

Behind the Headlines:

Our Attitude to the War: Yesterday and Today—

By JAY LOVESTONE

(We begin below a series of three articles by Jay Lovestone on fundamental problems of policy raised by the present war situation. These articles are a contribution to the discussion of these basic questions and they are therefore to be taken as the expression of the author's own views.—Editor.)

WARSAW—Copenhagen—Oslo—Amsterdam—Brussels—Paris. . .
A new situation confronts the international labor movement. This situation demands a reexamination of attitudes and axioms, policies and programs applicable but two months ago. Today, the chances of an Allied victory are certainly not very bright. The best France and England can hope for just now is a stalemate and respite. First on the order of the day, as an almost imminent question, is the danger of Nazi imperialism dealing a knockout blow, a coup de grace, thru incessant lightning attack. We face concretely a most sinister menace: the likelihood of Hitler imperialism overrunning and organizing most of Europe on a totalitarian basis. With such an outcome, none of us reckoned at the outbreak of the war or in the pre-war discussion days. We based our previous strategy on the prospect of an Allied victory or a stalemate and all-around exhaustion.

I have never underestimated the menace of the Nazi movement; nor have I ever underestimated the tremendous power of the Nazi war-machine. The terrific vitality of the German fascist movement I sensed years before Hitler came to power—while too many were still sneering at Hitler as a dime-store Charlie Chaplin or a mere moron. Yet, I must say very frankly that I never imagined the strength of the German military machine to be anything like what it has shown itself in the last two months. Obviously, the unfolding of such a factor—quantitatively and qualitatively—is of paramount import and affects vitally all movements, their problems, activities, strategy and tactics.

Today, as much as ever, we can and must underline the following as basic: the present world war is an imperialist war; its major participants are imperialists; the objectives of the major combatants are unreservedly imperialist; the war was caused by the capitalist system itself, also it was precipitated by the ugly Stalin-Hitler pact. Nazi imperialism has the initiative and plays the aggressive role in the struggle for the imperialist revision of the world. But none of this means that we are or should be indifferent to the outcome of the war.

What we want most as a result of this war is the social revolution—the overthrow of the ruling classes and war-makers of all countries and the victory of socialism. But what we fear most—and what is today the most actual menace—is a Nazi victory with its total destruction of all democratic rights and labor organizations, with its liquidation of the national independence of many countries, big as well as small. In the latter countries, "under such circumstances there could be no question of any independent . . . working-class movement. The struggle for the establishment of national unity would absorb all energies. . . ." (Engels). Unquestionably, a Hitler triumph would spell absolute disaster for our fundamental attitude which is "aimed at utilizing the war as thoroughly as possible in the interests of the proletarian struggle for emancipation."

Obviously, we do differentiate between the combatants. The "plague-on-both-your-houses" attitude may, at times, be very desirable in the abstract, but many things desirable in contemplation don't always prove realizable or practical. In this sense, let me cite the following pertinent remarks made by the great Marxian scholar, Franz Mehring, in his discussion of the two differing attitudes maintained by Marx and Engels towards the two distinct phases of the Franco-Prussian War of 1870-71: "Altho it may be possible and, perhaps effective, in private life to declare to two opponents: You are both wrong and I refuse to have anything to do with your quarrel, it is not possible in the life of states when whole peoples have to suffer from the quarrels of kings."

Furthermore, in reevaluating the international situation and estimating the resulting new tasks, we would be guided well by Mehring's approach when he wrote: "As historians, they (Marx and Engels) naturally did not adopt the utterly unhistorical attitude that war is war, and that every war is tarred with the same brush. For them, every war had its own definite causes and consequences, and upon these causes and consequences must depend the attitude taken up by the working class towards the war."

I can only underscore the emphasis placed by Mehring on the need to consider CONSEQUENCES as well as causes. Here is the first prerequisite for a political, for an historical and not for a mere wishfully
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Petain, New French Premier, Asks for Separate Peace As Germans Drive On

Wheeler May Bolt Democrats On War Issue

Senator Declares He Will Support No Candidate Trying to Get U. S. Into War

Washington, D. C.
Senator Burton K. Wheeler, Montana Democrat, sharply attacked the war-making foreign policy of the Administration last week and declared that he would break with his party "if it is going to become a war party." He served notice that he would support no candidate for President, "no matter who he may be, who is going to try to get us into this war."

"The other day a Senator on this floor said America ought to wake up," Senator Wheeler declared. "I agree with him. I agree that America ought to wake up. American mothers ought to wake up; American youth ought to wake up; the American working man ought to wake up, because everybody who has any sense at all knows what is happening. We know the propaganda that is going on. And we know, and every member of the Senate knows, that every move is being made to lead us, if you please, down the road to war."

"I wish to say, so far as I am concerned, that I do not want to have to break with the Administration. I do not want to have to oppose the Democratic party. But if it becomes necessary to break with the Democratic party, I shall break with it if it is going to be a war party. I want every one who is interested in the matter to know that I am not going to support any candidate for President of the United States of America no matter who he may be, who is going to try to get us into this war."

Wheeler spoke in an "interruption" of an address by Senator Rush Holt of West Virginia. Holt pointed out that "today Wall Street is supporting the position of the President."

"I wish to say," Senator Holt went on, "that the very newspapers which the President said were controlled by the banks and the interests which were trying to destroy this country—that every one without exception is now praising the President to the skies, praising his foreign policy. Why? Check their financial background and you will find out why. Check the financial background of these newspapers and you will see that those interested in newspapers have financial investments throughout the entire world, and when their investments are threatened
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"Circumstances Have Changed!"

FOLLOWING publication of Alsop and Kintner's "American White Paper", a New York publishing firm asked a famous United States Senator to write a book in reply, stating the non-interventionist view. The Senator agreed, a contract was signed, a ghost-writer hired and paid \$500 cash in advance. The writer turned in the manuscript. At that moment, Germany invaded the Lowlands. The New York publishing house informed the writer and the Senator that the book could not be published due to "changed circumstances."

Peace Forces Urge Program For Crisis

Anti-War Congress to Present Six Planks to Coming Party Conventions

New York City.
Leaders of the Keep America Out of War Congress, of which John T. Flynn is national chairman, held an emergency meeting here last week to formulate plans for meeting the present crisis precipitated by Italy's entry into the war and President Roosevelt's declared intention of utilizing the nation's resources to aid the Allies."

At the close of the meeting, it was announced that the leaders of the Congress had adopted six planks which would be submitted for inclusion in the Republican and Democratic platforms. Besides "an unequivocal declaration keeping the United States out of the wars of Europe and Asia," the planks include advocacy of "a Congressional commission to determine what the American people want to defend" and a defense program in keeping with this determination; pressure to be brought by the United States for the "earliest possible armistice and mediation"; a popular referendum on war; a generous policy of relief to the war victims; and opposition to all attempts to curtail civil liberties.

In a statement issued immediately after President Roosevelt's address at Charlottesville, John T. Flynn, chairman of the K.A.O.W.C., declared that the President's course had brought America to the brink of war. He called on the people of this country to act promptly to stop the rush to war.

From Neutrality to "Non-Belligerency"

IN his Charlottesville address last week, President Roosevelt quite definitely proclaimed that the United States was no longer even officially neutral; it had already passed from that status to the dubious and uncertain status of "non-belligerency." To all intents and purposes, the United States is today an active participant in the war in every sense but the outright military. This is a fact and we had better face it.

It is also a fact that President's open abandonment of official neutrality in favor of non-belligerency is backed by a great part of the American people, who in their intense hatred of Hitler and their fervent desire to see the Allies win, fail to make the vital distinction between "measures short of war" and measures of aid that do not lead to war. In truth, what we are witnessing is a sudden shift of public opinion as the result of a wave of unreason and hysteria, an orgy of emotionalism, that is sweeping the country. In such an atmosphere anything may happen.

Non-belligerency means unofficial war and official preparations for war. As Rose M. Stein pointed out in an article in the last issue of this paper, some major provisions of the war-time Industrial Mobilization Plan are already being put into effect and public morale is being "prepared" for the final eventuality. That helps explain President Roosevelt's inflammatory pronouncements in recent weeks, which certainly make no sense from the standpoint of the sober realities of the situation.

