

Towards A Genuine American Democratic Socialism!

Independent Labor League Dissolves Organization—Calls on Progressive Unionists, Socialists and Radicals to Unite to Make New Start

There are times when it becomes the supreme duty of an organization or an individual to speak out frankly and say the word of truth despite all the damage it may do to the most cherished illusions. The present moment is such a time.

Present-day American radicalism finds itself in a hopeless blind-alley from which there is no escape along the old lines. All the organizations, parties and groups that have come out of the old socialist and communist movements have lost their very ground of existence. The official Communist Party, which is nothing more than a foreign agency of the Stalin dictatorship of Russia, is a thoroughly alien and hostile element in the American labor movement. The various Trotskyist sects, as well as the organizations that have emerged from the old Socialist Party, however wide their differences on all other questions may be, have one fatal defect in common: they simply close their eyes and refuse to recognize that we are living in a new world, a new world with problems that require new solutions and tasks that demand new programs, a new world that cannot be met in terms of old ideas and formulas, no matter how valid they may have been in their day. It has become painfully clear that none of these groups or organizations has really learnt anything fundamental from the immense world-shaking events of the past ten or twenty years. And, what is worse, as organizations, they seem to show absolutely no awareness that there is anything to be learnt.

And yet let anyone look at the world and see. Virtually the entire European labor movement, a growth of decades, has been destroyed. It has been destroyed not merely physically thru Nazi conquest and repression; it has been destroyed morally as well, thru internal decay and impotence. Indeed, had it not been for this deep moral decay, the physical destruction of the movement could never have been so rapid and complete. The European labor movement on the Continent had lost its inner strength and will to live; it could neither halt fascist barbarism on its way to power, nor preserve itself against its ravages from within and without.

The collapse of the European labor movement is the expression of the moral and ideological bankruptcy of every tendency and variety of socialism, right and left wing alike. Old-line social democracy, traditional Marxian orthodox and Russian Bolshevism have all failed. We may still learn a great deal from each, but we can never again look to any of them to show us the way to socialism.

The events of the past eight years, culminating in the year of war that has been equivalent to a whole decade, have transformed the face of history. Old stages of development, that only yesterday we believed had been definitely superseded by the march of progress, have suddenly emerged again with the most compelling force. On the other hand, whatever may happen, the road to socialism in Britain and the United States will never again appear as we once imagined it, from the most gradualist Fabian to the most revolutionary activist. The neat and tidy picture of steady advance to a clearly defined, destined goal of socialism has been shattered to bits. In its place, we have a world in endless turmoil, in perpetual eruption. The neat and tidy formulas of yesterday, and the organizations based upon and embodying them, will no longer do.

In America, the socialist and radical movement, tho apparently in a somewhat more secure and sheltered position, is actually in a plight perhaps worse than that of the European labor movement. For American socialism never was—as most of European socialism undoubtedly was—a genuine outgrowth of the labor movement, bound to it with organic ties. American socialism has not developed from within the labor movement, but largely from without, and this has given it weakness over and above those it has had in common with European

This Declaration was adopted unanimously by the national convention of the Independent Labor League of America, meeting in New York City on December 28 and 29, 1940.—Editor.

labor. Today, American socialism—and here we include all socialist groups whatever their origin—is more remote from the labor movement, more divorced from its problems, attitudes and aspirations, than it has been in decades. As an organic section of the labor movement, American socialism virtually does not exist.

The existing socialist and radical groups are essentially out of touch with American life and its problems. They live in an artificial world of their own that makes it impossible for them even to see the fatal defects of their existence. They cling to old phrases and fetishes, to formulas and shibboleths long obsolete, with a pathetic blindness. They are unable to take a positive, constructive stand on present-day problems. They cannot cope with the new situation because the burden of outlived tradition so weighs on them that they cannot open their eyes and see. However great their services may once have been, these groups today are things of the dead past. Like sleepwalkers that cannot be awakened, they go thru the same old motions and mumble the same old phrases in a new world of threat and turmoil. They are in fact mere empty shadows; their tragedy is that they do not seem to be aware of it.

And yet there is fertile ground for a genuine American socialism today. The organized labor movement was never so powerful. Despite the disastrous split in its ranks, its spirit is high. More than that, it has manifested a readiness and an ability to face new problems that few of those always so prompt to condemn it for its "backwardness" could have anticipated. With all the defects and shortcomings that the A. F. of L. and C. I. O. may have, American labor as a whole has exhibited a vitality, an inner strength and a freshness of outlook that is one of the most promising aspects of a situation otherwise only too dark.

