

In the Next Issue:
REPORT ON THE PROCEEDINGS OF I.L.L.A. CONVENTION

Workers Age

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Organized Labor Faces A Decisive Test

BOTH of the great labor federations that met in convention last month were faced with the problem of ridding themselves of destructive influences in their own ranks. At New Orleans, it was a problem of purging the A. F. of L. of racketeers; at Atlantic City, of purging the C.I.O. of communists. Which evil was the greater we leave to the reader to decide; both represented malignant, cancerous growths on the body of labor, and drastic surgical action was imperative in both cases.

What action did the conventions take? Both adopted resolutions. The C.I.O. resolution was a pitiful subterfuge. It took a stand "firmly rejecting consideration of all policies emanating from totalitarianisms, dictatorships and foreign ideologies." But it did not say a word about the real and aching problem—Stalinist influence in the C.I.O. Stalinist officials dominating the C.I.O. and some of its important affiliates. The resolution brought to Atlantic City by the Amalgamated Clothing Workers was more forthright and did put its finger on the real sore, but it was barred from the convention floor and committee on some absurd technical grounds. The Hillman opposition collapsed, and the "unanimous" resolution was, negatively yet plainly, a virtual vote of toleration, even encouragement, of Stalinist penetration of the C.I.O.

The A. F. of L. resolution on racketeering was much better. It spoke out clearly on the issue and pledged efforts at reform. If it did not go as far as David Dubinsky and others would have liked in giving the Executive Council power to remove officials of affiliated Internationals in certain special cases, it did empower and instruct the Council to "apply all its influence" to wipe out racketeering from the ranks of labor and to rid the movement of officials guilty of corrupt practices. Given the will and determination to use them to their full effect, the powers conferred on the Executive Council appear quite sufficient to enable it to purge the ranks of the Federation of the unsavory criminal elements that bring disgrace upon it today.

Unfortunately, it is not quite clear how far the will and determination will be forthcoming. For, after having adopted the resolution against racketeering, the convention unanimously—with the I.L.G.W.U. delegation abstaining—re-elected to the Executive Council George E. Browne of the Theatrical Stage Employees, notorious as the employer and protector of Willie Biuff and men of that stamp. Actions, they say, speak louder than words, and there are many who interpret this action as a demonstration that the anti-racketeering resolution was adopted only for effect and need not be taken too seriously. It would be a tragedy if this interpretation were to turn out to be true.

At least the C.I.O. was more consistent when it came to elections. Having refused to adopt a stand against communist infiltration, the Atlantic City convention elected Joe Curran, notorious Stalinist agent, as one of the six vice-presidents of the organization. This, too, was a demonstration, an unmistakable demonstration that the Stalinists are still close to the levers of power in the C.I.O.

The situation which the A. F. of L. faces is a grave one. Public opinion—including labor public opinion—is greatly aroused over the scandal of racketeering, gangsterism and corruption in the labor movement. Just 60% of the people questioned in a recent Gallup poll declared themselves in favor of more governmental regulation of trade unions, as against only 27% who favored more governmental regulation of business. Even the low-income group—those earning \$20 a week or less—favored more governmental control of labor organizations. If the resolution adopted by the New Orleans convention is now allowed to lie and gather dust, if the pledge to fight racketeering turns out to be merely a few vain words, if the will and determination that must implement even the best of resolutions prove to be absent—the public reaction will be angry and overwhelming. Under such circumstances, with public opinion actively against it, the trade-union movement will be in danger of losing not merely many of the gains of recent years but also perhaps a good deal of its independence and freedom of action that are so vital to its free existence in a democracy.

The A. F. of L. faces a challenge that may well prove decisive. Will it fulfill the duty it took upon itself at New Orleans? Will it live up to the pledge it made before all America? Will it vindicate the ideals and standards of American labor against the shame of racketeering, gangsterism and corruption? With the responsibility it bears to the millions of American workers who trust and follow it, it cannot, it must not fail!

Political Pressure of Church Hit in Russell Case Probe

Kallen Charges Revival of Suppressive Tactics in Drive Against Philosopher for His Social, Educational Views

New York City.

THE "fouling" tactics employed by 'ecclesiastical-political' forces to bar Bertrand Russell, world-famous British philosopher, from appointment to the faculty of the College of the City of New York, are thoroughly exposed in a pamphlet "Behind the Bertrand Russell Case," published last week by the Committee for Cultural Freedom and written by Dr. Horace M. Kallen, professor at the New School for Social Research. This pamphlet, a reprint from Twice A Year, views the assault on Russell as "the current phase of a warfare waged by priestcraft against men of faith and science since science first began to penetrate the dogmatic walls of churchly doctrine."

Asking rhetorically whether the Russell case conceals an ecclesiastical-political attack on the Americanism of Roger Williams, Thomas Jefferson, Justice Oliver Wendell Holmes and others in the great American tradition, Dr. Kallen observes:

"All variations, all new thoughts and inventions have, in the nature of things, a hard time getting a hear-

ing. They appear, naturally, as the ideas of a minority, and it is of the essence of democracy that the right of any minority to equality under the law shall be safeguarded by the majority. The more the idea diverges from the idea of the majority, the more it requires the guarantee of the majority that it shall have an opportunity to make good on its merits, without fear and without favor.

"In a democracy, the educational establishments are where this opportunity is properly provided. In the schools and colleges, the new idea can be studied freely, and with a minimum of social risk and a maximum of social advantage. It can be scrutinized closely, freely compared with its alternatives, and judged impartially without that clash of vested practical interests which occurs in the extra-mural world. It is to just such scrutiny, comparison and judgment that Bertrand Russell offered his observations and judgments on sexways."

While absolving most Protestant churches and ministers of any blame in the libel upon Russell, Dr. Kallen finds the "duty to persecute" men of faith and science strongly maintain-

Britain, U.S. Seen "Appeasing" Franco

Navy Attacks Labor Protective Laws

Admiral Charges They Hamper Defense; Perkins Upholds Labor's Social Gains

Washington, D. C. An attack on protective labor legislation as hampering defense production was launched last week by a spokesman for the Navy Department in an official report. At the same time, Secretary of Labor Perkins made a strong plea for the preservation of labor's social gains during the emergency in the interests of defense as well as the general welfare.

The Navy Department pronouncement was made in the annual report of Rear Admiral Ray Spear, head of the Bureau of Supplies and Accounts. Admiral Spear cited the Walsh-Healy Act and minimum-wage regulations as among the factors that were hindering expansion efforts in defense industry. He also attacked limitations on profits and the excess-profit taxes as contributing to the retardation of industrial construction to meet defense needs.

"The Walsh-Healy Public Contracts Act," the Spear report said, "continues to be a disturbing factor in the procurement of some lines of government supplies. . . . The promulgation of minimum wages has created new problems which seem to be difficult to overcome. . . . It is apparent that there is much hesitation in the expansion of plant and plant facilities due to the restrictions on the employment of surplus capital and plant expansion in the form of a limitation on the profit and the excess-profit taxes."

In making this frank plea for giving capital a free hand to pile up profits out of defense production while depriving labor of its most elementary safeguards, the Navy spokesman gave details indicating a virtual strike of big business against the government. Concern after concern, he said, had refused to bid for Navy Department contracts unless they were exempted from the provisions of the Walsh-Healy Act setting minimum wage rates and a maximum work-week. This type of sabotage Admiral Spear did not find it necessary to condemn; on the contrary, his conclusion was that big business would have to be "appeased" by doing away with protective labor legislation and excess-profit taxes.

The need for preserving labor's social gains during the defense emergency was emphasized by Secretary of Labor Perkins and other

patriots. "As against this combination of fundamentalist clerics, machine politicians and professional patriots, there rushed to the defense of the powers and personality of Bertrand Russell, of his moral and intellectual integrity, of his courage and devotion to the cause of truth, and of his value as a teacher, scholars, scientists, clergymen and laymen of all views and opinions."

The libel against Russell, he stresses, gives evidence that "the persecutors of Bertrand Russell, like their fathers before them, are continuing the two wars which make up the bulk of the history of religions. They are waging a civil war against new religions, new cults, new sects and their heresies." They are waging a foreign war against science. They are waging these wars because they wish, where they already have it, to maintain, and where they do not have it, to impose, their sole and exclusive rule of the minds and hearts of men. They demand monopoly, and will brook no competition.

"But religious heresies and scientific ideas are competition. They arise because the orthodox system has failed to do its job, and they are endeavors to do that same job better. The job is called by churchmen, salvation; it goes by other names in other enclaves; but whatever the name, it stands for the same task, the same end: to enable men to be freer and safer and happier whether in this world or another. Orthodoxies are more concerned with an other world; heresies and science with this world. But all alike recognize that the world we now live in is not a world that was made for us; that it is a world beset with dangers, threatening hunger and thirst and cold, sickness and barrenness, warfare and death.

CHURCHMEN'S IMMUNITY SHARPLY SCORED

Dr. Kallen assails those churchmen who, in matters of sex, have been the most intransigent and aggressive in "claiming for their dogmas the special privilege of immunity from doubt, inquiry and competition. It is because of his scientific findings on these matters that Bertrand Russell is assaulted in the characteristic manner of churchmen. . . . Having reached his conclusions, he (Russell) laid them open to the public scrutiny and analysis of all men, but especially his scientific peers. He claimed no special privilege for them. He did not ask for them immunity from scientific criticism. He did not demand that

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Trouble Ahead!

DESPIITE public denials from the Defense Commission, insiders say that the Commission's Labor Division experts are working out a system of compulsory arbitration of labor disputes to be offered to Congress if there is another flurry of stoppages in defense industries. — United States News, Dec. 13, 1940.

employees as many hours beyond forty as he pleases so long as he pays the overtime rate of time and a half."

"It would be natural to suppose," she declared, "that a man could turn out more work during an eleven-hour day than he could during an eight-hour day. But experience proves the contrary. As a matter of fact, during the last war, the British Munitions Commission found that a reduction of working hours actually increased production. Nearly a tenth more work was turned out when hours were reduced from sixty-six to forty-five and a half. This is also the experience in the present war. The British Minister of Labor, Ernest Bevin, recently announced that Britain, which, under the superhuman pressure to get out war production had abandoned its hour and wage legislation, had found it necessary to reinstate it in order to keep production up to the terrific pace necessary to win the war. This is no matter of theory but a question of hard fact and a realistic recognition of the war-time necessity of shorter hours for greater production."

