

In the Next Issue:

KARL MARX'S HUMANISM

By SIDNEY HOOK

Workers Age

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French Socialists Pledge Renewed Fight on Fascism

(Thru the good offices of a French socialist who has just arrived in this country, we have received an important manifesto signed by a large number of leading French socialists, whose names must naturally be withheld. We publish this manifesto below.—Editor.)

THE great majority of the French Socialist Party, faithful to the policies set down at the most recent conventions in Royan, Montrouge and Nantes, unqualifiedly condemn those socialist deputies who, at Vichy on July 2nd, handed over the destinies of France to Marshal Petain, proven fascist and reactionary, and to the disreputable clique of Pierre Laval. By their vote, these deputies have repudiated not only socialism but democracy itself.

The newspaper, L'Effort, organ of Spinasse, Rives and other traitors, has no relationship with socialism, and, as Marx Dormoy has said in a statement suppressed by the censor, "could in no way involve the responsibility of the Socialist Party."

The signers of this statement add that they did not wait for the war and the defeat to demand a constitutional reform which, in their opinion, should have extended far beyond the constitution itself, and which, by freeing the state from its abject tyranny to the moneyed interests, would have assured the full development of the working class and socialism in the complete exercise of democracy.

They are convinced that the Socialist Party, weakened by reformism, opportunism and machine politics, has been partially responsible for the progressive deterioration of democracy in France. They believe that new methods and a new spirit are essential, so that socialism, which is not dead and shall not die, may again be able to accomplish its historic mission which coincides with that of the working class.

As long as the forces of exploitation, oppression and aggression, accompanied by class antagonisms, continue to exist, the signers of this statement are determined not to lower the banner on which is written: Abolition of classes! Emancipation of the workers by the workers themselves! International accord of the national sections of the labor movement!

Finally, convinced that England is defending alone at this hour the freedom of the entire world against the appalling campaign of enslavement which Hitlerism and fascism represent, French socialists greet the resistance of Britain with profound admiration. In this, they are certain that they express the almost unanimous conviction of the French people.

But, as socialists, they maintain that this war now being carried on by England, in order to reveal the fullness of its significance, must assume broader aims than the crushing of Hitler's Reich; it must envisage even now the advent of a new social order without classes and without exploitation, in which all mankind will enjoy well-being and freedom.

LONG LIVE SOCIALISM!

Somewhere in France
September 1940.

A.F.L. Pledges War on Labor Rackets

Lewis Keeps Grip on CIO as Murray Becomes President

Dominates Convention, Bars Genuine Fight on Stalinists; Unanimous Resolution Slams Door on Early Labor Unity

Atlantic City, N. J. Philip Murray has been chosen president of the C.I.O. but John L. Lewis still retains much control over that organization and his policies are still dominant in its ranks. This is the net result of the C.I.O. convention which concluded its sessions here last week with Lewis holding all the strings in his hands and operating his steamroller as ruthlessly as ever.

Philip Murray, on whom all the dissident elements in the C.I.O. had fixed their hopes, was nominated by Mr. Lewis himself on the last day of the convention. His election was by acclamation, after he had been seconded by Sidney Hillman, leader of whatever opposition there was among the delegates. Despite a pretty vigorous "draft" movement gotten under way by the Stalinists, Lewis insisted on keeping the promise made a few days before elections to resign should President Roosevelt be reelected.

Hardly had Mr. Murray been installed in his new post than he made an official declaration to the convention that he was going to adhere to the policies of the Lewis regime, especially on the question of unity.

His address was regarded as locking and bolting the door to unity that had already been slammed shut somewhat earlier in the proceedings by Mr. Lewis in his presidential report. Murray reiterated Lewis's doctrine that the C.I.O. could not seek unity with the A. F. of L. until it had grown stronger and more powerful; he even warned the Roosevelt

Administration not "to force a shotgun agreement between the C.I.O. and the A. F. of L."

There were some in informed quarters, however, who maintained that Murray's uncompromising words were mostly for effect and that his real attitude to the problem of unity, once he actually took the direction of the C.I.O. into his own hands, would be far more reasonable and conciliatory. But there was no indication of this at the convention.

In fact, the convention, at all times in Lewis's firm grip, not only endorsed the policies sponsored by him and his Stalinist allies but rebuffed the Hillman opposition on every front. The Hillman forces had come to the convention with a three-point program: (1) more democracy in the C.I.O., at least to the point of limiting the arbitrary powers of the president; (2) eradication of Stalinist influence in the C.I.O.; and (3) unity with the A. F. of L. Their worst rout was on the third point. In his presidential address, Lewis went out of his way to pour scorn on those who were urging immediate unity. The C.I.O. was not yet strong enough to obtain an honorable peace, he said, thus reversing his previous argument that the C.I.O. was so strong that it did not need unity. The Lewis-Stalinist clique that ran the proceedings presented a resolution bluntly endorsing the Lewis standpoint. The resolution was adopted unanimously, with the votes of Hillman's so-called

opposition! It was then that the farcical character of this opposition became evident.

On the Stalinist menace, the procedure was even cruder. The Hillman resolution, sponsored by the New York Amalgamated Clothing Workers organization, was barred from the committee on some technical ground, so that no minority report was possible. Thomas Kennedy, of the United Mine Workers, made the committee report and proposed a resolution "firmly rejecting consideration of all policies emanating from totalitarianisms, dictators and foreign ideologies, such as Nazism and communism." This resolution was an obvious subterfuge, for the problem facing the C.I.O. convention was not general ideologies but the very specific fact that Stalinists were in control of many key positions in the C.I.O. and certain of its affiliates. This the resolution deliberately ignored; in fact, Lewis maintained in his opening address that there was no such problem at all, since there were no communists in important positions in the C.I.O. When the resolution was brought to the floor, Kennedy moved to eliminate all discussion as a demonstration of "unity." The resolution was then adopted unanimously, with a few of the Hillman faction abstaining.

Philip Murray, it was said, is personally hostile to Stalinist influence in the C.I.O., but again it is not so much Murray's personal attitude that counts as the entire system of leadership of the C.I.O. represented by John L. Lewis.

To make it clear that no purge of communists in the C.I.O. was contemplated and that Stalinists would continue to be tolerated and even encouraged, Joseph Curran, president of the National Maritime Union, was chosen as one of the six vice-presidents of the C.I.O. Curran is a notorious Stalinist agent and his election could not have been intended as anything but a demonstration of the utter meaninglessness of the resolution adopted. The other vice-presidents elected were: Emil Rieve, Textile Workers Union; S. H. (Continued on Page 2)

Public Supports Federal Control Of Trade Unions

Many More Urge Restraints On Unions Than on Business In Gallup Poll Survey

New York City. A majority of voters favor more regulation of labor unions and less regulation of business at the present time, a survey by the American Institute of Public Opinion, of which Dr. George Gallup is director, indicates.

"Leaders of the A. F. of L. and the C.I.O. may well ponder the state of public opinion in the nation regarding labor," Dr. Gallup said.

"The survey indicates that labor unions face a much more serious public-relations problem than business. The study shows that business stands far higher in public favor today."

"The study put two questions to a cross-section of voters the nation over. The first was: 'During the next four years, do you think there should be more or less regulation of business by the federal government than at present?'"

"The vote of those with opinions was as follows:

More 27%
Less 51%
Same 22%

"One voter in five, 20% was undecided or without an opinion."

"The second question dealt with regulation of labor unions: 'During the next four years, do you think there should be more or less regulation of labor unions by the federal government than at present?'"

"The returns show that more than twice as many people favor more regulation of labor unions as favor more regulation of business."

More 60%
Less 21%
Same 19%

"Approximately one voter in four, 27%, expressed no opinion."

"One discovery made by the poll is that desire for greater labor-union regulation is not confined to the upper and middle-income groups. These groups are for such regulation by over 60%, but even in the low-income group, among people earning \$20 a week or less, a substantial majority—57%—is for union regulation."

"The low-income group is, however, much more in favor of business regulation than the middle and upper group."

Gives Council Power to Use Full Influence

Dubinsky Calls Move Step In Right Direction; Program On Defense Adopted

New Orleans, La. The American Federation of Labor, meeting here in annual convention during the past two weeks, made labor history by adopting a resolution on racketeering in the trade-union movement. This resolution did not go all the way with the proposal submitted by the I.L.G. W.U., but it was greeted as "a step in the right direction" by David Dubinsky and the delegation of the women's garment union by whom

Jay Lovestone, just back from New Orleans, will give a first-hand account of what happened at the A. F. of L. convention, and will discuss the results of the C.I.O. convention, at a meeting on Thursday, December 5, 8:00 P. M., at 131 W. 33rd Street, large hall on the seventh floor. Admission 25 cents.

The issue of purging the labor movement of undesirable elements was originally raised and championed.

The convention adopted its stand against racketeering when it approved unanimously the report of its resolutions committee, headed by Matthew Woll as chairman and John P. Frey as secretary. This report called emphatic attention to the evils of racketeering, gangsterism and corruption in certain sections of the labor movement, strongly denounced such practices, called for their prompt eradication, and then specifically gave the Executive Council power and authority to exert its full influence to force action against

union officials found guilty of any improper conduct. The committee recommended, and the convention approved, that whenever the Executive Council was faced with a situation in which "the national or international union in question seemingly evades its responsibility [to punish guilty officials], the Executive Council will be authorized to apply all its influence to secure such action as will correct the situation."

The I.L.G.W.U. proposal included a provision giving the Executive Council summary power, if necessary, to step into an affiliated national or international union and remove any officer convicted of crimes involving "moral turpitude," but this provision was rejected as an invasion of the traditional autonomy of A. F. of L. affiliates. Informed observers were of the opinion however, that even without the full grant of power, the authority given the Executive Council under the resolution adopted would be enough to enable the Federation to cope with the problem of racketeering and corruption in labor's ranks, if only readiness and determination to use that authority were present.

There was no discussion on the committee's report, and no opposition was registered against it. The issue, however, figured dramatically at the convention not only because of the seriousness of the problem and the obvious necessity of taking action without delay, but also because of the bitterness and acrimony aroused in certain quarters, to the point where Joseph S. Fay, vice-president of the International Union of Operating Engineers, actually made a physical assault on David Dubinsky, sponsor of the anti-racketeering resolution, in a hotel bar between sessions.

