"RECONSIDERING **MARXISM**"

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Workers Age

Weekly Paper of the Independent Labor League of America

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Vol. 9, No. 17.

NEW YOR, N. Y., SATURDAY, APRIL 27, 1940.

Behind the Headlines:

Stalinism and the Present World Situation—II

By JAY LOVESTONE

THOSE who do not indulge in wishful thinking or energetic cursing, must recognize that Stalinism continues to be a serious problem and obnoxious force in America's economic and political life. This is true despite the Stalin-Hitler pact, the rape of Poland, Russia's wanton onslaught on Finland, and Stalin's hurried and warm endorsement of the Nazi invasion of Norway and destruction of Danish independence. One need but look at the substantial headway made by the Stalinites in recent months towards a stranglehold on the C.I.O. None should overlook the unexpectedly strong showing made and the undeserved support gained by the Stalin clique in the American Labor Party. In the same sense, it is necessary not to minimize the continued strength of Stalinism among certain anemic liberals (fellow-travelers) and the general ability of the Communist Party to hold itself together despite, or perhaps because of its being under fire.

Communist Party than to assume that it is, or can be treated as, a politi Communist Party than to assume that it is, or can be treated as, a political party in our normally accepted sense of the word, in accordance with Logan Bill to Congress for our prevailing conception of a political party. Essentially, the Stalinist parties and their subsidiaries are police parties, police organizationswith police mentality, morality, procedure and technique. It is the failure to grasp this cardinal characteristic of Stalinist organization today that has made so many honest, well-meaning liberals go into the camp of fellow-travelers, fellow-limpers, or to become even outright stooges. It is this failure to understand the real nature of the Communist Party that has contributed decisively to the well-oiled Stalinist machine being able to withstand the serious consequences of some recent events and the heavy blows aimed at it.

But here we must also not close our eyes to or keep silent about some false and dangerous moves recently made against the Communist Party by some of its enemies. These moves have played into the hands of the Communist Party and have armed their leaders with the weapon of martyrdom. It thus became easier for the leadership of the Communist Party to cement the organization's ranks against the impact of events beginning last Fall.

Among the chief characteristics of the Communist Party in this provision subjecting the rulings and country and in all countries are:

1. Today, all Communist parties are basically mere agencies of the Stalin-Hitler block.

2. Primarily, the Communist Party is not interested in or genuinely responsive to the objective conditions in the country; nor is it concerned judicial power of such agencies. with the needs of the land. In reality, the Communist Party is neither interested in nor motivated by a concern for the welfare of labor or the leaders in the House last week was progress of the country—unless such welfare or progress happens to coin- to put thru amendments exempting cide with or serves the interests of prevailing Russian foreign policy.

3. The Communist Party exploits all economic and political situations at home only on the basis of furthering Russian foreign policy at one or another moment. Russia's recent sharp change in foreign policy alone explains the instantaneous, mechanical, mannequin-like change of strategy

and tactics by the Communist Party in our country.

4. Corpse-like obedience in executing such swift changes of policy identical measure. It is regarded as is dictated by the interests of Russian foreign policy, alliances, machina unlikely that the upper house will nations, manipulations, intrigues and maneuvers. This inherent character consider the bill this session and, leaven if it should be finally carried Reasserts Strong istic of the Communist Party accounts for lots of what appears to be even if it should be finally carried weird about the Communist Party in the eyes of many.

5. Obviously we deal here with a state of mind, with a peculiar House, a certain veto faces it there type of one-way mentality that is carefully and intensively nursed among vast tangle of administrative agen-C.P. members and fellow-travelers—a type of mentality that tends to cies that has grown up in recent make them impervious to reason and immune to rational arguments. years so as to limit the arbitrary Thus, while such members or obedient and habitual fellow-followers may and irresponsible exercise of power sometimes change their positions, they cannot really change their minds. is one of immense urgency. Many,

6. Such people get habituated only to receiving orders. This is con- however, who are thoroly aware of ducive to developing a police mind and the mentality and morality of the seriousness of the problem, do foreign observers and servants with feet on our soil but with heads and not feel that the Logan-Walters bill hearts elsewhere, driven by the perversion of a noble ideal. Therefore, solution. It is felt in many quarters to them all means justify any end—at all times—anywhere. Thus, even that the provisions of this bill would their most sordid deeds are wrapped by them in the reddest robe of the have a paralyzing effect on these heroic and idealistic days of the October Revolution of Lenin—of inter- agencies in the exercise of their

Zoretti in Danger!

UDOVIC ZORETTI, one of the most respected figures in the French labor movement, now stands in real danger of prosecution by the government because of his opposition to the war.

Ludovic Zoretti is a veteran of thirty-five years of activity in the socialist and labor movements, besides occupying a distinguished place in the world of education and science as professor in the Faculty of Sciences at Caen and director of the Technical Institute in Normandy. He is the founder of the Labor University of the C.G.T., and secretary-general of the General Federation of Teachers in France. Until recently, when he was removed illegally by the Blum majority, he was a member of the Permanent Administrative Commission (C.A.P.) of the Socialist Party, the top leadership of the party.

Zoretti signalized his opposition to the war and signed a peace manifesto as far back as last September, when hostilities first broke out. Since then he has been a marked man with the government. Now he has been sold to the enemy by his party "comrades" as Joseph was sold by his brethren. He has been arrested and held for questioning. Little is known of the charge or of the fate in store for him at the hands of the Reynaud-Daladier regime, which is conducting this war, mark you, in the name of "democracy."

