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**EDUCATION—FOR WHAT?**  
By WILL HERBERG

# Workers Age

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## John L. Lewis Throws Off the Mask . . .

JOHN L. LEWIS'S sensational address calling upon the working people as well as all other citizens to vote for Wendell Willkie for President shows plainly what a menace Mr. Lewis has become to the labor movement of this country.

What force Mr. Lewis's criticism of President Roosevelt's policies might otherwise have had was completely destroyed by the fact that he proceeded to give his warmest endorsement to Wendell Willkie, whose views on foreign affairs and defense are like Mr. Roosevelt's as two peas in a pod. To condemn Roosevelt for driving this country to war while hailing Willkie as a bulwark of peace is a piece of cynical demagoguery at which even the most devout worshipper at Mr. Lewis's shrine must gag.

Apparently, even Mr. Lewis, for all his pose of impregnable self-assurance, felt that it was rather queer for a labor leader such as himself, a man who has been cultivating a reputation for progressivism and militancy, to come out in advocacy of Wendell Willkie, the candidate of Ford, Weir, Girdler and Grace. He tried to explain it away by saying that it could be as little held against him as the fact that there are scoundrels and hypocrites in any religious sect could be held against the honest and sincere members of that sect. But somehow Mr. Lewis forgot to mention that only two or three days before his own speech, Mr. Willkie had delivered an address in which he, Mr. Willkie, Mr. Lewis's candidate, had hailed Tom Girdler and his like as the true heroes of industry, as the men who had made the country what it is. Apparently, the scoundrels and hypocrites hold a rather high place in Mr. Lewis's political church and in the favor of its spokesman and leader.

But all of these considerations fade away in the face of the breathtaking effrontery of Mr. Lewis's appeal to the masses of workers. What were the real arguments upon which Mr. Lewis relied for the effectiveness of his address, if arguments they can be called? They are two in number:

The first may be phrased as follows: "Back me up in my support of Willkie or else I will resign as president of the C.I.O." Mr. Lewis put it quite that crudely. In solemn, measured tones, he told his audience that he would "accept" the outcome of the election as a vote of confidence or non-confidence in him, John L. Lewis! He reminded the workers and the leaders and representatives of the C.I.O. of all he had done for them: "Upon some of you I have bestowed the honors which you now wear." Then, in a burst of eloquence, he ended with words to much the following effect: "After all I've done for you, and now that I've staked everything on the outcome, are you going to let me down?" This was Mr. Lewis's chief "argument," an unashamed, demagogic appeal to unthinking, emotional loyalties. The character of the appeal may be taken as a true measure of the quality of Mr. Lewis's leadership.

Mr. Lewis's second "argument" was even more revolting. "It is a reasonable hope," he said, "that these gentlemen (Grace, Girdler and Weir) . . . will soon execute collective-bargaining agreements with the C.I.O." This, then, was part of the price Mr. Lewis had been paid for his turn to Willkie. But what was the C.I.O. leader asking his followers to do? He was asking them to sell their votes to the blood-stained labor-baiters of Little Steel in return for a collective-bargaining agreement to be obtained for them thru the good offices of John L. Lewis! No grosser insult to the C.I.O. membership, as American workers and American citizens, could be imagined!

How much or how little influence Mr. Lewis's address may have had on the election results one way or the other, will long be disputed. But that is not the real question. The real question is: Judging from what Mr. Lewis has said and done, what sort of labor movement does the C.I.O. leader stand for, and is that the kind of labor movement that American labor needs or can tolerate?

The answer is clear. Mr. Lewis stands for a labor movement in which he is the unquestioned dictator and anointed leader. Without consulting a single one of his associates, not to speak of the official bodies of the C.I.O., he did not hesitate to overturn, as far as lay in his power, the fundamental political attitude of his organization and to defy the undoubted will of a great majority of his membership. Mr. Lewis said he spoke as an individual citizen, but everyone knows that it was his

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## War Party Stands to Gain Which Way Election Goes

### Both Old-Party Candidates Agree Upon Ultra-Interventionist Foreign Policies

LAST May, Dorothy Thompson insisted that the United States would achieve national unity if the Republicans nominated Wendell Willkie for Vice-President on a ticket with Franklin D. Roosevelt for President. Hitler was slashing thru the Lowlands and the U. S. A. suddenly realized that the war was not "phony." The New York Herald Tribune thought it "quite probable" that an immediate declaration of war on Germany might be the best form of preparedness. Walter Lippmann announced: "There is no more time left for trifling. There is no more time left for conducting our affairs on the basis of Gallup polls. . . ." But no one in a position to do anything about it took Miss Thompson's advice seriously.

No one had to. In due course, Wendell Willkie became his own standard-bearer and Miss Thompson's object—to take the supreme issue of foreign policy out of the campaign—was completely realized. Wendell Willkie, it turned out, agrees with the President on foreign policy. So much so, that it would make much more sense if Willkie had Roosevelt as a running mate after all instead of McNary. The great body of anti-war Americans who depend on the two-party system have been hoaxed.

By this time, it is surely clear that Wendell Willkie's nomination was no more a groundswell than is a sudden demand for a new breakfast food. The report that Willkie had gotten the nod from the House of Morgan—in whose orbit is the Commonwealth and Southern—may be traced back to the beginning of the war. The "masterpiece of disorganization" that hit the public consciousness last Spring was planned by strategists in the J. Walter

Thompson Company, recognized in the advertising profession as the Morgan agency; in Young and Rubicam, Batten, Barton, Durstine and Osborn, and other agencies sensitive to the demands of Wall Street. Oren Root Jr., the cub lawyer who left his job to organize the unorganized for Willkie, worked for Davis, Polk, Wardwell, Gardiner and Reed, attorneys for J. P. Morgan. The professionals in charge carefully substituted Main Street for Wall Street and vetoed promotional schemes that too obviously smacked of money. The big financial push was reserved for Philadelphia where Thomas W. Lamont happened to have business during the Republican convention.

The basic objective was simple. What Wall Street wants above all else is an Anglo-American alliance with all its consequences. On that score, the Democratic party was no problem. Obviously, Roosevelt was either going to run again or pass on his mantle to an equally fervent interventionist. On the Republican side, powerful financiers first backed Dewey who had proved himself a vote-getter. But it can now be reported as a fact that Dewey's big-money support began to disappear when, after a long spell on the fence, he landed on the non-interventionist side. By convention time, Wall Street and its fellow-travelers were almost solidly behind Willkie.

When Wendell Willkie was nominated, the national campaign of 1940 was over and the American role in world affairs was set. Wall Street's work was done. If, by some odd stroke of fate, Willkie should actually become President, that would be so much velvet. Obviously high finance would rather go to war with Willkie than with Roosevelt

# Roosevelt Reelected By Wide Margin; First Third Term President of the U.S.A.

## Italy Invades Greece in Axis Blow at Near East

### Failing in Battle of Britain, Fascist Powers Launch Thrust in East Europe

The long-threatened Axis thrust at the Balkans and the Near East was launched last week as Italy, with Hitler's official support, invaded Greece in force without a formal declaration of war. Reports were scarce and unreliable, but it seemed that Mussolini's troops, despite their overwhelming superiority in numbers and arms, were meeting with stiff resistance and were making but little headway at considerable cost. Successful counter-attacks by the Greeks were also reported.

In fact, toward the end of the week, appearances suggested that the Italians, apparently stalled in their attack by bad weather and Greek defenses, were turning to air bombardment for effect. Violent attacks from the air were unloosed on important Greek cities and ports, including Athens.

The Axis assault on Greece was intended, of course, to clear the way to Turkey and the Near East so as to make it possible to cut off Britain from important sources of supplies. With the Battle of Britain definitely a stalemate and with all Nazi hopes of subjugating the British within the next few months gone, the transfer of the theater of war to the Balkans and the Near East was a pressing necessity for the Axis powers.

Realizing to the full the significance of the Italian move, Great Britain threw in all available resources to aid the Greeks. British assistance took the form of intensive naval action in the Mediterranean and air assault on key Italian cities. The British had no difficulty in establishing their supremacy in the Mediterranean and succeeded in dealing some severe blows to Italian naval power. Important centers in southern Italy, including Naples, were bombed with telling effect.

The Italian thrust at Greece brought with it a profound crisis in diplomatic relations in eastern Europe. There could be no doubt as to Russia's coolness to the entire adventure, which, if successful, would

as President. But under the circumstances, even Harry Hopkins and the W.P.A. looked like beloved enemies. When Willkie delivered his acceptance speech, the American press packed away the foreign-policy issue in m'nhalls. The New York Herald Tribune said: "Mr. Willkie's definition of America's interests in the international field so closely parallels Mr. Roosevelt's own statement of diplomatic objectives that it is to be hoped that this non-partisan problem will be kept out of the campaign." Secretary of Navy Knox's Chicago Daily News, endorsed Willkie, said: "Such criticism as Mr. Willkie makes of Mr. Roosevelt's foreign policies appertain not to principles, but to performance."

Making a choice between Roosevelt and Willkie involves what the Louisville Courier-Journal frankly called "honest agonizing." The Courier-Journal picked Roosevelt and listed Willkie's sins against the war party. They are: he endorsed Hiram Johnson, he was supported by Herbert Hoover, he had McNary as a running-mate, he found the mechanics of the destroyer deal "arbitrary and dictatorial." These sins did not restrain the Democratic New York Times, basic organ of interventionism, from endorsing Willkie.

Willkie has not only accepted the President's foreign policy; he has also adopted his domestic program. As the Willkie crusade continues, it looks less like a campaign for the Presidency and more like an effort on the part of its leader to qualify for a cabinet post in a third term. If Dorothy Thompson's version of national unity cannot be achieved before Election Day, there is no reason why it cannot be adopted after the formalities are over. Stimson and Knox were never as acceptable to the New Deal insiders as Wendell Willkie must be today.

seriously jeopardize Moscow's position in that region. It was even asserted, the officially denied, that Russia was selling war planes to Greece, very much as Germany had given some aid to the Finns on the occasion of the Russian invasion a year ago. There were fairly reliable reports, on the other hand, that Stalin had been "fixed" by a promise of complete control over the Dardanelles.