Another important controversial issue that faced the convention was the withdrawal of the power of the Executive Council to suspend affiliated unions and then bar these unions from the subsequent convention where their appeal would be acted upon. David Dubinsky championed this reform as well. He contended that such power of suspension should reside only with the convention as the supreme authority in the Federation and he pointed out that it was the exercise of this unwarranted power by the Council that had aggravated the C.I.O. rift to the point of inevitable split. When the I.L.G.W.U. had reaffiliated (Continued on Page 2)

Letters to an English Friend

By JAY LOVESTONE

(We present below some paragraphs from two recent letters from Jay Lovestone to one of the leading figures in the British Independent Labor Party.—Editor.)

New York, October 11, 1940.

Dear Friend:

YOUR letter of August 28th took more than a month getting here. It was most welcome.

I am in full accord with you that the American factor in the world situation tends to strengthen the specific gravity of conservatism, or even a species of reaction. Even a Roosevelt Administration, let alone a Willie regime, would tend to be well to the right of what you have in England today. It is for this reason that I have stressed in my articles my great hope that you folks in England would be able to finish off Hitler as quickly as possible without full American intervention.

The world, as is obvious, is certainly dilemma-ridden today. You need American planes, ships, guns food with which to beat back Hitler. Yet an American alliance would contribute towards a strengthening of the conservative elements, and even towards making more conservative the dominant labor forces in your country. Risk as it is, I am prepared to take it (American aid) in order to ensure the maximum possibility of beating back Hitler. At least, in the latter situation, we have a chance of countering and even defeating American political backwardness. However, should there be a Hitler victory, which, in my opinion, is hardly avoidable without American help, then none of us will even get a chance to discuss or think about our mistakes of the past or about our lost possibilities.

I am much encouraged by the shift made by Leski. I am sorry that the Independent Labor Party is not in the Labor Party today. A responsible, constructive voice of opposition and criticism inside the only mass labor movement that the British working people have—the only mass movement, regardless of all its serious shortcomings—is far more effective than a voice, clear as it may be, yet separated from the great mass. I have watched with interest the Tribune and have found increasingly encouraging reactions there. I think they still have some illusions about Russia. They still have some illusions about certain forces in your country. Nevertheless, one cannot deny that increasing health is being displayed in its columns.

I am prepared to accept, as the basic approach, the one indicated by you in your August 28th letter.* I reckon nobody can question the degree of my hostility to Nazism. Still, I am not of the opinion that we must go thru a certain stage of fascism in all countries. A smashing blow at the head and heart of world fascism—Nazi Germany—will tend to serve as a knockout blow to fascism everywhere. You know that in social movements, when something happens to the core, to the head and heart, then something permeates and pervades very quickly the body politic. Take the case of Russia, once the center of revolutionary world socialism. When Russia was set back, barred in, stymied, militant socialism suffered a disaster not only within the Russian boundaries, but thruout the socialist movement in all lands.

On the basis of your statement—"We have to recognize fascism as the worst evil which capitalism has thrown up and must resist its extension; therefore, we defi-

nately do not want the war to end in a victory of Nazism"—I maintain that we must contribute practically, concretely towards making impossible a Hitler victory.

I appreciate and welcome your optimism in regard to the lack of likelihood of the Nazis conquering Britain. I have never yet met an Englishman, regardless of his social philosophy, who takes any other point of view. That's a great thing about the English people. However, mere thinking so, or especially mere wishing so, will not make it come true. None of us can accept this as a foregone conclusion and as an already registered achievement. All of us must, within the framework of our social philosophy and on the basis of the maintenance of our independent socialist position, be prepared to contribute practically, specifically, in the immediate situation towards a Hitler disaster. In other words, we cannot merely say: "Well, the Nazis cannot conquer England anyway, so there is no point of our making any proposals for more effective resistance to the Hitler onslaught, so there's no point in welcoming planes and destroyers from the United States, so there's no point in welcoming expert pilots from America." Of course, we welcome all such aid. But this does not mean that the I.L.P. or the Labor Party should cease to play an independent role, or should begin to play the game of United States imperialism.

You speak of an alliance between the Left in your country and the Left on the continent of Europe for the purpose of overthrowing Nazi and all other imperialism, and for ending the war on a socialist basis. I share with you the desire for this grand objective. Now, let's see what we have to do to achieve it. First of all, this is a matter not of sentiment, not of some mystical cohesion or mythical fusion. Here is no miraculous concept of supernatural resurrection. You have a developing Left in England, but on the continent not only the Left, but the entire labor movement out of whose ranks alone can be reborn a Left, must, first of all, come to life again. The first prerequisite for the reconstruction, for the revival, for the rebirth of a labor movement on the continent of Europe, is the destruction of the Nazi stronghold. None of us can exaggerate the potential—not necessarily inevitable—revolutionary possibilities and consequences flowing out of a defeat of Nazi counter-revolution, of fascism, "the worst evil which capitalism has thrown up." Certainly, the more leftward the British government moves, the more left the British labor movement swings, the more likelihood is there of England getting the hundred million allies on the continent that it needs so badly.

War fatigue plays its part. In itself, that isn't necessarily revolutionary in consequence. For example, a bona-fide working-class government waging war against imperialist aggression might also be confronted with war fatigue in its own country, in its own ranks. Surely, it has to be considered. But make no mistake about it and have no illusions—war fatigue amongst the conquered peoples of Europe does not necessarily mean war fatigue in Germany. War fatigue in Germany is a welcome factor, but so long as the Nazis are able to maintain power, they can kill by the hundreds of thousands and maintain reaction triumphant. I am convinced that Marx was correct in his insistence that a defeat of Czarist Russia during the Crimean War, even at the hands of British imperialism [then much more vigorous than today], would be a defeat for Europe's gendarmes of reaction, and therefore, a progressive phenomenon to be welcomed and worked for by labor. If that is so, then a defeat of the Nazi gendarmes, even at the hands of other imperialist forces, should also be welcomed and worked for.

You think that I am taking a too optimistic view of the trend to the left in your country. Perhaps you are right. But it has been so many years since we have seen any tendency to the left in any country that you can get the why and wherefore of my reactions. Or perhaps you are too close to the picture. Or, because you are better able to see certain ugly features than we can at a distance, you assume that I am exaggerating the trend to the left. Whether I am or not is a secondary question.

(Continued on Page 4)

Britain, Greece Push Advance Against Axis

Italian Navy Again Badly Hit; Hitler Meets Snag in Balkans Pact Drive

Britain scored another important victory in the elusive naval war in the Mediterranean last week. The destruction of the Italian fleet, begun at Taranto on the night of November 11, was carried a step farther near Sardinia, the British Admiralty reported. In a detailed account of the naval and air battle, the Admiralty listed shell or torpedo damage to a 35,000-ton battleship, two 10,000-ton cruisers, one 8,000-ton cruiser, and two destroyers. The British losses were slight.

On the land front, Athens reported that its troops were still driving forward on all sectors, giving the Italians no opportunity to reorganize and make a stand. Greatly aided by British aviation, the Greeks made a steady headway into Albania, after having cleared their native soil of the invader. The Italian base of Koritza was taken and Argyrokastro, another important Italian base, had either fallen or was about to fall into Greek hands.

The Italian rout created a critical new situation for the Axis powers. Whatever the original German attitude to the Italian adventure may have been, it was clear that Hitler could not afford to have the Greeks emerge completely triumphant because that would mean not only British control of the strategic Near East but also a terrific blow to Axis prestige everywhere. But for Hitler to come to Mussolini's aid required

a "clarification" of the Balkan situation, which was far from achieved last week. It is true that, after a brief diplomatic drive by Berlin, Hungary, Rumania and Slovakia joined the Axis pact, but all three were already under German domination. The critical spot was Bulgaria, and Bulgaria last week apparently refused to sign up. This snag in Hitler's diplomatic drive was probably due both to the effect of the successful Greek resistance and to the stiff attitude taken by Turkey, unofficially backed by Russia. In Yugoslavia, too, the Axis drive for a "new order" in the Balkans was meeting with increasing difficulties.

As part of a carefully prepared plot to throw the country into hopeless chaos and thus provide Germany with the pretext for taking over complete military control in the interests of "preserving order," the Nazi-dominated Iron Guard ran amuck in Rumania last week, spreading murder and terror right and left. Scores, perhaps hundreds, of people, including many prominent political and public personalities, were assassinated in a "blood purge," and Rumania was virtually in a state of anarchy. The government of Premier Antonescu declared itself "helpless," in view of the ultimate source of the disturbances. By the end of the week, German troops were pouring into all parts of Rumania and taking over control.

JAY LOVESTONE will speak on

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THURSDAY Dec. 5-8 P.M. ADMISSION 25 CENTS

Machinery Threatens Millions of Farmers

1,000,000 May Be Driven Off Land in Decade

Washington, D. C. WITHIN ten years, by 1950, tractors to the number of 2,125,000 will have "released" 53,200,000 acres of crop land and pasture in this country, cut the number of horses and mules by 11,500,000, and disposed of or pauperized 3,500,000 families. Such is the prospect that emerges from a study of technology in agriculture just issued by the U. S. Department of Agriculture.

Only recently the condition of tenant farmers and share-croppers was held up as a paramount economic scandal. The Department reports that mechanization of the soil is reducing them to the still more degraded lot of casual, migratory laborers.

The farm-labor supply forced into idleness by tractors and other machines, the report asserts, already amounts to 450,000,000 man-days a year. It declares that 1,500,000 men of work age in rural districts are totally or partly unemployed, and that 1,500,000 more have gross annual cash incomes of less than \$300. The prediction is offered that during the next decade machinery will oust a million toilers from the land.

TECHNOLOGICAL PARADOX

From the data presented emerges a singular paradox. On the one hand, in a thousand laboratories, experiment stations and factories, science is struggling feverishly to multiply farm production. On the other, drastic limitations of consumption are either in effect or threatened by war, loss of foreign markets, slow industrial recovery and retarded increase of population.