Colonel Philip Fleming, Wage-Hour Administrator, who also addressed the conference, said that 51% of employers in industries recently subjected to an enforcement drive had been violating the wage-hour law. He expressed a belief that the people of the United States had become convinced that the law was here to stay and that it would be enforced.

Huge American Loan to Spanish Fascist Dictator Rumored to Keep Him Neutral; British, Greeks Make Big Advances

The British and their fighting allies, the Greeks, scored smashing victories last week in what may prove to be one of the most decisive episodes of the entire war.

The British launched a terrific Blitzkrieg in North Africa. Towards the end of the week, the important point of Sidi Barrani, in western Egypt, had been captured and eight Italian divisions, originally numbering over 120,000 men, were smashed. The fleeing Italian units abandoned considerable stores of arms, oil and food. Many thousands of prisoners were pouring into British hands, to the point, indeed, where transportation and maintenance of them was becoming a serious problem.

The Greeks continued to administer heavy blows to the hard-pressed Italian invaders. In Albania, despite a change of command, the fascist troops were in full rout. Athens reported that Greek troops had already seized the Adriatic port of Palermo, and dispatches spoke of the approaching battle for Valona, towards which the Greeks were driving in two directions, as likely to decide the fate of the whole Albanian campaign.

From Italy, there came rumors of growing unrest and disturbances. A campaign to crush "defeatists and rumor-mongers" was launched by the Italian secret police aided by the Gestapo.

Altho the outcome of the fighting in Albania was obviously of immense importance to Germany, Hitler still showed no sign of coming to the aid of Mussolini in a military way. The Balkan situation was far from "clarified" and it was not likely that either Bulgaria or Yugoslavia would grant the necessary permission for the passage of German troops to the theater of war.

There was no hope for a quick peace, Hitler warned in a formal address delivered last week. The speech was couched in the pseudo-

indications that the British Foreign Office and the State Department in Washington were contemplating a policy of "appeasement" toward fascist Spain, were revealed last week in developments on both sides of the ocean. The latest of these was Secretary of State Hull's virtual confirmation of the report that Washington was contemplating offering a credit of \$100,000,000 to the Spanish dictator in return for his promise to stay "neutral" in the war in Europe. Secretary Hull stated at his press conference that the United States had not yet made the decision, but it was not difficult to see which way the wind was blowing in view of the semi-official announcement that the government was willing to allow the American Red Cross to supply Spain tentatively with a few million dollars worth of foodstuffs.

Among other signs that Anglo-American policy is now definitely oriented towards "buying off" General Franco are the following:

The British ambassador to Spain, Sir Samuel Hoare, expert "appeaser," recently conferred with the late British ambassador to the United States, Lord Lothian. Sir Samuel and the American ambassador, Mr. Wedell, have been holding conversations described as "very significant," with Spanish Foreign Minister Serrano Suner. Members of the British and American embassy staffs in Madrid have been working in close cooperation on plans to ease Spain's desperate economic situation. London is definitely arranging a \$10,000,000 credit to Madrid. Britain has granted navicerts for 150,000 tons of corn ordered on credit by Spain from Argentina. A number of high dignitaries of the Spanish fascist government were recently welcomed to Britain on secret missions while a brief item from London hints that Juan Negrin, former Republican premier of Spain, now a refugee in England, may be expelled from that

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Karl Marx's Humanism

By SIDNEY HOOK

(The following paragraphs are taken, with permission of the author, from Sidney Hook's instructive and illuminating work, "Reason, Social Myths and Democracy" (John Day).—Editor)

CRITICISM of Marx's social philosophy has alternated between the charge of soulless materialism and that of demonic spiritualism. Familiarity with the early philosophy of Marx would dispel misconceptions of this kind. It is saturated with a euerbachianism which brims over with terms like "humanity" and "justice" and "brotherhood." His critique of Feuerbach sought to give these abstract terms a material content in the present historical period and not to deny the possibility of giving meaning to them. As a matter of fact, they pervade even his technical works in economic theory and are always in evidence when he makes a political appeal. I will state three specific expressions of Marx's humanism. If they have an air of novelty, this only reinforces the necessity of making sharper distinctions between Marx and contemporary Marxist movements.

PROPERTY AND PERSONALITY

The first is Marx's recognition that property (not capital) and personality are indissolubly linked. Despite his rejection of the use which both Kant and Hegel make of their philosophy of property, he agrees with them that the possession of some property—articles of use and enjoyment—is necessary to the enjoyment of personality. There can be no effective freedom if we can call nothing our own.

The juridical essence of property is the right not so much to use as to exclude others from what we have. Consider the right of property, Marx argues, in the basic instruments of production in the modern historic period where the independent

craftsman and journeyman are anachronisms. No one can reasonably claim that property in these things is necessary to the development of personality. They are not personal objects of use but impersonal objects of social utility, operation of which provides the livelihood of the masses. The right of private property in instruments of production carries with it the power to exclude the masses from their use, a power exercised whenever business becomes unprofitable. Since this use is necessary to existence, such a right means power over the very lives of those who exist by using them. In other words, Marx recognized that power over things, more specifically the tools and resources of labor, means the power to hinder, thwart and sometimes destroy human personality. It was this insight, together with the desire to free human beings from the arbitrary control which variations in the rate of profit exercised over them, that led him to his detailed studies of the nature and effects of capitalist accumulation. Before him, in the interests of human personality, men had fought for liberation from a secularly armed religious authority. With the expansion of the productive forces of capitalism and the growth of enlightenment, men turned against the traditional forms of political despotism as incompatible with the "rights of man." It is as a phase of this struggle in the interests of human personality that we must understand Marx's proposal to end economic tyranny—a tyranny no less energetic for being, in the main, the unconscious result of unplanned economic behavior. He believed that it was possible by scientific husbandry and democratic control to provide abundance, freedom from economic care, for all members of the community.

IDEAL OF THE "WHOLE MAN"

Another expression of Marx's humanism is to be found in his ideal of the whole man. Under conditions

of modern life, there are two kinds of specialization—one freely chosen by individuals who seek appropriate outlets for their creative energy, and the other imposed upon man by the uncontrolled machine process and the necessity of earning a living. The second kind of specialization reduces man, so to speak, to a part of himself; it depersonalizes him, and leads him to think of his life as beginning just where his work ends. The individual thus finds his lives segmented so that there is no commerce between his desires and his deeds, his play and his labor, his ambition and his opportunities. The natural process of growth is replaced by accidental shifts of interest which build no meaningful pattern. Sooner or later, the worker finds himself, when not unemployed and at loose ends, sunk into a mechanical routine whose monotony is punctuated by bursts of passion against whatever scapegoats convention, and those who interpret so-called public opinion, create for him. Or he lives in the dimension of make-believe, which requires no active participation of any kind on his part.

Marx's ideal of the whole man entails a conception of labor which gratifies a natural bent at the same time that it fulfills a social need. In this way, what appears in our present social context as onerous drudgery is capable of acquiring a dignified status. Welcoming, as he does, the division of labor because it makes possible those levels of productivity in the absence of which there can be no equality of abundance, Marx is distrustful of the psychological effects of over-specialization of any kind, even those voluntarily acquired. An artist who can paint but cannot think, a thinker at home with abstractions but blind to color and deaf to sound, an engineer aware of the slightest flaw in steel and stone but insensitive to the subtle and complex character of human relationships, indeed, any individual

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A.F.L. Membership Now at Highest Point in History

Meany Describes Course of Federation To Present Record High of 4,275,000

By GEORGE MEANY

(George Meany is secretary-treasurer of the American Federation of Labor.—Editor.)

THE membership of the American Federation of Labor for the month of August 1940, based on per-capita tax payments received at our Washington office, stands at 4,274,443. This figure represents the all-time peak membership of our organization.

Not only is the membership recorded at an all-time high point but it is also almost a full fifty percent above the membership figure of a scant three years ago. All signs point to a continued increase in strength in 1941 and beyond, as workers in constantly growing numbers discern the all-around desirability of joining organized labor's ranks.

In order that we may fully appreciate the position of the American Federation of Labor today, in so far as the matter of membership is concerned, we must turn back to the start, to the days when the big and powerful group-up of 1940 was just an infant and, like all infants, small and somewhat feeble.

WAS WOUNDED BACK IN 1881

In November 1881, the organization which is today the American Federation of Labor came into existence in the city of Pittsburgh. Its principal moving spirit was Samuel Gompers. The total membership, spread all over the nation, in that precarious first year was approximately 45,000.

Through its first years of life, the Federation—known at that time as the Federation of Organized Trades and Labor Unions—was involved in conflict with the Knights of Labor. But the Federation gained in membership year by year, passing the 100,000 mark in 1884 and the 200,000 mark in 1889.

By 1890, the struggle with the Knights, for all practical purposes, was over, with the A. F. of L. the unquestioned victor.

In those early, formative years, the membership growth continued steady, but not spectacular. By 1892, the members of the affiliated unions totaled more than 250,000, and during the next six years, membership remained above 250,000 but well below 300,000.

The first really big advance was chalked up as a result of the prosperity which came on the heels of the Spanish-American War.

Organizing enthusiasm swept the nation as tens of thousands of wage-earners perceived that their conditions of work and life could be improved if they banded together in trade unions.

In 1899, the American Federation of Labor's membership aggregated 349,422; in 1900, the figure was up to 548,321; and in 1901, the total stood at 787,537.

The following year the membership passed the 1,000,000 mark for the first time in A. F. of L. history. In 1903, a total of 1,465,800 members was reported, and in 1904 the figure was 1,676,200.

From this point, the membership slipped back to 1,482,872 in 1909. The annual figures for that period were:

1905	1,494,300
1906	1,454,200
1907	1,538,970
1908	1,586,885
1909	1,482,872

While factors other than business prosperity or depression affect the ebb and flow of union membership, it has been found that the influence of the business cycle on the movement of membership is not to be minimized.

In 1907 and 1908, the nation experienced panic and depression. As frequently has happened, there was a time-lag between the onset of hard times and the reflection of economic adversity in the A. F. of L. membership column.

In this period, anti-union employers set in motion an organized and widespread offensive designed to cripple and destroy labor organizations. In 1908, the United States Supreme Court handed down its decision in the famous Danbury Hatter case, as a result of which many trade unionists lost their homes and their savings.