For the moment, Turkey was in the most perilous position as probably next on the Nazi list. President Ismet Inonu officially stated his country's attitude as one of non-belligerence while closely studying the situation in collaboration "with our ally, Britain." He spoke of "renewed friendship" with Soviet Russia and indicated that Turkish policy would be governed in part by Moscow's attitude toward the rapidly changing conditions.

In the West, there was little change last week. The Germans were making no headway with their air attack on Britain. They did succeed in establishing a tighter control over the Vichy government of France. An "agreement in principle" on French collaboration with Germany in the "reconstruction of

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## The Elections Are Over—But the Crisis Remains!

THIS is written before Election Day. We do not know whether it is Roosevelt or Willkie who will occupy the White House for the next four years—it will certainly not be Norman Thomas. And, for the purposes of this editorial, it doesn't make a very great deal of difference which of the two it will be.

Whoever is elected, Roosevelt or Willkie, the present Administration's foreign policy will be continued, since Roosevelt has reaffirmed it and Willkie has endorsed it. Indeed, with the need for caution gone after Election Day, it will probably be pursued with even less guise and hesitation. And what is this policy? It is a policy of war involvement, of fatal entanglement in Europe and Asia. It is a policy of sacrificing the fundamental interests of the American people—the welfare and security of America—to reckless ventures in imperialism and Wilsonian "world-saving." It is a policy that has already brought our country to the brink of disaster, and that will certainly drive it into the chasm unless the American people prove more able to develop effective opposition in the months to come than they have in the past.

Whoever is elected, Roosevelt or Willkie, the present trend of scrapping or militarizing the social achievements of the earlier New Deal will continue. Mr. Roosevelt's intentions and line of action have been made clear enough in his Administration's refusal to enforce the Wagner Act in defense industry and in the deliberate breakdown of enforcement of the Wage-Hour Act. There is no reason whatever for believing that Mr. Willkie would follow any very different course. Indeed, should he happen to be elected and bring with him to power the whole Old Deal Republican crew, traditionally hostile to labor and social legislation, the reactionary trend would, most likely, be sharply accentuated.

Involvement in war abroad, militarism and reaction at home—these are the two aspects of the dark situation that faces the country after Election Day. If ever there was need for a united, militant labor movement, courageous and independent, capable of rallying the forces of democracy and progress among the people as a whole, this is the time. The days ahead may prove the supreme test for the American labor movement.

## S.U.P. Blazes Trail of Real Gains for Marine Workers

### Sailors Union of the Pacific Builds Power on Militancy and Democracy; Defeats Repeated Stalinist Intrigues, Assaults

By J. SODERBERG

THE oldest maritime union in the country is the Sailors Union of the Pacific. Organized in 1885 with Andrew Furuseth at its head, this union acquired an excellent reputation for militancy thru its struggles as well as thru its honesty in dealings with the union membership. Wherever seafaring men gather, they still speak almost with reverence of the "Old Man," as they affectionately dub Andy Furuseth.

Harry Lundeborg, secretary-treasurer of the S.U.P. since old Andy's illness and subsequent death, has given leadership in the old militant tradition of the union with the result that wages and living conditions have kept a steady pace upwards year after year. This union today is able to pride itself that nowhere in the entire maritime world are wages, working and living conditions higher or better than on the ships controlled by the S.U.P.

### THOROUGHGOING DEMOCRACY

The union is managed in the broadest possible democratic sense. They call it "West Coast Style." Weekly audits of income and expense are made by the membership itself and not even a postage stamp is left unaccounted for. All negotiations with the shipowners are carried on by committees elected from the floor for the purposes stated. If a change of policy on any important issue is contemplated, it is voted upon by the membership ashore and aboard ship, and up and down the coast, and only after a majority has carried are the officials allowed to put the change into effect. Elections for officials occur annually and any member may nominate whomever he pleases provided the nominee is in good standing in the union. Ballots are secret, and opened and counted by committees elected from the rank and file for the purpose. This ensures a perpetual democratic control of the union by its dues-paying membership, and the officials are subject to recall at any

time a majority so desires.

This, then, is the Sailors Union of the Pacific, the one union on the West Coast in maritime which has withstood all attacks on the part of the communists and their allied fellow-travelers and sundry stooges.

### THE S.U.P. AND THE C.I.O.

Prior to the time of the formation of the C.I.O., the S.U.P. stood expelled from the A. F. of L. as a result of having engaged in the strikes and struggles of 1934 and 1935. It remained independent in affiliation. With other unions at the time, the S.U.P. took a vote on the question of whether to remain independent or affiliate to the C.I.O. In the meanwhile, however, the infamous Drang nach Westen on the part of the communists had gotten into full momentum, and Harry Bridges of the longshoremen had arrived at a stage where he was taking orders from the Stalinists. As a result, the Embarcadero soon became flooded with people just out of college passing themselves off as "sailors" or "longshoremen." These people naturally knew nothing about ships or their crews, and were, of course, totally ignorant of the needs and problems of the seafaring man. It soon became clear to those responsible for the leadership of the S.U.P. that a "new order" was in the making and that before long the S.U.P., if allowed to drift in the new direction, would become a mere appendage to the Communist Party, and very little of a union. A vote was taken, and it was decided to destroy the previous ballots and remain independent. Many honest people in the labor movement at the time disagreed with the course taken and predicted complete isolation and final total absorption of the union by the mighty wave of seeming industrial unionism then sweeping the land from one coast to the other. How wise was the decision later events have definitely proven.

Two years later, the S.U.P. took another vote, ashore and at sea, and

the members, by an overwhelming majority, decided to return to the A. F. of L., but to return on terms formulated by the union itself and accepted by the A. F. of L. Executive Council.

### STALINISTS LAUNCH THEIR ATTACK

Since the day of its return to the A. F. of L., the union and its officials, in particular, its secretary-treasurer, Harry Lundeborg, have been under a constant, but varied attack from the communists and their cohorts. All the many slanders, attempts at character assassination, misstatements and misrepresentations that only a communist is capable of have been hurled against the union and its responsible officials. The union's legitimate picket lines have been crashed again and again by the communists and their stooges, Bridges et al. However, year after year, with unflinching regularity, Lundeborg and his fellow-officers have been reelected, while not in a single instance did an opposing communist candidate collect a baker's dozen of votes, let alone secure a victory. And bear in mind that even janitors come under the category of elected functionaries in a democratic union!

Part of the wrecking campaign towards the destruction of the S.U.P. on the part of Bridges and other communists who succeeded in working their way into the labor movement has been the setting-up overnight of paper unions and then using these alleged "unions" in an endeavor to horn in on the work of sailors, work which has been recognized as belonging to sailors, and sailors only, since men first went down to the sea in ships. Time and again, these sailors have had to fight most bitterly to defend their gains against the onslaught of the shipowners, and after having won the battle, they have been compelled to turn around and fight the communist machine and its stooges to save themselves from being robbed of the gains by these rats in the labor movement. This was the case up to two weeks ago.

Organized labor played a decisive but by no means united or independent role in the elections. The great bulk of trade unionists and other workers were overwhelmingly for Roosevelt. Both A. F. of L. and C.I.O. were divided in their top councils. In the former, the division was kept within limits and is not likely to lead to any serious rift in the organization. In the C.I.O., however, Lewis's sensational pronouncement in favor of Willkie expected to culminate in a definite split at the C.I.O. convention to be held in Atlantic City in a few weeks.

### SCAB-HERDING A LA MOSCOW

On that day, a phoney picket line was set up by a conglomeration of communists and communist sympathizers led by one Pete Garcia, a graduate of the Lenin University in Moscow, and at present, passing under the high-sounding title of

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## Wins 38 States Big Majority Of Total Vote

### F.D.R. Takes 456 Electoral Votes; Victory Due to Support of Big Urban Centers

For the first time in American history, a President of the United States was elected to a third term last week. Franklin Delano Roosevelt was reelected to the Presidency in one of the most hotly contested elections in recent times. He won his victory by a wide margin. Roosevelt and Wallace received 456 electoral votes from 38 states as against 75 electoral votes from 10 states for their Republican rivals, Willkie and McNary. Complete figures on the popular vote were not yet available at the time of writing, but it was clear that Mr. Roosevelt's 1936 lead would be cut to some extent.

The President's victory was made possible because he carried the industrial states of New York, Pennsylvania, Illinois, Indiana, Massachusetts, Ohio and Michigan.

The elections resulted in shifts of some significance in Congress. The Senate, of which only a part of the membership was renewed, remains Democratic. The House also retains a Democratic majority, probably somewhat reduced. Thus the Administration retains party control of Congress, although not all Democrats in that body are supporters of Mr. Roosevelt's policies. Particularly gratifying was the reelection of Senator Robert M. La Follette of Wisconsin after a hard fight.

The American Labor Party did very well in New York City, gathering about 350,000 votes for President Roosevelt on its ticket, comparing favorably with previous records. The A.L.P. vote more than covered Mr. Roosevelt's diminished lead in New York State. Full information as to other A.L.P. candidates was not yet available.

Nor was any information available as to the vote for Norman Thomas, socialist candidate.

It is still too early to make an adequate analysis of the election returns in terms of social and economic groups. It seems fairly clear, however, that Mr. Roosevelt retained the allegiance of the mass of workers and other lower-income groups in urban centers, although not quite to the same extent as in previous elections. Mr. Willkie's strength was largely among the upper and middle-income categories, and in the rural areas.

The great obstacle Mr. Roosevelt had to hurdle to victory was widespread fear that his Administration, thru its policies, pronouncements and actions, was leading the country to war. The factor next in importance was fear of encroaching personal rule and dictatorship, sharply dramatized in the third-term issue. On the other side, heavily weighing against Mr. Willkie, were his notorious utilities and big-business connections and the fear of large masses of people that with him in the White House, the great advances in social and labor legislation made during the past seven years under the New Deal would be jeopardized.