Yet, the authors of the report proceed, "it would be useless for us to try to curb this march of technology." They comment that "to him that hath is given and from him that hath not is taken away." The view adopted is that scientific advances are not in themselves to blame, and that "the troubles, if any, rise from the inequality of adjustments and responses in agriculture and industry to these advances."

As one means of bridging the readjustment period, there is recommended a state-subsidized project of at least a billion and a half man-days for conserving water, forest and soil resources. But the study's essential optimism is based on a belief that technology has already de-vised, or is now perfecting, a colossal new area in which industry may

Lewis Keeps Grip on CIO, Bars Unity

(Continued from page 1)

Dalrymple, United Rubber Workers; R. J. Thomas, United Automobile Workers; Reid Robinson, International Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers; and Frank Rosenblum, Amalgamated Clothing Workers. All of these, except Rosenblum, replacing Sidney Hillman, who as Defense Commissioner could no longer serve, were incumbents; Curran filled the place left open by the elevation of Philip Murray. James B. Carey was re-elected secretary.

Virtually nothing was done to introduce more democracy into the C.I.O. or to curb the irresponsible powers of the headquarters officials. Here, in fact, the opposition collapsed.

The entire situation was strikingly dramatized in the addresses delivered by Lewis and Hillman soon after the convention opened. Lewis' address was bold and defiant. He overwhelmed with bitter scorn those who challenged his policies in any way and made it clear that he was still on top in the C.I.O. despite his repudiation at the polls on November 5. In so many words, he invited Hillman and the A.C.W. to get out of the C.I.O. if they didn't like how things were being run. The impression Lewis made by his boldness and confidence was immense. Hillman, on the other hand, was almost abject in his efforts to be conciliatory. The Amalgamated was "loyal" to C.I.O., he reassured the delegates again and again, and would remain in its fold whatever happened. The miserable impression he made even on his own followers—some pretty strong words were used in private—only strengthened Lewis' ascendancy.

Lewis' power came from three main sources: (1) his dominating personality and arrogant self-confidence; (2) his control of the convention machinery, in which his Stalinist allies were very helpful; and, most important of all, (3) the unbroken unity of the miners "official family"—Lewis, Murray, Kennedy, etc.—which, as long as it remains united, can run things pretty much their own way both in the United Mine Workers and in the C.I.O. On the other hand, the Hillman opposition was hampered by its weak and indecisive leadership, but most of all by the fact that its strategy was at bottom determined by the policy of the White House, an essential part of which is to keep Hillman within the C.I.O. for the time being. Whatever the future may bring, the convention was certainly no triumph for the anti-Lewis opposition.

If Government Can Spend on Arms, Why Not on Welfare?

(We reprint below the leading editorial in the November 12, 1940 issue of Labor, the weekly paper of the standard railroad unions.—Editor.)

BUSINESS is on the upgrade. There is no question about it. Why is it on the upgrade? Government spending! There is no question about that, either.

For seven long, weary years, the U. S. Chamber of Commerce, practically every big industrialist and financier, and fully 90% of the daily press told everyone who would listen that we couldn't "spend our way to prosperity." To attempt it, they declared, was to invite destruction.

That was when the money was being expended to save men and women from starvation and to construct vast projects which added to the permanent wealth of the nation.

Now the money is being poured into airplanes, battleships, tanks—all the instruments the mind of man can conceive to destroy human beings. It is being expended profligately; much of it is undoubtedly being wasted.

However, scarcely a word of protest comes from the U. S. Chamber of Commerce, the great industrialists and financiers and the daily press. On the contrary, most of them rejoice.

Men are going back to work; profits are soaring. No talk of balancing the budget now; no prophecy that we are hurrying headlong to perdition.

Labor is glad we are arming to defend American democracy. It rejoices to see men going back to work—even in munitions factories. It's all to the good; it's all necessary.

But if we can spend our way out of depression by manufacturing instruments of death, why, in heaven's name, couldn't we have done the same thing by spending the money for food, clothing, housing, to care for millions and tens of millions of Americans who are undernourished, scantily clothed and wretchedly housed.

How can any man in his right mind argue that when we "unbalance the budget" to save human lives we are undermining the foundations of the republic; but when we "unbalance the budget" to equip armies, navies and mighty air forces, we are incurring no risk, except the possibility that we are not spending enough?

If nothing else comes out of this gigantic emergency, we will at least have learned that, if Uncle Sam has sufficient courage to spend enough money, he can put all the unemployed back on the job—feed, clothe, house all his children and make ample provision for their health, recreation and education, and may do it without bankrupting our beloved country.

He's doing it, or at least preparing to do it, right now. If, at any future time, in peace or in war, any one questions his ability to perform the task, it will only be necessary for us to point to what is happening today before our very eyes.

AFL Convention Pledges War On Racketeering in Unions

Dubinsky Calls Move Step in Right Direction; Program on Organized Labor in Relation to War and Defense Adopted

(Continued from page 1)

with the A. F. of L. last May, Mr. Dubinsky recalled, President Green had promised that the Executive Council would recommend the withdrawal of such excessive powers vested in its hands; now, Dubinsky charged, this promise was being "partially repudiated," for the recommendation to the convention still allowed the Council to retain power of suspension of unions found "conducting together to set up a dual movement." Despite Mr. Dubinsky's plea, the committee proposal continuing the power of the Executive Council was approved by the convention.

Dubinsky's request that the A. F. of L. abolish its so-called anti-C.I.O. "war tax" was heeded, however. The tax was abolished and the regular per-capita paid by affiliated unions to the A. F. of L. was raised from one to two cents a month per member. This action opened the way for the reaffiliation of the International Typographical Union, which had been suspended from the Federation for refusing to pay the "war tax." Negotiations for such reaffiliation were initiated at the convention.

The major problem facing the convention, which represented a record-high A. F. of L. membership of 4,247,443, was the relation of labor to the war and to national defense. A resolution was adopted unanimously supporting Great Britain and urging "vigorous and effective aid" by the United States but warned

against any involvement in war. The address of Walter Citrine, general secretary of the British Trades Union Congress, who spoke as fraternal delegate, made a deep impression.

The convention pledged its full support to the national-defense effort but warned that it would resist all tendencies to convert American democracy into a dictatorship through attempts to strip labor of its legislative and social gains or to deny it an adequate voice in matters affecting the national welfare. Undemocratic practices in the conduct of the defense program would be regarded by labor as a blow at "the soul of what we would defend," it was stressed. "Should war-time conditions develop," the resolution declared, "the following principles become imperative:

"1. Universal obligation to service for defense—industrial or military—under democratic conditions.

"2. Labor should have representation on all policy-making and administrative agencies and draft boards.

"3. Labor standards and other provisions for social welfare must be maintained under emergency conditions as essential to efficient production as well as national morale."

President Green stressed that it was the policy of the A. F. of L. to avoid strikes in defense industries in order to make possible continuous and uninterrupted production. For this purpose, he suggested a system of arbitration and mediation boards. He categorically rejected, however, any legislative restriction of labor's right to strike in any branch of industry.

Without referring directly to the appointment of Sidney Hillman, C.I.O. leader, as labor member of the National Defense Advisory Commission, dissatisfaction was expressed that the A. F. of L., as the "predominating trade-union movement of the country," had not been asked to designate a representative to the Commission.

Of legislative questions, the most important dealt with by the convention was the Wagner Act. The appointment of Dr. Millis as chairman of the National Labor Relations Board was enthusiastically approved, but the demand was reiterated that the act be so amended as to make it mandatory upon the Board to designate craft groups as collective-bargaining units where a majority of the craft in question desired it.

The anti-trust prosecutions of labor unions and union officials, initiated by Assistant Attorney General Thurman Arnold, were denounced as the most vicious attack ever made on the trade-union movement of this country. The demand was voiced that "these unwarranted and destructive activities against organized labor" be curbed.

The convention reiterated the readiness of the A. F. of L. to resume peace negotiations with the C.I.O. whenever the latter should signify its readiness to do so.

William Green was re-elected president of the Federation and George

Arms Boom Leaves Many Out of Work

CIO Bulletin Warns Millions Still Face Unemployment Despite Higher Production

Washington, D. C.

THE national-defense program will be able to absorb in the next year not more than a quarter of the existing number of unemployed in the country, according to a survey published in the latest issue of the Economic Outlook, monthly publication of the C.I.O. Its estimate was based on a September level of 9,115,000 jobless, which was compared to the estimated August total of 9,761,000.

The more extended use of the labor-saving devices in industry and the delays in creating new plant capacity were given as the principal reasons for the expected lag in re-employment. The survey said that "there has been an increase of approximately a million jobs in non-farm industries in the last two months."

"The rate of increase in the first two or three months of the defense program is more rapid now than it will be later on," it was stated. "This is because the first million or two million jobs added will be simply absorbed in the regular process of American industry moving toward a fuller rate of operations."

"Further increases of employment on national-defense production will depend in large measure upon the increase in plant and facilities for special types of production and in many instances will have to await the construction of new plant and the preparation of new machinery."

Published predictions by Secretary of Labor Perkins that the defense program would provide 6,000,000 new jobs were termed quite fantastic by the survey. It quoted Daniel J. Tobin, former executive assistant to the President, as estimating

Over 50 Billion Spent on Arms In Past Year

Total for 6 Leading Powers Reaches Tremendous Sum; U. S. Costs Still to Come

Washington, D. C.

THE best available statistics, by no means complete, place the minimum current arms expenditures of the six major nations at close to \$50,000,000,000 annually.

The outlays of numerous smaller countries would send the total higher, and no one has yet begun to estimate the monetary value of lost lives, destroyed wealth and devastated areas.

Britain, for example, has increased her spending to nearly \$20,000,000,000 annually, or about as much as all the United Kingdom's 47,000,000 people earned in a pre-war year.

Nearly 85% of this outlay is going for war purposes.

In Canada, with a national income of about \$4,000,000,000, the armament budget for the current year is about \$810,000,000.

The United States, with a population nearly three times as large, is spending this year less than a third as much as Britain. But, of course, the United States has barely started to pay for its arms program.