From 1909 to 1914, the Federation enjoyed a new era of growth. Workers and the public at large were awakening to the pitiless exploitation of labor practised by many employers, with the result that in 1912 Congress set up an investigating commission on which organized labor, employers and the public were represented.

The task of this commission was to make a thorough inquiry into industrial relations. The hearings conducted by the commission did much to bring to the public notice the grievances of labor. Exploited wage-earners came to the conclusion that the abuses to which they were subjected could be effectively combated only by enrollment in trade-union ranks.

Starting from 1,482,872 in 1909, the A. F. of L. membership mounted steadily and in 1914 it spurted above the 2,000,000 line for the first

time. The figures for those years were:

1910	1,562,112
1911	1,761,835
1912	1,770,145
1913	1,996,004
1914	2,020,671

It may be noted, in passing, that not only was the Federation's membership in 1914 at its highest point up to then but also the affiliated unions, as a whole, were much stronger than they had previously been.

THE WORLD WAR AND AFTER

In August 1914, the World War broke out and, during the Winter of 1914-15, labor was afflicted with widespread unemployment. The membership of the Federation decreased to 1,946,347 in 1915. Soon, however, orders from the Allies began to pour in, unemployment decreased, and workers made up their minds to reach out for better wages, overtime pay and the other benefits of organization.

Consequently, by 1916, the American Federation of Labor reported a membership of 2,072,702, or more than 50,000 above the previous high registered in 1914.

Trade unionism then received a further impetus from the entry of the United States into the war, which accelerated industrial activity. Through the period of American participation in the conflict and in the two years that followed the armistice, membership of the affiliated unions constantly increased, with the 3,000,000 mark being attained for the first time in 1919 and the 4,000,000 mark the next year.

The exact membership statistics for these years were:

1917	2,371,434
1918	2,726,478
1919	3,260,068
1920	4,078,740

The next few years the unions in the A. F. of L. were under heavy fire from anti-labor business elements, which felt themselves in a position to deal injury to labor organizations. Labor was hard hit by depression, which by August 1921 had brought unemployment to more than 5,000,000 workers.

Led by the National Association of Manufacturers and the National Metal Trades Association, an open-shop drive was launched by industry. This was aided by the economic situation and an unfriendly attitude toward labor on the part of the government and the courts.

Between 1921 and 1924, the membership fluctuated as follows:

1921	3,906,528
1922	3,195,635
1923	2,926,468
1924	2,865,799

The period of 1925-29 witnessed the nation's economic curve moving upward to unprecedented levels. The course of union membership failed, however, to correspond with the industrial trend. The membership in those years was as follows:

1925	2,877,297
1926	2,803,966
1927	2,812,526
1928	2,896,063
1929	2,933,545

The prosperity bubble burst late in 1929. Unemployment was widespread as depression caught the nation in its tentacles. While the Federation reported 2,961,096 members in 1930, the next three years showed a considerable decline in union rosters. In 1931, the total membership of the affiliated unions was down to 2,889,550; in 1932, it was 2,532,261; in 1933, 2,126,796.

The turn came in 1934, stimulated by the formal recognition, contained in the famous Section 7a of the National Industrial Recovery Act, of the right of workers to join labor organizations and engage in collective bargaining, thru representatives of their own choosing, without interference on the part of their employers.

In 1934, the Federation reported a membership of 2,608,011; in 1935, 3,045,347; in 1936, 3,422,398. Thus, (Continued on Page 3)

SYLLABUS-OUTLINE

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Dubinsky Says Big Advance Made at A.F.L. Convention

By DAVID DUBINSKY

(We publish below a statement issued by David Dubinsky, president of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union, evaluating the chief results of the recent convention of the A. F. of L. at New Orleans from the point of view of the I.L.G.W.U. This statement appeared in the December 1, 1940 issue of Justice, official publication of the I.L.G.W.U.—Editor.)

IN taking stock of our participation in the convention of the American Federation of Labor which has just come to a close—the first A. F. of L. convention at which our union was represented since 1935—we have definite reasons for satisfaction with the results of our efforts.

There are few public platforms in America where the democratic spirit is so evident as at A. F. of L. conventions.

It will be recalled that when we rejoined the A. F. of L. last June, we did so after we had been assured by the Executive Council, in a formal letter signed by President Green, that it would recommend to this convention two basic reforms affecting union policy and conduct. One related to the power assumed by the Executive Council to suspend international unions between conventions; we wished to have this abrogated. The second referred to the raising of an annual war chest for fighting the C.I.O. in the form of a special one-cent assessment; we asked that this assessment be eliminated and suggested instead, the doubling of the regular A. F. of L. per-capita of one cent per member per month. Our own international convention adopted a resolution containing a definite proposal for combating racketeering in the labor movement to be presented by our delegates to the A. F. of L. convention.

The Executive Council recommended in its report to the convention, and the convention sustained the recommendation, that the Executive Council be deprived of the power to suspend international unions between conventions. The Council, however, made an exception in cases where two or more unions were found guilty of having been engaged in acts of dual unionism against the A. F. of L. In that event, the Council would have the right to suspend them subject to appeal to the next annual convention of the A. F. of L. The suspended unions would not have the right to be represented and to vote.

Our delegation strenuously opposed this modification because it was contrary to the pledge and understanding reached between us and the Executive Council last June on this matter.

Nevertheless, in view of our abhorrence of dual unionism and of our bitter experiences with its manifestations in our own ranks several years ago, we could not entirely ignore the force of the argument for this modification.

To meet this situation and to safeguard affiliated unions against possible misuse of power by the Executive Council, we proposed an amendment that unions found guilty of dual unionism might be suspended between conventions by the Executive Council, with no denial, however, of their right to representation at the next convention with full voting strength and the right of appeal to such convention.

It is regrettable that the leadership of the A. F. of L. did not exhibit enough far-sightedness to adopt this amendment. We hope that at the next convention the A. F. of L. will rectify this error in the interest of more effective democracy.

On the question of the special one-cent assessment, we are glad to acknowledge that the Executive Council advocated and the convention adopted the proposition to abolish this special assessment and to increase the regular per-capita to two cents per member per month as made in the pledge to us last June.

We are satisfied with the action of the convention on the anti-racketeering resolution proposed by our international.

We realize, of course, that the mere adoption of this resolution does not signify the final blow to such officers or members of labor unions as are found betraying the trust reposed in them. We are convinced, however, that this act of the convention is a step in the right direction and will arouse the conscience of the labor movement to the extent that it will begin to consider in greater earnestness the problem of ridding its ranks of all elements which cast discredit upon it.

In having made these few contributions to the work of the New Orleans convention, we have endeavored to fulfill our obvious duty as members of the great American labor family under the banner of the American Federation of Labor. We have likewise carried out to the best of our ability the mandate given us by our convention held last June, when we rejoined the A. F. of L.

We are sincerely satisfied that all constructive forces in the American Federation of Labor welcomed our return and received us in a spirit of fine trade-union hospitality. We are looking forward to an era of even greater labor strength and cooperation within the American Federation of Labor, leading ultimately to the reuniting of the labor family in America.

Britain, U.S. Seen "Wooing" Franco

Huge American Loan to Spanish Fascist Dictator Rumored to Keep Him Neutral

(Continued from page 1) quences for British and American domestic policy as well.

The new venture in "appeasement" was received with mixed sentiments in official British and American official circles last week. In Washington, strong opposition in high quarters was reported. Public opinion had not yet made itself felt but it was expected that to be largely hostile.

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Read—Spread WORKERS AGE

Labor Conventions From Two Angles

BOTH the A.F. of L. and C.I.O. conventions were confronted with grave internal problems. In the former, it was racketeering and the restriction of the powers of the Executive Council so as to restore the Federation to the time-tested principles of autonomy and voluntarism. In the latter, the central issues were communism, democracy and labor unity.

At New Orleans, David Dubinsky and the I.L.G.W.U. delegation championed the cause of reform. At Atlantic City, the Amalgamated Clothing Workers and allied delegates were the voice of opposition.

What came out of these conventions? On this page, we publish authoritative answers to this question from David Dubinsky, president of the I.L.G.W.U., and J.B.S. Hardman, editor of the official publication of the A.C.W. We may not agree with everything that is said in these articles—in particular we do not share Mr. Hardman's rather optimistic views on the progress made by the C.I.O.—but we believe that these estimates, because they are sober, authoritative and responsible, deserve the closest consideration.—Editor.

Church Role Hit in Russell Case Probe

(Continued from page 1)

their competitors should be suppressed and destroyed. All that he asked was . . . that they should be considered on their merits, in the spirit of scientific impartiality, of sportsmanlike fair play, without handicaps, without fouling.

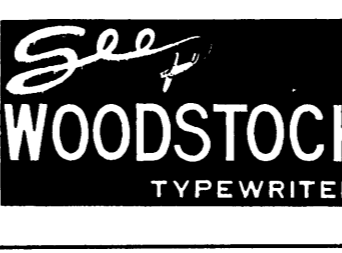
"This apparently the ecclesiastical interests for which Manning, McGeehan and Goldstein speak do not find it safe to do. . . . In the case of Russell, the rights and powers of an appointive body are invaded, his source of livelihood is cut off, his character is libelled, and his opinions are described as sure to 'aid and abet or encourage any course of conduct tending to a violation of the penal law.' This is done ostensibly in defense of 'morality,' on an ipse dixit of a Catholic judge, without a shred of evidence, and without a hearing of the person thus libelled."

ECCLESIASTICAL "FOULING" CHARGED

Churchmen have permitted workers in the physical sciences relative peace since Bruno's ecclesiastical murder, Galileo's torture, and the vendetta against Newton, Dr. Kallen says, but they still "fight an entrenched warfare" in matters of faith, and regarding all that affects folkways and mores, especially sex-wars, they are as fanatical and cruel as they dare to be.

The methods employed against Russell by Manning, Goldstein, McGeehan and their "churchly associates," Dr. Kallen says, "is the current scientific sample of the methods generally employed by churchmen to keep religion going." They are methods which are condemned in sport and impossible in science, art or true religion.

Branding such methods as "fouling," Dr. Kallen says sportsmanship "consists in equal opportunity to demonstrate excellence . . . ; it consists of being willing and ready to win or lose on one's merits, without fear or favor." Until the rise of the Bolsheviks, fascists and Nazis, he says, "no traditional occupation except the ecclesiastical has openly and boldly demanded exemption from the rules of fair competition and claimed unfair competition as a right and fouling as a religious duty. Now those godless cults have joined the godly ones in making these claims. . . . The priestcraft of each cult, godless and godly alike, lay claim to be the keepers of a unique, infallible 'deposit of faith' revealed to them alone, which they are charged by the Triune God or by Dialectical Materialism or by Metaphysical Aryan Blood, or by the Total Act which is the Fascist State, to impose on the rest of mankind. They assert that God and Destiny command that humanity shall believe without doubt, obey without protest, serve without hesitation."