A genuine American socialism, with roots struck deep in the living soil of American reality, can come only from within the organized labor movement. And when it comes, it will perhaps not resemble any of the blueprints so abundantly produced by socialists in bygone days. But it will be a sturdy native growth, of the bone and tissue of the American people, and not a mere hothouse product, as so much of American socialism has been in the past. It will really be the organization of the most advanced, most conscious elements of the American workers and of all other sections of the people that serve a useful function in society. It will be the organization that will really be able to cope with the immense tasks that face socialism in America and to contribute to a solution of the gigantic problems that confront the world.

For the past several years, the Independent Labor League of America has made every effort within its limited resources to strike out a new path for American socialism. Our work has not been wasted. This is neither the time nor the place for a critical evaluation of what we have done or left undone, but we believe that it does not go beyond the facts to state that we have made some contributions of major importance to the welfare and progress of the American labor movement. Above all, we can declare with justified pride that we were among the first in this country to catch the vision of what a genuine American socialist movement should be and that we have since been indefatigable in the effort to convert this vision into a living reality.

This we have not succeeded in accomplishing, in large part be-

cause, try as we might, we could not emancipate ourselves from the fatal stigma of our origin as a "splinter" group. Upon the I.L.L.A., too, the burden of the past has weighed with disastrous effect, also, unlike so many of the other socialist organizations, have made unceasing efforts to free ourselves. Our attempt to force a way out of the blind-alley of present-day radicalism thru launching a movement for socialist unity failed because of the lack of interest and understanding manifested by the leadership of the Socialist Party and the other socialist groups. There is no use blinking the facts. Our present organization, too, as an organization, has outlived its usefulness. If we were to maintain it out of cherished illusions or blind devotion, we would be doing a distinct disservice to the cause of American socialism. This we will never consent to do.

Therefore, we, delegates to the national convention of the Independent Labor League of America, having given the most thorough consideration to the entire situation, do decide to dissolve the I.L.L.A. and to release all members and officers from any further obligations to the organization.

We take this action not in a spirit of defeat but in a spirit of hope. There is wide recognition among all sections of society everywhere that the old order is definitely and irrevocably gone, and a new democratic, socialist order is being born. Within the old-line socialist organizations and outside their ranks, among the progressive elements in the trade unions, there is a growing ferment of ideas, and elements have emerged who, to a greater or lesser degree, have begun to look in a new direction. If all of these elements could resolve to throw off the dead weight of the past and its outlived organizations, and unite in a joint effort to blaze a new trail to genuine American socialism, an important contribution towards that end could undoubtedly be made.

The great need of the hour is the unification of all forces who are ready to meet the new situation with realism, integrity and profound faith in the vitality of the socialist idea. The great need of the hour is a new start that will transcend the old, long-outlived disagreements, disputes and factions; that will be neither social-democratic nor bolshevik in the traditional sense, but socialist; that will encourage the utmost freedom of thought and discussion while it strives for the utmost clarity and understanding; that will take its stand unequivocally on the basis of democracy against totalitarianism of every brand, shape or form. The great need of the hour is a new start towards a genuine American democratic socialism.

As we dissolve the I.L.L.A., we point with all urgency to this need. We express our full and sincere readiness to cooperate in any way in making this new start towards an American democratic socialism. We call upon all those who have hitherto been members, friends or supporters of the I.L.L.A. not to flag in their activities in the labor movement, but to redouble their efforts in whatever new forms and along whatever new lines may appear necessary. We appeal to the members and supporters of other socialist groups, and to socialists generally, to do their share in achieving the great goal common to all of us. We call for the unity of all progressive trade unionists and forward-looking American socialists, whether they belong to any existing organization or whether they are among the hundreds of thousands of unaffiliated radicals to be found in this country today.

A new start is necessary, imperative. Let us make it before it is too late.

INDEPENDENT LABOR LEAGUE
OF AMERICA

December 29, 1940.

Resolution on War Policy

(This resolution dealing with socialist policy on the war was adopted by the national convention of the Independent Labor League of America, meeting in New York City on December 28 and 29, 1940. The vote was 22 in favor, 2 against with one abstention.—Editor.)

I. Fundamental Approach

In approaching problems of war and foreign policy, as in other fields, it is necessary to take a positive, responsible attitude. By this is meant that, whenever a great and vital problem confronts the nation, it is the duty of socialists to offer a progressive, democratic program of meeting that problem in the interests of the people, and to counterpose this program to the reactionary programs offered in behalf of privileged groups. We cannot be satisfied with simply repeating the formula,

"Socialism is the only solution," any more than we can in domestic policy. We must outgrow the attitude of ultra-radical abstentionism which still persists in the field of war and foreign policy, altho it has been almost completely eliminated in the field of domestic policy. We must learn to offer our progressive programs initiated within the framework of the existing system, while at the same time pointing out the urgent necessity of going beyond this system towards socialism.

