our international obligations agree in opposition to a policy of "appeasement" as advocated by Colonel Lindbergh and others. On the contrary, every consideration of interest and duty makes it absolutely mandatory upon us to prevent the resources of this country and this hemisphere from being utilized by Hitler for the purpose of consolidating his conquests and perpetuating his rule. Fortunately, such a policy of "non-cooperation," if we may call it that, fits in measurably well with a domestic program of economic functioning conceived in terms of the welfare of the great masses of the American people.

ECONOMIC WELFARE AND SECURITY

A reorganization of our economic life on the basis of tapping to the full our vast resources at home in order to raise systematically the levels of domestic welfare has long been overdue. In any rational sense of the term, there are no such things as "surpluses" of farm or industrial products for which outlets must be found overseas in Europe or Asia. These so-called "surpluses" exist only because of the miserably low living standard of the American people, manifesting itself in the very inadequate buying power of the masses. To the degree that mass consuming power is increased thru raising living standards, to that degree will the so-called "surpluses" cease to be a problem. We need not therefore fall into the trap of those special-interest groups that warn us that we will have to play ball with Hitler or else be faced with fast accumulating stocks of goods without a market. That market we can find right here among our own people in America, if only we redirect our economy to serve the

welfare of the people rather than the profit of vested interests. A country that is really a continent in itself, with such vast resources of every kind and variety, inhabited by a people of unparalleled energy and technological ingenuity, ought not to be scared out of its wits by the specter of "unsalable surpluses." Our true salvation lies not in the mad scramble for overseas markets and resources, inevitably leading to imperialistic adventures, foreign entanglements and wars, but in building a self-sustaining economy of welfare and security within our own ample borders—and, to the degree it can be achieved on the basis of democratic pan-American cooperation, within the western hemisphere as a whole.

This does not by any means imply the abolition of foreign trade, altho foreign trade has rarely ever been much more than 10% of the national income and last year it fell below 5%. It does mean that our imports should be restricted to what we actually need to supplement our domestic production, and our exports to what we must pay for these imports. It does mean an end to the unpardonable folly of feverishly searching overseas for markets for goods of which our own people are so badly in need. It means above all an end to the criminal practise of underwriting with American millions the wild extravagances and brutal atrocities of foreign dictators.

Yes, let us carry on foreign trade, including trade with Germany and Nazi-dominated Europe, to the degree we must for our own welfare—but not a whit more. Certainly no loans to Hitler to "reconstruct" Europe and save himself, no "arrangements" with the Nazi conquerors for "economic stabilization" or the "restoration of the world economic order." In short, no

* See the brilliant presentation of the case for American "Continentalism" in Charles A. Beard's "The Open Door at Home."

"appeasement," economic or political.

WHAT OUR POLICY OUGHT TO BE

For Hitler to attempt to invade this hemisphere, even should he triumph over Britain, would be the same sort of madness as for the United States to get involved in a war in Europe or Asia. Colonel Lindbergh is undoubtedly right when he says that "neither [the United States nor Germany] is in a position to attack the other as long as the defenses of both are reasonably strong." With our position virtually impregnable from a military standpoint and our economy reorganized along lines of self-sufficiency and mass welfare, our policy, it would seem, is clear.

We must keep out of war in Europe or Asia. And that means that we must really make up our minds to keep out of European and Asiatic power-politics and conflicts of interest or ambition.

We must join in a democratic pan-American front against every form of Nazi penetration in this hemisphere.

We must maintain correct and formal diplomatic relations with every power, whatever we may think of its policies or its regime—in this way returning to the traditional American policy initiated by Thomas Jefferson. Diplomatic relations are not entered into in order to manifest our approval or disapproval of developments abroad, but in order to provide the American government with contacts and agencies in all parts of the world. Rodomontade, emotional rhetoric and bluster play no part in a realistic diplomacy.

We must not permit the resources of this country or, as far as we can help it, of this hemisphere, to be used by Hitler in consolidating his conquests and perpetuating his bloody regime. For one thing, we can put these resources to much better use ourselves!