Hardman Sees Setback to Lewis-C.P. Power in C.I.O.

By J. B. S. HARDMAN

(We publish below sections of the editorial article on the C.I.O. convention in the December 1940 issue of the Advance, official publication of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America. The article was written by J. B. S. Hardman, editor of the Advance.—Editor.)

AS to the battle of "isms": The statement condemning communism, fascism and Nazism, adopted by the convention, was not the resolution which the Amalgamated sponsored. That resolution proposed that adherents of the totalitarian philosophies should be barred from holding office in the C.I.O. The statement as adopted makes no reference to office-holding, condemns all these philosophies, says that none of the adherents of these philosophies have ever had any say whatsoever in the conduct and in the policies of the C.I.O. It further affirms that there is room for everybody to work in the C.I.O. and it commits the C.I.O. to the principle of democracy as a dominant feature of American life. The resolution adopted by the convention would not, in all probability, be picked as a sample of straight, logical reasoning but, nonetheless, its value cannot be questioned. It couldn't pass in 1938. So we chalk up one definitely progressive step.

As to democracy in the center of the C.I.O.: The Amalgamated resolution on this issue was not put before the convention because of a most unconvincing technical ground, no ground at all. But this point, as all other points related to the attempts to change C.I.O. attitudes and procedures, can best be understood in the light of one central fact that was dominant in the convention: this was the issue of the prestige of the Lewis leadership.

Mr. Philip Murray's elevation to the presidency, which he repeatedly said he didn't seek, rests upon no constitutional limitations of the president's power to rule as a one-man government. Yet, if we know the spirit of the movement, he will not do the wrong thing. Besides, we know the man, and his ways of doing business.

As to C.I.O.-A. F. of L. unity: On this score, there is no news. It may be added: none could be expected with reason based on knowledge of the play of forces in the C.I.O.

Two major factors militated against action that might noticeably swerve the C.I.O. from its past position.

In the first place, it was the desire of a great many delegates to do nothing that would throw doubt on the high esteem in which the convention held Mr. Lewis as past leader of the C.I.O. The great division between him and the rest of the C.I.O. on the political issue tended, with psychological inevitability, to overstate the extent of unity on all other issues.

In the second place, and there is nothing new about it, the greatest number of C.I.O. affiliates have no stomach for the idea of a return into the A. F. of L. fold. There are, in this category, above all, the new unions who never had any organic relationship to the A. F. of L. except that their early organizing drives were faced with every kind of obstacle on the part of the A. F. of L. craft unions and their jurisdictional outlook. These unions see no reason for a return to the A. F. of L. and they conceive of such eventuality as a form of surrender.

Then there are the unions whose membership is recruited from industries infested with small craft groups and beset by conflicting jurisdictional claims. These unions fear unity negotiations as bound to lead to disastrous split-ups. Of course, they haven't the least confidence that the A. F. of L. has mended its ways or is inclined to do so. Surely, it would take optimism rather than knowledge of facts to assert that there has been any noticeable change on the part of the A. F. of L. leadership on this score. Still that is to be ascertained.

It has been the Amalgamated position on this point that the situation needs to be thoroughly explored, and that should it come out in the search that the A. F. of L. has just played its publicity game with skill but means no honest-to-goodness business, that ought to be brought into the light of day.

To complete the analysis of the strong opposition in the C.I.O. to any negotiations with the A. F. of L. mention ought to be made of those several affiliates whose leadership is in communist or fellow-traveler captivity. Not altogether without reason, these fear that in a unified union movement their sailing would be made more hazardous than now.

So the convention reaffirmed its stand of one and two years ago and continued its Lewis-Murray-Hillman, three-men negotiating committee. President Murray said that he would resist "shotgun pressure" for peace and that he would continue in the spirit of the earlier leadership. However, spirit is a very flexible thing and can be made to serve great ends in capable hands. If the A. F. of L. is in earnest about its unity professions, and it is willing to build, not to seek destruction, progress is not impossible. But a Roman peace it won't have, nor would the Amalgamated help the A. F. of L. secure it.

On the major issues with which the C.I.O. was faced, such as expansion of organization, the protection of labor rights and gains, the defense of democracy against dangers from without as well as within, the convention was a unit and we all are as one in looking forth to great progress in the months to come.

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"Economism" and the Nature of Fascism

Wolfe's Approach Misses Essential Point

By DONALD GRAHAM

In the preceding articles I examined Comrade Wolfe's concept of fascism in relation to its abstract economic approach, its avoidance of concrete analysis of class relations and the effect of a fascist regime upon the socialist and labor movements, and its emphasis on the "anachronistic" character of small nations. This by no means exhausts the question. For, starting from such an approach, it is possible to make a series of deductions in the manner of a composer developing his melodic theme. And Comrade Wolfe is not lacking in the resources of melodic variation. We thus have presented to us a veritable symphony—which could be entitled "The Third Period." Fascism, we are told, springs from the decay of capitalism. This leads to the universal growth of fascism in all countries of the world. This means that fascism is growing by leaps and bounds in Great Britain—while in the United States, Wolfe informs us, the rate of growth of totalitarianism during the past three months has been the biggest in the history of the world. The theory of "social-fascism" comes in thru the window as the theory of "exceptionalism" is kicked out the front door. Then, with a tremendous crescendo, the symphony ends with theories about the greater danger to Germany of a British victory and about the Argentine being more menaced by the United States than by Hitler Germany. We are left in a state of astonished admiration at the power of words over thought. By the ability to weave words together, those who started from the premise that it makes a difference whether Hitler Germany or Great Britain wins—that the victory of Great Britain is preferable—wind up with the greater menace of a British victory and the still greater menace of United States imperialism to the remaining unconquered and independent countries of the globe. Let us examine these theories briefly.

FASCISM AND DECAY OF CAPITALISM

It is true that fascism springs from the decay of capitalism. A bare smattering of the Marxist view of history tells us that the social and political superstructure is related to the economic foundation. This is true not only of fascism. It is true of socialism as well. It is true of Ernest Hemingway, the political regime in Germany prior to Hitler, the trustification of the aluminum industry, and the regime of Herbert Hoover as well as of Franklin D. Roosevelt. Capitalism has been decaying for some seventy years, ever since it entered the period of monopoly. The political and social phenomena resulting from its decay, however, are infinitely varied and multifarious, depending upon the concrete class relations, the relative power and development of the class forces at a given time in a given country, the historical background, the character of the people, and the policies pursued by the contending forces. Hitlerism is an outgrowth of German capitalism in decay. But this is no more profound an explanation than the similarly correct analysis that the social-democratic regime in Germany many years prior to Hitler was also an outgrowth of the same economic soil. Why German capitalism in economic crisis in 1929 produced a tremendous growth of fascism, while British and American capitalism, which entered a devastating economic crisis at the same time, produced no similar growth of a fascist movement is not explained by Wolfe's theory. Class relations and the division in the German labor movement are ignored. What is wrong, however, is not the concept that fascism springs from capitalism in decay. That is a truism. What is erroneous is to attempt to deduce from that truism that, because the entire capitalist world is in a state of crisis and decay, there is an inevitable, irreversible trend making for the growth of fascism in all capitalist countries, with differences only as to speed of growth. Actually, this is a vulgar "economic-deterministic" distortion of the Marxist conception of history. Specific and "exceptional" conditions existing in the different countries are scrupulously ignored, as was customary in the "third-period" resolutions of the Communist International. A characterization of the world-wide economic situation is made the basis for a prognosis of the political development of ALL countries in the world along the same pattern. With an "exceptionalist" approach, not only might the speed be different, but the direction as well.

But more than that, the theory does not correspond to the facts. One pertinent fact can destroy the best of theories. When in three countries of Europe today, all geographically close to each other, and all in the stage of capitalist decay, one is fascist, the second is bourgeois-democratic, and the third is social-democratic, then some other, more detailed, more concrete explanation than a world-wide economic generalization is required. To forecast the development of any type of regime in all countries without regard to the actual outcome of national and class struggles is an absurdity. In the recent elections in Sweden, a country literally enveloped by Hit-

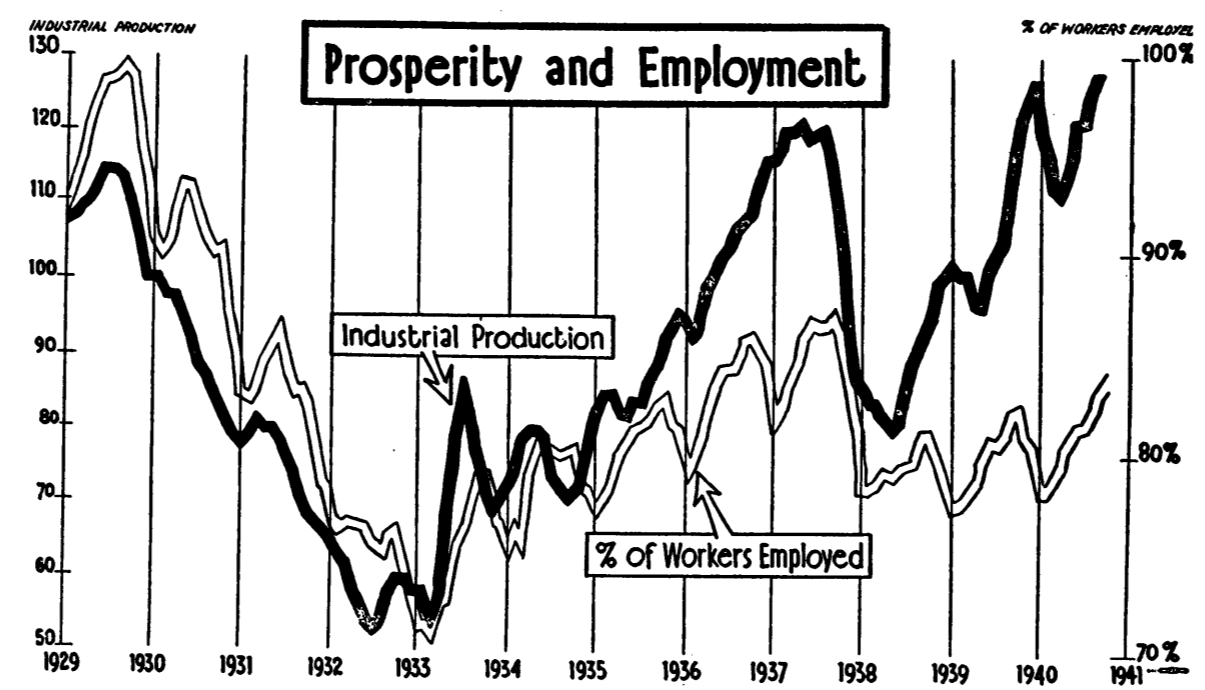
ler Germany and Hitler-conquered countries, the Social-Democratic Party increased its vote and its representation. This is strange! I thought the theory of "inevitable and rapid growth of fascism" in all countries required that Sweden, a country surrounded by fascist regimes, should develop along the pattern legislated for it by Comrade Wolfe. But Sweden refused to cooperate with the theory. England also has refused to cooperate with Comrade Wolfe. The labor movement in England has grown in strength and vigor even under wartime conditions, while the British fascist movement is practically non-existent. This is very unfortunate—not for British labor, but for the theory in question. However, when faced with facts indicating that the trends are the opposite to those predicated by his theories, Wolfe simply implies that it is too bad for the facts.