Is all lost then? Is the transition from non-belligerency to outright war absolutely inevitable? Is there nothing left for us to do at this critical moment? We do not think so!

Of course, the situation has changed and so have our tasks. But now more than ever are the progressive anti-war forces faced with the supreme task of exerting every bit of their energy to save America from direct war involvement and the indescribable disasters that such involvement would bring with it. There is no room or reason for fatalistic despair.

Despite everything, the great majority of the American people, today almost as much as ever, want to keep America out of the war, that is, out of the actual fighting in Europe. If that sentiment could be clarified and implemented organizationally, it might still prove possible to hold the country back from sliding down the steep and fatal incline that leads from non-belligerency to outright war.

But to do that something must be done to dispel the heavy, stifling atmosphere of hysteria with which the country is being blanketed as with a poison gas that robs people of their wits. It may seem a hopeless task, considering the unrivaled facilities for poisoning the public mind that the war party possesses, but we owe it to ourselves and to the America we cherish to raise our voices in a plea for sanity and sober reason.

Congress must remain in session during the emergency and must insist on its right to discuss and act on American policy before it is put into effect. President Roosevelt's method in the past few weeks has quite brazenly been to head off any discussion in Congress by confronting that body as well as the people as a whole with one accomplished fact after another. Perhaps if Congress had had a chance to discuss the swift transitions towards war perpetrated by the Administration entirely on its own responsibility, public opinion might have been made to realize the implications of these policies and the wave of hysteria and panic stemmed to some degree at least.

The drive for a war-referendum amendment must be resumed with renewed energy precisely because we are so close to the brink and the very next step on the part of the Administration may mean the fatal plunge.

We must press for an open and public discussion of the problems of national defense in a sober, realistic and responsible manner. What are we to defend—continental United States, the western hemisphere, our so-called "vital interests" in Europe or the Far Pacific? And what, in concrete, specific terms, do we need for whatever defense we decide to go in for? There is every reason to suspect that the Administration is talking for public consumption in terms of defending our shores but is thinking and acting in terms of a foreign war.

Now is the time to make a firm stand to have the gigantic burdens of the Administration's super-arms program placed upon those who can afford to pay thru heavier taxes in the upper-income brackets as well as thru steep levies on excess profits, particularly in the arms industry. The present tendency is entirely the other way: the House Ways and Means Committee has framed legislation to increase indirect taxes on articles of mass consumption and to add to the income-tax burden of the low and middle-income groups of the population, but it has postponed consideration of an excess-profits tax. Apparently, "soak the poor and spare the rich" is the motto in Washington.

Every single gain and achievement registered by organized labor on the legislative field is in mortal danger today as a result of the arms drive and the systematic unfolding of the Industrial Mobilization Plan. No reliance whatever can be put on the President's promise, which has already been violated in practice. The labor movement must make its voice heard in no uncertain terms.

Finally, we must exert all our energies to preserve what democracy we still have from falling victim to the war hysteria and preparedness panic. Indescribable outrages are being perpetrated thruout the country in the name of "patriotism" and "defense": civil rights are violated with impunity, aliens are hounded and persecuted, men are thrown off relief rolls and told to enlist, Christian pacifists are mobbed and arrested, a "Fifth Column" spy-mania is rampant. No one can tell how far this madness may go unless an effort is made to halt it before it's too late.

ism at home, and where that will end no mortal eye can see. That there is little left of democratic rights in the warring democracies is indubitable. England, even France, is certainly not yet totalitarian on the German model, but there can be no mistaking the trend, nor the furious tempo of development.

WHAT WOULD ALLIED VICTORY BRING?

And what about the outcome of the war? What the world would have to expect from a victory by the Hitler-Stalin-Mussolini Axis is too dreadfully apparent to need description—the enslavement of Europe, the entrenchment of totalitarian dictatorship and fascist barbarism on the continent, and an im-

Reynaud Out; Britain to Fight On

Italy Enters War; Russia Invades Baltic; FDR Address Marks End of Neutrality

After a series of emergency cabinet meetings held last Sunday at the second temporary capital of Bordeaux, Premier Paul Reynaud resigned and was succeeded by Marshal Petain.

The new government, with Generalissimo Weygand as Defense Minister, immediately took steps to enter into separate-peace negotiations with the Germans thru Francisco Franco, Spanish dictator, as intermediary. The announcement of the capitulation of the French forces was made by Marshal Petain, the new premier.

The British cabinet, meeting at the same time, issued a statement that Britain would continue the struggle no matter what France might do, relying on its sea-power and on the vast resources of its colonies and dominions and of the United States.

Last week was the darkest and most disastrous for the Allies since the outbreak of hostilities forty-one weeks ago: Italy entered the war on the side of Germany—the French armies were driven back far beyond the prepared positions originally established by General Weygand—Paris fell to the invader and was occupied by the Nazis—the Germans were advancing on all fronts—French resistance was nearing an end and influential elements in the French government were calling for the immediate conclusion of a separate peace with the victorious Germans.

The fall of Paris, not of vital importance from a strictly military standpoint the very damaging morally and economically, completed the second phase of the Nazi Blitzkrieg that began May 10. The first was the Battle of Flanders, which ended with a smashing defeat of the Allied armies, the successful evacuation saved most of the British forces. The second phase culminated in the overrunning of Northern France and the occupation of Paris. The chief drive of the third, or "final," phase appeared to be directed against the flank of the Maginot Line thru Champagne and the Argonne Forest. Montmedeu, western anchor of the Line, was reported taken, and this was followed by the fall of Verdun. A definite break-thru had apparently been accomplished by the Nazis.

With the new German drive getting under way, the general nature of German grand strategy became clearer. In the Battle of Flanders, Germany had knocked England out of the war as far as any land operations this Summer were concerned. Now the objective was to knock France out and to gain enough ports on the Atlantic to challenge the British blockade and to prepare for some sort of attack on the British Isles.

The French army still remained the big obstacle to carrying out this plan. The actual condition of the French forces was far from clear last week. Reports seemed to indicate that they were so broken as to be hardly capable of further serious resistance, particularly in view of the loss of important industrial resources and supplies as a result of the spreading occupation of northern France by the enemy.

The entry of Italy into the war on June 10 did not bring about any immediate change in the military situation, altho of course it did extend the war to the Mediterranean, the Near East and Africa. Italy's part in the war was still far from clear; an attack on southern France thru Alpine passes was reported and a move on the Balkans was rumored.

While the world's attention was centered on the western front, Russia moved swiftly last week to occupy Lithuania. Acting on the pretext of an alleged treaty violation, Russian troops poured into the Lithuanian capital, Kaunas, and took over complete control. Along with the troops came officials of the Moscow Foreign Office who quickly "reorganized" the Lithuanian government, converting it into an outright puppet state. Latvia and Estonia were next on Moscow's list of invasion.

Exactly what the Russian moves might indicate was far from clear—perhaps no more than the tightening of Moscow's hold on the Baltic, perhaps the prelude to a new im-
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It DOES Make a Difference Who Wins

By WILL HERBERG

THE best way to approach the very important problems raised in E.B.'s letter ("Doesn't It Make A Real Difference Who Wins?" Workers Age, May 23, 1940) is to state at the very outset that it is certainly not realistic to equate the bourgeois-democratic states with the totalitarian states just because both are imperialistic. There is a vast difference between the two. It also makes a great deal of difference who wins the war now raging in Europe. The problem for us is to determine more precisely just what these differences are and what implications they have for our policy. With that as a background, it should not be difficult to deal with the many detailed questions asked by our correspondent.

IMPERIALIST WAR ON BOTH SIDES

First, as to some differences that do NOT exist.