LaFollette Bars Profiteer Trick

"SENATOR La Follette is responsible for the failure of Administration forces in Congress to try to rush thru as a separate measure the excess-profits bill provision permitting manufacturers to amortize within five years the cost of new plant built to handle defense orders. The Wisconsin progressive is reported to have threatened to offer the World War excess-profit tax as an amendment to any separate amortization bill that the House sends to the Senate."—United States News, August 23, 1940.

Thomas Advances Socialist Farm Plan

Offers Four-Point Program to Meet Crisis

By NORMAN THOMAS

(This is a summary of an address delivered by Norman Thomas, socialist candidate for the presidency, at a picnic of the Michigan Farmers Union.—Editor.)

THE first and fundamental thing which I want to say is that you farmers are more than farmers. You are men, American citizens, human beings profoundly concerned for the peace and well-being of mankind. You have a common interest with your fellow-workers in mines, mills, factories, offices, shops and schools of all kinds over America in the conquest of poverty and the establishment of a true and genuine democracy. You hate all forms of totalitarianism, but you do not want America to engage in wars in Europe and Asia, or to enter the paths of ruthless militarism and imperialism which lead straight to fascism and war. You know that no nation ever yet got true prosperity or true peace by devotion to armament economics and peace-time military conscription. Rather, the opposite is true. The United States will not be an exception. You want, of course, to defend your homes, and efficient defense can well be one of the consequences of the intelligent action of a democracy which harnesses its machinery primarily to the conquest of poverty. But the conquest of poverty can never be incidental to armament economics and conscription.

Indeed, I might argue from the experience of Russia, and I think, of Germany, that it is farmers who pay the heaviest price for armament economics and peace-time military conscription. It is their boys who get the fewest exemptions; it is they who suffer most when the nation is concerned for guns rather than butter.

I am, however, glad to speak more specifically upon farm issues as socialists see them in a time when revolutionary changes, due to increased mechanization in farming and to the new conditions which control world trade, raise peculiar difficulties for farmers. Let me, briefly, lay down the following general principles:

1. Socialists believe that the ultimate solution of the farm problem lies in the town and cities. That is to say, it lies in the possibility of so increasing the national income that all consumers, in town
2. Minimum wages to guarantee an irreducible standard of living to those laboring in the fields, factories, mines, transport, offices and schools.
3. Nationalization of all natural resources.
4. Modernization of the economic life of the country thru the rapid introduction of modern mechanical means of production.
5. State control of mining, mechanical transport and heavy industries.
6. State financing of extensive public works and industrial undertakings for the productive employment of the huge mass of labor wasted today.

and country, can have what they want and need. Experts tell us that a well-fed America would require more of every important food product except wheat. A well-clothed America would require many times the amount of cotton, woolen and linen goods than today go into use on our backs and in our homes.

The solution of our farm problem requires the production of that national income in excess of 100 billion dollars which modern machinery makes possible, and its more equitable division. The same is true of every economic problem.

2. On the road to this solution, it is unfair to let the farmers, as a class, bear the full weight of readjustment. Therefore, there is need for temporary measures of subsidy in the interests (a) of the conservation of the soil, and (b) of the equitable distribution of the burdens of a transition period. The working out of this subsidy is a matter for the most intelligent possible planning, and the most democratic cooperation, between the government, the farmers and other classes of the community.

3. The farm problem cannot be solved by such ruthless regimentation as was practised in Russia. Socialists desire to protect working farmers on their land and to make their ownership more secure by placing ownership on a basis of occupancy and use rather than a title deed. To be sure, we intend to get rid of absentee landlordism in town and country, and particularly we intend to end the misery and slavery of the plantation system. For plantations, in general, should be substituted cooperative collectives under expert guidance. Absentee landlordism may be dealt with by proper types of land taxation and, in some cases, by government acquisition of absentee-owned estates—if necessary, by purchase. Migratory workers should be an especial concern of the federal government. All benefit payments to farm-owners should be based on the preservation of minimum standards for day-laborers and share-croppers.