Next year, the story will be different. By then the lag between voting money and spending it will be shortening, and the United States will be sluing out more and more of the \$17,000,000,000 which Congress approved for defense at its present session—and of additional billions soon to be voted.

ing that there were 3,000,000 to 3,500,000 men currently unemployed, while Howard Hunter, acting Commissioner of Works Projects, told the United States Conference of Mayors in September that unemployment stood between 8,200,000 and 10,000,000.

"The calculation of figures by the C.I.O. and other non-government agencies has been made necessary by the failure of the federal government to compute such figures," the Economic Outlook asserted. "It is strange that a government whose announced preoccupation has been with the problem of unemployment, and which has spent some billions of dollars on unemployment in the last seven years, should still have no adequate information about the extent or nature of unemployment."

As an example of the lag in employment springing from technological advance, the survey pointed to the new record peaks of steel production which have been reached in the past few months, commenting that the steel industry, even while breaking all production records, employed 35,000 fewer persons, including salaried employees, than it did in 1929.

Farm Income Has Not Gone Up Since '29

Per-Capita and Family Cash Income Much Below Level of Last Pre-Depression Year

Washington, D. C.

FARM recovery has not been achieved despite government payments, according to figures made public here recently by the U. S. Department of Agriculture.

The per-capita cash income of persons living on farms is estimated at \$266 for 1939, compared with \$371 for 1929, a difference of 28%.

The average cash income per farm is estimated at \$1,234 in 1939, as compared with \$1,784 in 1929, a difference of 31%.

For 1940, the Bureau of Agricultural Economics estimates that cash farm income will be about the same as 1939, but foresees a dip during the next four months which may alter the picture. Farm income is forecast for 1940 at about \$8,900,000,000.

Year	CASH FARM INCOME FROM MARKETINGS*		
	Cash Income (In Millions)	Per Farm	Per Capita
1929	\$11,221	\$1,784	\$371
1930	8,883	1,412	294
1931	6,283	839	206
1932	4,682	717	151
1933	5,409	805	171
1934	6,720	993	212
1935	7,542	1,107	237
1936	8,499	1,244	267
1937	9,111	1,336	287
1938	8,072	1,178	254
1939	8,540	1,234	266

* Includes government payments.

Survey Probes Why Married Women Work

New York City

MOST married women who work do so out of necessity or to safeguard their family standard of living rather than out of desire for luxuries or a career. This is the chief finding of a study summarized in a pamphlet, "Should Married Women Work?," by Dr. Ruth Shalleross, published by the Public Affairs Committee here.

The pamphlet, based on a study of the National Federation of Business and Professional Women's Clubs, shows that practically all working women—married, single, divorced, or widowed—are working only because their families need the money they earn. Most of the married women workers indicated that they would work only as long as it was necessary for their families' welfare.

Little factual support is found to back the frequently heard charge that the employment of married women has intensified the unemployment problem by taking jobs away from men. While men were found to have been affected by unemployment to a much greater extent than women, this is because the depression hit hardest the heavy industries which employ men. Moreover, the government's recovery measures chiefly stimulated the consumer and service industries where opportunities were greatest for women. The recent activity of the defense industries is held to have reversed this trend.

Charges that the employment of married women results in neglected homes, smaller families, juvenile delinquency and increased divorce rates are also held to be either false or unproved. Counterbalancing the handicap imposed by a wife working away from home are certain positive contributions which working women make to their homes and children by having interests in the outside world.

Despite this evidence, the Federation finds opposition to the employment of married women to be growing. Its survey shows that married women are most likely to find bars against them if they seek jobs as school teachers, or as office workers in public utilities or large manufacturing concerns. Department stores are more liberal in their attitude toward married women employees.

As a result of growing opposition, the Federation finds that bills have been introduced in the legislatures of twenty-six states in recent years which would limit the employment of married women. Only one of these passed and it was later repealed. Sixteen states legally safeguard the right of women to work, regardless of marriage, in their civil service codes and other laws affecting state employment.

American Labor Meets In Convention

◆ a first-hand report by

JAY LOVESTONE

just back from New Orleans

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- WHAT WILL THE A. F. OF L. DO ABOUT RACKETEERING?
- WHAT LIES AHEAD FOR THE C.I.O.?
- WHAT IS LABOR'S ATTITUDE TO THE WAR AND TO DEFENSE?
- WHAT ARE THE PERSPECTIVES OF THE LABOR MOVEMENT IN THE COMING PERIOD?

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Is There Anything at All "Progressive" in Fascism?

Theory of 'Objective Revolutionary Consequences' Hit

By DONALD GRAHAM

WHILE Comrade Wolfe, in his article "On the Nature of Fascism," has polemized against theories of fascism held or alleged to be held by spokesmen of the majority in the I.L.L.A., he has failed to mention or to criticize the novel and remarkable theory of "objective progress under Hitlerism."

That theory was presented in a document addressed to the National Council meeting Labor Day weekend in the following form:

"One can say that the resistance of British imperialism plays an objective revolutionary role. But this observation does not suffice to advocate in consequence any collaboration whatsoever with this imperialism. You would find objective factors of the same type in certain measures of collective organization taken by the Nazis, or simply in such and such an invention for a new method of production which leads to revolutionary consequences."

In this amazing theory, the objective revolutionary consequence of a British victory over Hitler is admitted. This is then compared to the "objective factors of the same type in certain measures of collective organization taken by the Nazis." This again is compared and equated to an improvement in technique in the machinery of production. The astounding confusion here of comparing the objective revolutionary consequences in Europe after a Hitler defeat to the "objective revolutionary consequences" of measures taken by the Nazis in collective organization, and again to an improvement in machinery—that is bad enough. But it is worse when one considers that the measures taken by the Nazis are measures of counter-revolution. There can be no objective revolutionary or progressive consequences of Nazi domination. It is the most reactionary political regime arising on the basis of a decaying capitalist system. The "collective measures" of control of the German capitalists are no more progressive than the swindling of the French bourgeoisie by Napoleon III. The tremendous military machine and equipment built by the Nazis is the result of an ef-

ficient industrial plant which they inherited plus the most ruthless and unbridled exploitation of the German people and the other peoples whom the Nazis have conquered.

CLASS ESTIMATE OF CONSEQUENCES

Marxists, in determining their attitude to a particular regime, have never judged it on the basis of its economic character alone or on certain isolated factors. For example, the inexorable hostility of Marx and Engels to the Czarist regime was based on the constant threat which this regime held out to the democratic and socialist movements of Europe. They desired its defeat in war-time in spite of the growth of capitalist industry under the Czarist regime. No socialist could dream of comparing or equating the revolutionary consequences of a Czarist defeat to the very rapid growth of capitalist economy in Russia, even to the growth of capitalist economy here within its objectively progressive consequences.

In the war between Italy and Ethiopia, Italy represented an advanced stage of modern trust capitalism, while Ethiopia was still feudal. Yet no one could hesitate to support the much more economically backward country in this struggle. For here the depriving of a country of its liberty and independence, in spite of its economic backwardness, held counter-revolutionary consequences. On one occasion, Engels maintained in a letter to Kautsky that a country was justified in breaking away even from a socialist state (that is, from one with the highest objective economic and social development) if it desired its independence. This is the best answer to those who justified the Russian invasion of Finland as an "extension of socialism, altho by bureaucratic means." The extension of slavery would be a more apt description.

NATIONAL FREEDOM AND INTERNATIONALISM

Engels, in a letter to Kautsky, gave the theoretical justification for the view of Marx and himself on the progressive character of na-

tional struggles for independence. He wrote:

"It is historically impossible for a great people to be in a position even to discuss any internal question seriously as long as national independence is lacking. An international movement of the proletariat is only possible among independent nations, between equals."

From this we can see that the analysis of the progressive or reactionary character of a regime is not a matter of mere expediency.

(Continued on Page 4)

father's asses. It is not a thing gained as the result of seeking.

And certainly happiness, as an object of endeavor, is a most unworthy object of a socialist movement. True, it is the object of the socialist movement to bring happiness into the lives of those who toil, but it is by putting mankind on the path on which alone happiness can be found—the path of free, secure and creative labor.

FRANK D. SLOCUM

More About That Destroyer Deal

New York City

Editor, Workers Age:

I AM extremely loath to continue a discussion of the transfer of the destroyers to Great Britain. It has already received more space in the Workers Age, both pro and con, than the magnitude of the issue or the size of the paper would warrant. But there is one misunderstanding that I think must be cleared up. Will Harberg, in his answer to my article dealing with the method of the transfer, missed the point of my criticism, at least in great measure. To be sure, he says that my defense of Roosevelt's method was "lame" and "limping," and in reality "no defense at all." Actually it was no defense at all, if by defense is meant approval. I said that we had always opposed an extension of authority and power concentrated in the hands of the executive, and we continue to oppose it. I pointed out that it would have been far preferable if the matter had been consummated by Congress, instead of by a President anxious to make a shrewd election move. If that had been the position of the Workers Age in criticizing the methods of the Roosevelt Administration in effecting the transfer of the destroyers, I would not have felt impelled to write any article discussing repetitiously what I agreed with. No; the entire basis of my article was a criticism of the Workers Age in quoting with approval the editorial of the St. Louis Post-Dispatch which characterized Roosevelt's action as that of a Hitler or a Mussolini stuffing things down the throat of a protesting people. The article dealt with that, and that alone. I did not say that Roosevelt's method was good, satisfactory or preferable to a more democratic method. I did not say that the good ends justified the bad means employed. I did not even say that the fact that the polls showed 60% of Congress in favor of the transfer justified the use of a bad method. Nor did I, by the widest stretch of the imagination, even imply that because polls indicate popular sentiment more or less closely, Roosevelt would be justified in doing away with elections the moment such polls showed a majority of the people with him.