II. Character of the War

The present war is an imperialistic war in that it was precipitated as the clash of two gigantic imperialist empires and as the continuation of the World War of 1914-18. The major participants in the war are imperialistic powers. Yet it does make a very real difference who wins the war, in terms of immediate prospects for democratic and labor forces through the world. The difference may be relatively circumscribed from a long-

range historical standpoint but it is vital and decisive nevertheless. From the standpoint of the democratic and labor forces, a victory for Hitler Germany would obviously be vastly more disastrous, and a victory for Britain vastly preferable—altho, of course, even the latter would solve nothing fundamental. Only socialism could do that. The victory of one or the other side cannot reverse the fundamental trend of the decay of capitalism, but

it can accelerate or retard the tendency of this trend of decay to manifest itself in the fascist form. And this is of decisive importance to the forces of democracy and labor. Basically, that is the reason why it does make a real difference who wins, and why a victory for Hitler Germany would be the very worst possible outcome of the war. Having clearly distinguished this difference, it is necessary, to stress that in the long run, Europe is doomed unless it can achieve continental integration on the basis of a free and democratic socialism, which, of course, implies an end to the entire imperialist system.

III. Consequences

In the light of this analysis, certain consequences follow:
1. Since at bottom only socialism can ultimately save Europe from utter ruin, and such ruin would seriously affect the entire world, it is our duty today more than ever to advance vigorously our socialist solution in terms of a concrete and immediate as possible. It is also our duty to cooperate with and support those socialist forces in Europe which take a fundamentally similar position.
2. Since, furthermore, it does make a difference who wins, in the sense described above, the attitude of socialists cannot be the same in Britain as in Germany.

In Britain, it is the duty of socialists and workers generally to participate with all power at their command in the military struggle against Hitler, that is, to support the war effort. But support of the war effort is only one part of the duty of the British working class; the other part, a major part, is political struggle against the forces of capitalism and imperialism at home, because only a socialist transformation of Britain and the abandonment of imperialism can provide a new democratic dynamic powerful enough to smash Hitler Germany and destroy the fascist menace. From every standpoint, including that of defeating Hitler Germany, the labor movement must preserve its independence at all costs, and actively strive for a program of radical social and political change thru which alone the war can be effectively fought and won, and an order of society established looking towards the eradication of war and oppression.

In Germany, of course, it is the duty of all socialists and anti-fascists generally, in so far as they can, to obstruct and oppose the prosecution of the war. In Germany, revolt in terms of deepest interests of the masses of the German people. In countries conquered and oppressed by Nazi imperialism, it is the right and the duty of the people to revolt and strive to regain their freedom.
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I.L.L.A. Convention Decides To Dissolve Organization

Delegates Unanimously Adopt Declaration Calling for New Start; Majority Stand on War Approved by Vote of 22 to 2

New York City

THE national convention of the Independent Labor League of America that met here on December 28 and 29, 1940 was faced with two major tasks: to draw a balance of the many months of discussion on the "war question," and to examine realistically, with open eyes, the status of the organization and its prospects in relation to the present state of the American socialist movement.

RESOLUTION ON "WAR QUESTION"

The discussion on the "war question" at the convention was long and thorough. Will Herberg reported for the majority of the National Committee and J. Cork presented the viewpoint of the minority. A full score of delegates participated in the discussion and dealt with the subject from every angle. When a vote was finally taken, the resolution presented by Will Herberg, supplemented by a number of amendments made by a delegate and accepted by Herberg, was adopted by a vote of 22 to 2,

with one abstention. The virtual unanimity of the delegates on the essentials of the majority position was therefore established; such unanimity did not, however, exclude a variety of individual viewpoints on important questions within the general framework of the majority resolution.

FUTURE OF ORGANIZATION

The central problem before the delegates, of course, was the status and future of the organization as such. In a few sober, realistic remarks, the reporter on this question, Jay Lovestone, described the present situation created by the events of recent years, especially the past year of war, and called attention to the utter failure of the various socialist and radical groups in this country to understand the new situation and grasp the problems emerging from it. The entire radical and socialist movement, he pointed out, had developed largely on a false foundation; it had arisen not from within and thru the labor movement, but outside of it. There was no way out of the blind-alley of present-day American socialism along the old lines, he warned. A new start towards a genuine American democ-

cratic socialism was necessary. In this situation, he concluded, our present organization, despite its great services in the past ten years, had outlived its usefulness; it could not fulfill the tasks which it had set itself, primarily because of the fatal stigma of its origin as a "splinter" group. In the interest of opening the way for a new start, the I.L.L.A. should have the courage to face the facts, recognize the realities of the situation, and dissolve its organization.