FRIEDRICH ENGELS AND MECHANICAL MARXISM

This type of discussion reminds me of Engels's reaction to the vulgar "economic determinism" of some fellow-travelers of the Marxian movement in the 1890's. One of them, a literary critic by the name of Paul Ernst, tried to give to the Norwegians, in the name of dialectical materialism, the same mental, historical, social and literary characteristics as the Germans. Engels wrote to Ernst, June 5, 1890, as follows: "As regards your attempts to analyze the question materialistically, I must first of all say that the materialist method is turned into its opposite when used, not as a guideline in historical investigation, but as a ready pattern to which historical facts are stretched and recut. . . . You include all of Norway and everything that happens there in the category of philistinism, and then, without qualification, you attribute to this Norwegian philistinism everything you consider characteristic of German philistinism. . . . One should regard German philistinism not as a normal historical stage, but as a caricature drawn to an extreme, an example of degeneration. The English, French, etc., petty bourgeois is not at all on the same level as the German. . . . The Norwegian peasant was never a serf and this—as in Castille—sets its imprint on the entire development of the country. The Norwegian petty bourgeois is the son of a free peasant and, as a result, he is a real man compared to the miserable German philistine."

There is much more in the above discussion, dealing with the effects of the Napoleonic era on both countries, the development in Norway of the most democratic constitution in all Europe, the effect of the Thirty Years War in giving a certain cowardly imprint upon the German petty bourgeoisie, etc. All this is profoundly relevant. How does Engels analyze, in contrast to a mechanical literary critic, the class developments in two different countries? Does he explain their similarity as due to an economic crisis in 1877 or 1887? Just the contrary, he goes back several hundred years, traces the effects of wars and serfdom of three centuries before on the petty bourgeoisie of one country and contrasts that with the development of the petty bourgeoisie of the other country out of free men. Not once does Engels attempt to construct a uniformity of social, political and ideological trends in the several countries from a common characteristic of capitalism at a certain stage of development in 1890. If one wants a classic example of a Marxist approach compared to a mechanical one, the above is a good illustration.

If the German philistines rushed



This chart shows that industrial production in October 1940 with fewer workers. The unemployment problem will not, therefore, be solved automatically by the growing arms boom. (The Technological advance had made it possible to produce more graph is from The Economic Outlook.)

Karl Marx's Humanism

(Continued from page 1)

who can do a particular job well and nothing else—all these for Marx are creatures who are only partly men.

It is patent that Marx was overly optimistic about the potentialities of creative achievement in men, both as individuals and as a collectivity. Always partial to the great classic ideals of antiquity, he adapted to an age of scientific technology the Greek conception of harmonious, all-around self-development. He does not, however, expect men to be revolutionized by doctrinal conversion or by education in a society which sharply separates school from life. In an early philosophic work, he writes: "By work, man transforms

to Hitler in 1929 while the British and Norwegian petty bourgeoisie regarded fascism with aversion, there must be, I maintain, some better explanation than the economic crisis affecting all three countries. To Engels, the explanation is in the differing class development, going back three centuries. That the American petty bourgeois, who was never a serf, should react to economic crisis in the same way as the German petty bourgeois who, to this day, carries with him the servile condition and mentality of centuries, would only occur to one who regards material conditions as a pattern or die to cut out the human material as tho in a Ford factory. Such an approach was foreign to Marx and Engels. It is sometimes difficult to convince people that Marxism is not some mechanical device for measuring and prognosticating everything according to rule. That is not the fault of Marx. The idea of a simple economic rule or dogma is easy to learn and simple to apply. It is far easier to fit all the nations of the world to a simple theory than to analyze each of them on the basis of its peculiar development.

RAPID TOTALITARIAN DEVELOPMENT OF U. S.

Having thus simplified the cause and origin of fascism to a single world-wide economic phenomenon, it becomes easy for Wolfe to proceed to show that fascism is growing and is bound to grow in all countries as an irreversible trend. What a remarkable political movement fascism is! Unlike socialism, which also arises on the basis of decaying capitalism, fascism just grows and grows! It knows no defeats. It can suffer no reverses! True, the "Third Camp" stands in its way. But then, that could hardly frighten the fascists, if what Wolfe says is true. For "during the past three months, there has been the most rapid rate of de-

(Continued on Page 4)

nature," and adds in "Capital": "By transforming nature [and society], man transforms himself." The process is gradual but neither automatic, inevitable nor universal.

SOCIALISM AND DEMOCRACY

A more striking expression of Marx's humanism, and one particularly noteworthy today in view of the Bolshevik-Leninist distortions of his meaning, is his democratic conception of social control. This constitutes an unambiguous answer to the question: What kind of security, what variety of socialism, did Marx think worth planning for? Marx envisaged the active participation of all members of the community to a point where the vocation of professional politicians would disappear—a rather naive hope but one which bears testimony of his pervading faith in the democratic process. He refused to consider man merely as a producer, a living instrument employed to implement directives laid down for him from above, acquiescent to any sort of totalitarian rule if only it guaranteed him a minimum of creature comforts. The "producer" for Marx was also a user; and it was the decision of the user which ultimately determined the basic objectives of production. That was why Marx looked to the organization—the free organization—of producers and consumers to provide the effective political unit of the future.

Marx's objections to the "clerical socialism" of his day apply even more aptly to the "national socialisms" of our own day in Germany, Russia and Italy. It is not only another form of economic servitude for the masses, but a state of spiritual slavery. "But the proletariat," Marx confidently declares, "will not permit itself to be treated as canine. It regards its courage, self-confidence, independence and sense of personal dignity as more necessary than its daily bread." As a prediction, this has turned out to be tragically wrong; as a declaration of an ideal, it expresses what Marx believed, and what millions today still continue to believe, worth fighting and dying for.

Certain things follow at once from Marx's humanistic democracy. (1) Any criticism of existing democracy, no matter how imperfect, is justified only from the standpoint which seeks to extend the processes of democracy in personal, social and political life or which seeks to bolster it against reaction. (2) Socialism cannot be imposed upon the community from above by dictators who are always, so they claim, benevolent and wise, but who can be neither because of their fear of criticism and love of power. "The emancipation of the working class can only be accomplished by itself." (3) Just as evident is it that the dictatorship of a minority political party which has a monopoly of all means of publication, education, housing, employment, and which, in effect, owns the instruments of production, is a police state and not a socialist democracy. (4) Under certain conditions, socialism without democracy—which is really no socialism at all—may be worse, much worse, than any capitalism that abides by the forms of political democracy.

Marx was a tough-minded realist. He anticipated stubborn opposition to the advance of the democratic process by an influential minority whose immediate interests, prestige and posts of power would be adversely affected in the course of it. If it resorted to violence to nullify the popular mandate, it would be swept from its place by the iron broom of revolution. But, and he was always careful to make this clear, such action would require the support of the great majority of the community; it would not be the work of a minority of self-delegated saviors, or a putsch, or the private creation of one political party.

REVISION AS CONSERVING FORCE

Like all revolutionaries of the nineteenth century, Marx thought of the revolution as a progressive historic event. Beneath the cross-currents of the political struggle, he saw in the socialist revolution a profoundly conserving force rather than a

destructive one. It conserved, first of all, the great technical achievements of capitalism. These were to be used, in peace and not merely in war, to their full capacity, as a foundation upon which to build the structure of a new economy of human welfare. It preserved, even where reinterpretation might be undertaken, the cumulative cultural wealth of the past, carefully treasuring everything of genuine beauty and truth in the arts and sciences of the recent and remote past. The vicious sense of the "Bolshevization of culture," one of the most far-reaching and fateful slogans of the Russian Revolution, would have been set down by him as nothing more than a form of militant barbarism. Thirdly, the revolution was conceived by him as something which would preserve and extend the civil rights and liberties which had been won during the Protestant Reformation and the French Revolution and which Marx regarded as an essential portion of the bequest of the past. Greater intellectual and cultural freedom, as well as a larger area of independence in personal life, were to be fortified by removing the economic restraints which previous religious and political revolutions had left untouched.

All this provides us with a triple criterion by which to determine, in any given case, whether a revolution has a genuine socialist content or whether it marks merely the change by which a group of lean bureaucrats replace the fat. First: Is the standard of living of the great masses of people higher than their standard of living under the most highly developed capitalism? Second: Is the level of cultural activity and creation higher, or at least more inclusive, than what has hitherto been the rule under capitalism? Third: Do the citizens of the community enjoy at least as much freedom of thought, speech and action, as much freedom to criticize and disagree, as they possessed under the most enlightened of capitalism? Unless it be the case that in respect to all three of these questions, the answer is emphatically in the affirmative, the socialist revolution, as Marx conceived it, has not been achieved.

What Has Become of Russian Revolution?