What I did show was that a bourgeois-democratic political leader, in using methods that we do not approve of, does not thereby become a fascist, a Hitler or a Mussolini. Before the Roosevelt Administration, we had a bourgeois-democratic America in which the courts ruled by injunction in the most high-handed way. I remind you of those court orders restraining unions from carrying on organizing campaigns where employers had forced their workers to sign yellow-dog contracts, because such organizing campaigns would tend to make workers break the sacred rights of contract. That is now gone—under the Roosevelt Administration. The courts that handed down these infamous, anti-union, anti-labor decisions were not fascist courts. This was the democratic, pre-Roosevelt America. Today, under Roosevelt, such decisions cannot be handed down dictatorially from above in defense of the sacred yellow-dog contract. Is the America of the Roosevelt regime therefore more fascist than the democratic land ruled by court injunction? Or is it less fascist? Neither the one nor the other was or is fascist, the one may be more or less democratic than or preferable to the other. What I was trying to do in my article was to show that labelling every action or method that we do not approve of as fascist, or Hitler throat-stuffing is inaccurate politically, and therefore unconvincing. If we are to call measures we do not approve of "fascist," then this country has always been fascist—which is an absurdity.

The funniest thing, however, is that the St. Louis Post-Dispatch, after denouncing Roosevelt's method as that of a Hitler and a Mussolini,

United States: Europe's Bailiff Or Brother?

Is Anglo-American Alliance Reactionary Move Towards New Imperialist Coalition?

By JON KIMCHE

(Concluded from Last Issue)

FROM this starting point, we come to a bridge leading to a far more sinister position. The bridge is no other than the rather faded Colonel Lindbergh and the more substantial Mr. Mooney of the General Motors Corporation. They have been recently expressing similar sentiments which in Colonel Lindbergh's words ran thus: "It is time for us to consider the relationship we will have with Europe after the war. . . . In the past, we have dealt with a Europe dominated by England and France. In the future we have to deal with a Europe dominated by Germany." This bridge then brings us to "the close connection of American aviation business to German industry."

Three of the chief American aviation firms are deeply involved in German industry and have contributed largely in creating Goering's air armada. Pratt and Whitney have had since 1935 a profitable agreement with the construction of air-cooled engines. The Nye Committee concluded that the company has sold to the Nazis more than nine million dollars worth of aircraft. The Nye Committee also found that Curtiss-Wright and Douglas were assisting the Nazis. Secrets of newly-invented instruments were passed to the Germans. Finally, he put on record that it was the American companies who introduced dive-bombing to the Nazis. The following beautiful example is quoted by the New York Nation. It deserves to stand as an example par excellence of capitalist business morality. In January 1934, the president of the Curtiss-Wright Export Corporation wrote to one of his sales agents abroad:

"We have been nosing around the bureau in Washington and find that they hold as most strictly confidential their dive-bombing tactics and procedure, and they frown upon our even mentioning dive-bombing in connection with the Hawks or any other airplane to any foreign power. It is absolutely unwise and unethical at this time, and probably for some time to come, for us to indicate that we know anything about the technique and tactics of dive-bombing. It may be all right . . . to put on a dive-bombing show to show the strength of the airplanes, but to refer in contract to dive-bombing or endeavor to teach dive-bombing is what I am cautioning against doing."

The Nation leaves it to the reader to judge how safe was the secret of the dive-bomber under these circumstances. To which we can add that there is no record of the R.A.F. having bought dive-bombers from the Curtiss-Wright Corporation. The Nazis had many in the Battle of France.

A further facet of this question was revealed before a grand jury in New York City which has been investigating charges that international cartel arrangements between American and German firms have been throttling American capacity to produce essential war materials. It is also believed that there is an exchange of military secrets between American and German firms, which probably tends to be a one-sided affair. Another example which has come to light is that the Bausch and Lomb Optical Company, which supplies range-finders for planes sold to Britain, has an agreement with Carl Zeiss by which the American company marks up its prices on exports by 20% and remits that amount to Germany.

SOME VITAL CONCLUSIONS

The few examples I have here cited do not prove that American industry is in the grip of or even in collusion with the Germans. The British have probably many more fingers in the pie. But, I think, we may draw a few limited conclusions which are, however, of great importance in estimating the present and future Anglo-American relationship. I would say that the following points deserve closer attention by socialists on both sides of the Atlantic:

1. There are conflicting capitalist and imperialist interests which are unresolved in the U.S.A. as they were in France and Britain.
2. Just as the Germans cannot fight this war with the weapons of the last war, and just as Britain is compelled to seek new men and methods, so the U.S.A. will be compelled to abandon the Dollar Imperialism of the last war.
3. This is the heart of the problem at the moment. The Dakar fiasco came out in support of Roosevelt's reelection. Which proves that they either didn't know what they were saying in the first instance, or didn't believe their own argument. If they couldn't even convince themselves of their own accusation, I don't see how they could be successful in convincing anybody else. They didn't convince me. When Roosevelt behaves like a fascist dictator, the editor of the Workers Age and myself will have no differences on the question—we will both be discussing the question then, not in the columns of the Workers Age, but under much less palatable conditions.

B. HERMAN

Is Britain Going Left In the War Crisis?

Regime Capitalist Tho Labor's Power Counts

By J. CORK

IT has been claimed that England is slowly but steadily moving to the left, and that support of the war effort, especially on the part of labor, is almost automatically causing a social transformation which is leading in the direction of a social revolution. Facts adduced as verification are that civil liberties are still flourishing; the Independent Labor Party of Great Britain is still allowed to publish its criticism of the government; wages have not been reduced; social services are being maintained and even increased; liberals and even conservatives are being influenced by new winds of doctrine, and are talking about a new world of equality after the war, even of the necessity of unleashing a revolution against Herr Hitler.

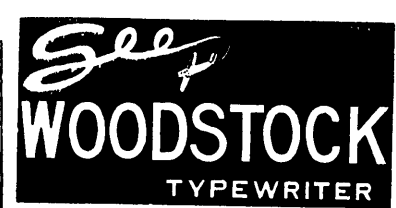
There is much truth in this picture, but hardly enough to warrant the blanket generalization drawn. Uncritical acceptance of such a conclusion leaves the way open for some dangerous illusions; for instance, that the British government, as at present constituted, is fighting the war for world democracy, and is the instrumentality for fashioning a better world after the war. Other and, in the writer's opinion, weightier facts exist which throw a more fundamental light on the character of the present government and its social interests and purposes. That government, with labor representation in it, exists in a state of uneasy equilibrium. It cannot disregard the pressure of labor. But the government remains, in essence, the government of the British ruling class. A careful perusal of the I.L.P. press reveals that attempts at wage cuts have been made, that attempts at pension reductions have been made, and even isolated attempts at press censorship have been forthcoming. That these attempts were not successful was due to the conscious and independent struggle of labor. In that fight, the I.L.P. has stood in the forefront, throwing in the full resources of its unfortunately limited strength. Demands were not handed to workers on a silver platter by a willing and progressive government.

CHARACTER OF THE PRESENT GOVERNMENT

But consider further this far more important fact as material for evaluating the social character of the present government during its existence: independence for India has not been granted, even though the Indian National Congress promised to cooperate actively in the struggle against fascism on the side of England, as a free autonomous body. Instead, England is bludgeoning India into the war without the latter's consent. Repression and terror and arrests of Indian militants and nationalists are on the rapid increase, and are beginning to assume a mass character. Anti-fascist refugees in England, the natural enemies of Hitler and fascism, the best fighters for democracy, were placed in detention camps by the thousands. But the British government gave its support to all the "governments in exile" on British soil, which are composed, for the most part, of the most reactionary elements, men who merely want the restoration in their respective countries of the pre-war status-quo, the old capitalist paradise for themselves. The today they represent an historical anachronism, never to be reborn, the British government supports them for its own imperialist

has shown how impossible it is to fight this war by appealing to the gentlemen on the other side, that for victory the full resources and terrors of a revolution will be necessary. A customary way of putting this is that "only socialism can defeat the Nazis," but this is a meaningless slogan if we do not add that only more Spitfires, more A.A. guns and better shelters for defense, and more long-distance planes for attack will save us now from defeat. At the moment, with the poised knife at our throat, we are concerned to get away from it, so that we can tackle the problem of how to defeat the Nazis.

This is the immediate implication of help from the U.S.A. For the long-term policy, we shall above all have to remember that there are progressive and reactionary forces in the U.S.A. and that the issue between them is not decided as yet and will not be decided by the Presidential elections. The issue in favor of progress and socialism will be helped, and the possibility of a reactionary Anglo-American imperialist block thwarted, not by theoretic warning and premature fear, but by a program, joint action and continuous consultation by the British and American trade unions and all sections, other than the defeatists, of political labor. Such a block may terrify imperialist reaction—but it is the essential preparation for the defeat of the Nazis by socialism.



In Memory of V. F. Calverton

New York City.

V. F. CALVERTON, widely known thruout the United States as critic, author and editor, died suddenly last week at the age of 40 as a result of pernicious anemia. His death came as a profound shock to his many friends and acquaintances in literary and political circles in all parts of the United States. He was a man of brilliant mind, immense capacity for work, and wide sympathies.

Mr. Calverton, whose original name was George Goetz, was born in Baltimore in 1900. Shortly after graduating from Johns Hopkins, he founded the Modern Quarterly, which, under that name and as the Modern Monthly, he edited thereafter. He also began his series of works on literature and social questions which spread his fame not only thru the Americas but thruout many countries of Europe and Asia as well. He was the American pioneer in the sociological criticism of literature and art, and laid the foundations of this viewpoint with such firmness and clarity that it survived the caricature distortions of the communists and won a recognized place for itself in our critical tradition. "The Newer Spirit" and "The Liberation of America Literature" were most significant in this field.

The Modern Monthly, under his gifted editorship, exerted wide influence as an independent socialist magazine, one of the few in this country that never compromised with Stalinism.

Calverton himself was a convinced socialist, tho he was never affiliated with any organization. His relations with the I.L.L.A. and the Workers Age were most cordial, and on occasion he lectured at the Independent Labor Institute. His last work, completed shortly before his death, was a book, "Where Angels Fear to Tread," a study of communist colonies in the United States, to be published next Spring.

With deep pain born out of sincere admiration and long friendship, we pay our homage to the memory of V. F. Calverton.