4. Since health and education are national responsibilities, there should be national provisions for better health conditions in rural communities, and for the proper support of rural schools in the poorer regions.

5. Introduction of free and compulsory secular education for all children up to the age of sixteen.
6. Minimum wages to guarantee an irreducible standard of living to those laboring in the fields, factories, mines, transport, offices and schools.
7. Introduction of the system of the seven-hour working day and of the leave of one day a week and one month a year with full pay.
8. State guarantee of employment or relief for every willing worker.
9. Protection of public health and sanitation to be an important item of state budget; free medical aid stations in each village.
10. Introduction of free and compulsory secular education for all children up to the age of sixteen.
11. Constitutional guarantee for

"Patriotism"—At a Profit . . .

"MORE and more Senators are increasingly irritated by the alleged unwillingness of some American industrialists to make a single concession in the interests of national defense unless assured in black and white, in advance, that they will get a big profit."—United States News, August 23, 1940.

"Real bottleneck checking the progress at vital points in armament program is businessmen distrust of the government. Industrialists in many instances are demanding that profit limitations be removed and that tax changes be in writing before a hand is turned in building defense plant."—United States News, August 30, 1940.

the freedom of the press, speech and association.

12. Fulllest freedom of religious worship.

13. Complete cultural autonomy for all the communities.

14. Equal rights and responsibilities of citizenship for women.

"To enforce this program of fundamental reconstruction will be the fundamental duty of the democratic state to be established in pursuance of the goal of complete independence. No state, however democratic formally, can perform its duty unless it is under the effective control of the masses. The democratic state to be established for reconstructing the nation on the above lines must be a government of the people, by the people. There will be no delegation of power. Such a state can be established only thru the capture of political power by the masses and their direct control of the Executive as well as the Legislative. The failure of formal parliamentary democracy, and the world-wide experience that political power and economic protection are not necessarily associated with legal and formal rights, must compel all advocates of popular welfare and progress to visualize a more effectively democratic form of state organization."

ROY'S STAND ON RUSSIA

Roy continues his uncritical acceptance of everything Russia has done in the recent period of time. Russia's aggressive war against Finland, the Hitler-Stalin pact, the recent pro-Nazi activities of Stalin and his clique, all are defended and condoned by Roy. An article by him in a recent issue of his paper, Independent India, dealing with Russian questions, ends by saying: "The cause of freedom and democracy anywhere in the world is today guaranteed only by the Soviet Union."

It is not to be concluded from this that Roy is at all working amicably with the Communist Party of India. On the contrary, the dishonest twists and turns of policy of the C.P. of India, from extreme opportunism to ultra-leftism, as elsewhere in the world, have been castigated by Roy as sharply and clearly as by Roy. Yet, on the international front, Roy finds strange bed-fellows.

Workers Age

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WILL HERBERG, Editor

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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

MILITARY ALLIANCE WITH CANADA?

THE Presidential agreement with Canada on the establishment of a Joint Board of Defense, in effect the initial stage of a military alliance with the northern dominion, is a striking example of the irresponsible war-making diplomacy pursued by the Roosevelt Administration.

It is true that from the standpoint of its own security, the United States could not very well stand by and see Canada attacked by or pass into the possession of a foreign power. The Canadian government understands this thoroughly and counts heavily upon it. As someone has well put it, the vast undefended U.S.-Canadian frontier is now Canada's best protection.

But Canada is a belligerent, engaged in a war in Europe. A joint military agreement with a belligerent power comes very close indeed to direct involvement in war. Of course, that is precisely the value of this agreement in the eyes of the Administration. It is a stepping stone on the way towards an outright military alliance with Great Britain, which has been the Administration's aim all along.