No more costly mistake can be made in estimating Stalinism or the House Passes FDR Calls on "Curb" Buros WPA Funds

Vote is 279-97, as New Deal Bitterly Opposes Measure; Senate Not Likely to Act

Washington, D. C. The Logan-Walters bill, advocated by its sponsors as a curb on federal burocracy and denounced by the Administration as an attempt to cripple the effectiveness of governmental functioning, was adopted by the House of Representatives last week by the overwhelming vote of 279 to 97. The main feature of the bill is its orders of about 130 federal agencies and buros to court review. The bill also provides uniform and "safeguard" regulations for the exercise elections—a decision whether the of the quasi-legislative and quasi-

The main effort of Administration key agencies such as the N.L.R.B. and the S.E.C. from the provisions of the bill. But as fast as these amendments were offered, they were rejected by the House.

The bill was sent to the Senate

proper and useful functions.

President's Proposal Would Put Off Real Decision Till After National Elections

Washington, D. C.

President Roosevelt asked Congress last week to appropriate \$975,000,000 for relief in the 1941 that the entire sum could be spent in the first eight months of the year. Mr. Roosevelt's plan would permit the entire fund, if necessary, to be spent by W.P.A. between July 1 1940, and March 1, 1941. This would hold the immediate appropriation within the present budget limit and would delay until next year-after

(Continued on Page 4)

U.S. Acts to Block Jap Move on Dutch Indies

Herr Hitler Certainly Knows His Friends....

THE Daily Worker on April 17 features across the bottom of its front page a story from Stockholm dealing with the social-democrats and communists in Nazi-controlled Oslo. Certain parts of this story are worth quoting for they are most revealing:

"The social-democratic leaders, their newspaper editorial staffs, the leading organs of the trade unions and social-democratic youth have left Oslo. . . . Tranmel, editor of the Norwegian Labor Party paper, Arbeiderbladet, called a meeting of the staff, where he expressed thanks for their joint work. He paid them one week's wages in anticipation of their return should it be possible later to publish the newspaper. But the newspaper was not banned. The labor movement can legally continue its work, and despite the strict military censorship, can publish its newspapers. Up to the present time, only the communists continue publishing their news-

This is not only brazen gall; it's a dead give-away. The Daily Worker wants us to believe that under the iron heel of the Nazi army, the Norwegian "labor movement can legally continue its work." And the proof? ility, peace and security not only in The fact that the "communists" (the Stalinists) "continue publishing their the region of the Netherlands Indies

Yes, that proves something—but something quite different from what the Daily Worker pretends it does. It proves that the bloody Nazis, the bitterest, the most savage, the most implacable enemies of labor, fiscal year, with the understanding are quite ready to tolerate the Stalinist party, its press and its activities. And why not? What are the Norwegian Stalinists but a native auxiliary purpose of the American warning to of the German invaders, an agency in the service of the Nazi marauders, quite as much as Major Quisling and his gang? That's how the Stalin-Hitler war alliance works.

Of course, the Stalinists have nothing to fear from the Nazi invaders. Of course, they can continue publishing their paper and peddling their Kremlin propaganda. They can continue to do so for the same reason that Norway's genuine labor movement, every wing and section of it, can expect nothing but ruthless suppression and physical extermination at the hands of the Nazi invaders. Hitler knows his friends and his enemies.

Guards Own, Allied Empire Interests

The United States directly injected itself as a factor in the war situation last week by issuing a warning to Japan to keep hands off the Dutch East Indies should the Netherlands become involved in the European conflict, presumably as a result of a German invasion London and Paris expressed much gratification at the stand taken by Washington.

In a carefully worded statement, Secretary of State Hull declared:

"Intervention in the domestic affairs of the Netherlands Indies or any alteration of their status-quo by other than peaceful processes would be prejudicial to the cause of stabbut in the entire Pacific area."

The next day President Roosevelt explicitly endorsed Secretary Hull's

Observers pointed out that the Japan was double: (1) to protect American imperialistic interests in the far Pacific by stemming Japanese expansion in a southern and southwesterly direction; and (2) to aid England and France by preventing Japan from getting a foothold so close to Singapore, French Indo-China, and British India. Secretary Hull's declaration, these observers stressed, was another and very striking expression of the unofficial working arrangement in existence between Great Britain and the United States, based on their common hostility to Japanese schemes of imperial expansion in the Far East. According to this arrangement, the United States, thru diplomatic and economic pressure and, if necessary, thru its navy, is to "keep order" in the Pacific—that is, keep Japan in check and see that British and Amercan "vital interests" are protected thus permitting Britain Workers, meeting at Leeds recent- ble for causing the war. This would the United States nor Great Britain ly, gave a splendid lead to the trade be an easier way than sacrificing would relish seeing the rich Dutch East Indies, at present in the possession of a minor power, fall into the hands of so aggressive an imperialist rival as Japan. Besides, it is believed that Japan has some sort of understanding with Germany, and must be regarded in some measure

as a potential ally of the Reich. In Tokyo, great care was taken to avoid making an "incident" out of the American warning. The Japanese Foreign Office blandly declared that Secretary Hull's statement entirely corresponded with its own views. But Japanese intentions remained the same, of course, and any relaxation of the Dutch grip over the Indies will undoubtedly be a signal for Japan to act.

In Europe, military activity was almost entirely concentrated on the new "northern front," in Norway. During the course of the last week, the British took Narvik and a number of other points on the Norwegian coast, landed troops and advanced in two directions to meet the Nazi invaders. The Germans, ousted from Narvik, reestablished themselves on a railway leading to the Swedish iron-ore fields and continued to spread out from their other chief points of operation, pushing in all directions around Oslo and bolstering their line from Trondheim eastward. Heavy naval and air fighting continued thruout the week, but no reliable information as to the re-

An international sensation was created in the early part of last week by the revelation that widespread treachery on the part of high officers in Norway's defense and civil services had been responsible for the ease with which the Nazi invaders took control c. vital Norwegian positions. Fake capitulation ticularly stressed in the reports.

rope continued to mount last week, new aggression on the part of the ful evasion, received high praise Russo-German-Italian plan of action in the Balkans was maturing, ready (Continued on Page 4)

Opposition to War Grows in British Labor Movement

I.L.P. Conference Anti-War Stand

London England. The annual conference of the Ir dependent Labor Party, which met at Nottingham over the Easter holidays, showed remarkable unity in opposition to the war and in favor of working-class action to secure a socialist peace.