Organized labor played a decisive but by no means united or independent role in the elections. The great bulk of trade unionists and other workers were overwhelmingly for Roosevelt. Both A. F. of L. and C.I.O. were divided in their top councils. In the former, the division was kept within limits and is not likely to lead to any serious rift in the organization. In the C.I.O., however, Lewis's sensational pronouncement in favor of Willkie expected to culminate in a definite split at the C.I.O. convention to be held in Atlantic City in a few weeks.

## Nehru Sentenced to Four Years in Indian Independence Fight

Gorakhpur, India  
Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, one of two men chosen by Mohandas K. Gandhi to make anti-war speeches as part of a Nationalist plan of "limited civil disobedience," was sentenced last week to four years of rigorous imprisonment.

First to defy the law with anti-war speeches, was Vinoba Bhave sentenced on October 21 to three months imprisonment.

Pandit Nehru refused to testify at his trial on charges brought under the Defense of India Act.

Friday NOVEMBER 8th 8:00 P. M.	<b>JAY LOVESTONE</b> speaks on <b>After the Elections</b>	131 W. 33rd St. Room 707 Admission 25 Cents
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# Technology and Labor Displacement in U. S. Industry

Washington, D. C.

FOR three consecutive weeks, April 8 thru April 26, outstanding leaders of industry and labor and representatives of various government agencies appeared before the Temporary National Economic Committee to present their views on technology and its effects on employment conditions in the United States. Although no startling revelations were disclosed and no plans were formulated to deal with the social problems created by technology, the hearings proved successful in eliminating many of the prevailing misunderstandings about technology and its economic and social influences. In this way, the ground was cleared for a program of action designed at least to mitigate the hardships of workers who are displaced from their jobs because of technological advances in industry and agriculture.

The hearings made it fairly clear that neither employers nor organized labor were opposed to technology. The old, drawn-out argument whether in the long run technology creates more jobs or causes greater unemployment was set aside as irrelevant. While employers as a group placed more emphasis on the expansion of employment because of technological advances, most of their representatives readily admitted that temporarily, at least, and particularly during periods of declining production, the immediate effect of technological changes is to displace workers, who are thus added to the numbers unemployed for other reasons. Many labor representatives, on the other hand, were willing to admit that in the long run technology might create more employment. They were, however, largely concerned with the immediate situation, caused by the trend in the last decade, during which technology has served to aggravate rather than mitigate the unemployment problem in the United States.

## MEANING OF TECHNOLOGY

The term "technology" is often used merely to indicate the utilization of machinery or other mechanical devices in the field of agricultural and industrial production. So defined, technology fails to convey its social significance and its effect upon economic and employment conditions. Testimony before the T.N.E.C. disclosed that other factors beside the machine have been equally, if not more, responsible for substantial reductions in labor requirements per unit of output, thus contributing to the continuous displacement of labor in industry and agriculture. Among such factors resulting in increased labor productivity were included assembly lines and other automatic conveyors, changes in plant lay-out and in routing of raw materials or of work in process from one department to another, and such purely psychological factors as improved labor and management relations, collective bargaining, job security, higher wages, etc.

As a result, a broader and more social concept of technology was evolved. As interpreted at the hearings and accepted by most witnesses, the term "technology" would not only apply to machinery and mechanical and chemical developments but would also include any and all changes in the methods and manner of production which result either in a new or improved product or service or in producing the same goods or service with smaller labor or labor-and-capital outlays per unit of output.

## TECHNOLOGY AND EMPLOYMENT

New Wealth: Not all the factors included in such a broad concept of technology exert the same influence upon the demand for labor. Certain types of technology create "new wealth" and result in a net gain in employment without any direct displacement of labor. The invention of the telegraph and telephone, the photographic camera, the phonograph, the development of rubber tires, and, more recently, the radio, air conditioning, and the pending development of television may be regarded as representative samples of this type of new wealth-creating technology.

Substitute Products: A different type of technology also creates new products or new services, but only as a substitute for, and therefore in competition with, existing products or services. The net employment effects of this type of invention vary tremendously—some unquestionably create more employment, while others result in larger displacement of workers. In either case, this type of technology produces much labor and occupational shifting and therefore results in considerable economic and social dislocation.

Automobile and truck transportation may be regarded as a sample of this type of technology. Among the industries which have almost been eliminated by the automobile are those connected with the manufacture of horse-drawn vehicles, livery and stables, horse and mule breeding, and the raising of fodder. In recent years, the railroad and water transportation has also been seriously encroached upon by the greater expansion of bus and truck transportation.

However, the employment losses in these industries, though large, were more than offset by the new employment opportunities created by and directly associated with the automobile industry. The unprecedented expansion in road building and in

## Labor's Role and Needs In National Defense

### AFL Leader for Union Preparedness Plan

By H. W. BROWN

(H. W. Brown is the president of the International Association of Machinists, an A. F. of L. affiliate.—Ed.)

THE United States government is spending ten billion dollars in military defense of our territory. We are constructing another navy; we are expanding our army to the largest peace-time strength it has ever known. We are cooperating with other nations in guaranteeing that the western hemisphere shall be free from European control and exploitation.

### WHAT ARE WE TO DEFEND?

If we think our form of government, our democratic institutions—in short, what we are prone to speak of as the "American way of life"—if we think this government, this way of life, is so threatened that we must have a two-ocean defense program and this unprecedented expansion of our military units, even though it might involve conscription, then it is well that we keep in mind what it is we are to defend so that we take care not to lose the very things for which we are now telling the world we are ready and willing to fight.

If we properly adjust our economy and make very sure that our productivity does not push us blindly into mistakes, and if we keep always before us the things we wish to protect, then we shall be doing the greatest possible service to our country, our fellow-men and ourselves—we shall attach a clear and accurate concept to the phrase "national defense."

It seems clear that, no matter what danger strikes, whether by Blitzkrieg methods from abroad via South America or more subtly, more insidiously, from within by gradual changes in our form of government to pour it into a camouflaged copy of the old totalitarian mold, the first to suffer, the most severely hurt, the ones to bear the brunt of the brutality of Nazism or fascism, are the working people.

It is an historical fact that the best criterion of a totalitarian state is one with its working class coerced through suppression of labor organizations and rigid disciplining of labor in the interest of the selfish goals of the ruling powers. So, while it behooves us to bend every effort toward preparedness against invasion, it is equally important that we stand firm in the belief that a preparedness program shall not be made the excuse for depriving labor of its rights or for shelving social reforms instituted in the past on the excuse that "the national emergency demands sacrifices of labor." Labor can feel proud of the fact that, in the true

petroleum refining, the increased demand for steel, rubber, textiles and glass for use in making automobiles, and the large number of gasoline stations and garages prove conclusively the vast net increase in employment and the tremendous social changes brought about by the development of the automobile.

Rayon and other synthetic fibers, such as nylon, may also be classified in this group of industries manufacturing substitute products, in this case in the form of new raw materials. They resulted in the displacement of labor in one group of industries and the employment of labor in another. The entire silk industry appears to be doomed, largely because of the replacement of silk by rayon in the manufacture of dresses and other women's wear and the recent development of nylon to take the place of silk in the manufacture of hosiery. These losses to business and in labor employment in industries manufacturing natural fibers from silk, cotton, and wool are perhaps more than balanced by the expansion of rayon manufacturing. Rayon products are considerably cheaper and are, therefore, more accessible to groups of workers whose low incomes do not permit them to

capital investment, in plant lay-out and employment, and occur but seldom in any one industry. But still they do occur. As indicated by the steel labor representative, the recent introduction of the continuous hot-strip steel process in place of the hand-rolling mill has resulted in tremendous labor displacement, not yet completed, and has brought with it disastrous effects on whole communities.

### SAFEGUARD LABOR RIGHTS

It is thought necessary to conscript labor, then the situation is surely serious enough to demand the conscription of wealth as well. If labor is asked to do its part for the preservation of the democratic way of life, then labor expects that no favors will be shown others who selfishly play the role of slacker or seek to profit by the patriotic efforts of the working people. That government is blind to its most basic responsibilities which fail to clamp down on the manufacturers and contractors whose first thought is bigger and better profits.

Our government must recognize the crime of the profiteer who seeks to benefit from the sacrifices of labor, for he and his kind are seeking to destroy the very things that are aroused to defend. He must be taught that our government, in order to be truly democratic, must put human rights above property rights.

Owing to the tremendous expansion in machinery, factory buildings, military supplies, and the like, the question often asked is: "After adequate defense is realized, what then?" Our answer must be: "The establishment of the six-hour day and thirty-hour week." Of course, at that time we can expect many of the self-named super-patriots to attempt a stamped "back to normalcy" (the same as was done at the close of the World War) rather than agree to cooperate for adjusting the daily and weekly work schedule at least to prevent a furloughing of workers when industry's output will reduce in volume. We, therefore, must now appeal to all workers outside the organized labor movement to join in labor's preparedness program, the purpose of which is to build adequate defense for the safeguarding of every right and every gain made for the benefit and welfare of all the toilers.

We must be alert—we must not postpone. We must be vigilant—we must act now.

purchase many silk or wool products.

Labor-Saving Devices: A third type of technology results in the production of substantially the same type of goods and services but with greatly reduced labor or labor-and-capital requirements per unit of output. This type of technological advancement covers revolutionary changes, such as the development of automatic machinery to take the place of semi-automatic or hand operations, and any other mechanical or semi-mechanical change that results in increased output per unit of labor time or per dollar of capital invested.

Revolutionary changes may be illustrated by the invention of the Owens automatic bottle machine, the automatic loom, automatic cigarette-making and cigarette-making machinery, the continuous hot-strip steel mill, automatic drills, electrical welding, the dial telephone, the dictaphone, and such agricultural machinery as the harvester combine and the mechanical cotton picker now in process of development.