POSSIBILITY OF A NEW START

Lovestone expressed faith and optimism as to the possibility of making this new start. He urged all the delegates and the members, sympathizers and friends of the I.L.L.A. not to slacken in their activities in the labor movement but to redouble their efforts along whatever new lines and in whatever new channels events made necessary. As he concluded, he offered for adoption a Declaration presented by himself and Will Herberg.

Lovestone's report and proposals, as well as the Declaration, were discussed with great seriousness and responsibility by most of the delegates.
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Workers Age

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WILL HERBERG, Editor

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FAREWELL

THIS is the last issue of the Workers Age. For reasons that are explained in the declaration on the front page, the Independent Labor League of America has been dissolved. And with the dissolution of the I.L.L.A., the Workers Age must necessarily suspend publication.

We cannot, nor do we desire, to hide the deep pang of regret we feel at the suspension of the Age. For over eleven years, in the face of immense difficulties and at the cost of not inconsiderable sacrifice, we—our readers and friends—kept the Age going because we felt that it was doing useful and worthwhile service in the cause of American labor and socialism. Looking back at the past decade, we undoubtedly find many things in the Age that we would now smile or sigh over, but on the whole we may say without presumption that our paper has rendered genuine service in the course of the eleven years of its existence. For that it deserves to be remembered with some measure of sincere appreciation.

But we must face the facts. The I.L.L.A., as an organization, has outlived its usefulness; it is unable to achieve the ends which alone would justify its existence. The I.L.L.A. has the supreme merit of recognizing, alone among existing radical groups, that a new start towards a genuine American democratic socialism must be made. But that very merit places upon us the obligation of speaking the word of truth, frankly and courageously, even when it hurts. Present-day American socialism is in a hopeless blind-alley; none of its groups and organizations, as organizations, any longer have anything positive to contribute. We have the moral courage to draw the inevitable conclusion, and we therefore dissolve the I.L.L.A.

The writer of this editorial has served as editor of the Workers Age for almost seven of the eleven years of its existence. In saying farewell, he may be permitted to thank with wholehearted sincerity those who have thrup the years given unstintingly in money, in devotion, in service, to keep our paper going. Your work, the work of the I.L.L.A. and the Workers Age, has not been wasted. It has left its mark for good on the labor movement and will undoubtedly bear abundant fruit when conditions permit the rebirth of American socialism.

LABOR AID TO BRITAIN

THE formation of an American Labor Committee to Aid British Labor, announced here not long ago, is a step that will be greeted by virtually all sections of the labor movement. For it gives the organized workers of this country a welcome opportunity to translate their admiration for and sympathy with British labor into practical assistance through their own auspices and thru channels of their own movement.

American labor has from the very beginning recognized the democratic potential in the British struggle against the fascist hordes of Hitler Germany. There has been no question as to where its sympathies lay or as to its eagerness to aid the British effort in every way possible. Hitherto, however, most of the aid-Britain efforts, such as the White Committee, have not been such as to make labor feel very much at home in them or to encourage any independent activities of the part of labor. Moreover, none of these groups has a set-up making possible direct and special aid to the British labor movement, which naturally lies close to the heart of American labor. And finally many of these groups have objectives, even if unwavering, that go beyond aid to Britain as such and with which many sections of the labor movement are by no means in agreement. For all these reasons, and others as well, the situation obviously called for the establishment of an independent American labor committee concerned primarily with aiding the British labor movement in this its most critical hour.

The new committee, formation of which was revealed by Matthew Wall at a recent luncheon in honor of Walter Citrine, secretary of the British Trades Union Congress, is assured of the support of the American Federation of Labor and of large sections of the C.I.O. It plans to junction with central labor bodies, international unions, to work in conjunction with the British Trades Union Congress to be distributed to British workers thru their trade unions. There can be no doubt that activities of this sort will meet with enthusiastic response among the masses of the people in the United States.

The American Labor Committee to Aid British Labor continues the splendid tradition initiated by the progressive unions that launched the movement of independent trade-union aid to Spain during the late civil war. It deserves the support of all trade unionists, socialists, liberals and sincere democrats.

MORE "PEACE" NONSENSE

THE most pitiful spectacle in national public life today is the degeneration and bankruptcy of the "non-interventionist" or "isolationist" group in Congress. The antics of some of its leaders in the course of past few weeks have been such as to disgust even those sections of public opinion that have hitherto been most sympathetic.