The war is in its origins imperialistic on both sides. On the German side, that is obvious. It is equally true on the Anglo-French side, though perhaps not equally obvious. Practically every British spokesman has stressed the point that the Allies were compelled to go to war because Hitler had gone "too far" that is, because he was encroaching on their "vital interests." No one has been franker in this respect than Sir Neville Henderson, the last pre-war British ambassador to Berlin, who writes in his semi-official memoirs ("Failure of a Mission"): "Nor would the world have failed to acclaim Hitler as a great German IF HE HAD KNOWN WHEN TO STOP; even, for instance, after

IN the May 23, 1940 issue of this paper, we published a series of questions by E. B. dealing with our position on the war. The problems raised in these questions are dealt with in a series of articles by Will Herberg beginning in this issue. A discussion on this subject is now going on in the ranks of the I.L.L.A. and an official resolution will be published shortly. This article is therefore to be taken as the expression of the author's own views.—Editor.

Munich and the Nuremberg decrees for the Jews" (emphasis mine.—W.H.). There cannot be any serious doubt that the war was precipitated as a struggle between imperialist possessors and imperialist aggressors, as a struggle for a forced re-division of the spoils of imperialism—and, in that sense, fundamentally a resumption of the last World War after a breathing-spell of two decades devoted to recuperation and preparation.

Most emphatically, the Allies did not go into this war in order to "smash Hitlerism," or in order to conduct a crusade on behalf of democracy and the rights of small nations against fascism, dictatorship and totalitarianism. As long as it offered no threat to their empire interests, they had no objections to fascism with all its horrors; on the contrary, they praised and eulogized it. Winston Churchill, who now stands at the helm in England, has publicly hailed Mussolini and Hitler as saviors of their countries. In 1927, he declared after a visit to Italy: "If I had been an Italian, I am sure I would have been wholeheartedly with you fascists from start to finish. . . . Your movement has rendered a service to the world." In 1937, hardly three years ago, he paid a similar tribute to Hitler: "One may dislike Hitler's system and yet admit his patriotic achievements. If

our country were defeated, I hope we should find a champion as indomitable to restore our courage and lead us back to our place among nations." Chamberlain's attitude is not too notorious. And in his memoirs, Sir Neville Henderson has gone out of his way to hail "the great services which Signor Mussolini has rendered Italy" and to "acclaim" Hitler. Indeed, incredible as it may seem, even after the war had already broken out, the British White Paper, published October 7, 1939, assured us, again in Sir Neville's words, that "Herr Hitler deserves praise for restoring Germany's self-respect and for introducing many excellent social reforms."

Before we accept at face value the pretensions of the ruling groups in England and France to be the champions of civilization and democracy against fascism and barbarism, let us recall that it was official England that virtually built up the Nazi regime in Germany (and, before that, the Mussolini regime in Italy), that financed Germany's effort to rearm and equip itself for conquest, that on more than one occasion backed Hitler against France—all in order to maintain the traditional British "balance-of-power" system on the continent. Let us not forget that it was Britain and France that contributed so heavily towards strangling the anti-fascist

cause in Spain, thereby helping to entrench fascist barbarism on the Iberian Peninsula. Let us not forget that, at this very moment, Allied diplomacy is carrying on a behind-the-scenes intrigue with the ruthless totalitarian despot, Joseph Stalin, hoping to woo him from Hitler by concessions that involve the sanctioning of the Polish and Finnish grabs and a prospective Bessarabian grab, just as yesterday Hitler's grab of Austria and Czechoslovakia and Mussolini's grab of Ethiopia were sanctioned by London and Paris.

Nor let us, if we have any human decency at all, forget that, while we are talking and discussing, there are millions of colored people, in South Africa and Indo-China, for example, who groan under a "democratic" iron heel quite as ruthless and oppressive as any made in Nazi Germany.

No; this war is in its origin imperialist war on both sides, and the ruling-class regimes in Britain and France are not the stainless knights of democracy out to slay the dragon of fascism that Allied propaganda, aided by American emotionalism, would make them out to be.

There is some difference in the two types of imperialism, it is true. As Norman Thomas says in the Socialist Call of June 1, 1940, "Hitler's imperialism is younger, even more completely amoral, and more aggressive." That is true, but not of crucial significance in a general view of the situation.

Nor does the difference lie entirely or even decisively in the kind of domestic regime that prevails in the countries involved. If we learn anything from this war, let us learn at least this: that involvement in total war means spreading totalitarian-

Progressive Teachers Gain in Elections

Unity of Constructive Forces Prime Need

By D. BENJAMIN

New York City. The elections held recently in the New York Teachers Union, Local 5, show that the membership has begun to turn away from the Stalinist-controlled administration in the direction of the progressive opposition movement within that local. The opposition movement more than doubled its strength during the year, polling 20% of the votes as against 9% the previous year. Its presidential candidate, Dr. Alex Fichandler, obtained over 800 votes to the 3,200 cast for Charles Hendley. The opposition elected 20 delegates to the national convention of the American Federation of Teachers, as against 65 elected by the administration. On the Executive Board, the opposition doubled its strength from 2 to 4, and would have elected a fifth member had there been some coordination of the opposition forces.

Two outstanding facts faced the union membership during the past year: first, the beginning of a decline in membership and growing isolation on the part of the union, and secondly, the obvious connection between changes in policy of the Soviet Union and the Communist Party and similar changes on the part of the administration of Local 5. That there was an organic relationship between the first and the second point, that teachers were turning away from the union because of the political control over the union exercised by the Stalinists, was made quite clear by both of the opposition groups—that is, by the Liberal and Independent Groups. In spite of certain vigorous campaigns conducted by the union against attempts to cut state aid to education, against overcrowding in the schools, against various attacks on teachers conditions, no gain was made in union membership; in fact, there was a loss in both regular and substitute teachers. At the same time, certain reactionary and anti-union organizations—the Signpost and the Teachers Alliance—had come into existence and grown rapidly. About 1,800 members, almost a third of the union, had dropped out in a period of a year and a half, showing that tremendous dissatisfaction existed in the ranks. The 1,650 new members admitted could not hide the mounting discontent and the inner crisis that had set in.

In actions that spoke louder than words, the administration gave a definite political label to the union. After having in previous years continually called for the condemnation of aggressors, as in the case of the fascist and Nazi invasions of Spain, Austria and Czecho-Slovakia, the administration had nothing to say against Russia's invasion of Finland. In previous years, union meetings had rung loud with calls for action against Hitler, for "collective security," for a united front of the democracies; after the Stalin-Hitler pact, the tirades against Hitler and danger of Nazism, and for support to the democracies suddenly ceased. In the same manner, overnight changes were made on such questions as affiliation with the American League for Peace and Democracy, militarization of youth, the war referendum amendment and keeping America out of war.

Both the Liberal and Independent Groups pointed to this fundamental deficiency in the union—the political label and the political tie-up—and showed that until the leadership and methods of work were changed in Local 5, little hope could be entertained for the achievement of teachers-union unity (unity with the Teachers Guild, headed by Dr. Lefkowitz, Dr. Linville and Mr. Smallheiser), for readmission to the New York Central Trades and Labor Council, for regaining the confidence of the teaching staff, and for an increase in union membership. Without these, campaigns on teacher and school issues could not be truly effective.

WHY TWO OPPOSITIONS?

The fundamental difference between the Independent and the Liberal Groups lay in the fact that the Independent Group had been the traditional opposition to the administration, the one that had analyzed and forecast for years the situation now confronting the union, while the Liberal Group was made up mainly of elements that had recently broken with the administration, and now as last saw the problem essentially as the Independent Group did. The Independent Group proposed cooperation between the two groups as their program and analysis were in essential agreement; the Liberal Group refused the offer, feeling perhaps it would be in a better position to win over supporters from the ad-

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ministration if it waged an independent campaign. On account of the sharp fight that had gone on for years between the administration and the Independent Group, many supporters of the administration, as they broke away preferred to join a new and third group in the union rather than go with the Independents. The Independent Group did not run a separate slate for officers but called upon the membership to support those run by the Liberal Group. It also called upon the union members to support the Liberals after voting for the partial slate of the Independents for the Executive Board and for delegates to the convention.