I.L.P. sees a better way to conquer Hitler and one which, unlike the other, would offer hope to a suffering humanity:

"It is our duty to see clearly what is happening. The first steps have been taken towards the establishment of the strongest capitalist combination the world has yet seen. Our reply must be to work unceasingly for the ending of British capitalism, for the ending, in association with the Indian people and the colonial workers, of British imperialism. If Britain were socialist, if it were freed of its social inequalities, if freedom were extended to India, and to the colonial peoples, these millions in the Nazi-occupied territories and in Germany itself, could become a Fifth Column for Revolution greater than the Nazis have ever been able to organize for fascism" (as above).

THE CHOICE BEFORE US

Such is the attitude of the I.L.P. on some fundamental issues. Tho agreeing with it in entirety, I have not argued the case so much as let the I.L.P. speak for itself. To the new "realists" and "practicalists" in the labor movement, whose thought shuttles back and forth between the limits allowed by the theory of the lesser evil, which has always brought greater evil in its wake for the common masses, the position of the I.L.P. undoubtedly seems abstract, unreal and hopelessly idealistic in a utopian sense. Yet the writer regards it as a fine position, a sober, realistic position, concrete and practical, and in its immediate every-day as well as its more distant future perspectives, absolutely true to socialist principles. I especially

(Continued on Page 4)

"Fatherly Interest" . . .

WE are reprinting this piece for you to read and file away in case you ever need a perfect example of political fakery. It concerns that stainless knight of pure politics, Fiorello La Guardia.

Reports the New York Times of November 5, Election Day: "Representative Vito Marcantonio, described as pro-communist by William Green, president of the American Federation of Labor, was included yesterday by Mayor La Guardia in a list of candidates for whom the Mayor said he would vote. . . . Intimates of the Mayor reported that Mr. La Guardia has a 'fatherly interest' in [Representative Marcantonio] which transcends any differences they may have on political issues."

Here you are, ladies and gentlemen! Step right up! Oun this platform you behold the sublime and stupendous spectacle of Mayor La Guardia, super-patriot and dictator-killer extraordinary, member of the Joint United States-Canadian Defense Commission, head of the Independent Voters Committee for Roosevelt, now slated for a post in Roosevelt's new cabinet, giving his blessing to Representative Vito Marcantonio, chairman of the communist-operated International Labor Defense, window-dressing for all Stalinist "movements" and "conferences," mouth-piece of the Communist Party in Congress, the darling of all totalitarian sympathizers and groups in his district! And, ladies and gentlemen, don't miss that glint of "fatherly interest" in the Little Flower's eyes!

Letters from Our Readers:

Where Do We Stand On Socialist Unity?

Paterson, N. J.

Editor, Workers Age:

I AM writing to you as an individual member of the Socialist Party.

For some time now, I have been very much interested in socialist unity—specifically, unity between the Socialist Party, the Social-Democratic Federation and the I.L.L.A.

To effectively present the program of democratic socialism to the American people, to effectively combat the destructive influence of a corrupt, degenerate, totalitarian Stalinism, such unity is urgently necessary if an American socialist movement is to survive and progress.

I know that there are many obstacles, in the way of immediate organic unity. However, I do think that cooperation of the above-mentioned forces to promote the program of democratic socialism and to combat Stalinism is possible and highly desirable.

I would appreciate it if you would let me know your position regarding this matter.

MEYER MILLER

The Editor Replies:

IT IS hardly necessary to assure our correspondent that we are strongly in favor of socialist unity, or of any step, no matter how limited, that might lead to socialist unity—as we ever have been. We therefore wholeheartedly agree with the spirit and intention of our correspondent. The position he expresses in his letter is our position as well.

Unfortunately, the other organizations concerned do not seem so eager for socialist unity as our correspondent or we are. Just an example: During the last national convention of the Socialist Party in the Spring, we addressed a unity appeal to it and urged that every force of united action be cultivated and strengthened. That appeal was not considered by the convention; it was not even presented in full to the delegates. Naturally, very little came of it, and the development since have hardly been very encouraging from the standpoint of the achievement of socialist unity.

The need for socialist unity is greater than ever. We, on our part, are as ready as ever to do our share towards achieving that goal.

Asks About Validity Of Marxist Economics

Philadelphia, Pa.

Editor, Workers Age:

IT is surprising to me that in the midst of all your discussions concerning the reevaluation of Marxist concepts, you have neglected the phase of economic theory, especially since it has been under constant attack by bourgeois economists as well as left-wing critics, Hook, Wilson, Singham, et al.

I am referring specifically to the labor theory of value. Is there any answer to them? The only one I know of is Strachey. Please enlighten and refer me to some material if you can. Our study group which follows your publication would appreciate it greatly.

ALVIN CORLES

(We will deal with the question of Marxist economics at length in an early issue.—Editor.)

's Happiness the Goal of Life?

New York City.

Editor, Workers Age:

WAS very much impressed with your criticism of C. A. Smith's argument. It has always seemed to me that the "Happiness Principle" did not get to the core of things. I doubt if happiness is ever found by those who make it the object of their lives. It is found by those who make some attainment the goal of their lives. To the first, happiness means avoidance of pain, discomfort, and hardship. To the second, happiness means overcoming pain and discomfort. And happiness is but the satisfaction the student gains from solving a difficult problem, the worker from accomplishing a complicated job, and so on. Happiness is but the shadow of a substantial satisfaction, and is known only to those who have raved pain and discomfort, but in the performance of a definite task or duty.

Your excellent editorial, "The Rights of Conscience," affords an illustration. Happiness, as avoidance of pain, is most assuredly not the object of these theological students. Performance of their duty to their God was the object. And in the very performance of that painful duty, they will find a happiness that theological students who will serve a more lenient God in comfortable pulpits will never find.

In short, happiness is a thing found as one pursues his duties, as Saul found a kingship in seeking his

Read—Spread

WORKERS AGE

Workers Age

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WILL HERBERG, Editor

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TIMELY WARNING

WE are glad indeed to note that the New York Post, a staunch defender of the Administration and its foreign policy, has seen fit to sound a warning against the proposal urged by the White Committee and kindred groups that the Neutrality Act be revised to permit United States ships to carry cargoes to British ports.

"Great Britain undoubtedly needs to increase the number of ships bringing supplies into her ports", declares the Post editorially in its November 15, 1940 issue. "But we can help fill this need without sending American ships and American crews across the Atlantic and virtually asking a Nazi submarine to provoke a harrowing, tragic incident. [The Post thereupon suggests a number of such ways, including the transfer of additional freighters to British registry, preference to British orders in our shipyards, etc.] Our policy of aiding Britain without endangering the lives of American sailors has worked for more than a year with conspicuous success. Emotion-arousing incidents have been wholly avoided."

These are words full of sound common-sense. We have frequently warned in these columns against ways of aiding Britain that would, more than anything else, tend to get our country involved in war. "Relaxing" the neutrality law so as to remove the ban on American shipping in belligerent waters to belligerent ports is one of the most dangerous of these. It should never be proposed in Congress, but, if proposed, it should be summarily rejected.

LETTERS TO AN ENGLISH FRIEND

(Continued from page 1)

tion. I have, for months, been watching this trend on the basis of gathering every scrap of information from many and all sorts of sources. I have tried to compare this trend with somewhat similar situations in the countries during somewhat similar times in the past. It is my conviction that, despite Churchill's unquestionably imperialist motivation, despite Britain's crimes in a good number of its colonies, there are more powerful forces slowly, confusedly, but definitely developing in your land. Here I do not speak of the fact that Labor is in the cabinet, or that the specific gravity of Labor in the cabinet will be increasing. I have in mind your changing economic structure, your changing social composition, the pulverizing of some of your stodgy traditions—traditions which not even the best of your Left has ever before dared to challenge in their everyday propaganda.

Let me add, also, my full accord with your emphasis on the importance of the growing movement towards the left in the Labor Party, on the militancy in the workshops, and on the reviving shop-stewards movement. Also, it is my opinion that, while no one need take too seriously the leftward contents of the Beaverbrook press, none of us can exaggerate the importance of the forces at work compelling it to say what it has been saying in recent weeks.

You cannot begin to estimate how thankful I am to you for giving me your impressions and reactions. You see, in the battle of Britain, not only Hitler and Churchill have stakes. The world labor movement, crushed in its most significant part—continental Europe—has even more vital stakes. While it is hardly probable, it is still theoretically possible for the Churchills, the Roosevelts, and the Hitlers to accept a stalemate or some temporary working together. For the world labor movement, it is not only practically but even theoretically impossible even to have the barest existence, let alone possibilities for development, in the event Hitler comes out triumphant to the least degree. Call the roll of European countries, and you will see what I am driving at. Imagine how much the hands of your "appeasers" would be stimulated should some sort of negotiated peace come through an arrangement among the democratic and fascist imperialist powers. It is far more to the interest of the international proletariat that Hitlerism be defeated than it is even to the interest of the British and American bourgeoisie.

Of course, we have our own program for the defeat of Hitler. In Germany, we demand revolutionary defeatism—the transformation of Hitler's imperialist war into a civil war. In England, we do not advocate revolutionary defeatism. In England, we do not propose the transformation of the imperialist war into a civil war as we do in Germany. In England, we propose the transformation of the imperialist war into a revolutionary war. That's quite different. This cannot be achieved overnight. From this point of view, I was very glad to note that you are demanding far more adequate air-raid shelters. Nowadays, this means demand for more adequate defense. Surely, you wouldn't object to having some good planes to intercept the Nazi bombers, to shoot down these Hitler bombers and to capture their pilots so that they could not do any more killing at the bidding of Hitler. Well, you wouldn't limit your demands for more adequate defense to air-raid shelters and planes. Some good destroyers and submarines are just as much part of defense. So are your army and the L.D.V. (Local Defense Volunteers—Editor). So are your anti-aircraft guns. In other words, once you accept the principle of national defense, you accept it at its best and not on a "Norwegian" scale.

The independent position of labor can very well be maintained as a living force in a thousand and one different ways.

I am in agreement with you that if and when the European socialist revolution does come, it will combine a "determination to overthrow Nazism and imperialism with an overwhelming demand for peace, and we must be free to lead that demand." But to achieve this, we must first of all see to it that the gravest and most imminent danger which confronts us—a victory for Nazi imperialism—does not materialize.