The resolution submitted by the National Administrative Council of the party was adopted with only two dissentients.

The conference showed the same unity regarding a detailed program of social and economic demands to be put forward during the war. It was based on the pooling of wealth and the establishment of a minimum standard of life for both civilian workers and soldiers.

The whole conference urged resistance to war with Russia. There was some difference of opinion about the invasion of Finland. By a majority of over three to one, the conference condemned the Stalinist policy, which it described as the 'adoption by Russia of imperialistic methods of power-politics.'

The important decision was reached to permit members of the I.L.P. to join the Cooperative Party. The view of the National Council of the party that, under the present sirable that the party should affiliate to the Labor Party was endorsed with only two opposed.

The standard of debating at the conference was very high. The deledetermined to intensify the struggle for socialism and peace. (A full account of the recent I.L.P

conference, together with the relevant documents, will appear in coming issues of this paper.—Editor.) came from the ranks of the union

the union Will the C.C.F. learn from this ex perience? So far as the contesting of Temiskaming Riding is concerned, they have not learned. In this dis

"Must blood be shed and millions (Continued on Page 4)

Clerks Union Adopts Peace Resolution; Big Minority at Coop Party Parley

union movement.

It demanded the ending of the electoral truce and denounced the Keynes Plan for compulsory savings from workers wages.

But it did more than this.

It adopted a resolution demanding a campaign based on an immediate armistice and action to secure a socialist peace. This resolution was moved by G. A. Barrie, of Glasgow, who is a member of the Independent Labor Party.

Previous to the carrying of this resolution, two amendments were defeated which expressed respectively the Labor Party and Communist Party points of view.

The first of these regarded the war as necessary to resist Nazi aggression and the second stated that was caused by the rejection of Russia's "peace" offers.

Another significant decision was the defeat of a resolution expressing regret that the N.U.C. had affiliated to the No-Conscription League. This resolution was moved on the ground that the League was alleged to advocate I.L.P. policy towards the war. V. F. Yates, of Birmingham, urg-

ing affiliation to the N.C.L., said that the labor movement had had to swallow the bitter pill of military conscription and should not underrate the danger of industrial conscription.

London, England Nearly 1,170,000 votes were give n in favor of an amendment against the war at the Cooperative Party conference meeting here recently.

This amendment condemned the

war as imperialist and demanded an immediate armistice and the call-He was elected by the miners on the ing of an international workers conbasis of the everyday struggle of ference to ensure that peace shall he based on socialistic principles. Among the speakers who supported it was Fred Longden, of Birmingham, who maintained that the war was merely a clash between Nazi imperialism and British imper-

> go thru misery for generations for such a purpose?" he asked. Another speaker in favor of the

London, England | urged that it would be a good thing | trate its full naval power in Euro-The conference of the National if each country could offer as hos- pean waters, where, particularly to-Union of Clerks and Administrative tages about a dozen men responsi- day, it is so badly needed. Neither

> millions of young people. 3,935,000 votes to 1,169,000 in favor of a resolution endorsing the prosecution of a "war for democracy" and

A curious debate took place on the subject of the electoral truce. The Scottish Cooperative Party urged that the truce should be ended, A. V. Alexander, M.P., defended the truce on tactical grounds, but the chairman Alfred Barnes, M.P., declared that the Cooperative Party was not a party to the truce and reserved its right to fight by-elections when con-

Higher Education Board to Appeal Ruling on Russell

The Board decided to request the corporation counsel to initiate legal action, or else appoint some other attorney to do so. Should the corporation counsel refuse, the Board decided, it would proceed with an appeal on its own responsibility; a committee made up of Ordway Tead, John T. Flynn and Lauson H. Stone, was appointed to take charge of the affair. As had been expected, the corporation counsel, in accord with the mayor's attitude, did refuse, but the Board was determined to go ahead anayway, and retained its

The courageous attitude of the trast to Mayor LaGuardia's shamein academic and liberal circles

By J. R.

WHILE the recent federal elec-

Toronto, Canada,

CONSERVATIVES **OUTMANEUVERED**

were as much opposed to conscription in Canada assumed the form of a parliamentary election, it was, in reality, a plebiscite on the issue of conscription. It was this issue, and this alone, that accounted too much control of things, and war. for the overwhelming return to therefore the ability, at whatever Party lines were broken thru and the constitution with the saw fit, to bring in conscription without opposition. Since MADE OUT Liberals were elected, not as the Conservatives opposed the gov-Liberals, but as advocates and deernment, they were considered to be fenders of the "no-conscription" in opposition to the government

Liberal Party Sweeps Canada

On "No-Conscription" Issue

C.C.F. Scores in Nova Scotia Because of Miners Support

policy. The so-called issue of "carrying on the war" was no issue at all. policy of "no conscription." Of course, the Liberal party is The political parties of Liberalism and Conservatism were at one on now in the same boat as that in election as opposed to approximately this question, as in a measure were which the Conservatives were trying 130 in 1935), the total vote polled by many leaders of the Canadian Com- to embark. They have complete conmonwealth Federation. The C.C.F., trol of the government, no opposition complete returns, runs very close to in fact, took the attitude that "what to speak of, and are in a position to its 1935 vote of 392,715. Considering was was, and very little could be do almost as they please. This situadone about it." The mud-slinging of tion, in the event that the tempo of issues, it can be said to have done the two old parties as to whether the war increased, will embarass the the war was being, or could be, best government. The resulting demand expedited by this or that party, left for ever increasing quantities of tees that there will be no conscrip- forced to introduce conscription and

ped into appearing as the party | that they will get "tougher" when favoring conscription, altho they re- the need arises, of that there can be iterated time and again that they no doubt. The situation is somewhat similar to the 1916 elections in the tion as the Liberals. To the public U. S. A. President Wilson and the mind, the label of "National govern- Democratic party were elected on a ment," under which the Conserva- "keep-America-out-of-war" policy. tives ran their campaign, implied Within six months, America was at war circumstances, it was not de-