If there has been one hundred ideas in the "non-interventionist" or "isolationist" position, it has been the contention that the United States or Asiatic affairs since it is truly destiny lay in European or Asiatic affairs. Whatever legitimacy or American contentment, Administration policy has had come only from this viewpoint. Now their criticism and protests have lost all sense and have even assumed a rather dubious character.

Senator Wheeler, wants the United States to call upon Hitler to accept a "just peace", which, if it means anything at all, means the end of Hitler and Hitlerism in Germany. And if Hitler refuses, as he most assuredly will, what then?

Senator Vandenberg goes Mr. Wheeler one better. He wants the United States not only to call upon Europe to conclude a "just peace" but also to undertake to guarantee such a negotiated peace in Europe. Should Hitler prove recalcitrant, Mr. Vandenberg has expressed himself as ready to go to war if necessary. This is extreme interventionism, if it is anything at all, but it is a curious kind of interventionism, for although Senator Vandenberg is apparently ready for the United States to plunge headlong into European politics and even go to war, he is strangely loath to give economic aid to Britain today. There seems to be more than a little demagogic and cheap politics, or is there something else involved? We do not know.

We do know, however, that the whole idea of a "negotiated peace" at this time must be rejected. It is fantastically unrealistic and dangerous as well. It would be contrary to the welfare and interests of the American people to have our government launch any move for such a "peace". And it would be a disaster to the people of Britain and of all Europe if today be only a compromise peace. It would leave Hitler or his like in power in Germany and on the Continent, and it would be the signal for a new wave of reaction, social and political, that Britain has known in modern times, probably enough to bring that country to the verge of totalitarian dictatorship. It would, in fact, be a disaster second only in its gravity to the outright victory of Hitler.

There can be no just peace, there can be no satisfactory outcome of the war, that does not bring with it the overthrow of the Hitler regime, whether thru military defeat or thru internal revolt.

PRIZE WINNERS AT LOCAL 22 ART SHOW



Dressmakers Union Local 22, I.L.G.W.U., again sets the pace with an art show of 331 pictures in charcoal, monotype and tempera produced by the 37 members of the Local 22 Art Workshop. Here are the prize winners. Left to right: Ruth Goldman, Lucille Lane, Rebecca Lissy, Charles S. Zimmerman (manager of Local 22), Seth Hoffman (instructor), Shirley Shenker, and Jerry Weisberg.

Resolution on the War

(Continued from page 1)

1. At the same time, colonial peoples within the British Empire have a similar right to demand their independence and thus to be free to contribute to the struggle against fascism, exploitation and oppression.

2. On the same ground that it does make a real difference who wins, it is also necessary to distinguish our attitude on the question of aid to belligerents.

3. We are, of course, categorically opposed to any aid whatsoever being given by the United States to Ger-

many, on the ground that we most emphatically do not want Germany to win. Of course, we sympathize with the German people in the suffering brought upon them by Nazism and its wars and pledge all aid in our power to any effort on their part to throw off the Nazi yoke.

4. On the other hand, we certainly do want Britain to be aided, and we are in favor of all American aid to Britain subject to the paramount consideration of keeping America out of direct military involvement in foreign wars.

IV. America and Foreign War

AMERICA can keep out of foreign war:

1. Economically: The United States finds itself in a situation almost without parallel in the entire world. For, geographically and economically, it has virtually achieved that continental integration for which Europe has been striving so painfully and so vainly for over a century. Continuous sound functioning of our economic machinery on an expanding scale is quite possible on the basis of our domestic resources, as yet widely untapped. If only our economy is operated on the principle of welfare rather than that of private profit. Not any inescapable needs of our country considered as a technological system, but the special interests of powerful exploiting groups in this country are the driving force behind our far-flung financial and commercial entanglements and our imperialistic ventures in all parts of the world. If the interests of the masses of the people constitute the decisive consideration, then it is for us to look to the "open door" at home, in this hemisphere, rather than in Europe or the Far East.

2. Militarily: In a military-political sense, too, the United States is so situated that it can keep measurably free of foreign entanglements, and free of military commitments, if only it is determined to do so. On the basis of a defense program directed strictly towards protection against foreign invasion or attack, the United States, acting through almost all responsible military opinion, is virtually impregnable. This immense advantage would naturally be lost should this country be plunged into a foreign war.