I do not conceive the worker and the workers movement as some mythical figure holding a Domesday Book in his hand and keeping a strict accounting of every single deed we now perform, and then judging us when the revolutionary situation does come. We must not be afraid to take responsibility. The labor movement is no mythical proposition, nor is socialism some mystique. Those of us who will have a sound program to meet the situation and the courage and ability to do it will give the lead to a revolutionary movement when the revolutionary situation develops. Right now, the big danger is that we should not do anything which might objectively aid Hitler's triumph, which would be a crushing defeat with the most brutal capitalist reactionary consequences.

Right now, there is no such grave danger that any of our mistakes (those we might make in one or another particular incident) will serve to hamper the development of the world revolution. We are confronted with the most elementary task—the elementary, simple job of rebuilding, of setting up a European labor movement. What you do in England will have a more profound effect than you realize. I am confident that you comrades will not be stymied by threadbare sentiments, will not be blinded by devitalized dogma, and will continue to improve your role in waging the war on two fronts—the battle against Nazi imperialism and against domestic reaction which, directly or indirectly, is only a potential partner of all fascist reaction.

New York, October 25, 1940.

Dear Friend:

Don't you see that since Zimmerwald, since October 1917, since Versailles, since the April 1939 International Workers Front Against War Conference, since the outbreak of the war, something new has happened? In the last war, there was a probability of social revolution in any country that was defeated. In this war, there is a probability of social revolution only in certain countries in the case of defeat, and that is, in Germany and its allies. If Germany is defeated, there's no chance of social revolution not only in Germany, but, spreading from Germany westward and, in my opinion, even eastward. But if France, Holland, Norway, Denmark, Luxembourg and England are defeated, then there is no chance of revolution in those countries, and, for quite some time, there is every chance of deepest, most efficient and strongest counter-revolution triumphing—the setting up of Quisling-Vichy-Pétain puppet governments on a Nazi basis. Don't you see the new point in this differing from 1917? I need not repeat to you the obvious. A Nazi defeat in itself does not guarantee the victory of the world social revolution, but a Nazi victory in itself does guarantee the defeat of the world social revolution. I would appreciate the reactions of you and your friends to this approach of mine. Does it make any sense to you? Has such an approach anything to do with class relations, living social forces or living Marxism—the only Marxism? I know it means reexamining beautiful formulas which once were as green as growing trees but which now, because of new class relations, have become, at best, petrified forests. . . .

It is unnecessary for me to close with compliments and superlatives and approvals and congratulations for the fine work and grand morale of your organization. You don't need such artificial, synthetic encouragement.

Socialist Policy on the War

An Analysis That Misses...

By WILL HERBERG

I HAVE read Bertram D. Wolfe's series of articles on the war with great care, and in these paragraphs I want to comment on them. I find the point of view expressed in Wolfe's articles not only generally unsound, but, at some points, actually incomprehensible.

ANALYSIS MISSES THE POINT

1. On the nature of fascism: Comrade Wolfe's first article, in the October 12, 1940 issue of this paper, is devoted to the question of fascism. There are a number of good ideas in this article, but it certainly does not deal with the nature of fascism; it hardly even touches on that subject. The article is actually an analysis of certain economic and social trends common to all countries at this present stage of capitalist decay. These trends, individually and collectively, are not fascism, although they are the soil out of which fascism may grow given certain other favoring conditions. To confuse the general conditions out of which a certain system grows with that system itself is positively fatal to any clarity of thought. A little more crudely it is what those who do define fascism as, say, "capitalist reaction." Fascism may be a form of "capitalist reaction," but even if that were so, the formula would be useless, for there are all sorts of forms of "capitalist reaction," and what we are interested in knowing is what sets fascism apart from all other forms, not what it has in common with them.

Comrade Wolfe falls into the same crudity of analysis. He simply makes fascism identical with capitalism in decay. Now fascism may arise out of capitalism in decay, but even if this is so, the formula is useless, for there are all sorts of socio-political systems arising out of capitalism in decay, and what we're interested in knowing is what sets fascism apart from all these systems and not what it has in common with them. Otherwise, we are not analyzing or discussing fascism at all.

In short, Comrade Wolfe simply ignores what is specific in, what is characteristic of, what is essential to, fascism. He therefore completely misses the point.

Anyone taking Comrade Wolfe's analysis seriously must conclude not only that we have fascism to a greater or less degree in every country of the world today, but that we have had fascism in all advanced capitalist countries for twenty, thirty or even forty years, for capitalist decay, as described by Comrade Wolfe, was already in full swing then. In my opinion, this is a reduction to the absurd.

The trouble with Comrade Wolfe's analysis is that he simply equates fascism with totalitarianism (very vaguely defined) with a "managed" economy with the decay of capitalism—an equation that sins grossly against the most elementary requirements of political logic. He is therefore able to maintain with a great show of intransigence that whoever wins the war, the "trend towards totalitarianism" will not be reversed. This conclusion has some truth in it; totalitarianism is made to mean simply the decay of capitalism and a "managed" economy; it is altogether and rather obviously false if the "trend" Comrade Wolfe speaks of refers to fascism in the specific and meaningful sense of the word.

Comrade Wolfe further confuses the issue by heatedly denouncing conceptions of fascism that are plainly sound and by no means novel, such as: "Fascism is counter-revolution on the march." To me this formulation is so obvious as to be a mere commonplace. What Comrade Wolfe finds in it to object to is a mystery to me. But I need not belabor this point for it was very well dealt with in the article by Donald Graham in the last issue of this paper.

FANTASY OF A "WORLD ECONOMY"

"Even Wolfe's economic analysis is seriously vitiated by a curious presupposition which he shares with most 'orthodox' Marxists. 'In short,' writes Wolfe, 'the whole world, and not only Germany, at unequal rates, some more in one sphere, some more in another, is developing from world division of labor to an untenable and strangling autarchy.' The presumption here expressed is that 'world division of labor' is the 'normal' economic system, and that one of the signs of decay of present-day capitalism is the break-up of that 'division of labor.' As a matter of fact, there never has been any 'world division of labor,' and today there is less ground technologically for speaking of it than ever before. Today, in the light of current technological developments, there is no country that is 'normally' or 'naturally' industrial or agricultural or commercial or anything of the sort. There is no such 'natural destiny' at all in the nineteenth-century sense.

Comrade Wolfe's whole approach here is simply that of orthodox bourgeois economics on its head. He takes a very temporary and precarious situation during a few decades of the nineteenth century in which England was both the workshop of the world and the ruler of the world market, and converts it into a "normal" or "natural" system, and thus into a standard by which to judge the state of health of capitalism at any time. Thus, to Wolfe free trade and

freedom of movement of capital are "normal," while restrictions on free trade and the movement of capital are a sign of capitalist decay, even of totalitarianism. In my opinion, this is sheer fantasy. Aside from the fact that it has never had any actual existence on the face of the earth except in England for a few decades in the nineteenth century, free trade in goods and capital is no more "normal" or "natural" than protective restrictions; it all depends on the situation. Even Marx, who lived in a period when the idea of a "world division of labor" was far more plausible than today, urged protectionism and restriction of the movement of goods and capital both for Ireland and the United States, and later even for Germany. With all his faults, Marx did not live in a world of self-created illusions."

Here again Wolfe sins against the most obvious requirements of clear thinking. He simply equates restrictions on free trade in goods and capital with restrictions on civil liberties and personal rights. This procedure is so obviously unsound as to require no refutation.

The entire notion of "world division of labor" is a meaningless fiction today, technologically and economically. The reality facing the world, and it would face a socialist world as well as it does a capitalist world because it is grounded in technological necessity, is regionalism, not a "world" economy—the economic autarchy of technologically-defined regions, of which the western hemisphere is one, and not an imaginary "world division of labor."

TWO WARS—HOW RELATED?

2. On the nature of the war: The second of Comrade Wolfe's articles, in the October 26, 1940 issue of this paper, deals with the character of the present war. He finds in this war really two wars: the war of the Third Camp (socialism) against totalitarianism at home as well as abroad, and the war of British imperialism against the fascist imperialism. He accuses the supporters of the majority viewpoint of confusing these two wars. Well, as a basis of argument, let us accept Comrade Wolfe's imagery of the two wars. That does not exhaust the question; it doesn't even touch it. The central question is: What is the relation between these two wars? Obviously, there must be some point of contact, some common ground, between the war of socialism against totalitarianism and the war of Britain against Germany, or else it would really make no difference to socialists who won the latter war, an idea which Comrade Wolfe indignantly repudiates. So there is some point of contact, some common ground, between the cause of socialism and the cause of Britain—yes, of British imperialism! This is an important fact, which Comrade Wolfe admits by implication, so to speak, rather than explicitly. But equally important is it to define this common ground more exactly, for obviously it is not equivalent to a complete identity of interests. This Comrade Wolfe does not do. But this the majority resolu-

tion does do, and so do the articles of Comrade Lovestone. I am frankly baffled by Comrade Wolfe's whole attitude to the war. He states clearly that "there is none who, forced to choose between the two outcomes, would not prefer the latter (victory of the present England) to the former (victory of the present Germany)". He also believes that at least part of the English worker's duty is to support the war effort, the military struggle against Hitler Germany. Comrade Wolfe, who says he shares Wolfe's views, puts considerable stress on this point when, in describing with approval the L.L.P. position, he writes in his article in the last issue of this paper: "Does the L.L.P. support the military effort against the Nazis? Of course! Only an insane person, certainly not a realistic socialist, would adopt an abstentionist, do-nothing position, with the bombs bursting all around. The defeat of fascism is the first plank." Good, excellent; I agree with this wholeheartedly, but I don't see how Comrade Wolfe can. When he analyzes the present war, he makes it out to be essentially a continuation of the last World War, only more so, because in the intervening twenty years capitalist decay has gotten much worse. But when he comes to tactics, he advocates a line of policy which is not only not a continuation of sound socialist policy during the World War but is virtually the exact opposite of that policy. In the World War, Comrade Wolfe presumably believes, it was wrong for socialists on either side to support the war effort; in this war, it is the duty of British socialists to support the war effort. In the World War, revolutionary defeatism was advocated by Lenin and his group of international socialists on both sides; in this war, defeatism in Britain is a crime from the socialist standpoint. Now I agree with Wolfe and Cork in drawing this difference; what I don't understand is how they can justify this difference on the basis of Wolfe's analysis of the nature of the war, which analysis could serve just as well for the war of 1914-1918 as for the present conflict. If the analysis is essentially the same for both wars, how can the implications for policy and tactics be exactly the opposite? Analysis and tactics stand in crass contradiction. This is indeed a puzzle.