But what of the C.C.F.? It gained one seat, increasing its representa- gates have returned to their districts tion in parliament from seven to eight. Despite the fact that it ran fewer candidates (only 96 in this the C.C.F., on the basis of almost that the C.C.F. neglected important

It gained an important industrial seat in Nova Scotia, in the mining the electorate cold. They went to man-power, for increased produc- district of Cape Breton South. It won the polls with one idea in mind: Elect tion, for new financing, will put the this seat, not on the basis of electhe party that can give us guaran- government on the spot. It will be tion policy, but due to the fact that, trict, a huge labor vote was split bein this district, the C.C.F. held the tween a Farmer-Labor candidate to adopt more dictatorial methods. affiliation of the miners union as a and a C.C.F. candidate. Moreover, The Liberals are well aware of the block. This economic organization many sincere votes that would have basis of their vote, and show no of the miners fighting for the work- come to labor were most likely desire, at this time, to get any ers from day to day, assured the transferred to the Liberal candidate, The Conservative party were trap- "tougher" than is necessary. But election for the C.C.F. candidate, who

The amendment was defeated by

for "democratic" peace aims.

sidered necessary.

New York City. The Board of Higher Education decided last week by a vote of 11 to 6 to appeal Justice McGeehan's ruling voiding the appointment of Bertrand Russell, world-famous philosopher, to the faculty of the College of the City of New York. The Board did this knowing that Mayor La Guardia, who the week before had struck the appropriation for the Russell and other appointments from the new city budget, opposed making

own counsel.

orders and prior sabotage were par-Tension thruout the rest of Euparticularly in the Balkans and in the Low Countries, which hourly expected to be made the victims of Board of Higher Education, in con-Reich and its allies. There were growing indications that a joint

"RECONSIDERING MARXISM" - $April\ 26$ - SYMPOSIUM-DISCUSSION

Speakers — Lewis Corey - Bertram D. Wolfe - Herbert Zam - W. Herberg — See Ad on Page 2

Federal "Anti-Trust" Drive Menaces Labor Movement

Sherman Law Never Meant for Unions, Woll Stresses

By MATTHEW WOLL

(These paragraphs are from an address, "Labor, Industry and the Law," delivered in New York on April 3 by Matthew Woll, vice-president of the A. F. of L.—Editor.)

THE Sherman Anti-Trust Act has now been on the statute books for fifty years. Probably no law ever passed by Congress sought to regulate more powerful forces. Thru the Sherman law, Congress attempted to canalize the economic processes of the United States within the social policy underlying the prohibition of "restraint of trade or commerce among the several states or with foreign nations." Obviously aimed to curb the menacing power of concentrated capital, it has been one of the strongest influences counteracting trade unionism in the United States and now threatens its annihil-

The decision of Judge Peyton Gordon of the District of Columbia Federal District Court recently that labor unions do not enjoy blanket exemption from prosecution under the anti-trust laws is a notable decision which is bound to have many repercussions. It upholds for the first time the use of the Sherman law against delays resulting from jurisdictional disputes with labor or ganizations. It also sweeps aside the livity actually existent. contention that labor lawyers have made for many years that, under the provisions of the Clayton Act, state to begin with. The A. F. of L. strength to prevent the employer trade unions are expressly exempted would agree that insofar as pricefrom the operation of the Sherman fixing is in fact illegal, it should not what the employer often terms Act. While I have no intention of be permitted. However, until we going into the merits of this par- learn what activities Mr. Arnold vent "the use of improved equip- of 1929 and that there are still some ticular controversy in connection with two organizations that have been chartered by the American Federation of Labor, I do think it not unimportant for me to emphasize what is the considered opinion of the representatives of labor with reference to the so-called "trust-busting" campaign of Thurman Arnold.

BACKGROUND OF SITUATION

Like all events it has a history. It will be remembered that in the ma: ter of the Danbury Hatters, a suit was brought against the United Hatters Union in 1903, alleging damages by boycott. It was not until 1915 that the Supreme Court, however, rendered its decision, declaring that individual members of the union, tho personally ignorant of unlawful acts committed by union officers, were responsible for all such acts so long as those union members paid their dues and took part in union affairs. Somewhat behowever, the Clayton Act was enacted, which provided in Section 6 "that unions shall not be held to be combinations in restraint of trade."

It is my position that the ordinary industrial or business corporation is very different from the labor union. The corporation is an organization day.

"The contract calls for the reinof dollars; the union is an organization of human beings. The purpose of the corporation is to make money; the chief practical duty of the union is to keep the corporation from making its profits at the expense of its workers. There is nothing in the nature of the case to show that what has worked well for one type of organization would do as well for the

Mr. Arnold appears to proceed upon the theory that there is no distinction between a union and a corporation. I do not know of any responsible labor leader of today who does not and would not subscribe to the theory that wherever individual leaders of labor or other organizations act in concert against the public interest or in violation of the laws of this country, they should be subject to punishment for such violations. Fundamentally, that is not the issue involved in the present controversy. What is involved is as to whether or not there is a valid distinction between men who are organized into a union for mutual protection for purposes of maintaining standards, for beneficial and educational purposes on a non-profit basis, and a business enterprise which is set up with the express purpose of making profits. We have insisted that there is a distinction; we have insisted that the recognition of that distinction is a thing that is a duty which is incumbent upon the courts of the land. There are, and perhaps will be for many years to come, those who seek to confuse the issue, but it is our bounden duty to try to keep the issue clear and to secure the support of an awakened public opinion on this matter.