Freda Utley's Book Gives Vivid Picture

By J. CORK

MISS UTLEY'S latest work* is an intensely poignant book, both in the personal tragedy it reveals and in its analysis of what has happened to the Russian Revolution. The skillful interweaving of the two themes intensifies the depressing effect of the analysis and of the picture drawn of the shattering of the Dream of October, which left a whole generation of radicals high and dry in their ideals and in their politics. Miss Utley did not have to struggle her way thru to an intellectual acceptance of the ideals of socialism. She was born into a socialist household. Her father was a leading British socialist, a friend of Marx, Engels and Kier Hardie. She passed thru the Labor Party and the I.L.P., and finally joined the British Communist Party. To Russia she turned eagerly as the actual embodiment of her dream of an enriched humanity forever rid of oppression. She was already a trained economist, a reasoning Marxist. She married a prominent Russian specialist of the "old school," capable and intensely devoted to his ideals. He was carried off in one of the purges; "No words of love passed between us; they were not needed. Reserved to the last and calm to the last, he gave me a gentle smile and was gone. I never saw him again. He passed out of my sight that lovely April morning in his English flannel jacket, his black head hatless, a short figure between two khaki-clad O.G.P.U. officers."

AN OBJECTIVE PICTURE

For years, she tried frantically thru her connections, which were many and weighty, to have her husband freed, but to no avail. Her husband's disillusionment with the realities of Soviet Russia had begun long before her husband's arrest. She was silent all these years in fear of jeopardizing him. But having finally given up all hope for his life, she now offers to the world the views she has carefully framed over the course of years.

For those of us who have already settled accounts with that obscene caricature of socialism that is Stalinist Russia, most of Miss Utley's material is neither new nor particularly shocking. But very few of the books claiming to give the "other side" of the Russian picture have been as closely or objectively reasoned or written by so trained and competent an observer, an observer, moreover, who has had the advantage of working from the inside. For six years, Miss Utley worked in Russia, in the Commissariat for Foreign Trade, and in the Communist Academy.

Those who still require evidence, irrefutable evidence, can go directly to this book for an account of how the "dream" of Russia has turned into a nightmare. There they will learn how the living standards of the Russian workers and peasants have been driven down to a point lower even than before the revolution; how the peasant has been tied to his land like a medieval serf; how

* THE DREAM WE LOST, by Freda Utley. John Day Company, New York, 1940. \$2.75.

the workers, deprived of their independence and without trade unions to represent them, are helpless in the face of slashing wage reductions; how the workers are riveted to the job by the system of work-books and internal passports; how no one has any security in his home, from which he may be driven on three days notice; how the criminal code has been revised so that death sentences may now be passed on children of 12; how the boasted social services, never quite what they were made out to be, have been drastically reduced; how hollow and hypocritical are the "achievements" on the cultural front, but how very real and inhuman are the achievements of the concentration camps; above all, how the human spirit has been degraded and debased by the Stalin dictatorship—a terror regime that rules only at the point of the bayonet. In truth, a regime of totalitarian industrial serfdom: "His (the worker's) work, his food, his roof, his liberty, are subject to the caprices of his overseer."

Miss Utley is more than right in deflating the notion that merely the so-called "collective ownership" of the means of production without the complement of democratic control has anything whatever to do with socialism, or the ideal of a democratic workers state. Too many independent socialists, who have no illusions about Stalin, are still hoodwinked by the absence of private property in the means of production in Russia into an attitude of apology and condemnation of every crime against socialism committed by Stalin. Every such crime is palliated and condoned because, mind you, there is still a "workers state" in Russia—only partially a "workers state" or a "distorted workers state," perhaps, but some sort of "workers state" anyway. (The defense of Stalin's invasion of Finland by the "purer" Trotskyites is a glaring example of this type of reasoning.) Such laborled dialectics simply ignore the stark reality. As a matter of fact, the control of the means of production by Stalin and his clique, which in Russia today means the control of all the levers of power, has been the very thing that has enabled him to perpetrate all his crimes against socialism and democracy both in Russia and internationally.

Miss Utley formulates this point very clearly and directly: "Put in Marxist terminology, the surplus value created by the labor of the peasants and workers is appropriated by the state, which uses it as the government decrees. Since the people have no voice in the government, Soviet economy is a perfect example of state capitalism." Tho it is not a complete description of a somewhat more complex phenomenon than indicated, this formulation comes much nearer to the essential fact than all the involved explanations still heard in Stalinist and even anti-Stalinist quarters.

The dream dies hard, but now it is completely dead. The slogan, "Defense of the Soviet Union," is today a hollow mockery. There is nothing left to defend. As at present constituted, Stalin-controlled Russia does not serve the cause of human emancipation by so much as one iota, either as a symbol or as a reality, either in its ideas or in its practices. The degeneration of Soviet Russia signifies the end of an era; it destroys a cherished but dangerous illusion, and bars the way to what we once thought was a road to freedom. Painfully, from scratch, at a particularly low ebb in history, a new movement of independent socialists must be developed, cleansed and illumined by the bitter experiences of two decades.

STRANGE WORDS ABOUT THE NAZIS

By comparison with her stark realism in viewing Soviet Russia, Miss Utley's attitude to Nazi Germany is incredibly unrealistic and naive. There is no doubt that here she has definitely lost her balance. Her extensive remarks on Germany can be summarized in the following words without the slightest injustice to her position: Nazi Germany is internally in a much better condition than Russia; it is much less of a menace to humanity than Russia; given economic opportunity and peace, Nazi Germany could develop its progressive features and perhaps even democratize itself; with the acquisition of a broader material base, the Third Reich may yet become as cultured and peaceful as the older French and British imperialisms; "this would seem to be the only hope for Europe"; the conquest of Russia by Germany would be a good thing for the Russians, the Germans

(Continued on Page 4)

"An intellectual event" — REINHOLD NIEBUHR in *The Nation*

REASON, SOCIAL MYTHS, AND DEMOCRACY

By SIDNEY HOOK

SIDNEY HOOK's faith in the democratic way of life is not one of those pious affirmations of platitudes that cannot survive serious analysis; it is "semantic proof," a reasoned and reasonable faith, contrasted with its rivals and substitutes, and used to point the way to intelligent and resolute action. In this book he dissects the ideas associated with men like Marx and Engels, Stalin and Hitler, Lenin and Trotsky, Thurman Arnold, Jacques Maritain, Karl Mannheim, J. B. S. Haldane, Vilfredo Pareto, Gaetano Mosca, Robert Michels and others.

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WILL HERBERG, Editor

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THE I.L.P. PROPOSAL

At this distance, it is, of course, hard to judge events and policies but it is our impression that the I.L.P. motion on the Speech from the Throne, as reported in the press here, was a distinct mistake. It is difficult for us to make sense of it consistent with sound socialist policy.

It was sound socialist policy to call upon the government for a clear and unambiguous statement of war aims. The failure to present such a statement to the world is one of the biggest shortcomings of the Churchill government's war policy, and is by no means reassuring. It seems to point to the undiminished power in the government of the reactionary clique that has learned nothing and forgotten nothing since Versailles. A clear statement of war aims could not conceivably hurt the war effort; on the contrary, there is every reason to believe that a vigorous pronouncement of genuinely democratic war aims would add immensely to the dynamic of the military struggle against Hitler fascism. In demanding such a pronouncement, the I.L.P. was on the right track and it is unfortunate indeed that Labor as a whole did not follow that lead.

But when the I.L.P. spokesmen went on to propose that the British government take the initiative in calling a peace conference at the present time, we think they were dead wrong. Not only is the proposal in its very nature quite unrealistic, but there is little doubt that, had it been accepted, it would have proved positively harmful to the cause of British socialism and the British struggle against Hitler Germany. Let us speak plainly and frankly. Any outcome of the war that does not bring with it the overthrow of the Hitler regime, either thru military defeat or internal revolt, would be a veritable disaster to the working masses of Britain—and of Germany and the whole world as well. A "compromise" or patched-up peace that would leave Hitler or his like in power is just what the British "appeasers" and Hitler-worshippers of yesterday (and they have not yet changed their stripes) are hoping for. It is precisely what the British working class must fear as the very plague, for it would be the signal for the worst wave of reaction, social and political, that Britain has known in modern times, and would bring that country to the very threshold of totalitarian dictatorship. It is a menace second only in its gravity to outright victory for Hitler.

It has been argued that a peace offer on the part of Britain now, along the lines of the I.L.P. proposal, would arouse a strong favorable response among the German people and thus tend to undermine the Hitler regime. Such expectations do not appear very realistic to us. On the contrary, we believe that Hitler could very well turn such a British move to his own advantage by using it to "prove" to the masses at home that enemy morale was breaking down, that the British were coming to realize that they had lost the war and so were beginning to beg for peace, that it was only necessary for the Germans to keep their nerve and hold out a little longer and victory would be theirs. From this angle, too, the I.L.P. resolution does not appear to us to have been very well advised.

In our view, it should be the chief concern of the British socialists at the present moment to bring the war to a victorious conclusion—and that means the overthrow of the Hitler regime in one form or another—as quickly as possible. It is precisely in order to achieve this victory that Britain needs socialism, for only socialism can develop the democratic dynamic necessary to defeat Hitler Germany and destroy the forces of fascism.

HELP SAVE ODELL WALLER

THE appeal of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and the Workers Defense League for support in their last-minute efforts to save Odell Waller, Negro sharecropper, deserves the backing of every sincere friend of equality and democracy in this country.

The story of Odell Waller, simple enough in its main outlines, is in itself a vivid reflection of the degrading conditions under which millions of colored folk are forced to exist in a large part of these democratic United States.

Waller is a Negro sharecropper in Virginia—that is, one of a group that has been exploited, cheated and beaten down without mercy for generations. Returning home from Baltimore, where he had gone hoping to find some work, he found his family, including his aged mother, evicted and his share of the bread crop withheld. Remember that a contract between landlord and tenant means nothing over a large part of the South, especially if the tenant happens to be a Negro.

Waller demanded his share of the bread crop, and Davis, the landlord, refused in the most abusive terms. Davis cut short the whole argument with quick gesture to his gun pocket. Fearful for his life and for that of his old mother in the truck nearby, Waller shot back.

Hunted by armed lynch mobs and dogs, Waller was caught and tried by an all-white jury made up of ten landlords, a business man and a carpenter. Sharecroppers, constituting the majority in the county, were excluded because they couldn't pay the \$1.50 poll tax. Waller was sentenced to die December 27, two days after Christmas.

The Workers Defense League is fighting the death sentence, with the cooperation of the N.A.A.C.P. and the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters. The crime for which Odell Waller stands condemned, they point out, is the outgrowth of the intolerable, inhuman conditions facing Negro and white sharecroppers and migrant workers in the South. The defense of Waller is therefore not only an effort to save a life but an attempt to bring to the attention of the American people conditions that are a disgrace to our professions of democracy.