UNITY OF OPPOSITION NECESSARY

The interests of the union demand a unification of the oppositions during the coming year. Since their indictment of the present administration is the same; since both groups feel that a broad democratic, non-politically-controlled union is needed, a union representative of the mass of the teachers; since both are pledged to the reelection of Professor Counts as president of the American Federation of Teachers; since both feel that unity with the Teachers Guild must be brought about as well as reinstatement to the New York Central Trades Council, and that these cannot be achieved without a change of leadership and method—there is no valid reason for their not getting together. A coordination of efforts would make it possible to utilize the undoubted trend in union ranks for a change in the union and in its way of functioning. Unless this growing dissatisfaction is given strong, constructive leadership, there is danger that many will "solve" the problem by leaving the teachers-union movement altogether. Upon the Liberal Group, which became the leading opposition force in the recent elections, there lies the great responsibility to make such unification of opposition forces possible. It would then also be possible to go forward to the unification of the union on a sound basis, then to unification with the Teachers Guild. This would tend to bring into existence a new, broad and truly effective teachers-union movement in the city.

Labor Parley Supports Suspended Furriers

Fight Against Stalinist Administration Of Fur Union Is Mapped at Conference

By B. BARAZ

New York City. ABOUT 500 delegates representing 160 organizations, amongst them Workmen's Circle branches, branches of the Jewish Workers National Alliance, labor unions, working-class political organizations like the Socialist Party, the Social-Democratic Federation, the Independent Labor League, the Jewish Socialist Verband and the Anarchist Federation, as well as many visitors and guests, filled the main hall in Beechoven Hall, on Tuesday evening, May 28, 1940, to listen to speeches delivered by such outstanding men in the labor movement as Norman Thomas, Judge Panken, Algon Lee, N. Chanin, S. Burstein and others. All of them responded to the call of the Labor Committee for the Defense of the Suspended Furriers, organized some weeks ago. Considering the fact that the committee had only two weeks time to arrange the conference, this unexpectedly successful response proved to the committee how well people in the labor movement were posted on the furriers situation, and how great was the desire on the part of workers organizations to get together and to help work out a policy of ridding the labor movement of dictatorships such as has oppressed the Furriers Union for years.

The chairman of the conference was Dr. Bohn, director of the Rand School. The first speaker of the evening was Max Frankle of the law firm of Frankle, Ash and Rifkin, representing the defense committee of the suspended furriers. Mr. Frankle proved how irresponsible was the conduct of the administration of the Furriers Union. He read a statement of retraction issued by Mr. Potash, manager of the union. It seems that the Furriers Union some time in January issued a circular in which Mr. Potash made libelous accusations against the lawyer of the American Federation of Fur Workers, Gustave A. Gerber. When called to account, Mr. Potash bought himself out by paying Mr. Gerber several hundred dollars from the union treasury and by issuing a statement of retraction declaring everything that he had said was untrue.

Mr. Frankle presented facts of actual discrimination against union members opposed to the administration. He reviewed the case of the six suspended members and proved the illegality of these suspensions. He concluded by saying that he hoped that the conference would give the committee the necessary powers to take legal measures for the reinstatement of these members.

LaFollette Bill Is Victim of War Hysteria

Senator Mangles Civil Liberties Measure, Attaches Alien-Baiting Rider

Washington, D. C.

ONE of the saddest casualties in the present wave of war hysteria is the LaFollette civil-liberties bill designed to outlaw the use of professional labor spies and strike-breakers. Product of four years of extensive research, the bill is supported by the American Federation of Labor, the Congress of Industrial Organizations, the railway brotherhoods and many enlightened employers. It has passed the Senate with amendments not only vicious in themselves but which may raise the issue of constitutionality and thus threaten its effectiveness.

Led by ranting Robert Reynolds of North Carolina, a jittery Senate added a section making it a criminal offense for any employer engaged in interstate or foreign commerce to employ a member of the Communist Party or of any Nazi organization. Another amendment makes it a criminal offense for such employers to assign more than one out of every ten jobs to aliens, including those who have obtained their first papers.

Much less publicized, but no less important was a successful move to strip from the bill many of its enforcement provisions which were patterned on the wage-hour, food-and-drug, and Walsh-Healey laws. These eliminated safeguards aimed at enforcement of the act by withholding federal contracts from violators, barring their products from interstate commerce, and denying or canceling R.F.C. and other federal financial aid to violators.

Altho the bill in its present form prohibits labor espionage in general, an employer, as Senator LaFollette pointed out, is free to "spy upon his employees to ascertain their political and economic beliefs." Also, the bill prohibits the inclusion in plant arsenals of machine-guns, sawed-off shotguns and gas projectiles, but there is no limit to the number of private guards or police a company may have, nor is there any prohibition against their being armed with rifles, pistols or shotguns.

A Senate, fearful of reprisals from organized labor, passed the amendments by voice rather than record votes. The bill is now in the House

Knitgoods Strikers Win Wide Labor Help

AFL, CIO Aid in Fight on Gantner-Mattern

Brooklyn, N. Y.

THE struggle of the workers of Gantner and Mattern, a knitwear firm, for union recognition is gaining labor and public support, the eastern headquarters of the strike committee announced last week.

The workers, who have been employed for decades, have been locked out for five months. All attempts of the union, an affiliate of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union, to reach an agreement have failed. The firm has refused to arbitrate and seems determined to smash unionism in the knitwear industry.

where no hearings or committee action have been taken. After years of devoted study of workers rights, Senator LaFollette now fears that inclusion in his bill of anti-alien provisions might start a House controversy about the proper committees for the bill's consideration which would provide the excuse for anti-labor interests to kill or stall the bill during the short time remaining before adjournment.

During recent weeks, the Senate Committee on Military Affairs has been discussing, in private, the text of a bill presented to Senator Morris Sheppard of Texas by George A. Hill, Jr., president of the Houston Oil Company, in behalf of the Houston Chamber of Commerce. The bill proposes to set up within factories armed bodies of employees (controlled by the employers) who would have U. S. marshal powers to prevent interference with the government's program in preparing for defense, and to give adequate protection to all industries of every nature now or hereafter declared to be essential to national defense; to discover and combat subversive and treacherous activity." It would be called the "National Industrial Defense Corps." If passed, it could not only be used to nullify the LaFollette anti-labor-spy bill but also to threaten every right organized labor has won.

This firm is one of the leading bathing-suit and beachwear houses in the country. Located in San Francisco, the company has its showrooms in New York City.

The just claims of the strikers have brought support from all sides. The California State Federation of Labor and the San Francisco Labor Council have unanimously voted to place Gantner and Mattern on the "We Don't Patronize" list.

Samuel Wolchok, president of the United Retail and Wholesale Employees of America, an affiliate of the C.I.O., in a statement, promised "whole-hearted support of the retail clerks to the Gantner and Mattern strikers. The workers of Gantner and Mattern are fighting for union recognition and a decent, American standard of living. Their just case will be recognized and supported by the American people."

Support has been received also from Y.W.C.A. chapters, youth organizations, etc. The Gantner and Mattern Strike Committee, with eastern headquarters at 1023 Broadway, Brooklyn, New York, called on labor and the consumer public for their support. The committee pointed out that the consumer public had it in its power to convince the firm to modify its anti-union bias.

Labor and progressive organizations were urged to take the following action:

1. Place the firm of Gantner and Mattern on the "Unfair List." (The firm also uses the trade names of Golden Gate, Hi-Boy, and Wikies on its merchandise.)
2. Adopt a resolution in support of the strikers of Gantner and Mattern and send copies to the company in San Francisco, to the strike committee, and to the general press.
3. Inform merchants in the community that the firm of Gantner and Mattern is on the unfair list and appeal to them to support the strikers in their just demands.
4. Write to the strike committee for leaflets and stickers.

Wheeler May Bolt Democrats On War Issue

(Continued from Page 1)

ened they want American boys to go overseas to defend them."

Senator Holt stated that altho the Committee to Defend America by Aiding the Allies, whose position was endorsed by the President, was organized by William Allen White, its backers were eighteen prominent bankers who "met secretly on the twenty-ninth day of April."