This case however, does not stand by itself. It is one of a number now pending and threatened that constitute an unprecedented attack against organized labor in this country. This campaign has recently been launched by those who long professed to be "friends" of the working man. Led by Thurman Arnold, the Anti-Trust Division of the Department of Justice has obtained criminal indictments against many leaders in the labor movement. In addition, he has issued a proclamation specifying what activities labor organizations may engage in with impunity.

Mr. Arnold professes a desire to "help labor and industry" by destroying practises which he deems

Altho he lays much stress on his terial effect upon interstate comdesire to prosecute violations of the merce are unlawful, while those Sherman Act on the part of em- whose effect is indirect, incidental ployers of labor, the brunt of his at- and (by implication) immaterial, are tack has to-date, significantly gone not unlawful. against the trade-union movement.

MR. ARNOLD'S "PROHIBITIONS"

The eminent Assistant Attorney-General has described five practises ful or otherwise, if directed to the of labor organizations which he will not tolerate. These are unreasonable restraints designed to:

1. Enforce systems of graft and extortion. 2. Enforce "illegally fixed prices."

3. Prevent the use of cheaper material, improved equipment or more efficient methods,

4. Compel the hiring of useless and nnecessary labor. 5. Destroy an established and legi-

timate system of collective bargain-Concerning the first of these al-

eged offenses, nothing need be said further than that if this type of activity does exist, ample legal machinery other than the Sherman Act exists to prevent and punish violations of this nature. The A. F. of L. would be the last to raise its voice n protest of the use of federal and state anti-racketeering laws, or such criminal laws, against anyosuch act-

The second prohibition is meaningless, assuming as it does, an illegal bor union may not use its economic considers "illegal" under this prohibition, we are unable to make any intelligent comment thereon.

Then, too, we are not advised if Mr. Arnold intends to disregard the "rule of reason" in this class of cases the "rule of reason" in what may be combinations having a direct, im- "more efficient methods," industry

following letter, dated April 1, 1940,

from the New Jersey Joint Board of

"I am very glad to report that to-

day the Durham Dye Works, Wee-

hawken, N. J., signed a contract with

us. The contract goes into effect to-

statement of the workers who were

laid off because of union activities, a

closed shop, a 10% increase in wages:

arbitration of discharges and griev-

ances, and provision that no work

"We are very well satisfied with

the contract and want you and your

and of the Durham Dye workers."

In the early part of March 1940,

Dye Works at Weehawken, N. J.,

union and refused to bargain col-

Union representing thousands of

and finished in the Durham Dye industry.

yers in the industry.

Admission: 35 cents.

the Textile Workers Union.

"Dear Brother Nelson:

o organized labor.

monopolistic or in restraint of trade. | mediate and (by implication) ma-

The real danger to organized labor lies in the last three prohibitions. It should first be noted that Mr. Arnold seeks to forbid all labor activities of whatever nature, peaceends set forth in his five prohibitions. Under such interpretation of the anti-trust laws, even peaceful picketing, peaceful striking-peacefully announcing to the public labor's position in a labor disputeis outlawed. Thus, those labor organizations and their members using these peaceful and conventional methods of announcing their grievances are subject to criminal prosecution. By thus indiscriminately condemning the ends of a labor dispute without regard to the means employed, Mr. Arnold goes far beyond even the most reactionary and obnoxious antilabor interpretations of the Sherman

DANGEROUS IMPLICATIONS

Proves Solidarity Despite Labor Split

goods Workers Union Local 155, their work to that firm.

It is the implications of the three principal injunctions of Mr. Arnold, rather than this flouting of judicial mental anti-labor views of the Assistant Attorney-General If a la- have been destroyed would make from using "cheaper materials," or "more efficient methods," or to preare seriously restricted. "Cheaper attempt to prohibit the normal be material produced by the use of non-union labor or under depressed or sweatshop conditions. "More efsince he has completely waived aside ficient methods" are more often than to help labor by increasing employnot found to be some form or other considered strictly labor cases. Under of a speed-up system. Using the

we shall continue our friendship with

both organizations in the labor

movement (C.I.O. and A. F. of L.),

towards us."

the Textile Workers Union, thru its Union in New York was involved in

who were having their fabrics dyed and recognized labor union in the

Reconsidering

Marxism

Symposium - Discussion

Lewis Corey's articles on Marxism in recent issues

of the Nation

Friday Evening April 26, 1940

8 P. M.

RIVERA MURALS HALL, 131 West 33rd St., N. Y. C.

Participants:

LEWIS COREY, WILL HERBERG, BERTRAM D. WOLFE.

HERBERT ZAM, Chairman: JAY LOVESTONE

Auspices:

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officers, notified the Knitgoods Work- strikes and stoppages and that its

MACHINES REPLACE MEN

The chart is made up of indexes for total man-hours worked, level of production and output per man-hour, based on 1929—100. The total man-hour figures are calculated on Buro of Labor Statistics average payroll figures divided by average hourly held in Local 22 of the I.L.G.W.U. wage rates in the manufacturing industries.

ciency of production and the reduction of man-hours per unit which it causes are illustrated by the above chart, taken from the March issue of the Economic Outlook, a C.I.O. publication. In this was very nearly the same, shows masses are just about fed up with chart, three peak years within the clearly the same kind of a trend: decade, 1929, 1937 and 1939, are given. As each of these peaks were reached, the amount of production made in each man-hour increased substantially. This estimate indicates an over-all increase of productivity per man-hour of nearly 28% in the decade of 1929 to 1939. This chart Fourth and the figures back of it show why, when production in December 1939,

would be given a free hand to defy nearly all attempts of labor organizations to maintain proper and reasonable standards of living for their members.