F.D.R.'S MANDATE

(This is an editorial from the Progressive, Madison, Wisc., weekly published by the LaFollette—Editor.)

IN THE closing weeks of the campaign, as it became increasingly evident that the American voter feared our involvement in conflict overseas, President Roosevelt and Wendell Willkie repeated and strengthened their pledges to keep us out of war. Both candidates favored "aid to Britain" but both solemnly reassured the nation American boys would not be sent to fight in foreign lands.

The country chose Franklin D. Roosevelt, largely in the faith that he would keep his pledge of peace. Even with his record of social reforms, the President could not have been reelected if his supporters did not have confidence in that pledge.

Every day henceforth will be a test of his promise to keep us at peace. In 1916 Woodrow Wilson was reelected largely on the strength of the slogan "He Kept Us Out of War," but in 1917 American boys were piling into the transports for the voyage overseas.

The American people do not want the Roosevelt pledge of 1940 to collapse like the Wilson slogan of 1916. It must be proven good as gold. That is the President's big job, the job the nation's voters elected him to do.

A LITTLE sidelight for future historians of the labor movement: "Father Coughlin's magazine, Social Justice, today pleaded with John L. Lewis to reconsider his determination to resign." "America needs this leader more than ever, now that he has seen the full light of day," the magazine said. "As far as organized labor is concerned its local leaders should forget their pre-election bitterness to petition John L. Lewis to remain as their leader." (New York Post, November 18, 1940).

Interesting, isn't it, how the "draft Lewis" movement was sponsored on the one side by the Stalinists and the Daily Worker and on the other by the Coughlinites and Social Justice?

Socialist Policy on the War

Confusion Without End...

By WILL HERBERG

BERTRAM D. WOLFE's comments on aid to Britain and on the problem of national defense seem to me to be about as confused and pointless as his analysis of fascism and the present war, which I examined in my article in the last issue of this paper.

He does not make any definite commitment on the question of aid to Britain altho his article (Workers Age, November 9, 1940) can be interpreted as implying that he wants Britain to be aided. The objections he raises seem to be of two types:

1. Aid to Britain should not become "one of our central slogans," nor should the "fight for such aid [become] one of our basic activities."

2. It is a "government" slogan, the pro-war forces are misusing it for their sinister purposes; therefore we can have nothing to do with it.

No one as far as I know, neither in the majority resolution nor in any article published in the Age, has proposed that aid to Britain be made a central slogan for our organization or that the fight for such aid be made a central activity. With practically the entire country in favor of such aid, in one form or another, that would be rather superfluous. But the issue is not as Comrade Wolfe makes it. The issue is: What is our basic position? Are we in favor of American aid to Britain? If so, of what kind, under what conditions, with what restrictions, if any? It is a matter of formulating a fundamental political attitude in the light of which concrete and particular cases may be judged. Comrade Wolfe does not even recognize the problem.

STEALING OUR SLOGANS

Comrade Wolfe's second ground of objection is a very strange one, to say the least. Because the Administration and the pro-war forces take over a slogan which corresponds to a sound political idea and misuse it for their own purposes, therefore we are duty bound to drop the slogan and abandon the ideal! And that is supposed to be "independence"! On the contrary, it is an inverted, but nonetheless slavish form of dependence on government policy. If we actually followed such a fantastic course, we would be literally at the mercy of our opponents for our ideas and slogans; all they would have to do to deprive us of any one of them would be to take it over and abuse it. On this principle, we are surely called upon to abandon such much-abused slogans and ideas as democracy, collective bargaining, socialism and the like. Each one of these is misused by reactionary forces (socialism by Stalin) for their own ends.

It seems to me that the sensible course in such a situation is not to abandon the slogan or idea but rather to lay bare the misuse of it by those who are misusing it and to make perfectly clear the sense and the purpose the idea has for us. This ideological struggle is an essential part of any serious political struggle.

But to expose and defeat the attempt to misuse a sound idea, rhetoric and denunciation are not enough. To expose the misuse of a sound idea is possible only on the basis of a clear affirmation of the idea itself. If you want to make any sort of case that the Roosevelt Administration or the White Committee are exploiting the sentiment in favor of aid to Britain for war purposes, you must make clear that you yourself favor aid to Britain provided it does NOT lead to war. You cannot remain silent on the issue, or mumble a few vague phrases, and yet expect yourself to be taken seriously.

BY WHAT CRITERION SHALL WE JUDGE?

Comrade Wolfe says that "there is no one in our organization who is urging a restoration of the embargo" on British arms purchases in this country. Very good; but on the basis of Comrade Wolfe's whole line of argument, I don't see why he shouldn't be in favor of a restoration of the arms embargo. Merely because it would be futile in view of public sentiment? That is hardly a decisive consideration unless Comrade Wolfe means to imply that he determines his own attitude on issues by seeing what the latest Gallup poll says about public opinion. With his intransigent devotion to revolutionary principles, he certainly cannot mean that.

I am frankly puzzled as to what he does mean. How, on the basis of Comrade Wolfe's views, are we to determine our attitude to any particular proposal of aid to Britain? Are we to approve all those already in effect but oppose in principle any that may be advanced tomorrow? Or are we simply to limit ourselves on every occasion to the very soul-satisfying task of denouncing President Roosevelt and the White Committee? From Comrade Wolfe's own performance, I gather the latter is what he has in mind.

My own view of the matter I have already given not only in my draft resolution but in a special article in the Workers Age (October 12, 1940). I am in favor of extending all possible aid to Britain subject to the paramount consideration of keeping America out of direct military involvement in the war (in an economic and diplomatic sense, it is already involved). What that means

in concrete terms I attempted to develop in the article just mentioned, to which I refer the reader.

DOUBLE STANDARD ON DEFENSE

The worst confusion of all Comrade Wolfe exhibits on the question of national defense; indeed, the confusion is so complete that I really despair of ever getting head or tail out of it.

In dealing with defense (Workers Age, November 23, 1940), Comrade Wolfe shuttles—quite unconsciously, of course—between two viewpoints that are not merely different but actually incompatible. In one part of his article, he takes his orthodox Leninist stand against national defense in principle, as long as the country to be defended remains bourgeois in character. Then it isn't a question of rejecting these defenses as such but of approving those, of exposing this program as not really concerned with national defense and contrasting it with one that is, and so on; national defense as such, in every form, is "social-patriotism" and "betrayal." Comrade Wolfe doesn't use these unpleasant terms but he makes essentially that judgment.

In the other part of his article, however, Comrade Wolfe suddenly forgets his Leninism. Now he argues in terms of "excessive" defense expenditures, of the Administration masking its war-involvement policies with talk about national defense, and the like. How drastically he has shifted his criterion is obvious on the face of it. It is now no longer outright rejection of national defense as such in principle, which orthodox Leninism would understand and approve; it is now an effort to discriminate genuine national defense, an effort which orthodox Leninism must regard either as idiotic confusion or dishonest deception, or both.

Let us examine the first aspect first. Comrade Wolfe states that "since the rise of imperialism, it has been accepted as a truism in revolutionary socialist circles that socialists could not support the 'defense' budgets and 'defense' projects of the great imperialist powers." But why? Until the Russian Revolution, this attitude was due not to any opposition in principle to national defense as such but to political opposition to the regime in power, whose military and foreign policies the socialists could not trust. So far was pre-war socialism from taking a negative attitude to national defense that its opposition to government defense programs was always accompanied by a national-defense program of its own, sometimes quite elaborate and detailed in scope. In fact, pre-war socialism had a considerable reputation of expertise on military and defense questions, stemming from Engels and running thru Bebel, Mehring, Jaures and others. These men advanced socialist projects of military reform within the framework of the bourgeois state calculated to raise the defensive power of the country and to root it in democratic foundations so that it could not be misused for aggressive and reactionary ends. No wing of pre-war socialism—aside from the once anarchist and now fascist Herve group—was opposed to national defense as such and in principle. Comrade Cork, in an article in the very same issue of the Age in which Wolfe writes (November 23, 1940), points out quite correctly, and sustains his argument with a reference to Rosa Luxemburg, that "the notion for years within socialist ranks that national defense and socialism are mutually exclusive" is very much a "mistaken" one.

FOR GENUINE DEFENSE

As for myself, I have no hesitation in saying that I believe it is sound socialist tradition and sound American socialist policy to take a positive, affirmative attitude to the defense of America. I am in favor of genuine national defense, which I think means hemisphere defense in economic and military terms. In the words of Senator LaFollette, one of the staunchest fighters against our involvement in war, "we must make America impenetrable from the Arctic to Cape Horn." Just because I am in favor of national defense, I can consistently criticize Roosevelt's policies—criticize them concretely and significantly not merely in abstract principle. I can criticize them, and I have criticized them, precisely because I think they are out of line with the true interests of national defense. I can make this criticism, but Comrade Wolfe in all logic can not.

This brings me to the end of my critical analysis of Comrade Wolfe's views as revealed in his articles. I have not been able to find any consistent position embodied in these views; in fact, I have found little but vagueness, irrelevance and confusion. But I submit that this is no fault of mine.

What Has Become of the Russian Revolution?

(Continued from Page 3)

and the world; German hegemony of eastern Europe and indeed of the whole continent is not to be summarily condemned as undesirable; England should negotiate for peace on that basis; and so on and so on.

Obviously, Miss Utley is wholly obsessed with the idea that Russia is the chief force for evil in the world today. That questionable honor, it seems to me, should certainly be awarded to Nazi Germany. From the point of view of evil actually accomplished and power for further evil, how can Miss Utley place Stalinist Russia above Nazi Germany? How can anyone still inspired by the libertarian ideals that have given meaning to Miss Utley's life view with such equanimity the prospect of Hitler's domination of the European continent? As to the possibility of the peaceful evolution of the Nazi regime into some measure of culture and democracy, Miss Utley is simply not facing the ugly facts and is indulging in some pretty dangerous wishful thinking.