3. From the standpoint of resisting the challenge of fascism: Of course, the expansive forces of fascism would be greatly enhanced by a German victory, and that would be strongly felt in this country as well. But it would still remain true, particularly for the United States, that the danger of fascism is immensely greater from within than from without. It would still remain true that if fascism were ever to come to power in this country, it would be primarily as a result of the utter bankruptcy of our domestic institutions and ideas. On the political and, not simply as a result of foreign propaganda or

ideological prestige. Our first and foremost line of defense against fascism remains what it has always been—the fight at home against unemployment, poverty, demoralization, despair. For us in America, the great issue will fundamentally be decided here in this country, in this hemisphere, and not in Europe or Asia.

America must keep out of foreign war. Not only is involvement in foreign war not necessary for the welfare and security of America, but such involvement would do immense damage to American life by unleashing powerful tendencies to universal regimentation, military dictatorship and drastic curtailment of civil, political and labor rights by stimulating jingoistic frenzy and war hysteria that might drive the country back many decades; by bringing about the further dislocation of our economic system, with growing distress and impoverishment. Moreover, the challenge of domestic fascism would probably reach its most dangerous point during the period of involvement in foreign war, or of transition from a war-time to a peace-time economy, or with the persistence of a war-time economy after the war is over. Involvement in foreign war would thus be a very serious element of American fascism. Democracy of freedom, welfare and democracy that we cherish as the point of departure towards a better America.

V. Defense

THE greatest confusion prevails in this country today on the subject of defense. It is necessary to distinguish clearly that two fundamentally different things are confused under the single term "defense": on the one hand, genuine defense of America against invasion or attack; and on the other hand, involvement in foreign wars to protect so-called "vital interests" of the United States. The latter are the interests of entrenched privileged groups, not of the masses of the people. It is the stratagem of the fascist forces to talk in terms of the defense of America against invasion or attack while thinking and acting in terms of involvement in foreign war.

Genuine defense, on the one hand, and preparation for foreign war, on the other, are in no way distinct not only in a military way but also in social, economic and political consequences.

We do not take a negative or abject attitude on the problem of defense. We realize that the problem of the great masses of the American people and we propose the following program: 1. In the present international situation as much as at any other time, the only national defense that is consistent with the needs and interests of the American people is a defense against invasion or attack. Defense of foreign investments or commercial and financial privileges, defense of so-called "vital interests" in the Far Pacific or in mid-Europe, is not national defense.

2. To the degree that national defense in this sense requires coordination on a hemisphere basis, as it does at many points, this coordination should be achieved thru voluntary consultation and cooperation on a plane of equality with the independence and self-determination of

the Latin American countries unimpeded.

It is above all necessary to guard against "hemisphere defense" being used as a cover for another thrust of Wall Street imperialism against Mexico, Central America and South America.

3. Expenditures for arms should be covered not by cutting down on government social services and mass welfare or by imposing still heavier tax burdens on the people, but by increased income-tax levies in the higher brackets, a 100% tax on excess profits of armaments concerns, and the like. If our idle men and idle machines are put to work to a measurable degree and the national income raised by that much, there should be no real difficulty in covering necessary arms expenditures while maintaining and even raising the levels of welfare.

4. Social and labor legislation, as well as the standards of labor, must be safeguarded and extended. There is already under way an organized attempt of the employing class, aided by important sections of the army and navy bureaucracy, to use the national-defense emergency to break down labor standards and virtually annul the progressive legislation of recent years. Labor will need all its realism, unity and constructive militancy to meet this challenge of reaction.

5. The true bulwark of defense is the preservation and extension of democratic civil liberties and the rights of labor. There is a certain tendency in current policy, on the one hand, to right totalitarianism abroad by copying it here. Democracy has already fallen into considerable disrepute in some official circles in Washington, and the totalitarian concept is permeating industrial groups thruout the country. As against this trend, it is necessary to stress that in a truly popular

VI. Problems of Hemisphere Unity

AS pointed out above, genuine defense against invasion or attack implies at many vital points the close collaboration of all countries in the western hemisphere. This is but one aspect of the problem, however. Fundamentally, the security and interests of the peoples of the American countries in the present-day economic crisis is inseparably involved in establishing a hemisphere unity along the lines of a self-sustaining economy of welfare and security. Economically and technologically, such integration, if it is to be established, for it may be established in two fundamentally different ways: (a) thru the "big stick" of the United States domination and at the expense of the other American countries; or (b) thru genuine collaboration on the basis of equality in a democratic Pan-American Federation.