Such revolutionary changes from a hand or semi-automatic to an automatic and mass-production type of industry involve large shifts in

perhaps even more important from the point of view of their effect on the employment of the day-to-day production in methods of job refinements. Each change is comparatively small and not spectacular but, in the aggregate, they greatly reduce the labor requirements per unit of output and thus result in much labor displacement. All representatives of labor that appeared before the T.N.E.C. discussed cases of such minor but continuous technological changes in their respective industries.

Among the examples of this type of labor-saving or labor-and-capital-saving technology were improvements in existing machinery and mechanical equipment used in the manufacture of steel and steel products, textiles, tires, automobiles and parts, radios, office equipment, and changes in plant lay-outs, such as those recently introduced in textile and shoe plants. Emphasis was put on the assembly lines and endless belt or chain conveyors used to a very large extent in the automobile industry, in the production of tires and tubes, in radio and electrical apparatus manufacturing, and in steel and cement plants. Large reductions in labor and skill were brought about by the minute separation of operations in weaving and spinning departments of the textile industry, and thru the motion-time studies in tires, radio equipment and in steel.

The recent extensive application of control instruments has also served greatly to reduce labor and skill requirements formerly needed in operating and controlling the output of separate machines. In many industries, notably electric power, petroleum refining, steel, glass, paper and pulp, and chemicals, entire departments and plants are now being operated from central instrument panels at which a few operators are stationed.

It was pointed out that technological advances in one industry often serve to reduce labor requirements in other industries. Illustrative of this is the reduction in the demand for coal as a result of the increased efficiency with which coal is burned. The difficulties of coal miners in obtaining jobs or in holding their jobs are in no small degree ascribed to the technological developments which took place outside of the coal industry. This is in addition to such displacement of coal miners as has been caused by the utilization of mechanical coal-mining equipment and conveyors as well as by the inroads made by gas, oil and electrici-

ties on the total demand for bituminous coal and anthracite.

The outstanding characteristic of this type of labor-saving or labor-and-capital-saving technology is that the displacement of workers is continuous and occurs almost simultaneously with the technological change. When production is on the increase, no actual elimination of workers need occur as a result of such changes, as the workers may be absorbed either in the industry where the change has been made or in other industries. But when total production declines or fails to increase to balance the reductions in labor requirements caused by the technological changes, workers lose their jobs and become temporarily or even permanently unemployed.

## Birth-Rate Data Show Children's Hardships

### Lack of Schooling, Housing Seen in Study

New York City

HIGH birth-rates among poorer families and in some sections of the country mean that a disproportionate share of American children face serious social and economic handicaps. Nearly two-thirds of our city children are in families whose income is below a "maintenance standard of living." About half of our children in families of five or more live in houses that are definitely substandard. At least two-thirds of our children are in need of dental care. Nearly a million children of elementary school age are not in school.

These are some of the facts brought out by Maxwell S. Stewart in a pamphlet, "America's Children," published by the Public Affairs Committee in New York. The pamphlet is based on a series of government studies and research documents assembled for the White House Conference on Children in a Democracy, held in Washington earlier in the year.

The position of children is relatively much more critical than for adults, Mr. Stewart points out, because the number of children per family is much higher among low-income groups than among the well-to-do, and is especially high among Negroes, the foreign-born, and in some rural areas.

"In some areas there are twice as many children, proportionately, on the farm as in the city. The South has the highest ratio of children, both in white and Negro families, while the Far West has the lowest. Rural Negro families have more children than rural white families."

Families with the most children commonly have the poorest housing, Mr. Stewart states. Large families require larger houses, but are forced to use a relatively larger part of their income for food. They are thus forced into slum areas of cities or the poorer country areas. The crowding of large families in sub-standard houses is shown in national figures. Families with one child pay an average rent of \$21 a month. But

## Farmers Plight Grows Worse As Result of War

### Federal Agricultural Economist Foresees Decline of Mass Living Standards

Washington, D. C.

WAR clouds are casting a shadow over the farm fields of the nation, and the prospects are that American agriculture will bear the brunt of economic maladjustments arising out of the foreign situation, according to expert surveys made public here recently.

With farm prices already 26% below parity and with farm exports rapidly falling off, the assistant chief of the Bureau of Agricultural Economics, Eric Englund, declares: "I see no possibility that this war, whether long or short, will really solve any of our present agricultural problems. It is more likely to intensify them and create new ones."

"Instead of increasing the home market for farm products," he said, "it may be that the national defense effort will have to be made on a scale so large as to reduce, for a time, rather than increase, the average standard of living."

### THE PRICE OF PROGRESS

The social benefits brought about by technology have not, however, been obtained without large social costs. Science and technology are socially neutral, that is, they are neither good nor bad in themselves. Their social value, therefore, lies in the use society makes of them. A striking example may be found in the airplane that is at one time used to bring food to a typhus stricken to a flood-stricken community and at another time is used even more effectively to bomb cities and kill innocent men, women and children. The present European conflict has already shown how destructive science and technology can become when applied to modern warfare.

But even when used for peaceful and constructive purposes, technological advancement is accompanied by large social costs. Outstanding among these are labor displacements and the continuous dislocations and shifting in occupational requirements by industry and agriculture. These costs have been borne largely by innocent victims, the workers deprived of opportunities to use their acquired skills or altogether thrown out of their jobs by technology, some temporarily and others permanently.

Labor displacement by technological advancement becomes more acute in periods of depression when larger proportions of workers are unemployed, but is not limited to periods of depression. It is a continuous process that occurs just as frequently in good times. In March 1929, nearly six months before the beginning of the depression, the late Senator Couzens, at that time chairman of the Education and Labor Committee of the United States Senate, submitted a report to the Senate on the problem of unemployment. In part, the report reads:

"Machinery and discovery are every day displacing men whose lives have been spent in developing the skill and ability necessary to run the crafts. Efficiency methods which aim at eliminating wasteful and unnecessary processes are daily eliminating workers from industry. . . . Skilled workers have found that their trades no longer exist and their skill is no longer necessary. What becomes of these men? What can be done about these thousands of individual tragedies? What do these individual tragedies mean to society as a whole? . . . Is it just that society should benefit at the expense and suffering of the dispossessed workers?"

PLANS FOR SHARING BURDENS

The last witness at the technology hearings of the T.N.E.C., Commissioner Lubin of the Bureau of Labor Statistics, who is also a member of the Committee, summarized the testimony presented and came out strongly in favor of compulsory dismissal compensation as a means of providing some degree of financial protection for the victims of technological displacement. He said:

"I feel that the Committee should give consideration to a compulsory dismissal wage, but with it should tie up a program for retraining and increasing mobility of workers. . . . I think one thing is evident, as shown by the testimony before this Committee, that everybody is agreed that the displaced worker should not bear the cost alone. I personally think that the cost should be borne by those who benefit from technology. I think that industry which profits by these displacements and

these gains may be summarized as:

1. A rapid expansion of the total wealth of the nation and the addition of numerous new goods and new services, many of which would be even unthinkable without the aid of technology.
2. Wide distribution of these new and other goods and services among larger portions of the population with moderate incomes thru lower prices made possible because of technology and mass-production methods.
3. Reduction and in some cases the complete elimination of hard, back-breaking jobs which hitherto took a tremendous toll among workers in terms of fatal and crippling accidents and in shortening their span of life.
4. Reduced hours of work and increased opportunities for leisure for all workers.

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consumers who profit from them should bear some of the burdens of displaced workers. . . .

"We have had recognition of this principle in our Social Security Act. . . . We have recognized that same principle in workmen's compensation. . . . I can't see any distinction between a worker unable to go back to his old job because he lost a couple of fingers and one not being able to go back to his old job because a machine took his skill away and he is no longer needed. . . ."

A number of individual companies have for some time recognized the injustice of placing the burden of technological advancement upon the shoulders of their workers. Accordingly, they have devised ways and means of making technological changes without actually displacing the employees affected by the change. Some have spread the introduction of machinery and other labor-saving devices over a longer period of years. Others have made the changes in periods of increased production. Some have placed the workers affected on other jobs or have retrained these workers to fit them for other jobs in their plant or elsewhere. Other concerns have paid their displaced workers a substantial dismissal wage.

Organized labor has also become aware of the need to protect its members against dismissal because of technological changes. Some unions have incorporated provisions in their collective-bargaining agreements, outlining more or less in detail the steps which are to be followed by industry in introducing labor-saving devices. One agreement even provides that no employee shall be discharged because of technological changes.

Perhaps the outstanding example of protecting workers against dismissal because of technological advancement is contained in the agreement negotiated in 1936 between Class I railroads and organized railroad workers. This agreement outlines in detail the steps to be taken for the protection of railroad employees in case of consolidation of railroads or coordination of railroad facilities. The program includes separation allowances, either spread over a period of years or paid in a lump sum, and compensation for the loss of their homes or other estates to the workers who may be forced to move to other localities as a result of consolidation or coordination.

However, individual companies, even thru collective bargaining with the unions, are not in a position to deal effectively with the problem of labor displacement by themselves. It is often impossible to ascertain precisely what groups of workers are affected by technological changes. The workers displaced may not necessarily be those employed in plants where the advance has occurred. As in the case of coal, displacement in one industry may result from technological advancement in an entirely different field. Again, an entire plant or even an entire industry, as in the case of silk, may be so affected that the employers too become victims of the technological change.

To be really effective in protecting technologically displaced workers a dismissal wage must, of necessity, be compulsory and the cost spread by means of insurance or similar methods over all industries. Another essential requirement is a program of vocational training and retraining of workers. To insure a greater mobility of labor, this program must be connected with a system of employment offices operated on a nation-wide basis.

## Italy Invades Greece in Thrust At Near East

(Continued from page 1)

peace in Europe" was reached during the week at conferences between Marshal Petain and Chancellor Hitler. Petain, however, was merely the figurehead; the whole deal was put thru by Vice-Premier Laval, who after approval of his conduct by the French cabinet, took over the Foreign Ministry portfolio to see that Hitler's instructions would be carried out in its details.

Secretary of State Hull indicated that President Roosevelt had warned the Vichy government that military "collaboration" with the Axis powers might make it necessary for the United States to make French territory in this hemisphere under the terms of the Havana convention.