No one knows exactly what the agreement with Canada means or how far it goes, which is equivalent to saying that it means virtually what the Administration wants to make it mean and goes as far as the Administration wants it to go. Even worse, there is every reason to fear that this Canadian agreement, entered into in the name of the defense of America, may be the forerunner of a similar "defense" agreement with Australia, this time obviously with an eye to the Dutch East Indies. Even to the most elastic imagination, Australia is not in the western hemisphere, any more than the Dutch Indies. But for the Administration anything is possible, and we may well expect very soon to be involved in Presidential agreements that mean war in the Far East as well as in Europe.

Perhaps the most dangerous aspect of the whole business is the way in which the President concluded the military agreement without in any way consulting the Senate or permitting public debate on the issue. The agreement is in effect a treaty, whatever the technicalities may be, and under the Constitution, treaties must be submitted to the Senate for discussion and approval. But the President doesn't want any discussion, nor does he want any interference with the increasingly free hand he is giving himself in dealing with problems that mean life and death for the American people. Apparently, as far as Mr. Roosevelt is concerned, Congress is just a nuisance, unfortunately needed to appropriate money and pass legislation that the White House and the army and navy heads think necessary. But the levers of policy, particularly foreign policy and defense, he intends to keep in his own hands as much as possible without any impertinent interference from Congress or the people.

WHY YOUTH SHOULD BACK THOMAS

(Continued from Page 1)

rejection of the coalition cabinet. The government has found the way to underwrite the profit system without getting into business—an orgy of armaments spending. Consumer-goods production and public works go down. Profits go up. Republicans and Democrats, at odds over spending for human needs, applaud it for human destruction, billion by billion.

The idea is to defend democracy—our own or somebody else's, nobody quite knows. But the armaments drain on the national income is seconded by attacks on labor standards in industry under government contract, the signal for reduced wages and longer hours generally. Government presses rush their mobilization orders, ready for use. Roosevelt orders conscription, commanders the National Guard, and prepares intervention in Latin America. Dictatorship to defend democracy!

Eight years in power have not taught the New Deal that jobs are our best national defense. Eight years out of power have not taught the G.O.P. that the budget the American people want balanced is the human budget!

"Grand old parties"—they offer the youth of America nothing but fears. Fear for the future—fear of war—fear that we'll follow much of the world into the nightmare of fascism.

Youth can vote its hopes and not its fears in this election by voting for socialism—the democracy that works.

A socialist vote is a vote to raise steadily the living standard of the American people—by increased production of consumer goods, higher wage and hour standards and more jobs, adequate work-relief while needed and increased social security, steady lessening of the armaments drain on the national income, progressive income taxes and not the increasing sales and wage taxes that hit low-income groups heaviest.

A socialist vote is a vote for youth! Jobs thru government projects, increased production, age retirement, lessened adult work hours. Education, because families have living incomes, and school facilities are improved. Hope, because a continually expanding economy can provide a continually higher income for its workers.

A socialist vote is a vote of confidence in the future of America!

Day after day, year in, year out, the American people struggle to build for themselves secure and happy lives. The work of their trade unions, their farm cooperatives, their action to protect civil liberties, to keep America out of war, is the work that will free the United States from the burden of poverty and the threat of war.

Socialists fight for workers interests every day in the year. The socialist platform represents their interests. The socialist candidates, Norman Thomas and Maynard Krueger, are their candidates, pledged to carry on the fight. The socialist society will be run in workers interests because they will run it. It will be our democracy because we, together, build it.

Capitalism—an unlimited national emergency!
Socialism—the democracy that works!

The Best Protection . . .

For Workers and Their Families
can be offered only by consolidated forces
of the workers.

FOR

- HEALTH INSURANCE
- LIFE INSURANCE
- MEDICAL CARE
- HOSPITAL AID

RECREATION

SOCIABILITY

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Socialist Policy on the War:

What Kind of War Is It?

By B. HERMAN

(This is a discussion article on our policy on the war. Since it is a discussion article, it expresses the views of the writer himself and not necessarily those of the I.L.L.A. or of this paper. Editor.)