VII. Danger of "Appeasement"

AN American public life, reflecting certain sentiments in important big-business circles, is beginning to arise a tendency that urges a policy of "appeasement" towards a hostile Hitler, a policy of "playing ball" with the master. But it establishes himself as master. But we must denounce and resist this tendency with all our power, for in effect it would mean divesting American aid in bolstering and consolidating the Nazi domination of Europe, and would prove as fatal in its consequences as the policy of Chamberlain's policy of "appeasement" in the years that led up to the war. On the contrary, American policy must be so directed as to mobilize the resources of our country and the western hemisphere from being used by Hitler in order to strengthen and perpetuate his regime in Europe. In this respect, the economic integration of equality with the industrial lines of a self-sustaining economy

Calloway Protests Against Jim Crowism in U.S. Army

A DRAMATIC protest against racial discrimination in the United States Army was made here recently by Ernest Calloway, educational director of the United Transport Service Employees of America, the union of red-caps. Mr. Calloway declared he was asking exemption from military service on the selective-service act because the army discriminated against Negroes.

He said that he had filed an appeal from the decision of his local draft board, placing him in Class I-A, subject to call. He said he was single and had no dependents, but asked exemption "until such time that my contribution and participation in the defense of my country can be made on a basis of complete equality."

Mr. Calloway accompanied return of his draft questionnaire with a statement saying the army's "practices of relegating special types of service to Negroes and refusing their service in other branches of the armed forces is neither conducive to effective morale nor obeying the spirit and letter of the Constitution of the United States."

"To me the present United States Army is the most anti-democratic institution in American governmental life," the statement said.

In its decision, the draft board acknowledged the full justice of Mr. Calloway's indictment of conditions in the United States Army but declared that under the law it could do nothing about it. It therefore rejected Mr. Calloway's plea.

cause, broad and genuine democracy can prove just as efficient as totalitarianism and can defeat it on its own terms. Nor would genuinely defensive war against foreign aggression or attack contain that compulsion to rigid military totalitarianism that would inevitably arise in waging a fascist war against Europe or Asia. No ground must be given of the spirit of intolerance born out of the war panic and hysteria sweeping the country.

3. Long-range efforts to overcome the economic crisis must be based on a planned attack on unemployment, poverty and low living standards, not on the hope of building up an arms economy in the United States. Experience has shown that an arm economy—that is, an economic system that depends for its continuous functioning on ever greater armament expenditures—is absolutely fatal to the economic soundness, to the peace and welfare of the country.

4. At bottom, vigorous, effective national defense is impossible without a deepening and vitalization of democracy in terms of the basic needs and aspirations of the people. A defense that is simply a defense of status quo is futile and self-defeating; it can never achieve that spirit and drive that alone can meet the challenge of totalitarianism. A dynamic democracy, implemented through a program of social reform looking towards socialism, is the only sound foundation of genuine national defense.

At the present time, this program is at variance, in practically every respect, with the current conceptions of leading elements in both major political opposition systems. Their political opposition to these policies, their aims, policies and programs. It also makes necessary systematic plans for the character of the so-called "defense" plans of imperialistic groups and their spokesmen in the government; and, in fact, plans of national emergency and rather than national defense.

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VIII. Perspectives

ALL of the above proposals are within the framework of the existing system. But beyond this short-range program, there are the long-range perspectives generated out of the rock-bottom fact that whatever

be the outcome of the war, short of the triumph of socialism, the fundamental crisis that brought about the war will probably even be aggravated. Only the replacement of the entire system of capitalist imperialism by international cooperation on the basis of socialism can solve this deepening, far-reaching crisis and provide mankind with the possibility of a future of peace, welfare and freedom. Only such basic social transformation, moreover, can develop the dynamic capability of coping with the forces of fascism and totalitarianism. In the light of these broader perspectives:

1. It is imperative that every effort be made to develop and maintain international working-class contacts and international labor action during the war. Regardless of how futile such connections are today, the independence of action and whatever national solidarity are the supreme resources of labor and socialism.

2. We pledge every possible assistance to the underground opponents of fascism in the fascist and fascist-conquered countries of Europe in their efforts to reestablish a bona-fide labor movement and to destroy the fascist system.

3. It is necessary for the international labor movement—or whatever is left of it—to prepare its own world peace program. For such a peace program, labor in the United States, and elsewhere, in whatever form it can do so, should work unflinchingly.

Russell Warns Against Fascist Trends in U.S.

New York City.

THIS country faces the very grave danger of fighting for noble causes abroad in such a way as will endanger their existence at home, Bertrand Russell, distinguished British philosopher, recently warned 600 educators attending the New York Regional Conference of the Progressive Education Association.

Defending the "underdog," Dr. Russell assailed the war hysteria that permitted capitalists and munition makers to earn their profits while labeling the workers "unpatriotic" if they demanded increases in wages. He warned against "foolish forms of Americanism" that would "flick away your liberties when you are not watching." "Fascism of the indigenous sort may still be a greater menace than fascism overseas," he stressed.