Regarding labor's resistance t the introduction of "improved equipment", is it not understandable that precedent, that discloses the funda- upon the introduction of "laborsaving devices," those whose jobs some effort to protect their livelihood? Is this not all the more under standable when it is realized that the production of goods by the nation's industry today is at the level ment," then such labor organizations ten million unemployed workers? To material" is almost always found to resistance of labor to further swelling the ranks of the unemployed comes ill from one who excuses his "drive" on the ground that he wishes

(The second part of this article will the "rule of reason," it is held that excuse of "cheaper materials" or appear in the next issue of this paper.

Campaign for Youth's Needs **Explains Stand**

quarter 1937111 105.9

(For indexes, 1937=100.)

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Worked Man-

By DOROTHY CAMPBELL

New York City. THE Bronx Youth Branch of the I.L.L.A. held a meeting several weeks ago on the Campaign for Youth's Needs. Lewis Conn, the director of that organization, was the speaker. It was on the strength of is information and on their own observations that the Bronx Youth Branch voted at their last meeting to participate in every way possible n the activities of the C.Y.N.

That the youth of today is in great need, there is no doubt. With 4,000,000 boys and girls out of school and without jobs and with about 3,000,000 more on farms and in rural areas just managing to exist in great poverty, it would be impossible to ignore or minimize the necessity for some organized attempt by young people themselves to better their conditions. And, as Lewis Conn pointed out, a large part of Hitler's strength came from jobless youth.

Realizing, therefore, that a strong, active group is needed to contend with so vast a problem, the Bronx Youth Branch was pleased to hear THE C.I.O. scored a sweeping vic- Conn state that the C.Y.N. was tory last week in the elections starting modestly in order to build

> The Campaign has limited its program to three "prejudices." They are as follows:

> 1. A "prejudice" against dictatorships. We don't like them abroad, and we want none of them here, whether it be of the Russian, German, Italian or our own home-grown variety. We want the support of no group which upholds totalitarianism anywhere in the world.

2. A bias in favor of democracy. And we mean something pretty definite. We want to make democracy work by making it meet human

3. A prejudice in favor of workers, farmers, and consumers organizing to protect their standards of living—because thereby they move

toward true economic democracy. Other organizations interested or cooperating with the Campaign For Youth's Needs are the National Council for Methodist Youth, Workmen's Circle (Youth section), Farmers Union, Young People's Socialist League, Southern Tenant Farmers

groups, etc. The C.Y.N., aware of "the Administration's effort to pare already scanty federal youth aid to a skeleton," has been carrying on a campaign against N.Y.A. cuts. It has also been engaged in a drive for "adequate apprenticeship training, in cooperation with interested unions." "Unions and the Youth" is one of its planned publications.

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Letters from Our Readers:

This Is Not the Way To Fight Stalinism

Montreal, Canada Editor, Workers Age:

ERMIT me thru your newspaper to extend my congratulations to Brother Zimmerman and the entire progressive slate on the successful termination of the recent elections A defeat for the Stalinists, regardless in what field, is a blow against THE continued growth of the effi- reached a peak above the June 1929 foreign domination, a blow against peak, there were over two million dictatorship, and is a decisive vicless workers employed than in 1929. tory for the liberal and progressive- Replies: A comparison of the second minded workers. This victory is sigquarter of 1937 and the fourth nificant because it was won by demquarter of 1939, when production ocratic means; also it shows that the them and their work which has

Man-Output the trade-union movement. I am a member of the Cloakmakers Union of Montreal. In our recent elections, the "left wing" (Stalinists) was permitted to run candidates for all offices except business agent. The Joint Council handed down a decision to the Election Objections Committee, instructing them to reject the "left-wing" candidate for business agent on the ground that Canada was at war and that the union could not risk having one of its leaders in opposition to the government policy.

It seems rather ironical that the administration of the I.L.G.W.U. in Montreal should support the alleged war on fascism along the Maginot able the Stalinists to pose as martyrs Line, but when it comes to home and win the sympathy and even suprule, they do not hesitate to employ tactics of a similar nature. For reasons other than those of the Stalinists, I am opposed to the war; could not these same tactics be used against me or any other progressive who is opposed to war?

didate for business agent should 22 and 155 of the I.L.G.W.U. But have been permitted to run, and such an appeal is possible only on then have him defeated at the polls, the basis of genuine and unrestricted as was the entire "left-wing slate."

Having voted against the Joint Council decision, I was assailed by many for "defending" the Stalinists, which could not have been further from my mind. I would like to now if my position was correct on

> A MONTREAL FRIEND OF THE WORKERS AGE

The Editor

OF course, we think our Montreal friend is entirely right in his attitude. To rule a candidate off the ballot in a union election except on proved nothing but detrimental to strictly constitutional grounds is an arbitrary and impermissible violation of democratic rights. The case is made even worse by the official reason given for ruling the Stalinist candidate off the ballot—that his candidacy might offend the Canadian authorities. The whole incident seems to us to be entirely unworthy of a union such as the I.L.G.W.U. Our Montreal correspondent did his duty, in our opinion, when he refused to go along with the arbitrary and unjustified ruling of the Joint Council.

Nor should it be overlooked that such undemocratic "administrative" methods against the Stalinists are, in their very nature, generally ineffective and self-defeating. They enport of workers who have nothing in common with Stalinism. The only way of really defeating Stalinism is by appealing to the rank and file of the membership with a constructive program to meet their problems and needs. This is what the progres-I believe that the "left-wing" can- sive administrations did in Locals

About the Second International

New York City. | tional, and the leaderships of most

Editor, Workers Age: Editor, Workers Age:

of its sections, are functioning simply as auxiliaries of the Allied Workers Age of the Second Interna-

UNAFFILIATED RADICAL New York City.

"itor, Workers Age:

take on the question in the S. P.

The Editor

Replies: THE question of international **1** affiliation is one of considerable importance to socialist unity, but it is one not likely to arise until a great deal of other ground has been

covered on the road to unity. We think it is obviously inconsistent for any socialist organization that takes its socialism seriously to remain affiliated with the Socialist (Second) International, especially since the outbreak of the war.