It is hard to understand why Miss Utley places the question as a choice

correctly—that it really made very little difference who won. Hence they were revolutionary defeatists; hence they rejected national defense in principle. That attitude made sense under the specific conditions of the World War—and those conditions were transient indeed for signs of a sharp change were already visible in Lenin's attitude on the defense of Petrograd against the Germans under the Kerensky revolution. Then came the Bolshevik revolution and this negative position on national defense, arising out of very special conditions, was soon transformed thru the Communist International into an eternal principle and sacred dogma. Apparently, it is a dogma in which Comrade Wolfe still believes—at least part of the time. I do not think anyone who examines the problem critically and realistically can follow him in this.

Despite the pious Leninist orthodoxy exhibited in the first part of his article, Comrade Wolfe permits himself to lapse into rank heresy in the latter part. Here he attempts to make the point that the Roosevelt Administration is talking in terms of national defense but is thinking and acting in terms of involvement in war in Europe and Asia. I think this indictment of the foreign and defense policies of the Administration is justified and can be backed up with facts and figures and expert opinion. Indeed, readers of the Workers Age know that this has been one of my favorite themes. But in order to be able to make such an indictment of the Administration, you must take a positive attitude to national defense as such, for what point is there in contrasting genuine national defense (directed towards the defense of America) with fraudulent national defense (directed towards involvement in foreign war) unless you believe there is such a thing as genuine national defense in relation to the United States today? In the first part of his article, Comrade Wolfe, there an orthodox Leninist, rejects national defense for America in principle since America is one of the great imperialist powers. He therefore loses the possibility of criticizing the policies of the Roosevelt Administration in any but the abstract terms permitted to the orthodox Leninist ("Roosevelt is an agent of finance capitalism, of imperialism, etc."). That is, he would lose that possibility were he at all consistent. But the human mind being free (at least the Workers Age is), Comrade Wolfe can have his cake and eat it too: he can reject national defense himself and yet denounce Roosevelt because his policies do not square with the needs of genuine national defense!

Let us examine the first aspect first. Comrade Wolfe states that "since the rise of imperialism, it has been accepted as a truism in revolutionary socialist circles that socialists could not support the 'defense' budgets and 'defense' projects of the great imperialist powers." But why? Until the Russian Revolution, this attitude was due not to any opposition in principle to national defense as such but to political opposition to the regime in power, whose military and foreign policies the socialists could not trust. So far was pre-war socialism from taking a negative attitude to national defense that its opposition to government defense programs was always accompanied by a national-defense program of its own, sometimes quite elaborate and detailed in scope. In fact, pre-war socialism had a considerable reputation of expertise on military and defense questions, stemming from Engels and running thru Bebel, Mehring, Jaures and others. These men advanced socialist projects of military reform within the framework of the bourgeois state calculated to raise the defensive power of the country and to root it in democratic foundations so that it could not be misused for aggressive and reactionary ends. No wing of pre-war socialism—aside from the once anarchist and now fascist Herve group—was opposed to national defense as such and in principle. Comrade Cork, in an article in the very same issue of the Age in which Wolfe writes (November 23, 1940), points out quite correctly, and sustains his argument with a reference to Rosa Luxemburg, that "the notion for years within socialist ranks that national defense and socialism are mutually exclusive" is very much a "mistaken" one.

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Does Fascism Represent a New Socio-Economic Order

New York City.

Editor Workers Age:

IN the Workers Age of November 23, 1940, Donald Graham takes issue with those who believe that fascism is a "new social order." As one who not only believes this but has publicly stated that he believes fascism to be a new social, political and economic order, this writer would like to say a few words in defense of this opinion, which is rather a commonplace among students of fascism. No one, it seems to me, can conceivably question the fact that in Germany there is a completely new type of state, a new political order, as compared with that of old Germany or present-day England and America. Nor can there be any doubt as to the essentially new kind of social relationship that exists among the German people—unless concentration camps are merely an extension of the conventional prison system. As to the nature of Nazi economy, Graham says: "Certainly, Corey is a sufficiently able economist to perceive that there is capitalist ownership in Germany, profits, a stock-exchange, and exploitation." Only exploitation is real in Germany. The other institutions are either only nominal or completely altered in function.

In order to perceive the difference between real ownership and nominal ownership, one has merely to compare the powers that ownership confers upon the capitalists in the United States with those it confers in Germany. In Germany, ownership and therefore profits have meaning only by consent of the Nazi regime; without Nazi sanction, ownership has no validity. In the U.S.A., ownership has its own rights and privileges regardless of party or government. Of course, the American government exercises tremendous power over the rights of private property. But its power is limited. In Germany, the Nazi power is prac-

tically unlimited. What is actually happening in Germany is that economic power is passing out of the hands of the capitalists as a class into the hands of the Nazis as a new exploiting class.

No one has ever challenged the fact that in Stalin's Russia there is a new social order, an order, however, which by no stretch of the imagination can be considered as having any resemblance to socialism. In Russia, the land is supposed to belong to the peasants; but does it? And the workers are supposed to own and control industry. There is no stock-exchange in Russia, but the stock-exchange has long ago lost its regulative functions in capitalist society and has become primarily a gambling exchange. There is exploitation in Russia, but there is no capitalism there. Exploitation is a necessary but not sufficient condition to establish the existence of capitalism in a country.

About a year ago, Marceau Pivert delivered an excellent talk on the convergence of Nazi and Soviet economy. He said that the each began under entirely different historical conditions and with diametrically opposed aims, their lines of development are meeting. I believe that this point of view is sound. The difference between totalitarianism in Germany and Russia is that the German brand works.

Insofar as Donald Graham agrees with Wolfe on this matter, I want to express my disagreement with both of them. Since Wolfe quoted me on this particular point; I want to say that he did me full justice.

Perhaps history, in its own sardonic fashion, has refuted the ideas of those who believed in the peaceful evolution of imperialism into "super-imperialism" and has likewise confirmed the opinion of those who held that imperialism could not solve its contradictions by peaceful means.

A. E.

"Economism" and the Nature of Fascism

Wolfe's Approach Misses Essential Point

(Continued from Page 3)

velopment towards totalitarianism in the United States in all history." The same can hardly be said of the "Third Camp," to judge by the socialist and Trotskyite vote in the November elections.

In what does this rapid growth of totalitarianism in the United States manifest itself? In the growth of fascist and Stalinist organizations? Wolfe does not maintain that. On the contrary, he derides and plays down the specific gravity of Hitler and Stalin organizations and their influence in American life. It exists then in the measures of the American government, in the policies of President Roosevelt in particular, and of Congress in general. Granted that in preparing for war, the government has taken steps of a reactionary character, has concentrated greater powers in the hands of the executive, has put over anti-alien legislation of an illiberal type, has vastly increased its military forces, has established not merely a system of universal military training in peace-time, but a type of conscription which can be used as a whip against the entire labor movement. The fact remains that these steps have not been taken with the purpose, intent or the effect of wiping out the independent existence of the trade-union movement or the establishment of a one-party totalitarian regime. The best answer to Wolfe was, given by Sidney Hook in a recent article where he describes all such attempts to see the fascist menace in the bourgeois-democratic parties of Roosevelt and Willkie as nothing but the revival of the old Comintern theory of "social-fascism." The answer of Hook is brief, but very much to the point.

In the last eight years, Hitler has conquered and destroyed the freedom of every neighboring country in Europe. And with each victory, a new neighbor is acquired, and then a new victim. During these same eight years, it is a matter of record that American imperialism has not deprived a single one of its weak and defenseless neighbors in Latin America of its freedom or autonomy. I assure you that I am not attempting to glorify American imperialism. It is not due to the imperialism of Hitler being "bad" and the imperialism of the United States being "good." The real reason, or at least one of them, is the existence in the United States of labor, liberal and democratic forces which stand in opposition to such barbarous practices. Hitler has no such opposition to contend with in perpetrating his barbarities. This is a big difference. To say that this makes no difference with respect to the Argentine and that the United States is the greater menace, is to stand political relations upside down.

"DANGER" OF BRITISH VICTORY

The danger of a British victory in carving up Europe in the interests of British imperialism is a real danger—it is the danger of an imperialist peace instead of a socialist solution or outcome to the war. But to say that this danger is comparable to, or greater for the German people than the danger of a Hitler victory, is fantastic. A Hitler victory would fasten the chains of fascist slavery upon the German, European and British labor movements for years to come, and would extirpate the best socialist and labor forces with the executioner's axe. No matter how anxiously the British imperialists would like to carve up Europe, in case they are victorious, they have the labor movement of England to deal with. Does anyone think that the British labor movement, which by its tremendous sacrifices and exertions would be primarily responsible for any British victory, would sit quietly by while the British imperialists deprived nation after nation of their freedom, prevented the reorganization of the labor movements in Europe by force in Hitler fashion?

The final deduction from the emphasis on economic phenomena alone is the theory that the Argentine is more menaced by American imperialism than by a Hitler Europe. However weird this idea may sound, it

is actually a very logical deduction from economic statistics about exports and imports—so many raw-hides were exported from Argentine to the United States, so many raw hides in Europe in 1938, and so many fewer pounds of beef and mutton were sent to Europe, and so many fewer to the United States. Any attempt at hemispheric integration would run counter to this economic trend. From this trend, in terms of cowhides and pounds of beef, is deduced the necessity of close Argentine economic relations with even a Hitler Europe and the greater menace of United States imperialism. But the author of the theory never thinks in terms of the effect on the Argentine people and the Argentine labor movement. Hitler's economic penetration of and integration with another country invariably results in the fostering of the fascist movement and the destruction of all liberties and labor organizations in the country so affected. This, of course, is a small matter compared to weighty economic analyses.

In the last eight years, Hitler has conquered and destroyed the freedom of every neighboring country in Europe. And with each victory, a new neighbor is acquired, and then a new victim. During these same eight years, it is a matter of record that American imperialism has not deprived a single one of its weak and defenseless neighbors in Latin America of its freedom or autonomy. I assure you that I am not attempting to glorify American imperialism. It is not due to the imperialism of Hitler being "bad" and the imperialism of the United States being "good." The real reason, or at least one of them, is the existence in the United States of labor, liberal and democratic forces which stand in opposition to such barbarous practices. Hitler has no such opposition to contend with in perpetrating his barbarities. This is a big difference. To say that this makes no difference with respect to the Argentine and that the United States is the greater menace, is to stand political relations upside down.

What is the purpose of these fantastic theories of fascism? They are not in accordance with facts. They are not in accord with the theory presumably held by Wolfe that a defeat of Hitler is preferable. They are not even funny. They must have some purpose. That purpose can only be passivity in the face of real struggles today disguised by phrases about imperialist dangers and socialist revolutions tomorrow.

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