Senator Wheeler joined in supporting Senator Holt when the latter charged that newspapers refuse to give the same publicity to opponents of American participation in the war as to the advocates.

The attack on the Administration was taken up by other Senators, including Walsh, Tydings, Bennett, Clark, Nye, Bone and Chavez.

Senator Chavez declared that "a few more speeches, either in this body or elsewhere, by public officials on war-mongering will certainly not aid in electing a Democrat next time." He was understood as referring to the President's Charlottesville speech.

Norman Thomas, who spoke on behalf of the Civil Liberties Union, stated that the real importance lay not in what he would say, but in what the conference would do. "I am used," Thomas said, "to fighting against capitalist injustice, but to my regret I came here to protest against the injustices committed by a labor union against its workers. It is the most tragic thing to try to convince workers to fight for a higher form of workers democracy, when we still have such shame in the labor movement like the dictatorial rule in the Furriers Union. Not even a Tammany mayor would dare to prohibit the distribution of leaflets, but the dictators of the Furriers Union do. Tammany people knew how to handle an election, but the leaders of the Furriers Union seem to know this game even better." Thomas further stated that he was well-equipped with information from both sides in regards to the inner-union struggle. He was interested in the clean fight for democratic rights which the progressives were carrying on in the union. He made a strong plea to the people in the labor movement to gather their forces and to cleanse the labor movement from within before any demagogue came and "cleansed" it from without. There was very little time left; the job must be done as quickly as possible, Thomas concluded. The conference responded with strong applause.

Judge Panken, in a fiery speech, declared that the right to criticize was the basis upon which free people build their institutions. Without criticism, there can be no progress. Trade unions are not sacred. Like any other organizations, they are bound to make mistakes. These mistakes can be corrected only thru free speech and criticism. When a union committed a crime against these principles, it was time to call the union to account.

Sol Burstein of the Jewish Workers Alliance and Algernon Lee of the Social-Democratic Federation were the last speakers. They joined in the fight for clean, democratic unionism and promised the support of their organizations. A collection was taken up which brought in about \$400, and the conference pledged itself to increase this to \$1,000. Louis Nelson, manager of the Knitgoods Workers Union, Local 155 of the I.L.G.W.U., donated \$50; the furriers collection brought in \$21.

Petain Asks For Peace With Nazis

(Continued from Page 1)

perialist venture of far-reaching consequences.

Speculation was rife as to the implications of the Russian thrust in relation to Germany. It was regarded as not without significance that the occupation of Lithuania was timed to take place coincidentally with the announcement of the conclusion of a new treaty between Russia and Germany dealing mainly with "frontier problems."

The Allies suffered a diplomatic defeat of some importance during the week when Turkey, non-belligerent ally of Britain and France, signed a trade agreement with Germany. This was held to imply closer political connections with Germany and Russia. Nor did the efforts of Allied diplomacy to woo Stalin away from Hitler seem to make any progress. The Russo-Japanese frontier accord, signed in Moscow, forecast a closer rapprochement with Tokyo, increased Russia's freedom of action in the West to some degree but freed the hands of Japan in the Far East even more.

The United States continued its feverish activities to aid the Allies with all the resources at its command. In an address at Charlottesville immediately after Italy entered the war, President Roosevelt not only denounced Dictator Mussolini's action but also formally proclaimed America's abandonment of neutrality in favor of the status of non-belligerency by pledging every possible assistance to the Allies. The terms of his address were seen as seemed to imply actual intervention in the war, which aroused considerable protest in many parts of the country. A few days later, the President, in reply to an appeal for aid sent to him by Premier Reynaud of France, declared that America would intensify its efforts to aid the Allies but that no military commitments were implied; only Congress, the President said, could do that. Mr. Roosevelt also pledged that the United States would refuse to recognize any infringement by force of the independence or territorial integrity of France. In general, it was

ILGWU Delegates Register Vote Against Support of FDR

New York City. A STATEMENT expressing opposition to supporting President Roosevelt for a third term as well as to the stand of the Stalinists on the question was submitted for the record at the recent convention of the I.L.G.W.U. by a group of delegates headed by Louis Nelson, manager of Knitgoods Workers Union Local 155, and Minnie Lurye, chairman of Dressmakers Union Local 22. The delegates signing the statement included:

Louis Nelson (Local 155), Minnie Lurye (Local 22), Louis Levenson (Local 155), Helen Taublieb (Local 155), Daniel Ielardi (Local 155), Paul Tauber (Local 155), Sue Stern (Local 22), Rose Cohen (Local 22), Anna Tillman (Local 22), Yetta Horn (Local 22), M. Feinberg (Local 117). The statement follows:

"We, the undersigned delegates to this convention, find ourselves in disagreement with the majority report [endorsing President Roosevelt for a third term]. Nevertheless, we do not in any manner, shape or form wish to be identified with the minority [Stalinist] viewpoint on the question.

"At the same time, we do not concur with the interpretation contained in the Daily Bulletin of Tuesday, June 4, page 314) to the effect that all delegates, except the four Stalinists, voted for the Roosevelt-third-term resolution.

"We, therefore, declare our vote to be against both reports, tho our attitude is motivated by different reasons and political viewpoints."

I.L.G.W.U.—C.I.O.—A.F.L.

(We conclude below the publication of the most important sections of the report of the General Executive Board of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union to the recent convention of this union on the question of labor unity and relations to the A. F. of L. and C.I.O. Other documents dealing with this vital question, including the addresses of President Dubinsky and Matthew Woll, will appear in subsequent issues.—Editor.)

(Concluded from the last issue)

UNDETERRED by failure of former efforts, the President made still another effort in January 1939, to bring both parties to the conference table. A series of meetings by conferees from the A. F. of L. and the C.I.O. took place in February and March at which the main points at issue were gone into. Prospects for peace brightened for a while as the A. F. of L. side declared that it would be ready to admit without contest in order to speed reconciliation, leaving particulars to be adjudicated later, the original suspended unions not only on their old numerical and jurisdictional strength but also in fields and jurisdictions which they had assumed since. (Specifically, the reference was made to the entrance of the United Mine Workers into coke and other coal-product industries and to the absorption by the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of the laundry workers and the glove workers.) These hopes, however, were extinguished when President Lewis of the C.I.O. definitely vetoed all proposals and declared that negotiations were at an end.

Since then, President Roosevelt on several occasions met with President Green of the A. F. of L. and President Lewis of the C.I.O. in further efforts to revive peace opportunities. . . . In the same spirit, he again addressed communications to the conventions of both organizations in the Fall of 1939. These moves, nevertheless, were productive of no results.

REAFFILIATION WITH A.F.L.

To bring the summed-up attitude of the I.L.G.W.U. with regard to C.I.O.-A. F. of L. peace closer to date, it is in place here to reprint a resolution adopted by the General Executive Board in November 1939, at its sixth quarterly meeting. It reads:

Our attitude with regard to the supreme importance of peace in American labor has undergone no change. We still consider labor peace as a primary factor to

felt in Washington that the only answer to Reynaud's "final, desperate appeal" for aid was that everything possible, short of war, was already being done. The only other things the country could do, it was pointed out, was to grant credits, which the Allies didn't need, or to send men to Europe, which would mean official involvement in war and could not effectively do for many months anyway. In Congress, suggestions for a change in the neutrality law by relaxing the Johnson Act and otherwise permitting war loans and credits met with strong opposition. Even Chairman Key Pittman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, a strong supporter of the Administration's foreign policy, declared himself against such a move.

An ominous sign that all was not well with the Administration's "hemisphere-solidarity" policy came last week in an address by President Vargas of Brazil, in which he ridiculed the "sterile demagogy of political democracy" and declared that "virile peoples must follow the line of their aspirations instead of standing still and gazing at a structure that is tumbling down," thus virtually justifying Germany and Italy in the war. The State Department in Washington tried to play down the incident and whitewash the Brazilian spokesman declared that Vargas's speech was wholly for home consumption" (Brazil has large German and Italian colonies) and had "no significance for foreign policy." But it was clear that very little in the way of real western-hemisphere solidarity in defense of democracy could be achieved as long as so many Latin-American countries remained dominated by ruthless dictators much closer in their ideas to Hitler, Mussolini and fascism than to democracy.

the well-being and the progress of American workers. Furthermore, we still are firmly of the opinion that the fundamental obstacles which stood in the way of a united labor movement when the C.I.O. was organized, namely, the recognition of industrial union government, have largely disappeared with the substantial change of the position of the A. F. of L. on these issues.