THRU SOCIALISM TO VICTORY!
Support of the war effort is only part of the duty of the British working class; the other part, a major part, is political struggle against capitalism and imperialism at home, because only a socialist transformation of Britain and the abandonment of imperialism can provide a new dynamic powerful enough to smash Hitler Germany and destroy the fascist menace. Both Wolfe and Cork point this out, and quite rightly too. But against whom are they arguing? That very point is in the majority resolution Part III, Section 2, as published in the Workers Age of August 10, 1940. That very point, too, is stressed by Jay Lovestone in his article, "Socialism, Fascism and the Outcome of the War" (Workers Age, October 26, 1940), when he speaks of "the development towards socialism, without which England cannot triumph over Hitler imperialism."

Against whom is Comrade Wolfe arguing?

(Will Herberg's next article will deal with aid to England and the problem of national defense.—Editor.)

Is Britain Moving Left In the War Crisis?

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think so in view of the shift that is taking place in the war.

The invasion of Britain proper is probably over for quite a time. The war has shifted its main emphasis to the Mediterranean, North Africa and the Near East. In spite of new dangers, the change is probably of advantage to Britain. It furnishes her with a much-needed breathing spell during which she can rebuild her industries at home, speed up her production, swing the enormous war assistance from the United States and possibly other allies. The prospect for a stalemate looms larger now than previously. However speculative much of this may be, one thing seems relatively certain, and that is that the war will now drag on its weary pace for quite a while. With the war extending to new corners of the world, the terrific misery and suffering for new layers of common folk can well be imagined. Exhausting war weariness and suffering on such an increasing scale cannot continue without engendering reaction, dissatisfaction, grumbling, rebellion, no matter what the repressive might of the Nazi hordes or the power of the Anglo-American alliance. Where first and when, nobody can tell now. But that Third Camp, practically non-existent today, and which so many regard as an empty pipe-dream even for the future, will begin to take some semblance of form, and within it socialist aspirations, so faint today, will be heard. I would urge those whose sense of "realism" at the extremely low ebb

of history has dulled their faith a little to ponder these fine words of a fine spirit, Ignazio Silone:

"The reactionary trend of our epoch is shown precisely by the absence of such a 'Third Camp'. They try to force on us the dilemma: status-quo or regression. Most of the progressive forces have already accepted this Hobson's choice. They are content to struggle to preserve the existing order, lest they fall under the fascist yoke. I think it would be a serious mistake to put bourgeois democracy and fascism on the same level, in view of the great difference between these two forms of political organization. . . . It would be a mistake thru fear of fascism to turn conservative. . . . We can conquer fascism only by proposing and carrying out other solutions—just, humane, progressive solutions of problems. But conservative democracy denies the existence of these problems. She does not see them, does not wish to see them, is unable to see them. That is why she has until now been beaten by fascism. . . . When the socialists, with the best possible anti-fascist intention, renounce their program, put their theories in moth-balls, and accept the negative positions of conservative democracy, they think they are doing their bit in the struggle to crush fascism. Actually, they leave to fascism the distinction of alone daring to bring forward in public certain problems, thus driving into fascist arms thousands of workers who will not accept the status-quo."

These are not merely metaphors. And they are not new!

In Memory of Kate Gitlow

THE death of Kate Gitlow comes as a painful shock to all who knew that remarkable woman, and that means all who were associated with the socialist and labor movement in the days of her activity. The memory of her devoted work lingered on for years after she retired from her labors because of failing health nearly a decade ago.

Mrs. Gitlow leaves behind her a record of selfless service to the cause of labor and socialism that deserves the fullest recognition in its own right, quite distinct from that of her better known son, Ben Gitlow. She gave everything that was in her to the cause she served, and was never afraid either of hard work or of difficulties and opposition. Her chosen field was the organization of the women of the working class and in this field her work will not easily be forgotten.

But above all she prized her integrity and convictions. What higher honor can be paid to her than to say she preserved these to the very end?

Is There Anything of "Progress" in Fascism?

Theory of 'Revolutionary Consequences' Hit

(Continued from Page 3)

tionary character of a movement is based not upon a narrow economism, upon the introduction of a new machine, or the introduction of "certain measures of collective organization," but primarily on its effect upon the freedom of organization of the proletariat, the freedom of other peoples, and the "ability of a people to discuss internal questions." One cannot talk about the freedom of the working class in a country which is totally enslaved. We judge the objectively progressive consequences of a struggle or a war by its effect on the strength, freedom of organization and growth of the labor movement. That is a class approach. And from that approach one can say that Nazism is the most vicious reactionary movement to appear in modern times. It has already destroyed organizations comprising seventeen millions of workers in Europe, and has wiped out the national freedom of some thirteen nations. The defeat of such a regime would have profound objective revolutionary consequences. There is no ground for the comparison of such genuinely revolutionary consequences with the introduction of a new machine, or with the non-existent "objectively revolutionary" factors in Nazism.

To speak of the objectively revolutionary consequences of "certain measures of collective organization taken by the Nazis" is as dangerous a theory as to speak of the progressive features of a counter-revolution. What is its purpose then? To prove that a British victory doesn't make too serious a difference, and to prove therefrom that advocacy of aid to England, in order to help obtain such a victory, is unnecessary and inadvisable. By calling aid to England "collaboration with British imperialism," a "class-struggle" language is employed to cover up the serious consequences that practically every worker sees will befall his class if Hitler is victorious.

"ANACHRONISM" OF SMALL NATIONS

While Comrade Wolfe does not endorse the theory of "objective revolutionary consequences" of "certain measures of collective organization taken by the Nazis," he does not combat it. The reason is that his own concept of the struggle now raging in Europe is related to it. For he maintains: "National economic units themselves became anachronisms. The small nations of Europe, the old political subdivisions, became hopelessly and irrevocably out-of-date. The conditions of production and transport and trade cried aloud for an all-European economy, as a basis for the world division of labor. Either a 'United States of Europe' or endless war, disintegration and chaos: such was the alternative. . . . Germany was the inevitable candidate for the post of 'unifier' of Europe. Even if Germany fails to defeat England, it is inconceivable that England should be able to conquer the continent and impose its overlordship from above. At best it will try once more to subdivide Germany, and further 'Balkanize' Europe. . . ."

The approach of Wolfe is remarkably similar to that of the advocate of the theory of the "objective revolutionary consequences" of Nazi measures. He judges the consequences of British victory not by its effect on the class organizations of labor in Europe, but by a super-abstract concept of the higher stage of economic development represented by a "unified Europe." He therefore protests against the dangers of "carving up Europe" thru a British victory. The implication here is plain. Small nations having outlived their usefulness, no progress can come from the breaking up of Europe into its national subdivisions again. It is obvious, therefore, that in their crude, bad-mannered way, the Nazis have unified Europe and have indeed given us certain 'higher' measures of collective organization. The fact, however, is just the opposite: Nazism has enslaved Europe! The "carving up of Europe" means not retrogression, but in comparison to Europe in slavery, a necessary prerequisite for the revival of the labor movement and for a struggle for socialism. A Socialist United States of Europe is a progressive stage which we desire to achieve, but it is impossible to

achieve that without the breaking up of the Nazi hold on Europe. The "carving up of Europe" may be reactionary in relationship to a Socialist United States of Europe. But in relationship to a Nazi-dominated and Nazi-united Europe, it is a big step forward.

It is untrue that nations have become "anachronisms" since 1900, as maintained by Wolfe. Otherwise, why should Lenin in his answer to Kievsky in 1916 have argued at great length that the Swedish socialists had a correct policy in their advocacy of the complete right of separation of bourgeois Norway from Sweden some time after 1900. If the unification of Europe is so progressive and desirable, the division of a small part of Europe, the Scandinavian peninsula, into two subdivisions would be fantastically retrogressive. Lenin argued that if the Swedish socialists had taken any other position, they would have been guilty of chauvinism.

NATIONAL NIHILISM OF PROUDHON

How far apart is the approach of Wolfe from that of Marx and Engels can be judged best when one reads the controversies between them and the Proudhonians in the First International. The idea that nations are anachronisms is not a recent invention. The Proudhonians maintained that national movements were simply incomprehensible, and nations themselves were "obsolete prejudices." Marx and Engels regarded these people as radical phrasemongers. As we have seen, Engels regarded the right to national freedom and independence not as something that would come to an end as of a certain date, but a right extending even after the victory of socialism.

The Bolsheviks, after their revolution, in theory granted the right of complete separation to all nationalities in the U.S.S.R. They failed to observe it in practise, except in the earliest stages of the revolution. After many years of extreme national suppression under Stalinist rule, it is all the more necessary today that socialists emphasize that socialism does not mean the depriving of countries of their national freedom, their right to self-determination, their right to separation, their right to their own political autonomy, their own language, culture, economy and institutions as they themselves may democratically decide. Unless we put emphasis on this, the socialist movement will be under constant suspicion of being a cover for the aspirations to world domination of some big power. So far from ceasing to think in such terms after 1870 or 1900, we must, in face of many years of Stalinist tyranny, emphasize this a thousand times more than Marx and Engels did in their time. For in their day, without the Russian totalitarian experience, it was possible to advocate a Socialist United States of Europe without engendering a nightmare of national enslavement. Today, we must point out that a socialist world organization will come not thru the method of conquest of Hitler and Stalin, but thru the voluntary economic cooperation of socialist peoples whose independence, equality, freedom and right to autonomy and to separation are not a fiction.

False theories of fascism can "lead to disastrously wrong conclusions in practise." That is true. But it is first necessary to determine which are the false theories.

JUST ARRIVED FROM ENGLAND!

October 1940 issue of

LEFT

(Formerly Controversy)

Articles by Jon Kimche, Walter Padley, C. A. Smith, and others.

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