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Socialist Policy on the War

On "Aid to Great Britain"

By BERTRAM D. WOLFE

WHAT should the role of the Independent Labor League be in the present situation? What program shall it urge upon the American people to meet the problems the European war has thrust upon us? Where shall our organization concentrate its energies? In what simple slogans shall it seek to embody its program for the present emergency? What is its job as a socialist organization? With these questions we come to the heart of our differences.

Obviously, our program, to be worth anything, must grow out of the actual realities of the present moment. Here are some of the essential realities which must be borne in mind in formulating that program:

1. The United States is actually aiding Great Britain. The aid is not niggard but vast. In the past year, this country sold to England two billion dollars worth of goods, virtually all materials and supplies essential to Britain's conduct of the war. According to the White Committee, one man in every four in the British army is equipped by supplies manufactured in the United States. To this we must add the sale of bombing planes, pursuit planes, etc. The White Committee itself cannot think of anything more to urge except credits—which the British government does not need—and direct gift of tanks, bombers, ships, etc., already in the employ of the armed forces of the United States. Aid is going to Great Britain in enormous quantities, as fast as it can be manufactured and shipped. That is a fact.

2. This job of selling war supplies to Great Britain is not waiting on the decisions or activities of the Independent Labor League or the socialist movement. It is not waiting on our convention. It is not being held up. It did not wait until Lovestone began to raise the question of whether "aid to Great Britain" should become one of our central

slogans and a fight for such aid one of our basic activities. The aid has been going to England since the lifting of the embargo. There is no serious move in America to clamp down an embargo again. There is no one in our organization who is urging such a restoration of the embargo. At best, we would be devoting our energies to battering down an open door, if we undertook to raise and propagate that slogan.

EVERYBODY FOR AID TO BRITAIN

3. The slogan of "aid to Great Britain" is being propagated by both of the major political parties, by both candidates for President, by a coalition cabinet of Democrats and Republicans, by our biggest financial circles, by the government as a government, by the press, the radio, the movies, by all the agencies of control of thought and opinion and all the means of publicity of our country. The chorus has become an overwhelming roar. We cannot pretend that if we added our little voice to that overwhelming roar, it would even be heard or make any difference in the total volume of sound. All it would mean is that we would neglect our own special tasks, which we alone can do, and would cease to have any reason for existence as a special organization.

4. An attempt has been made to imply that the workers want aid to Great Britain and the rich oppose it. An examination of the record does not bear out this contention. Examine the names on the White Committee and its financial sources. Or the Allied Relief Fund, with its Winthrop W. Aldrich, Clarence Dillon, John D. Rockefeller, Jr., Myron C. Taylor, Harold Vanderbilt, John Hay Whitney. Or open the pages of the British New Leader of June 20, and you will find a list of those present when Lord Lothian spoke to the English-Speaking Union at the Waldorf-Astoria. Present were: J. P. Morgan; John W. Davis, Morgan's lawyer; Harry P. Davison,

another Morgan man; Mrs. Robert Bacon, widow of a Morgan partner; Paul D. Cravath, another leading Wall Street lawyer—in fact, the New York aristocrats, whose business and social life is interlocked with their opposite numbers over here.

I do not cite this list as given in the New Leader to imply that only rich men are for aid to Great Britain; actually the desire to help Great Britain is widespread among all classes. A minority wants to help even to the extent of going to war in the Far East or in Europe; a majority wants to help but not at the expense of getting involved in the war ourselves. At any rate, the demand to help is overwhelming, well-financed, backed by the leaders of both major parties, and not even an issue in the present election.

Uncensored, well-informed publication, reports that Thomas W. Lamont went to Philadelphia during the Republican nominating convention to do his bit to stop Dewey's nomination and secure Wilkie's because the former, after hesitating, had committed himself to an isolationist program on foreign affairs and the latter was openly for intervention and unequivocal aid to Great Britain and other related issues. The object, according to Uncensored, was to take the foreign affairs issue out of politics in the election campaign. At any rate, except for the critical speeches of Norman Thomas, foreign affairs is out of politics in the present election.

5. The slogan of "aid to Great Britain" is a government slogan. Edmund Wilson once urged the intellectuals to "take communism from the communists." The forces of whoever may have listened to him were unequal to the task he set. Neither can we take this slogan from the government by adding our pipsqueak to the overwhelming roar of propaganda by all the official agencies of our country. We will not even be heard amidst the shouting—except, as I shall show later, to the extent of demoralizing our own membership and following.

SLOGAN USED AS STALKING HORSE

6. But there is a more serious set of realities connected with this slogan as a living actuality. The slogan is being used by the government and the rulers of American industry to put over other things under its cover!

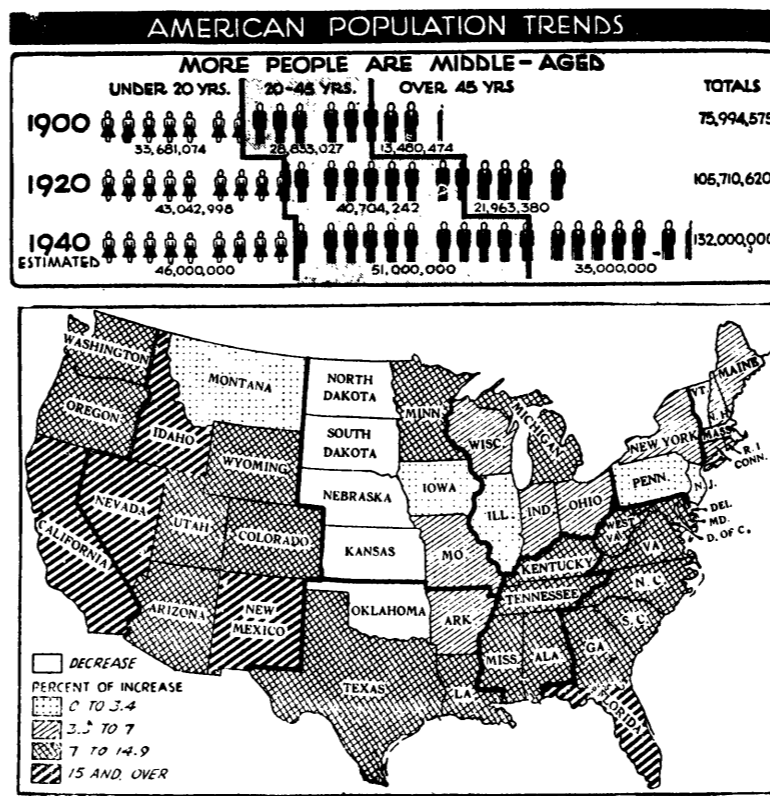
Under its cover, a permanent alliance is being consummated with Great Britain. Under its cover, a permanent defense commission has been set up by military missions of the United States and Canada. Under its cover, we have abandoned our neutrality and assumed the status which Italy made famous before it openly joined Germany—the status of non-belligerent and unneutral supporter. Under its cover, the destroyer deal (which a few weeks ago the Age rightly condemned as an act leading to war involvement) was put through without consultation of Congress, as the alliance with Great Britain and the treaty with Canada have been put through without consultation of the Senate. (It is thus that we prepare to "defend" democratic processes!) Under its cover, the United States has moved towards permanent involvement as an active partner in the affairs of Europe, to maintain a status-quo which, as I believe I showed in my first article, no power on earth can maintain any longer. Under its cover, our government has taken over naval bases and air bases in the two Americas, is moving towards the domination of the "living room" of the two continents, is

would have consumed weeks when "urgent action was necessary"; and, on the other, it is maintained that he great masses of the people supported the President's plan so that it was quite democratic for him to go ahead on his own. These two points also deserve close examination.

A DANGEROUS ARGUMENT

The argument of possible delay is ended meaningless by the fact that the President himself delayed or weeks when he might have sought the matter before Congress immediately. But far more important is it to note that this is the kind of argument that is death to democracy. The whole totalitarian case against democracy is that democracy cannot make vital decisions promptly and effectively because of its tendency to interminable "chatter." Our answer is that whatever delay is inherent in the operation of democratic processes is worth it in terms of popular freedom and self-determination, and is more than offset by the invincible morale engendered thru effective democracy. Now the argument in defense of the President takes the totalitarian ground pure and simple: "We must have prompt action—rush aside all parliamentary delays—let the Executive, the Leader, act on his own responsibility!" But remember that what you're brushing aside is democracy itself.

The other argument is that since the President's move was already approved by the people at large, he could just go ahead without any fear of infringing democracy. The contention that the destroyer transfer was backed by a majority of the



—New York Times

Census Shows Decline Of Population Growth

Big Economic Problems Bared in 1940 Data

Washington, D. C. THE most striking fact revealed by a preliminary analysis of sample statistics from the returns of the 1940 federal census is undoubtedly this: from 1930 to 1940, the United States has shown the lowest rate of increase in population in 150 years.

The growth of the United States people is based on a Gallup poll indicating that about 60% of those questioned approved the idea. Of course, I might point out that the Fortune survey for August had a different story to tell. In answer to the question, "Do you think we should do more than we are now doing to help England against Germany?" 34.2% of the people answered yes, 57.4% answered no, and 8.4% said they didn't know—an absolute majority against further aid. Apparently, a lot depends on how you ask the question. But I am ready to concede that a majority of the people did approve the deal. What, exactly, does that imply? Does it imply that the President is entitled to ignore the regular institutions of popular representation just as soon as he sees in the paper that the public-opinion polls are going his way? Are these public-opinion polls a sort of ultra-modern, streamlined substitute for established democratic institutions in determining the popular will? Does not democracy imply an opportunity for mature thought, deliberation and discussion by accredited representatives of the people, with the possibility of opposing views confronting each other in free debate? Without such opportunity where is democracy, no matter what the public-opinion polls may show?

At least 6,000,000 persons were added to the country's working population in the last decade, but 2,000,000 fewer people are at work. To a large degree, shifts in the nature of work, combined with increasing productivity due to technological advance, contributed to this decline. In 1870, agriculture and manufacturing accounted for 75% of American employment, while in 1930 only 50% of the workers were engaged in these activities. There is no doubt that this trend was continued during the last decade.