The prospects of an early peace in the labor movement, unfortunately, are not bright at this hour. We regret that the several efforts of President Roosevelt in this direction have met with little success, tho we are glad to know that the President has retained an abiding and sincere interest in the cause of labor peace.

Our union still retains its position outside either the A. F. of L. or C.I.O. In refusing to join a permanent C.I.O. organization last year, we decided to remain independent until peace is established in the labor movement or until our status is otherwise determined by a convention of our International Union.

We had hoped, and we still hope, that by the time our convention takes place in May 1940, peace will have been realized, so that we might join a united labor movement.

If peace is not accomplished by that time, the question of our continued independence of affiliation with the A. F. of L., to which we belonged for thirty-seven years, will be determined by our convention.

A year and a half has now passed since we have assumed the status of an independent union, unaffiliated with any central national body. We need not enlarge at this point on the underlying motives and causes which prompted us to decide on that course. A careful perusal of the resolution adopted by the G.E.B. on November 11, 1938, and printed above, will supply the needed information. Nevertheless, we deem it both necessary and advisable to convey to you some of the observations and experiences we have accumulated during this period of our independent existence which should serve, we believe, as guidance in your deliberations on our future course and policy.

TWO SIDES OF INDEPENDENT STATUS

We have no hesitancy in stating that we have felt quite comfortable in staying out of either warring camp during this period. There is beyond doubt a measure of solid advantage in remaining independent at a time when affiliation with one or the other side means sharing the discomforts and sacrifices of a belligerent. Our union, besides, is so deeply entrenched in the functional existence of our industry that barring minor clashes and annoyances we can hardly fear inroads or invasion of our jurisdiction by either side.

This, however, is but one side of the medal. There are also decided disadvantages of standing alone in the labor movement. From the day we were organized as an international body, some forty years ago, we were a part of the general labor organization of America. We derived our moral and spiritual sustenance from being an integral part of the entire labor movement and we have given just as freely and as gladly of our own material and moral resources to the central body and to those of its affiliates which needed our aid and support. Nor can it be denied that our influence in framing general labor policies, in aiding to shape labor and social legislation, is bound to be less pronounced and effective without the support which affiliation with a central national body affords. Our union is one of the few American labor unions affiliated with the International Federation of Trades Unions thru the International Clothing Workers Federation, which we helped to rebuild after the First World War.

We deeply deplore the rift in the labor movement and what resulted from it. Valuing highly the original basic objectives of the C.I.O. to help organize the unorganized in mass-production industries along industrial-union lines, we had gone into it with zeal and a generous spirit. But being just as zealously opposed to the permanent splitting of the labor movement and to the organization of a dual national body within it, we refused to be a party to any move that would effectuate such dualism, would widen the breach and would lead further away from reconciliation and peace between the two parts of the labor movement. . . .

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WHERE YOU DO AS YOU PLEASE

Socialist Fundamentals Reexamined:

Basic Dilemma of Socialism

By WILL HERBERG

(Concluded from last issue)

Traditional Marxism is power-conscious; it is a doctrine of Realpolitik. It places great stress on the politics of power in the furtherance and realization of socialist goals. Marx accepts the instrumentality of power single-mindedly and without any foreboding. We have learned, all to our sorrow, that power is at best a most dangerous instrumentality, that it has a double potential, that it has a kick-back that may prove most disastrous. Corey is acutely, and very properly, conscious of this negative side, of this dangerous, often self-defeating aspect of the politics of power. And so he ignores politics and power almost completely. Read thru his account of the transition from capitalism to socialism. It includes an excellent transition program of economic transformation. But how about politics and power relations? Will not the transition program require political power to implement it? Where is this political power to come from? From what classes or groups, and how exerted? How about the political struggles that are bound to break in and affect the course of economic transition? Not a hint, not a suggestion of an answer in Corey's articles.

Traditional Marxism, particularly in its Leninist variety, is a frank and somewhat naive votary of Realpolitik. It strives to cut all Gordian knots with the sword of power, and it is confident it can do so, realizing all too little how double-edged is this sword, how easily it may maim and destroy its own wielder. Corey is very much aware of this danger, and this is one of his strong points, but he seeks an escape in simply ignoring power and politics—hardly a very realistic course to take.

Again, the dilemma is a real one, inherent in the facts themselves. It cannot be overcome simply by ignoring it.

It is my essential thesis that these dilemmas—real dilemmas, rooted in the very nature of the situation—confront us at every turn, at every level of socialist action, whenever we make use of means to realize ends. Perhaps it is an aspect of the contradictory, dialectic character of social reality. At any rate, the dilemmas are there.

Organization and Bureaucracy

Let me show you how deep this self-contradiction penetrates. The first step in the realization of any social goal, on any view of the matter, whether Corey's or that of traditional Marxism, is organization. But even organization has its double potential. Without organization, obviously nothing can be accomplished. But the very act of organization sets in motion processes that threaten the goal, if the goal is the socialist goal of freedom. For organization, even the most democratic, necessarily creates two categories, the leaders and the led, who are not and cannot in the nature of the case be entirely interchangeable. We have here the first dim foreshadowing—a sort of prefiguration, so to speak—of authoritarian hierarchy, which may reach its culmination in the totalitarian Leadership system of Stalin, Hitler and Mussolini, or in the initiative-killing, paralyzing system of drill-yard discipline that characterized German social-democracy and contributed so materially to its downfall.

Rosa Luxemburg well understood this problem and this difficulty, as she understood so many others that her quick genius was able to penetrate. That is very clear from her profound discussion of "spontaneity" in organization and her impassioned opposition to regimentation.

Let me place this problem a little more concretely. The super-centralized, authoritarian form of Bolshevik party organization was molded by the conditions of revolutionary struggle under Czarism. It was an eminently realistic and effective form under those conditions. It was a form of organization that made it possible for the Bolshevik party to carry thru a

successful revolution in Russia, and I very much doubt if any very widely different form of organization could have done as much. But with the revolution accomplished, this very form of organization became a very grave hindrance to the realization of the goal for which the revolution had presumably been made—socialism and freedom. For this super-centralized, authoritarian, undemocratic organizational form was undoubtedly an important factor making for the emergence of Soviet totalitarianism, first under Lenin and Trotsky, and then in its most monstrous shape, under Stalin.

Here, then, is the dilemma: The very form of organization that facilitated—nay, was indispensable for—the struggle against Czarism and the victory of the revolution, turned out to be the form of organization that helped turn the fruits of the revolution into ashes, that led to Stalinism and totalitarianism.

But this happened in Russia, you will say, under the most exceptional conditions. True; but consider that in one respect at least, these exceptional conditions—requiring a revolutionary organization to take the form of a super-centralized, authoritarian, conspiratorial, semi-military organization of an elite, instead of an open and democratic mass movement—these exceptional conditions, I say, are now being repeated on an increasing scale wherever fascism holds sway. What will that mean for the socialist movement developed under those conditions? There is much matter for serious thought here.

I think I have shown how fundamental and all-pervasive is this dilemma-situation to which I have referred so frequently. Again I repeat: it is irreducible; it is inherent in the situation, in the very nature of things.