IN a great deal of the discussion on the war question, there appears to be one big source of misunderstanding. All too frequently, the line of argument seems to be: "The war is a capitalist war—that is, there are capitalist powers waging the war on both sides. Therefore it makes little or no difference who wins." But it has never been a dogma of Marxists that because bourgeois governments are waging a war, the working class must remain indifferent to the outcome of the war. Marxist policy in relation to war has always depended on the concrete analysis of the particular war and the consequences for the working class. Marx and Engels supported a victory for England, Bonapartist France and absolutist Turkey against Russia in the imperialist Crimean War in 1853. They supported Germany against Bonapartist France in the first stage of the war of 1870, and then supported Republican France in the second stage of the war. Later, in the war of 1877 between Russia and Turkey, they supported Turkey, although both countries were governed by reactionary, absolutist regimes. The reason is obvious—they regarded the defeat of Russia, the "gendarme of Europe," as a gain for the working-class movement throughout the world.

BASIS OF LENIN'S 1914 TACTICS

Why, then, did the international socialists in the World War of 1914 not advocate the victory of one side over the other? Some socialists have fallen under the illusion that this was the eternal attitude of revolutionary socialists to all wars rather than a concrete Marxist policy based on that particular war. That it was the latter, however, is brought out clearly in Lenin's remarks on the Junius pamphlet in 1916. Rosa Luxemburg had written a pamphlet in which she gave as a basis of her opposition to the war the fact that in this era of imperialism, national wars, wars for freedom and independence, were no longer possible. Lenin refused to accept this basis for his revolutionary-defeatist position, and he answered as follows:

"Junius is quite right in emphasizing the decisive influence of the 'imperialist atmosphere' in the present war. . . . But it would be a mistake to exaggerate this truth, to depart from the Marxist rule which requires concreteness, to apply the analysis of this war to all wars possible under imperialism, to forget the national movements against imperialism."

Lenin, after explaining that his war position was based on the specific situation of the war of 1914 and was not applicable to all wars, then showed that there was no strict line of demarcation between imperialist wars and national wars. Imperialist wars may turn into national wars, and national wars into imperialist wars. Even the war then being fought might turn into a national war, he said. However, he regarded that as "highly improbable." Why? And here he gives three reasons: the growing ripeness of the proletariat for a revolutionary solution, the reactionary character of the warring governments, and "because the forces of both coalitions do not differ greatly from each other." This is well worth noting. Because the coalitions did not differ greatly either politically or in relative power, the proletariat could be indifferent as to

which side was victorious. Furthermore, Lenin did not take the position that his policy had nothing to do with the military fortunes of the two sides. On the contrary, Lenin maintained that the overwhelming victory of one side, the enslavement of the other, together with the failure of the proletariat to take power would mean a significant change in the character of the war and the policy that revolutionary socialists should pursue. He wrote: "But it would be wrong to declare that such a conversion [of an imperialist war into a national war] is impossible. Should the European proletariat prove to be powerless for twenty years, should the present war end in victories such as the Napoleonic victories and in the enslavement of a number of vital national states, should the non-European imperialism (primarily Japanese and American imperialism) also continue to exist for twenty years without evolving into socialism, . . . then a great national war in Europe would be possible. This would mark the backward development of Europe for some decades. This is improbable. But it is not impossible, since it is theoretically wrong, undialectical and unscientific to imagine world history marching smoothly and systematically forward without some gigantic backward leaps."

TRANSITION TO NATIONAL WAR

Lenin proved more correct in his prophecy than most prophets who attempt to picture the world twenty years in advance. Most of the conditions he described as making for the transformation to a period of national wars have actually arisen. The proletariat has remained "powerless" for two decades; great national states have been enslaved in Napoleonic fashion; Japan and the U.S.A. have not evolved to socialism during these years. With remarkable rapidity, a "gigantic backward leap" has taken place. Can our policy remain static, as if nothing had happened, as if history were "marching smoothly and systematically forward"?