It is not necessary here to say anything about the role of the Socialist International during the World War or in the post-war period. On most essential points, its position was simply not socialist at all; in some cases, it did not even come up to the standard of advanced liberalism.

But even if we were not to look backward too closely or too far, we have the present situation before us. In this present war, the central authorities of the Second Interna-

labor feeling of many youth," the Campaign for Youth Needs urges tion, Youth Committee Against War, labor to "help youth help itself," Avukah, Consumers Cooperative thereby showing youth that their cause is one with that of labor. To summarize, the main purpose

of the C.Y.N. is "to stimulate and initiate action by young people on the economic issues confronting them." They plan to form a vigorous national center "for all young people who will have none of totalitarianism in any form, and who will unite with all who are 'ill-housed, ill-clad. and ill-fed' in the struggle to make

League possibly uniting with the war regime, that is, of Anglo-French Socialist Party, it would be enlight- imperialism. In France, there are ening to read an analysis in the even three representatives of the French section of the Socialist Intional and what attitude you would ternational in the Reynaud-Daladier government, the very same government that is persecuting the genuine socialists of the P.S.O.P. in a most savage manner! The Second International is not a

WHAT is your position on the trade union or even a mass party Second International? Will where the question of preserving long as the Socialist Party of the tion of parties. Only those parties thruout the country. The C.I.O.-af- and as much constructive activity United States is affiliated to it? | properly belong in it which agree with its outlook, its program, and its general activities. Certainly no party belongs in it which differs from it on all essential points, above all, on so vital a question as the present war. And, without in the least desiring to instruct the Socialist Party on its own affairs, we nevertheless feel that it really has no place in the Second International and no real justification for remainng in it.

A new international concentration of revolutionary socialist organizations, of socialist organizations that take their socialism seriously, is necessary. The International Revolutionary Marxist Center, to which the I.L.L.A. adheres, is a significant approach in that direction.

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Knitgoods Union Helps CIO Auto Union Sweeps Elections Textile Workers Win In G.M. Plants

Detroit, Mich. Works, were immediately notified

OUIS Nelson, manager of Knit
That they would have to stop sending General Motors automobile plants words and as little official red-tape. The socialist Party of the control of the starting modestly in order to build by the Knitgoods Workers Union held under the Wagner Act in the a firm foundation. With as few that they would have to stop sending General Motors automobile plants words and as little official red-tape. General Motors automobile plants words and as little official red-tape The New York Knitgoods Union filiated United Automobile Workers as possible, they hope to establish was involved in a great many dif- polled about 90,000 votes to 30,000 the ability and worth of the organficulties as a result, being called to for the A. F. of L. affiliate of the ization. "We want no more paper orthe State Mediation Board and same name. This 3-to-1 majority in ganizations," said the speaker, and threatened with court action by the total votes gave the C.I.O. control employers association. In spite of of 51 of the 61 plants in the G.M. this, it lived up to the pledges made system, it appeared, Three craft for the I.L.G.W.U, by David Dubin- unions and the "neither-union" group sky, on November 13, 1938, when polled about 15,000 together. Over he said. "Having been placed in that 90% of the production and mainposition by the course of events, we tenance workers in the plants parti-

nevertheless wish to emphasize that cipated in the elections. The C.I.O. carried by a big lead both Flint and Detroit, the largest G.M. centers, taking all five of the atho not affiliated with either. Of large Flint plants and 12 of the 15 will go into a shop declared unfair course, we will not feel obligated to Detroit units in the production workhelp in situations involving competi- ers vote.

Five plants were won by the A. F tion and rivalry. But where the efforts will be genuine, having to do of L. union. The Mechanics Educaorganization to know that we are with safeguarding and advancing the tional Society, an independent orvery grateful for the effective work economic welfare of the workers, we ganization of skilled men, carried you did in helping us with the or-shal be found ready to assist and one. In two plants, run-off elections ganization of the shop. I am also ex- we hope that the attitude of the two will be required, and in one the "no-

It is true that the Knitgoods C.I.O. Defeated in Edison Elections

ers Union in New York City of a members suffered materially because labor dispute between the Textile of the situation in the Durham Dye Workers Union and the Durham Works. Nevertheless, the member-The C.I.O. was badly defeated by ship showed its loyalty to the labor an independent union in the collecwhich firm organized a company movement and, when their union tive bargaining elections held last Union, Workers Security Federacalled upon them, they responded to week among the 31,500 employees lectively with the Textile Workers the call. The Durham Dye Works of the Consolidated Edison Company soon saw that it would not be here. It was the biggest election ever able to utilize the present split in conducted by the New York regional Over twenty knitting plants in the labor movement to maintain a office of the National Labor Rela-New York City in contractual rela- company union in its plant and had tions Board. tions with the Knitgoods Workers to come to terms with the bona-fide

formed three months ago thru the withdrawal of its members from the A.F. of L. and took the name of Protherhood of Consolidated Edison Employees, defeated the Amalgamated Utility Workers, a C.I.O. effiliate. The 17,298 production workers and the 12,258 white-collar workers voted separately.

Among the production workers, the Brotherhood received 9,813 votes, against 6.188 for the C.I.O. affiliate and 961 for neither union. Twentynine ballots were void, thirteen blank and 294 challenged. In the whitecollar section the total for the independent organization was 6,311, for the C.I.O. 3,541, and for neither 1,969. Five ballots were void, five

A two-week investigation into the validity of the election preceded the count. Prompted by C.I.O. charges of multiple voting, the recheck disclosed that not more than five of the workers could have voted more than once.

Read—Spread

pressing the thanks of our Local 77 organizations will be just as friendly union" vote prevailed.

The unaffiliated group, which was

blank and 427 challenged.