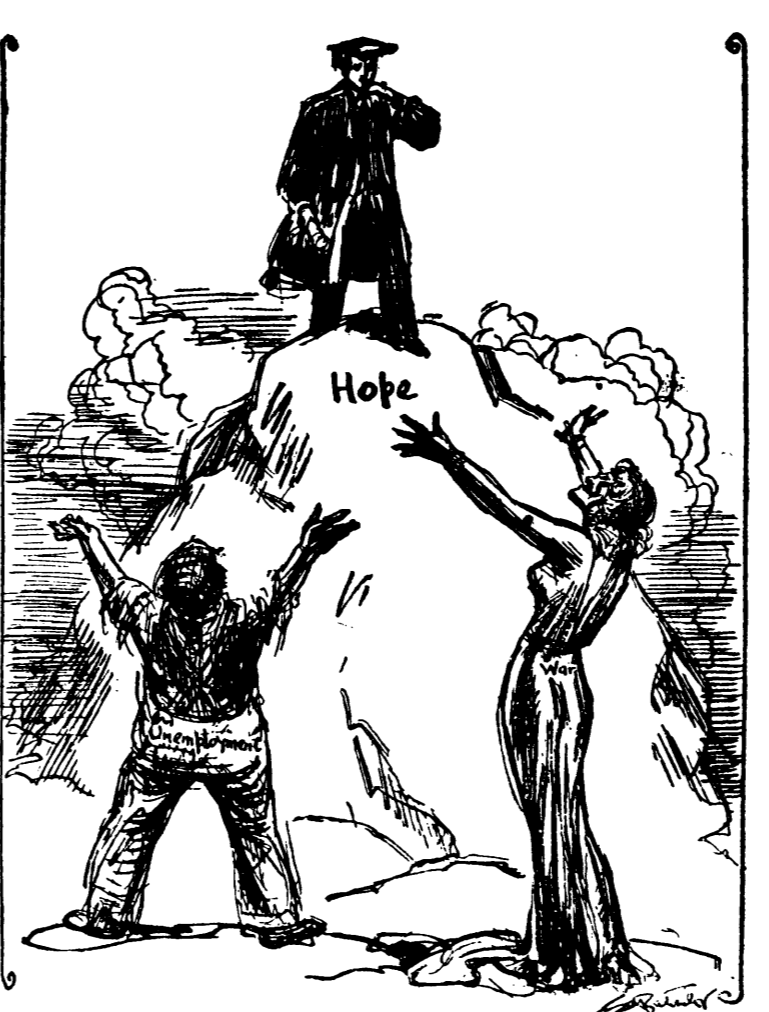
How Can the Dilemma Be Resolved?

If you ask me how this dilemma, or these dilemmas, taken singly or collectively, may be avoided or overcome, I will tell you that I don't know. Furthermore, I don't think that any answer in such general form is possible. No practical dilemma, it seems to me, can find a solution in a general, abstract, theoretical form—but only in a specific, concrete, practical form, thru an experimental process of adjustment and improvisation. Here the deed, which we learn was the beginning of all things, will have to have the last word as well.

Institutional restraints and safeguards are absolutely necessary, of course; in fact, they are quite indispensable, and Corey very properly lays great stress upon them. But such safeguards, particularly in the generalized form in which alone it is possible to plan them in advance, are by no means sufficient. Supplementing and implementing them is needed a strong, unflinching will-to-freedom permeating every functional group and every section of the population, and manifesting itself in eternal vigilance and an ever-ready determination to act. Such a collective spirit might be relied upon, I believe, to exert itself effectively in each specific emergency to the degree permitted by the concrete circumstances, thus giving life and efficacy to democratic institutions. But this will-to-freedom, if it is to be anything more than a phrase, must be illumined by a consciousness of the issues at stake, by a sober and realistic understanding of the varying potentialities of the situation and the instrumentalities at hand. Wishful thinking of whatever sort, is bound to prove fatal.

And this brings me to the end of my remarks. But I want to stress again before I conclude, how valuable I regard the viewpoints developed by Corey in his articles to be, even where I differ with or criticize them to a degree. Especially do I value his readiness to question all things, to examine them fundamentally, without fear, favor or dogmatic prejudice. Never, I think, than in the present difficult situation in which the socialist movement finds itself, was that ancient Biblical injunction more fitting and proper which bids us: "Prove all things and hold fast that which is good!"

BRIGHT DREAMS OF YOUTH



—from the New York Daily News

Economic War Rages Between U.S.A., Japan

Struggle to Control Raw Materials Acute

By J. CORK

BEHIND the scenes of polite diplomatic exchanges, an intense economic and trade war is going on between America and Japan in important sections of the world, chiefly in Latin America. Japan has been heavily dependent upon the United States for vital peace-time and war-time raw materials and manufactured goods, as well as for a market for its own exports. The United States has attempted to make use of this advantage to the hilt to slow up Japan's drive for control of Asia, which, of course, involves vital American imperialist interests in the Pacific. The United States abrogated the trade treaty with Japan and holds over the latter the potential threat of an embargo on such basic materials as oil, minerals, scrap iron, heavy industrial products, etc. With Japanese economy subjected to the terrific strain of the Chinese war, such a threat is serious enough to give Japan pause. Hence its feverish attempts to develop heavy industries at home. Hence the renewed energy with which it is searching for new mar-

It's High Time to Call A Halt in America!

War Panic Threatens to Engulf Democracy

By BERTRAM D. WOLFE

THE other day Dr. Robert N. Murray, Chicago psychologist, commented on the "Fifth Column" hysteria that is sweeping Washington and much of the rest of America. "I venture the prediction," he said, "that before this hysteria runs its course you are likely to see the worst witch-hunt in American history—and possibly the establishment of concentration camps. In a hysteria, the veneer of civilization is stripped off and when this happens, all of the public's sadistic tendencies come to the fore. Reason is stopped. Logic goes down the rat-hole. The probability is that the hysteria is going to run wild. Everybody is going to see a Fifth Columnist under every bed."

CYNICAL MANIPULATION

The warning is timely. The hysteria is being deliberately fomented by men who know better, cynical manipulators of the mass mind who regard it with the same contempt as a Hitler does. And jittery columnists like Dorothy Thompson and weak-minded intellectuals who repent of their moments of sanity and reason are whipping themselves and everybody who will listen to them up into a less cynical but no less dangerous frenzy.

The fount of hysteria is the White House. With relish and cold calculation, the President of the United States played on the low-grade mentality that fell for the Orson Welles fairy-tale of the invasion from Mars. He cited the distances, carefully measured, from Berlin to some cape in Africa, from the cape in Africa to a cape in Brazil, from Brazil to Panama, from Panama to Tampico,

from Tampico to Florida and Oklahoma. The distances were no doubt accurately given, the places carefully selected to strike cold terror into the hearts of the jittery and ill-informed. The State Department followed up with lurid tales of Fifth Column activities in Mexico and—the Nazi was at the door!

Little details about how Hitler would get his planes to South America, how he would supply them with ammunition which requires the heaviest of heavy industry, how South America would develop a greater metallurgical industry than the United States, what the American planes and factories and navy would be doing meanwhile, or how much strength any European country, "victor" or "vanquished," will have after the general European destruction and mass suicide is over, were conveniently overlooked. And why not? If millions will accept the idea of an invasion from Mars without attention to little details, surely this is a more plausible story calling for less analysis and demonstration. The fact remains that our "American way," with all its democracy and literacy, has left a portion of ignorance and fear and blind emotion on which to build an edifice which will be in nowise inferior to Hitler's achievements if it once gets going at the grand American tempo.

And the President is making cynical use of it. It means a third term in office assured without a contest. It means an expenditure without question of two, three, four, five billions on armaments, sufficient to put this country into a war fever and make good any secret promises or understandings to intervene on behalf of England and France in Europe. It means a raising of the debt limit by another five billion, from 45 to 50 billion! (How our children will curse us for that heritage!) It means an abandonment of attention to the unsolved problems of our depression and poverty, an abandonment not with defeat for the New Deal, but with drums beating and flags waving. It means the putting over of the War Resources Board once more and all the other cherished projects which had to be abandoned earlier under criticism.

Like Orson Welles, the President had more effect even than he intended. He made the country seem so defenseless that people asked what had happened to the seven or eight billions he had spent upon defense already. His pride was hurt and he had to make a fireside correction softly assuring the nation that it was a time for panic, but not that much panic; that we were defenseless but not that defenseless!

COUNTER-STEPS OF THE U.S.A.