The general decline of population growth has many ominous implications, it was pointed out. American economy has hitherto been geared to an expanding market based on a rapidly growing population. What a stationary population would mean, whether it would imply a decline in national wealth, and what dislocations, occupational shifts and readjustments it would bring—the answers to these questions are not yet clear. It is clear, however, that drastic changes will be needed in the economic machinery of this country.

ON THE ROAD TO DICTATORSHIP

It is by no means democratic for the President to act arbitrarily and without regard to established democratic procedure even when an overwhelming majority of the people (and not merely 60% on the best showing) agree with him. That is the road to dictatorship. First, the Executive acts arbitrarily in those matters on which he is sure of popular backing; that enables him to get away with it in the beginning. Then, as this form of Executive power expands and absorbs everything within it, it is no longer so difficult to apply the same arbitrary procedure in cases where the popular will is far from certain, or even where it is distinctly hostile. Every step taken along this road is a step away from democracy, a step towards dictatorship.

It is thoroughly democratic to speak up for one's convictions, as Norman Thomas has done on the destroyer transfer, even when these convictions are not shared by a majority of the people. It is thoroughly democratic to demand that vital issues of national policy be discussed and debated in the representative councils of the nation no matter what public-opinion polls may show. It is most emphatically not democratic for a President to act as if he were the entire state, even if the things that he does are in themselves unobjectionable.

There is really no need to belabor this point since Herman himself confirms it in his "defense" of the President's methods that is very far from a defense. For what Herman says is essentially this, that Mr. Roosevelt saw a chance of impressing the people with his dynamism, his energy, his vigor of action, in a matter in which he felt he had wide popular support. In order to make the most of his chance, he rode rough-shod over all constitutional and democratic procedures, and went ahead quite arbitrarily on his own hook and his own responsibility.

(Continued on Page 4)

1. By the same logic—that Herman calls in his article an "informal check-up and ratification"—Mr. Roosevelt would be justified in dispensing with elections and declaring himself the next President just as soon as the Gallup and Fortune polls gave him a decisive majority over Wilkie.

What Are We Doing in the Far Pacific?

American Adventure in Far East Called Most Extreme Form of War Madness

By JOHN T. FLYNN

THE strangest episode of the war, as far as we are concerned, is that which has arisen in the Far East. Americans have been hearing about possible battles with Japan in such remote places as Indo-China, the Malay States, the Dutch East Indies. These places are so far from our shores and so little known by Americans that we scarcely have any conception of where or what they are.

They are not merely on the other side of the vastest of oceans. They are far beyond that ocean and on the other side of the world itself. To get to them one must cross not only the Pacific but the great China Sea and enter the Indian Ocean. The nearest portions of these places are 9,000 miles from San Francisco and 12,000 miles from New York. Other parts are nearly 12,000 miles from San Francisco by the usual sea lanes.

We began, as the war started, by asserting our neutrality. But now we have rapidly arrived at the point where we are talking about taking over the job of protecting not the democracies of England and Holland and France but their imperial dominion over 75,000,000 people 9,000 miles away from us and held by the same title that Germany has to hold Poland and Italy has to hold Ethiopia.

French Indo-China, joined to the Chinese mainland south of Hongkong, has a population of 20,000,000 people. They are ruled by France, and there is but a handful of Frenchmen there, chiefly officials and traders.

In the Dutch East Indies—Java, Sumatra, etc.—there are 51,000,000 people all Orientals save less than one-half of one percent Europeans—mostly Dutch officials and retired officials who rule this immense people as part of Holland's "democratic" system.

The Malay peninsula has a population of about 3,500,000. It is partly British crown colony and partly British protectorate. The protectorate is nominally ruled under British control by a group of petty sultans. In these Malay States is the great British base of Singapore. This place is so exposed to hostile elements, so distant from England now, that she no longer feels qualified to protect it.

She would like to give us a half interest in Singapore so that we would protect our half—and her half along with ours. What we would do with a base in Singapore—9,000 miles from our nearest mainland port and 1,500 miles farther away from us than Japan—no one can say. The only apparent reason is to protect British imperial possessions in the Orient rather than her democracy in England, and to enable her to perpetuate in the East those deeds of conquest which Japan now is trying to duplicate.

I can conceive of America getting excited about Malay and Java and Indo-China in order to free them from the yoke of any empire, that that would be a form of madness for us. But to get into a quarrel over them which empire shall own and exploit them is a form of madness so extreme that one wonders how we got into such a state of mind.

Shall We Revise Marxism in the War Crisis?

By HARRY OGUZ

IN the first world war, German capitalism tolerated the Marxist party. The Kaiser had the socialists safely in his vest-pocket, thereby giving the Allied press a convenient basis for the ridicule of Marxism. It was only the Russian Revolution, that raised for some time the esteem and fear of Marxism as a practical social force. Marxism was again the target of Hitler in destroying the German labor movement, replacing it with his pseudo-national "socialism." The fascist victory in Spain unloosed the new world war and assured a period of hysterical reaction.

Now, with the Blitzkrieg lagging, Hitler will soon be saying: "We German socialists." King George and General de Gaulle are somehow evasive on that question. If British labor accumulates more power and begins to employ other methods than just military to defeat effectively the fascist Axis, it will introduce notions of disloyalty and revolt which are mutually contagious. National fronts are as yet nowhere broken by international labor fronts. If that develops, then the present English rulers will turn to shift their base of rule to the colonies, as kingless England will then go the dogs... and the dogs may run to repeat the "Russian experiment," but this time with labor democracy included. Roosevelt will then lose interest in giving maximum aid to Mother England to win this war. As lasting peace will depend on the class consciousness of organized labor, this is then the job of the Marxist organizations.

What should be our part to help Great Britain win this war? Should

America Faces Vital Test of Its Democracy

Dos Passos Says We Must Show to World Example of Organized Liberty

By JOHN DOS PASSOS

YES, we are in danger, but the danger that threatens us most is not from across the Atlantic; it is the danger that comes from poor thinking and incomplete organization at home. The breakdown of the nineteenth century system has caught the United States in a difficult stage of transition. We have no choice but to go forward, if necessary completing our reorganization under fire.

No matter what kind of economic system is eventually set up, it must work toward the same basic aims for which the Union was founded. It is around the core of respect for the rights and liberties of the individual man that all our institutions have grown up.

To bring the life of every American back into sharp relation to this central principle, we need words as freshly accurate as those of '76, and state-building as rapid, energetic and original as that of the convention that laid down our Constitution.

I think that if we could look at the development of American government under the New Deal as if it were ten years off, liberals and Tories alike would be forced to admit that more useful building has been done than they have been willing to see. To put the republic into a state of defense, we must organize for liberty or else there'll be no republic to defend.

The job before us is to make every man's liberty and every man's inventiveness and push work efficiently in the frame of close-knit industrial organization.

It is a great and terrible moment. Every selfish and power-minded group in the country is going to try to use the confusion for its own ends. At a time when what we need most are clear heads and the will to sacrifice private prejudices and interests for the common good, men in high office and low are ruining the record of their otherwise useful lives by a panic-scrambling of every principle they were brought up to believe in. In the name of the great totalitarian bogey, they whoop up the mob against whatever minority seems weakest and least popular. Much more than the German military-industrial machine's vast successes in Europe we have reason to fear weak nerves in public life at a time when we need every kind of courage, but particularly civic courage.

It is civic courage and civil liberty that will beat the European and Asiatic bogeys abroad and at home and finally establish this republic of free men in the new world that is being hacked out in cruelty and bloodshed. An American monopolist's despotism will not succeed in saving America any more than the poor, rotten French businessman's republic succeeded in saving Europe.

What will be saved out of the wreck of the British financial empire will be saved not by the smooth bankers of Threadneedle Street but by the traditional aptitude for free government of the English people as a whole.

In times of great stress, nations sink to their lowest common denominator. I believe that, just as the lowest common denominator of Europe has become something bad for mankind, the lowest common denominator of the peoples of North America is to be good and that it will get better.

It may be that we needed just this test to make a nation out of an overgrown but still half-provincial frontier republic. Anyway, it has come, and we must face it. If we have the nerve, if only we have the nerve to use our heads and the exuberant diversity of our land and our people and our mighty industrial plant and the experience of our state-building past, we'll pull thru.

We'll not only pull thru but we'll give the world an example of organized liberty that will knock Hitler's thousands years of despotism into a cocked hat, an old out-of-date museum piece of Napoleonic cocked hat.

the membership of the S. P. and I.L.L.A. take up collections for airplanes? Or undertake to push the English coast a little further to sea? Or revise Marxism as some of our good comrades are doing? It seems that, for the latest conveniences, Marxism as a social trend should be revised. Or perhaps, Marxism should even be discarded for a few generations.

Also the two world wars came too late for Marx to analyze them, the mass production of gigantic cemeteries is sufficient to demonstrate the bankruptcy of the capitalist system. Revision of Marxism seems to have become politically an all-inclusive bomb-proof shelter.

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WILL HERBERG, Editor

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## THE RIGHTS OF CONSCIENCE

**WE** are no pacifists and therefore have no insuperable conscientious scruples against war under all conditions and circumstances. But we have the highest respect and regard for those who do have such convictions and the courage to live up to them come what may. It is to such men, men inspired with ideals that may seem—and, indeed, in their absolute form, may well be—unrealistic and unrealizable in this world of ours that the human race owes whatever moral progress it has made in the thousands of years of its history.

Freedom of conscience is a precious thing. The right of the individual to decide for himself as to his fundamental beliefs and duties, and his moral obligation, if the issue appears to him grave enough, to follow his own conscience despite everything, constitute the cornerstone of human freedom and responsibility. The eight theological students who in New York refused to register for the draft on the ground that they could not cooperate in any way with the military authorities in an enterprise that had for its purpose the slaughter of fellow-men, phrased their conception of moral duty as "living in harmony with the will of God." Many years before, Karl Marx, whose notions of God were very different from those of the theological students, also set for himself, at the very beginning of his intellectual career, an ideal from which he never swerved throughout his entire life. The man of principle, he said, "in his own way, like the preacher of religion, takes for his principle, 'Obey God rather than man' . . ." And one of his favorite maxims was Dante's magnificent sentence: "Go your own way and let the people talk."