Should England be conquered, then

every national state in Europe will have become enslaved and the subject of Nazi domination. Will we then be able to continue to talk of the "era of imperialist wars," or will we not then be in a period of national wars? Even today, can we say that Norway, which is still at war with Germany, is waging "imperialist war"? Is Holland or Poland waging "imperialist war" or war for national liberation? Eight national states have lost their independence and have been enslaved by Hitler. How do we characterize the status of these eight states? When does the transition to national war take place? How many more countries must be enslaved by Hitler before one can characterize the struggle against him as no longer "imperialist"?

I cannot with certainty and dogmatic cocksureness give the date of such a transition to national war. The very thing I am certain of is that in matters of policy pertaining to war, which depend upon concrete and changing relations, there are no universally applicable dogmas, no fixed, unchallengeable "principles." It is not true that the character of a war cannot change. It is not true that one cannot change one's policies with the changing situation in a war. There is no principle, Marxist or otherwise, that there is a fixed "era of imperialism," begun on a certain date in the 1870's, after which national wars are impossible, even for Europe. There is no universal law such as "the main enemy is always at home"—a law never used by Marx and Engels. There is no fixed rule anywhere that policies applicable to the struggle against Bonapartism and Czarist reaction in the nineteenth century are inapplicable today to developments far more devastating in their effects on the working class.

The main point of these few remarks is to stress that no great problem such as war can be really dealt with by repeating old shibboleths, or by approaching it in an inflexible, dogmatic spirit. What we need is a serious examination of the problem in its concreteness, an objective examination free from all discrimination and subjective reactions.

Clayton Act Fails to Protect Trade Unions

Once Hailed, Has Since Proved Boomerang

(Continued from page 2)

Heretofore, employers who sued under the triple-damage suits had very little success. Juries were reluctant to find labor guilty under such dangerous punitive penalties. So, too, the government at that time did not move criminally against labor, excepting in four or five instances. Even in these cases by the government, few proved successful because here again juries intervened in the interest of labor. But now the injunctive method proved the most valuable weapon in the hands of hostile employers.

LABOR SEEKS RELIEF

Again labor was forced to turn its eyes toward Congress for relief. Congress responded in ultimately enacting the Norris-LaGuardia Anti-Injunction Act, placing a large degree of restraint upon injunction proceedings against labor. And then, later, followed the enactment of the National Recovery Act with its labor provisions, which not only clearly set out the right of labor to organize and select its representatives, but which likewise favored and protected the right of collective bargaining.

The National Labor Relations Act, which followed thereafter, went even beyond that. In addition to affirming the right of labor to organize, to have representation of its own choosing, to bargain collectively, etc., it also made illegal all the practices employers had heretofore used as means of preventing labor from becoming organized. Thus, it placed restrictions upon employers encouraging or financing company unions or persuading or intimidating employees not to join a union, or by other familiar methods holding workers in subjection by threat of loss of employment opportunities

at the hands of those in the sole control of industry.

For all practical purposes, the enactment of the National Labor Relations Act constituted a complete repudiation of the principles and fictions that had heretofore governed our courts in their decisions against labor. The National Labor Relations Act made clear that employers no longer had a property right to a so-called free labor market. By this act, not only was the "yellow-dog contract" declared unlawful, but it was made an outright offense. The same is true of company unions, heretofore protected by the courts. Then, too, the whole of our industrial relations was placed upon an entirely different basis than that which had heretofore prompted our courts in their decisions against labor. And finally, the National Labor Relations Act to the same degree affected the Sherman and Clayton laws—especially in so far as labor organizations are concerned.

Despite all this, our courts have apparently failed to note the change that has taken place. They seem reluctant to give way to these new principles that govern our industrial life. If this is permitted to go unchallenged, we may soon find ourselves back where we were fifty years ago.