Taking as his theme, "Freedom in Time of Stress," Dr. Russell observed that a measure of the freedoms now enjoyed would be temporarily shelved during a war period. He assailed the point of view taken by Dr. Nicholas Murray Butler on "university freedom."

"I find this concept we can see an assembly of teachers listening in awe and silence to being told how to vote," the English philosopher commented. "To one accustomed to the more democratic methods of England this spectacle is horrifying."

The defense of democracy in this country, as he understood it, from reading the newspapers, is the more the abolition of democracy here so that it can be restored elsewhere. That position he declared as being untenable.

Citing what he termed a paradoxical situation, Dr. Russell declared that the American life was more monarchial than the British. He cited the power of college presidents, the heads of railroads or big concerns and evoked of this an archaic power.

Democracy, defined as a simple majority rule, by itself is not enough, he said. A man should be able to go his own way and speak his own thoughts, he said, remembering that the majority can be just as tyrannical as the minority.

Resolution on War Policy

(This resolution dealing with socialist policy on the war was adopted by the national convention of the Independent Labor League of America, meeting in New York City on December 28 and 29, 1940. The vote was 22 in favor, 2 against with one abstention.—Editor.)

I. Fundamental Approach

IN approaching problems of war and foreign policy, as in other fields, it is necessary to take a positive, responsible attitude. By this is meant that, whenever a great and vital problem confronts the nation, it is the duty of socialists to offer a progressive, democratic program of meeting that problem in the interests of the people, and to counterpose this program to the reactionary programs offered in behalf of privileged groups. We cannot be satisfied with simply repeating the formula,

"Socialism is the only solution," any more than we can in domestic policy. We must outgrow the attitude of ultra-radical abstentionism which still persists in the field of war and foreign policy, altho it has been almost completely eliminated in the field of domestic policy. We must learn to offer our progressive programs initiated within the framework of the existing system, while at the same time pointing out the urgent necessity of going beyond this system towards socialism.

II. Character of the War

THE present war is an imperialistic war in that it was precipitated as the clash of two gigantic imperialist coalitions and as the continuation of the World War of 1914-18. The major participants in the war are imperialistic powers.

Yet it does make a very real difference who wins the war in terms of immediate prospects for democratic and labor forces throughout the world. The difference may be relatively circumscribed from a long-

range historical standpoint but it is vital and decisive nevertheless. From the standpoint of the democratic and labor forces, a victory for Hitler Germany would obviously be vastly more disastrous, and a victory for Britain vastly preferable—altho, of course, even the latter would solve nothing fundamental. Only socialism could do that.

The victory of one or the other side cannot reverse the fundamental trend of the decay of capitalism, but

it can accelerate or retard the tendency for this trend of decay to manifest itself in the fascist form. And this is of decisive importance to the forces of democracy and labor. Basically, that is the reason why it does make a real difference who wins, and why a victory for Hitler Germany would be the very worst possible outcome of the war.

Having clearly distinguished this difference, it is necessary, to stress that in the long run, Europe is doomed unless it can achieve continental integration on the basis of a free and democratic socialism, which, of course, implies an end to the entire imperialist system.

III. Consequences

IN the light of this analysis, certain consequences follow:

1. Since at bottom only socialism can ultimately save Europe from utter ruin, and such ruin would seriously affect the entire world, it is our duty today more than ever to advance vigorously our socialist solution in terms as concrete and immediate as possible. It is also our duty to cooperate with and support those socialist forces in Europe who take a fundamentally similar position.

2. Since, furthermore, it does make a difference who wins, in the sense described above, the attitude of socialists cannot be the same in Britain as in Germany.

In Britain, it is the duty of socialists and workers generally to participate with all power at their command in the military struggle against Hitler, that is, to support the war effort. But support of the war effort is only one part of the duty of the British working class; the other part, a major part, is political struggle against the forces of capitalism and imperialism at home, because only a socialist transformation of Britain and the abandonment of imperialism can provide a new democratic dynamic powerful enough to smash Hitler Germany and destroy the fascist menace. From every standpoint, including that of defeating Hitler Germany, the labor movement must preserve its independence at all costs, and actively strive for a program of radical social and political change thru which alone the war can be effectively fought and won, and an order of society established looking towards the eradication of war and oppression.

In Germany, of course, it is the duty of all socialists and anti-fascists generally, in so far as they can, to obstruct and oppose the prosecution of the war. In Germany, revolutionary defeatism has a meaning in terms of deepest interests of the masses of the German people.

In countries conquered and oppressed by Nazi imperialism, it is the right and the duty of the people to revolt and strive to regain their

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