In real life all sorts of compromises are only too often necessary, but once the ideal is lost or abandoned everything is lost indeed.

We do not see eye to eye with the theological students and other conscientious objectors on the question of war itself, but we honor them for the example they give of unswerving fidelity to conscience, than which there can be no higher loyalty. There are too few such men in the world today, men with the courage of their non-conformist convictions, for us to underrate their worth.

## ACADEMIC FREEDOM

**P**RESIDENT Nicholas Murray Butler of Columbia University now insists that he was misunderstood all around in the interpretation generally given to his remarks at the faculty assembly recently. He intended no restriction whatsoever of academic freedom or of free speech and thought, he now insists. "Academic freedom," he says, "is and has long been so firmly established at Columbia that no one should have the least fear that our university opinion would permit its abandonment or qualification."

We welcome this statement and we do not inquire too closely whether it is in the nature of clarification or retraction. We particularly applaud President Butler's emphatic declaration that:

"Our faculty members are certainly at full liberty to think and talk as they please upon any subject which interests them, whether it be popular or unpopular. Moreover, it is clearly our duty to protect the opinions and judgments of minorities. Majorities can usually take care of themselves. . . ."

"The conduct outside the university of a member of any faculty is for the individual himself to control. . . . The off-campus conduct of the sincere isolationist or honest critic of the national policy of defense is protected by our ordinary American doctrine of civil liberty and ought, therefore, to be free from persecution."

These are good words for all of us. Dr. Butler included, to remember in the days of crisis and stress that lie ahead.

## LEWIS THROWS OFF THE MASK

(Continued from Page 1)

prestige as a C.I.O. leader and the prestige of the C.I.O. that counted.

Mr. Lewis stands for a labor movement in which gross, shameful demagoguery is the motive force and chief source of power. The character of his appeal shows it.

Mr. Lewis stands for a labor movement in which collective bargaining means behind-the-scenes manipulations by a few all-powerful leaders, in which the "labor vote" is brazenly bartered for this or that as the leaders may see fit. The only thing left for the workers is to obey their leaders and be properly thankful for benefits bestowed on them.

In short, Mr. Lewis wants a totalitarian labor movement of which he will be Dictator and Leader. No wonder he finds the Stalinists so congenial to him, and no wonder he is hailed in such ecstatic terms by the Stalinists. Mr. Lewis's whole approach, his methods and procedures, are unquestionably more Russian and Stalinist than they are American and democratic.

Three years ago we raised a voice of warning as to the direction in which Mr. Lewis was traveling. To the limit of our resources, we did what we could to block his way, and we have never let up in this fight because it has been and remains our deepest conviction that the very fate of the labor movement is at stake. Through all these years, we were bitterly criticized by many trade-unionists, sincere but unthinking, and by many liberals, generally of the Stalinized variety. To them, blander to the facts by Mr. Lewis's past achievements and force of character, our efforts to sound an alarm were nothing but "factionalism" and "disruption." Perhaps now they will come to see the light. Perhaps now they will see how necessary it is to rid the labor movement of all that Lewis and his Stalinist allies stand for—totalitarianism and dictatorship, utter unscrupulousness and power madness, permanent dissension and civil war in the ranks of labor.

## On "Aid to Great Britain"

(Continued from Page 3)

policing Shanghai and Hongkong with American marines as the British forces withdraw, is negotiating for the utilization of the Singapore base and bases in New Zealand and elsewhere, is committing itself on the Burma Road and the Thailand (Siam) and French Indo-China approaches to Singapore. Under its cover, while the eyes of our people are anxiously turned toward Europe, the Administration is hurrying the country with dizzy rapidity towards war in the Far East.

Here is the target on which we should be using our small store of fighting energies. Here is the job which we should be doing. This is where the true interests of the American masses are being betrayed and defrauded, and misery and ruin threatening their present and future. This is our real task in connection with the political emergencies raised for Americans by the universally popular and much used and still more abused slogan of "aid to Great Britain." For this task,

(In his next article, Bertram D. Wolfe will discuss conscription and "hemisphere defense."—Editor.)

## Problems of Socialist Ethics

# Is Happiness the Real Test?

By C. A. SMITH

(C. A. Smith is chairman of the British Independent Labor Party. We invite our readers to comment on the problems and views raised in this article.—Editor.)

London, England.

**S**OME months ago, in an article on "The Value of a Life," I said that in the public interest any man who serves an employer as a thug, or an aggressive fascist state as a soldier, should be destroyed. This evoked a number of letters of protest, including two carefully argued pacifist statements, showing deep reflection and wide knowledge.

It would be a pleasure, did time and space permit, to reply to each of the points raised by these correspondents. This being impossible, I hope they will not regard it as discourtesy on my part if I deal simply with the fundamental difference between the pacifist position and my view that tyranny, whether social or national, should be resisted by all means possible, including the killing of the oppressors and their subordinates.

The issue can be narrowed down to this: "Is every human life sacrosanct regardless of its quality?"

If we regard the supreme end of human endeavor as happiness, and the purpose of political activity as the promotion of the happiness of all, then the quality of an individual life which matters to the statesman is its capacity for producing happiness.

In this light consider four men—James Simpson, Torquemada, Edison, Mussolini.

By his popularization of the use of chloroform as an anaesthetic, James Simpson inculcated reduced suffering. This addition to happiness far outweighs any unhappiness which Simpson could conceivably have caused, so that, judged by its consequences, his life was an asset to society.

Torquemada, Ferdinand's Grand Inquisitor, had an unknown number of thousands of Protestants, Mohammedans and Jews tortured and burned alive. The suffering he caused, the useful lives he destroyed, the setback to science and to civilization resulting from his activities, far exceeded any good he could have accomplished in any other capacity. It would, therefore, have been better for humanity if he had been strangled in his cradle or assassinated early in his career.

Edison's marvellous inventions have raised the standard of living of whole continents. The powers he has helped to place in men's hands have doubtless been abused by oppressors and aggressors, but on a long view his life must undoubtedly be regarded as beneficent.

Mussolini, renegade socialist, organizer of the torture of working-class militants, murderer of Matteotti, assassin of freedom at home and abroad, responsible for the deaths of many thousands of Abyssinians, Hitler's contemptible jackal who showed his courage by attacking France when she was already defeated—the foulness of his life leaves no doubt that the world would have been much happier had he had his throat cut twenty years ago. It is a misfortune that the attempts on his life have failed, and it would be a blessing were one to succeed.

Now note the steps of our argument.

1. The summum bonum, the highest good, the proper goal of political action, is happiness.

2. Individuals are of value to society in so far as they contribute to happiness.

3. Those who positively reduce the total happiness should not be allowed to live.

It cannot be denied by any socialist that prominent in happiness-decreasing conduct are those acts of aggression mentioned in my original article—those of the employer's thug who beats up and kills trade-union organizers and strike leaders, and those of the fascist soldier who invades other countries to impose on them the tyranny which already curses his own.

Therefore, other things being equal, such men should be resisted when possible, and killed if necessary. It is necessary to say "other things being equal" to prevent this generalization from being used in support of a war fought against one tyranny by another equally bad.

Critics raise three objections. "Who," they ask, "is to judge whether any particular life is valuable and should be preserved, or harmful and should be destroyed?"

The only possible answer is that where this is not a technical decision to be taken by responsible members of the community, each individual must act in the light of his own reason and conscience. Thus did Maria Spiridonova when she shot Luzhenovsky, so did Cromwell when he demanded the execution of Charles, so did Dhangra when he shot Curzon Wylie.

"Ah," say the critics, "these were leading figures. Even if it were right to kill these people (which pacifists deny), still would it be wrong to kill their humble followers and servants, who merely obeyed orders. Shoot a Czarist general perhaps, but not a Czarist soldier. Shoot Hitler perhaps, but not a Nazi airman."

But if our goal be happiness, what concerns us is the consequences of

## Some Objections to the "Happiness Principle"

By WILL HERBERG

**I** AGREE with C. A. Smith that tyranny, whether national or social should be resisted, and that includes, of course, armed resistance to the Nazi invader. But I think that his philosophico-ethical principle of hedonism—or, as he calls it, the Happiness Principle—is so full of ambiguities, inconsistencies and conclusions utterly unacceptable that it cannot for a moment stand up as the fundamental principle of ethical conduct. Let me indicate a number of these difficulties, and I am merely repeating some of the objections to hedonism raised by philosophers in the past two thousand years or so:

1. What is this "happiness" we are to take as primitive and fundamental? Is it many or is it one? That is, is the happiness derived from playing checkers or pitching pennies of the same kind or quality as the happiness derived from scientific research, philosophical speculation or social-reform activity? If these happinesses are of the same kind, and only the quantity of happiness matters, why is not playing checkers fully as worthy and commendable a way of spending your life as research in pure mathematics, provided the amount of happiness created in both cases is the same? Or does Dr. Smith actually maintain that the two are equally worthy and commendable? He may remember the Utilitarian dilemma as to the relative value of the pleasures derived from pin-ball and poetry; that dilemma has never been resolved by thoroughgoing hedonism—and it faces Dr. Smith today as starkly as it faced Bentham and Mill a century ago.

Will Dr. Smith say that happinesses are of different kinds or qualities, some being "higher" and "better" than others? Then by what standard does he judge which are better or higher, when happiness itself is the highest standard?

2. Then there is the question of whose happiness. When you judge an action done in London, are you to take account of its happiness effects everywhere equally? Is a man to prize equally the happiness of people ten thousand miles away, whom he has never seen or come into contact with, with the happiness of his own parents or children? Can Dr. Smith really maintain that? But if every unit of happiness anywhere is not equal to every other, by what standard do we determine which has a higher value and which a lower—if happiness itself is the supreme standard?