But, of course, our courts cannot act of their own initiative. There must be some moving force to bring it about that the same Administration that made possible the enactment of the National Labor Relations Act should harbor in its own midst a man in charge of a department of government who is evidently bent upon a complete reversal of all the progress made by labor and who would now return labor organizations under the control of the Sherman and Clayton Acts under such harsh terms and restrictions as even its most bitter enemies had never conceived possible.

Labor Day Greetings

Joint Board Dress & Waismakers Union

JULIUS HOCHMAN, General Manager

BEN EVRY, President

N. M. MINKOFF, Secretary-Treasurer

Amalgamated Ladies Garment Cutters Union, Local 10,
Isidore Nagler, Manager

Dress & Waismakers Union, Local 22,
Chas. S. Zimmerman, Manager-Secretary

Dress Pressers Union, Local 60,
Max Cohen, Manager.

Italian Dressmakers Union, Local 89
Luigi Antonini, General Secretary-Manager

Is Wealth More Sacred Than American Lives...?

ORGANIZED labor's bitter denunciation of the proposal to conscript man-power without conscription was echoed by members of the Senate who last week attacked munition-makers demands for more profits in connection with national-defense orders.

"It is very significant," said Senator Bennett Champ Clark, staunch opponent of peace-time conscription, "that the measure for conscripting the youth of the country to be made cannon-fodder if need be, immediately precedes the bill which is designed to repeal every limitation which Congress has imposed on excessive war profits."

Senator Clark was referring to the excess-profits tax bill reported out by the House Ways and Means Committee which, as Charles M. Kelley, Washington correspondent for Labor, pointed out, "will mean a 'Roman holiday' for profiteers if it gets thru Congress." The bill was drawn up to answer the industrialists demand that all limitations on profits be repealed, that they be permitted to amortize in five years the cost of plants and equipment constructed for defense, and that new tax levies be materially lighter than during the last World War, when 30,000 new millionaires were created.

Senator Clark added: "We first pass the bill to conscript the young boys of the country and send them off to the army, and then the next week we bring in a bill to remove every limitation on profits which may be made by shipbuilders and munition-makers and to suspend the tax laws in their behalf, so as to permit them to amortize these excessive earnings over a period of five years."

Senator Bone added his protest to the "fantastic whirlwind of finance" which he said characterized the present armament program. If tax legislation on which the Ways and Means Committee was working became law, Senator Bone said, "it will constitute one of the terrible ironies of the period."

Organized labor and the American people in general had better be wary of this whole scheme that is being put over so skillfully—that of conscripting man-power with the promise that excess profits will not be allowed. For if things are permitted to go on in the direction in which they are headed, it will turn out to be a very empty promise.

If, as we are being told over and over again, conscription of man-power is "necessary for defense," let's suggest that the procedure be reversed. Let us not tolerate conscription of man-power until a bill conscripting the wealth of the nation for the "national effort" has become law, affixed with the President's signature and seal. Then and only then should so drastic a measure as the pending conscription bill be seriously considered.

War Agitation Breeds Confusion on Defense

Administration Refuses to Answer Queries

(Continued from page 1)

news came from the highest sources early in August. Before a joint hearing of the House Ways and Means Committee and the Senate Finance Committee, Defense Commissioner William S. Knudsen admitted that equipment for an army of 2,000,000 men would not be ready until "the middle of 1944" and Secretary of War Henry L. Stimson revealed that contracts had been let for only 33 planes of the 4,000 voted by Congress in June. Most newspapers blanketed these facts by playing up the opinions of witnesses that "tax uncertainties" must be removed. The "tax uncertainties" boil down to the opposition of industry to profit limitation or excess-profits taxes and its insistence on immediate provision for quick amortization of new plants against taxes.

On August 14, Mr. Knudsen "revised" his earlier statement. Full equipment for an army of 1,200,000 would be ready by October 1, 1943, he said. Mr. Knudsen's undetailed estimate is the most specific available. Other officials have been silent or vague. On August 12, Assistant Secretary of War Robert P. Patterson had nothing more definite to say to the Army Industrial College than this: "At the present rate, we cannot achieve our armament objectives in days, weeks or months. It will take at least a year before our industrial front can be consolidated."