OF course, the United States is not taking things lying down. It is fully aware of these developments and is taking steps to meet them. In regard to Mexico, a more liberal attitude may be forthcoming so as to offset the Japanese bid.

Argentina will probably prove a harder nut to crack. For Argentina has been amongst the most intransigent of South American countries in regard to the United States. The two countries have always competed in the world meat and grain markets. But the U.S.A. is making an effort to come to more amicable trade relations with Argentina and to improve general relations as well. In the first two months of 1940, Argentinian exports to the United States advanced about 80%, from \$11,000,000 to \$20,000,000. The chief factor in this rise was wool, shipments of which rose from \$2,000,000 to almost \$9,000,000. The United States used to get most of its wool from Australia. Partly because of the difficulties created by the war, but partly also as a result of deliberate policy, American woolen trade is being gradually shifted to Argentina. This may tend to ease up the traditional friction between the two countries.

SCIENCE DOES ITS BIT

In addition, American science and technology are helping the cause. As one commentator put it, the laboratory is engaged in a race with the State Department to see which can do more to win raw-material security. A method has been developed by the Bell Telephone Company for using calcium, which hardens bones, to harden lead in order to produce cable sheathing, for which Chinese antimony has always been used. Then the U. S. Industrial Alcohol Company has developed synthetic resins to replace tung oil from China and perilla oil from Manchuria, the sources of both being completely controlled by Japan. Standard Oil of Louisiana is building a plant at Baton Rouge to produce buna, the German synthetic rubber. Before the year is up, Standard will be able to produce 10,000 pounds a day—so that the possible loss of rubber supply in the East is already being anticipated and prepared against.

And so the story goes. This growing economic and trade conflict between the United States and Japan is merely the foreshadowing of political tension likely to lead to an explosion in the not-too-distant future. The prospective opponents are mending their fences, maneuvering for position, in preparation for the day. Behind the growing militarization of the United States lurk Japan and the Far East at least as much as any other single factor.

SHAMEFUL EXCESSES

The response was more than he could have hoped for. He asked for the placing of aliens under the Department of Justice—one of the most shameful measures of insult to our immigrants in the whole history of America—the exact opposite of one of our most cherished traditions were supposed to gird to defend. He got it. And with it, aliens barred from business in Georgia, aliens barred from certain types of employment and put on quota in amendments to the LaFollette civil-liberties measure, aliens insulted and tortured because of their accent all over the country.

A German revolutionist, who escaped to America from a concentration camp after carrying on an underground war against Hitler, writes from a southern university telling how he is ostracised, how he was put out of an automobile after its owner heard his accent, how he was cross-questioned as a spy because he looked at the machinery in a power house, how he is threatened with expulsion from the university. Such pitiful, shameful, degrading stories could be multiplied by the thousands.

The newspaper stories have a note of obscenity about them, making one ashamed of the fragility of our boasted heritage. Maury Maverick wants anti-aircraft guns for San Antonio and gives his police machine-guns and armored motorcycles to defend the city from the invader from Mexico. "Nassau Will Combat the Fifth Column," "Hobo King Fights Reds Among Hoboes." Anti-aircraft units are sought by New Jersey, by Tulsa, by White Plains, Babylon maps its defense, determined to hold out even if the rest of America yields to the invader. Texans seize Jehovah's Witnesses; fifty of them who refuse to salute the flag for conscience sake, are taken into custody by a sheriff to prevent mob violence, and he says he will hold them until they salute the flag. Like the Quakers who came to America for such freedom, they refuse to salute any man-made symbol or doff their hats to man or woman, believing only God entitled to such forms of reverence. That freedom, so precious to them, part of our boasted heritage of freedom of conscience, goes glimmering as we prepare to "defend our freedom." The Supreme Court ends its brief years of liberal decisions by throwing out of court the case of a school child whose religious tenets forbade her to salute the flag in daily ceremony.

The Congress of the United States, both houses, solemnly pass a measure punishing the shooting of (Continued on page 4)

Again the Invasion Scare

Gen. Butler Shows Folly Of Panic at "Danger" of Invasion by Germans

IN view of the panic over the "threat" of imminent invasion of United States by a victorious Hitler—a panic encouraged if not fomented by the White House—it would be well to recall the address delivered by Major General Smedley Butler some months ago in a radio broadcast. General Butler, who has spent his life in active operations as the commanding officer of the Marines, dealt with the question in a sober, realistic manner and his conclusions should certainly serve to allay the hysteria that seems to be spreading over the country.

He said what it seems, every person must admit—that any country which sent a military expedition to the United States would not think of sending fewer than a million men. After all, a million men would not be too many to send against our rich and powerful 130,000,000 people 3,000 miles from Europe, when Italy sent a half million against the almost unarmed and barefoot people of Ethiopia.

To bring such an army would require a thousand ocean-going vessels—large ones. And they would have to be landed all at once.

But for every soldier the conqueror would have to carry immense stores, arms, ammunition. He would have to bring for an army of 1,000,000 men 400,000 vehicles—tanks, trucks, cannon carriers, wagons, etc. He would have to bring gasoline to service those trucks and tanks 50,000,000 gallons for a limited period of nine months. He would have to bring machine guns and countless shiploads filled with ammunition for these guns.

Idea of Nazis "Capturing" British Navy Called Absurd by Naval Authorities

FEAR that the British navy will turn itself over to Adolf Hitler or be "captured" by him continues to be the main obsession of Washington alarmists. Scare-mongers get their greatest encouragement from the State Department—from Sumner Welles and Adolph A. Berle, Jr. But military circles refuse to get excited about either the possibility that Hitler will get the British fleet or the danger to America if he did. During recent weeks, at least three experts have put themselves on record regarding these fears.

On May 27, Rear Admiral Yates Stirling Jr., former Chief of Staff of the U.S. Fleet, writing for United Press, insisted: "The British navy will remain to protect England, and will, to the last ship, if necessary, sink, with its colors flying, before surrendering or retreating to Canada."

Major George Fielding Eliot, discussing the results of a British defeat in Life (May 27), wrote: "It probably would not mean the surrender of the British fleet to Germany, because we cannot imagine British officers and men handing over naval vessels to the Germans at the behest of any group of frightened politicians."

Admiral William D. Leahy, former Chief of Naval Operations, in an

interview in the Washington Times-Herald of May 24, said: "The British won't surrender their fleet. They don't have to. The fleet's free to move anywhere it wants to. As long as they have command of the ocean, who's to stop them?"

Even those who are worried admit it would take the Nazis eighteen months to man the British fleet properly. To this must be added the time it would take to recondition the ships that will have been put out of commission. What worries the worriers most is the fact that there is no answer to the question: "What could we do about it?"

Some Additions to the Time-Table

The possibility of a Nazi invasion becomes fantastic in the face of the realities of Hitler's position in Europe and the fundamental strategic factors that make up America's impregnability—factors that have not

been changed by recent events and are not likely to change in the predictable future. Adolf Hitler has much to do before he can threaten the safety of Kansas City, Omaha and St. Louis:

- 1. He must conquer England and France (which does not necessarily mean that he will get the British and French empires).
- 2. He must keep in subjugation 142,000,000 Englishmen, Frenchmen, Belgians, Netherlands, Danes, Norwegians, Poles, Czechs, and Austrians—most of whom hate him as men have rarely hated.
- 3. He must then work out his self-proclaimed destiny in the East where there are the wheat and oil to feed and fuel his military machine. Here he must clash or compromise with Stalin, Mussolini and Turkey.
- 4. He must bury his dead, refill the ranks, rehabilitate his war machine, add a great navy and whip his war-weary people into a frenzy of hatred against the United States.
- 5. Then he must establish naval and air bases in the western hemisphere and protect his lines of communication and supply to them.
- 6. Before he can land an expeditionary force, he must sink the American navy, destroy our air forces and cripple our coast defenses.
- 7. He must then wipe out the American army.

If this incomplete and undetailed time-table of Hitler's conquest of the United States had been added to President Roosevelt's message, the Illinois farmers who have been demanding anti-tank guns might be resting easier.

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