3. If the balance of happiness is the final criterion, how about a so-

cial action, not the motives of the agent.

### CONSEQUENCES NOT MOTIVES

If a tyrant requires a million men to enforce his will on a nation, then those men must be, if possible, resisted and, if necessary, destroyed. The instruments of despotism and the agents of tyranny are indispensable to the evil purposes of the tyrant. Therefore, resist them.

So did the Saxons at Hastings, so did the Ironsides at Naseby, so did the French revolutionaries at Valmy, so did the Red Armies against Wrangel and Denikin. And as a hedonist—that is, a believer in the Happiness Principle—I acclaim their action as right.

Now anyone who rejects this conclusion must not claim that my argument is fallacious, for it is formally valid. He must object to my major premise—that is, that the highest good is happiness.

And this is what pacifists do. They would not kill a man for the happiness of mankind because for them the most valuable thing is not happiness but life—any life. They disregard the quality of the in-

dividual life, and insist that it shall not be cut short however much suffering it is spreading thru the world. Thus they think in terms of mere individual physical existence (that is, of quantity) rather than of the kind of existence for everyone concerned (that is, of quality). They view human life as sacrosanct, as an end in itself, regardless of the consequences flowing from it.

So we get down to the basic difference between socialists who are absolutist pacifists and those who are not. To absolutists, pacifism is not a little correct in some circumstances, and mistaken in others. It is an unconditional rule, a fundamental principle, a categorical imperative. They will never destroy a human life, just as a Jain will not destroy even the louse which he carefully removes from his person. He liberates it without causing it injury, thereby freeing it to go and suck someone else's blood. This adds to no one's happiness except the louse's, and cannot be defended on the Happiness Principle.

It follows from this basic idea of absolutist pacifism that all life (at least, all human life) is sacred, and must on no account be destroyed,

whatever the consequences of not destroying it.

Now why should anyone take this view of life? On what grounds? And the answer is that it cannot be taken on any rational grounds, just as no ultimate value rests on a process of reasoning. It is an immediate judgment, an intuition, a valuation flowing direct from the individual's temperament and acquired beliefs and prejudices.

So there it must rest. I cannot convert an absolutist from his pacifism, because we start out from different premises. We have different values, and we cannot change one another's natures.

He will do nothing which directly destroys life. He would refuse to take life even though the consequences of that refusal were the loss of millions of other lives. He would not have killed the infant Torquemada to save tens of thousands of victims of the Inquisition. He would not destroy Hitler even if by doing so he could definitely avoid or end a war. He would not shoot down a German soldier in order to resist the Nazification of Norway. Well, that is where he differs from socialists who are not pacifists.

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## How About Practising a Little Democracy Here?

**T**HE entire campaign to instal a system of peace-time conscription in this country was conducted in the name of "democracy". It was to defend democracy against totalitarianism, with its hateful system of dictatorship, repression and racial persecution, that we were told we needed a huge standing army, and the only really democratic way of raising such an army, we were assured, was thru the selective draft. The key word everywhere was "democracy".

Well, now we have conscription; let's examine a phase of the "democracy" that goes along with it.

Democracy means that all men are equal in the eyes of the law and the government. In particular, democracy rejects with horror every form of discrimination or infringement of equal rights on the ground of race, color or creed. Such barbarous practices are characteristic of Hitlerism, precisely the menace we are raising an army to fight against.

Yet the most vicious form of discrimination against Americans of the Negro race has been systematically practised in the past and continues to be practised today by the American government itself—in the very defense forces that we are now raising "democratically" in order to "defend democracy". The story of the shameful treatment that the Negro has received at the hands of the army and navy would fill volumes, very instructive volumes for Americans to read. Discriminated against, jim-crowed into special formations, barred from promotion and advancement, shut out from certain "select" services, shunted off to do the dirty work and the "labor" jobs, the Negro American has been treated by the government and its military and naval agencies as a "racial inferior"—entirely in the spirit in which Hitler treats the Jews and the Poles.

Is this going to continue in the new army that is being raised by the "democratic" method of conscription? The law provides that any person, regardless of race or color, may volunteer for any service, including aviation, and it provides that in the selection and training of drafted men, there shall be no discrimination on account of race, color or creed.

Clear enough, isn't it? But the law also provides that no man shall be inducted for training or service "unless and until he is acceptable to the land or naval force for such training or service." Furthermore, the law naturally leaves it entirely in the hands of the army officers to what branch and condition of service the drafted men are to be assigned. And the undemocratic caste attitude of the professional army officer is notorious.

There is every reason to fear that the anti-discrimination clause included in the draft law thru the efforts of Senator Wagner and others, will turn out to be little more than a dead letter since it will have to be enforced by those to whom every idea of genuine democratic equality, and particularly racial equality, is utterly foreign and hateful. It may very well come to suffer the fate of the constitutional guarantees of the franchise for Negroes in the South.

In the excitement of the war, this whole issue may be soon forgotten as a matter of trifling importance in these days of great events. But it is no trifle. It is an issue of crucial importance. It is the test of our democracy.

## Is F.D.R. a Menace to American Democracy

Some Lessons of Destroyer Deal Incident

(Continued from Page 3)

All this, Herman assures us, is part of Mr. Roosevelt's election strategy, and clever strategy at that.

If Herman's explanation is sound—and there is every reason to believe it is—in what light does it present Mr. Roosevelt to us? First, as the most unscrupulous sort of demagogue who is ready to go to any extreme to gain some votes. Secondly, as a man without any deep or firm attachment to democratic in-

stitutions and procedures for he is apparently ready to sacrifice them with a very light heart to the demands of political strategy. My own criticism of Roosevelt's methods is no stronger than this.

No, I don't think that Roosevelt is a fascist or totalitarian dictator. But I do think that he shares altogether too much the totalitarian attitude that Congress, like all free representative assemblies, is just a nuisance—a necessary nuisance, perhaps, because after all it must do the appropriating of funds and a few other chores—but a nuisance anyway. When something has to be done, the best thing is for the Executive to do it himself, do it promptly and do it effectively, with no waste of time in idle chatter. This has notoriously been the President's attitude for many months, and it was exhibited in the crassest manner in the destroyer incident. It is an attitude that holds out the utmost danger for American democracy.

(In the next issue, Will Herberg will discuss the questions raised in Bertram D. Wolfe's series of articles on the war.—Editor.)

under their jurisdiction.

Now, these tactics are not new in the labor movement. They have been used since time immemorial, and were later adopted by the communists. Where open scabbing and scab-herding are required, they are applied without the slightest compunction. But it is a safe bet that neither these nor any other similar tactics will succeed in the case of the communist struggle to destroy the S.U.P. An indication of the reaction towards these tactics can be had in Lundeberg's statement at the meeting of the sailors following the trouble. Says Lundeberg: "No compromise with these gutless rats. They've asked for it now, and we'll give them a bellyful." The statement is typical not only of Harry Lundeberg as a man, but of the majority of the men in the union to whom he symbolizes all that is decent and honest and fearless in a union leadership. The communists are up against a tough proposition in the Sailors Union. They are facing a tradition which is dear to the union itself, and they are facing an experienced and honest leadership, and last but by no means least, they are facing an alert membership, a membership which has learned the hard way, a membership which has gained everything they have by the bitterest of struggle and stand today ready to defend what they have against all comers, be they of the Moscow variety or the shipowners.

It is a safe bet that when the Bridges, the Garcias, the Hudsons, the Currans and the Schneidermans have gone and are forgotten, the name of the Sailors Union of the Pacific and its militant leadership and alert membership will still remain an epic wherever men who follow the sea gather.

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## S.U.P. Blazes New Trails

(Continued from page 1)

"president" of a handful of scavengers terming themselves the Scalers Union. Of course, its membership—a mere handful—are neither scalers, nor, by the widest stretch of the imagination, could this conglomeration be called a union, their main task being to horn in on the sailors work and, by this method, to sow distrust and dissension within the ranks of organized labor. For that which the communists cannot control must be destroyed; a leadership which can be neither cajoled, threatened or bribed, must be discredited by slander. The work of these scavengers would consist in cleaning bilges, double bottoms, etc. This is no part of the sailor's work and the sailor wants no part of it. However, better to carry on their disruptive work, these people have lately added the word "painters" to their "union" and, with it, a demand that all painting on board ship while in port be done by them and not by the sailors.

Since men first began going to sea in ships other than sail, all work above deck, unless of a special character, has belonged to the sailors; and if the time of the ship in port was too short for its regular crew to complete the work, a standby crew of sailors was added in addition to the regular crew and these men were paid so much per hour or day. This fixed rate per hour in the S.U.P. is 85 cents an hour. The rate for the same work offered by the communist "union" is 65 cents an hour! An agreement between the S.U.P. and the shipowners, calling for the higher rate, is in existence. No agreement exists between the shipowners and the communist "union"! They simply underbid like any other scab.

And so, when the President Taft was being gotten ready to sail for the Far East to repatriate Americans, the communists thought the moment propitious to set up their picket line around the pier to prevent the sailors from going aboard. The standby crew in this instance was employed in such obvious sail-

ors work as overhauling life-boats, reaving new tackles and gears, painting overhead on the promenade deck, and other work of similar nature. No scaling or cleaning of bilges or holds, but all of the work well above the main deck.

Naturally, the sailors decided to crash right thru the phoney picket line and Lundeberg, as the responsible official of the union, led the march thru. In the melee that followed, six sailors were stabbed or received other injuries, including Lundeberg and his assistant secretary, Harry Prevost. The latter received a stab wound and Lundeberg had his jaw broken in four places by a Stalinist swinging a piece of lead pipe. However, despite the heavy odds of having to fight their way thru with bare hands against clubs, lead pipes and knives, the sailors got thru; wounded men were replaced by others from the hall, and the work continued. On the following day, the picket line was again drawn up, but the sailors this time, knowing the score, simply went thru without a scratch. On the third day, the communists admitted defeat and the Bridges machine with- drew the picket line, and the sailors continued their work which comes