What is the significance of these figures in terms of immediate conscription? As of August 1, army man-power was approximately 270,000. Voluntary enlistments for July net (after deductions for men whose enlistment was up). This record was achieved before any effort to make army life more attractive. If this rate of net enlistment were maintained, an army of 1,200,000 men will be enlisted by September 1, 1943—a month before the equipment for them will be ready, according to Mr. Knudsen's estimate. Meantime, Congress has provided for a year's training of the National Guard and reserves. This adds an estimated 275,000 men to the army and makes a total of 545,000 men immediately available.

Yet the possibilities of voluntary enlistment are being ignored and the excellent record of the Army Recruiting Service is being distorted. On August 11, the New York Times ran a special dispatch from Washington on recruiting under the headline: "Army 105,000 Short of Maximum Set." The story began: "The army must recruit about 105,000 men in order to attain its authorized maximum enlisted strength of 375,000 men, the actual total as of today being about 270,000 men." The story does not state when the authorized strength was raised. (It was on June 5, 1940.) It does not mention the recent record-breaking enlistments. By leaving out such relevant facts, the story leaves the implication that voluntary enlistments are unsatisfactory.

THE ARMY IS IMPATIENT

Opponents of conscription fear that it would allow the army high command to dominate American life. Some evidence of how this might come about is already available. On August 13, Brigadier General William E. Shedd, Assistant Chief of Staff, complained to the House Military Affairs Committee that the army was "forced" to delay

its plans to train conscripts because Congress had not yet enacted conscription. Congressional approval of the draft seemed to be nothing more than a bothersome detail holding up the army's unauthorized plans! Mr. Frank L. Kluckhohn, the New York Times Washington reporter covering the conscription debate, shared General Shedd's annoyance. His dispatch that day began: "Altho Congress was told today that delay in enacting selective military-service legislation, with appropriations for the draft and for housing and equipment, makes it impossible for the army to get its training program fully under way before January 1 as planned, the Senate gave no indication of limiting debate." Mr. Kluckhohn's impatience with the Senate because it did not respond to what it "was told" by General Shedd reflects a state of mind that might easily become general.

"Most of the Senate's time was taken up by an attack on selective military service by Senator Wheeler of Montana, isolationist," the story continues. Senator Wheeler, "isolationist," apparently has no right to take up the Senate's time after the army has spoken. Mr. Kluckhohn's editors supported this kind of reporting with the headline: "Army Plans Unsettled by Delay in Draft." When the side the Times does not like cannot be ignored, it becomes legitimate to sneer in print. Mr. Kluckhohn is acceptable at this method of coloring stories. Another example: On August 17, a column-long interview with General Marshall ended with the following paragraph: "John L. Lewis, president of the Congress of Industrial Organizations, endeavored today to put pressure upon members of Congress to defeat the selective-service bill. He sent a letter to all Senators and members of Congress." As a good Times man, Mr. Kluckhohn can tell the difference between "pressure" put on Congress by John L. Lewis and the C.I.O. and "enlightenment" patriotically offered Congress by Colonel Julius Ochs Adler and the Military Training Camps Association.

B'klyn Painters Ask Green Help Cleanse Union

(Continued from Page 1)

agent was ascribed by Brustein and Freeman to the joint efforts of "shady elements," bent on reestablishing racketeer rule, and members of the Communist Party. They said the District Council was facing very serious organizational problems in connection with renewal of its collective-bargaining agreement, and that the mere presence of Wellner as a union officer inspired "mistrust of the sincere objectives of our organization."

"We are confronted with incidents where representatives of real-estate firms have one reply to all our efforts to organize their properties and that is 'as long as Jake the Bum is your business agent we will have nothing to do with the painters union,'" the letter asserted. "The C.I.O., on the other hand, is making an effort to enter the building-trades field in Brooklyn and their organizers are using the name of 'Jake the Bum' as a means of keeping away contractors from signing agreements with our union."