WORKERS AGE

On Rosa Luxemburg's Work

"The Russian Revolution"

By BERTRAM D. WOLFE

(We publish below Bertram D. Wolfe's introduction to his Revolution." This work ran serially in these columns in even learned of its existence. recent issues and will soon appear in book form.—Editor.)

I. THE PAMPHLET'S HISTORY

ROSA LUXEMBURG'S pamphlet on the Russian Revolution has had a strange fate. When it was written, movement is only now catching up with it and becoming Russian movements and the nascent Communist Internamight not have been spared and how many evils avoided!

It began as a short article written for the underground Spartacus Letters when its author was in Breslau prison in plete version, so far as I know in English—for serial pub-Germany for her opposition to the World War. It was a lication in the Workers Age, of which the present pamphlet friendly yet critical appraisal of the revolution that had just is a reprint. I have followed in general the Neuer Weg text occurred in Russia, intended to enlighten the German proletariat as to that great event. But Rosa's associates attempted to persuade her that it should not be published because of fragments. Former Spartacans who were personally assothe difficulties in which the Russian Revolution then found itself. It was the hard moment after Brest-Litovsk when the apparently victorious German military might had carved German Neuer Weg edition consists in my omission of an great sectors out of the Russian land and was imposing a harsh victor's peace. The very fate of the Soviet regime does not, I feel, add anything essential to the views exwas still hanging in the balance. But Rosa insisted that a pressed on that subject within the pamphlet. That appendix friendly and critical estimate was always in order, and to is also omitted from the French edition, although the convince her less clear-headed and courageous comrades French editors manufactured a number of appendices by she began to write this little classic.

Every line of it was written in jail, on the basis of German newspaper accounts, of Russian newspapers and pamphlets smuggled into Germany by the Soviet Embassy and into her cell by friends and comrades, and of the oral communication of those who came to visit her. To that fragmentary information she added her personal knowledge derived from participation in the revolutionary movements of Germany, Poland and Russia, her observations during the Russian Revolution of 1905, her rich and many-sided understanding of the history of previous revolutions, her mastery of Marxist theory, her experiences in the work of the Socialist (Second) International. And she illumined and fused all this material in the glow of her lively and penetrating intelligence. The result is an amazing example of the fruitfulness of the Marxist method at its best for the understanding of history in the making.

The subsequent career of the little work is no less pathetic. She never finished it, for the beginnings of the German revolution opened the doors of her prison and put her at cratic tradition, ill-equipped economically and culturally for the head of a great revolutionary struggle which ended with the building of a model socialist order. It had occurred in her murder and the defeat of the movement for a prole- the midst of war and economic chaos, under the advancing tarian and socialist Germany. Thus the Social-Democratic leaders at the helm in the country "rejected" one side of the teachings in this pamphlet. Then the Communist leaders proceeded to reject the other; for, out of growing sub- the hardest conceivable conditions? What right had we to servience, emotional and ideological, to Russian domination of their movement, they decided not to publish it.

When the censorship of her comrades was at last broken, it was under most unfortunate circumstances. Paul Levi, a other movements with the obligation of worshipping and close associate of hers, was expelled from the Communist imitating its weaknesses, in place of assimilating the essence burden, has its comic relief. For as-Party of Germany, in a dispute in which he was by no of its mighty example? means alone in the wrong; and only after his expulsion did he choose to issue a somewhat incomplete version of last thing done and left undone in an experience with the utterly indifferent to what is really less and irresponsible collaboration totalitarian aggressors, the right to the never finished pamphlet. It was not that he wished to dictatorship of the proletariat under such abnormal condi-"expurgate" Rosa's manuscript, but he had a less complete tions should represent the very pinnacle of perfection." copy than the one now available.

preted by the Social-Democratic spokesmen as a weapon mately caused its destruction! That is why Rosa Luxemagainst the Communists and the Russian Revolution. And burg opposed its formation, for she saw the inevitable dethe Communists threw doubt upon its authenticity as a rep- fect in the foundation. resentation of Rosa's true views, and upon the motives of to speak, as a matter of course and automatically—or that examined any man's work and would have liked every man front them." to examine hers. In short, the unfortunate pamphlet was

made into a faction football and kicked around by every one. It soon disappeared from circulation in Germany without leaving any significant trace upon the movement; and translation of Rosa Luxemburg's famous work, "The Russian those in other parties of the Communist International never

In 1928, when the Communist International was already breaking down, the pamphlet began a new cycle of history. In that year it was published in the present, completer form, by Felix Weil in Gruenbergs Archiv fuer die Geschichte des Sozialismus under der Arbeiterbewegung, Vol. it seemed like a work ahead of its time; the revolutionary XIII. Thereafter, the German Communist Opposition and then the Neuer Weg group began to popularize some of its capable of assimilating its meaning. Had the German and viewpoints, and in the early thirties it was published as a separate pamphlet by Neuer Weg in Paris; a French transtional been able to put themselves at the height of Rosa's lation by Marcel Olivier was issued during the Spanish vantage point to see with her clear vision, how many defeats civil war; and considerable portions of it were reprinted in English by the International Review in this country.

I have made a completely new translation—the first combut have also made use of Levi's and Olivier's versions, and have reproduced as closely as possible even the unfinished ciated with Rosa Luxemburg have helped me clear up some doubtful points. The only difference between this and the appendix included there on the National Question, which taking excerpts from other works of Rosa Luxemburg. The division into chapters and the chapter headings are my own

II. APPRAISAL OF THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION

OTHERS might regard the Russian Revolution with blind idolatry or blind hatred. But this clear-eyed, courageous woman, watching in the darkness of her prison cell, in a land made doubly dark by military dictatorship and socialist betrayal, did not let the promise in the eastern sky blind her to the new problems of the new day she had worked for and

The great service of the Bolsheviks, she explained, was to put socialism on the order of the day, to save the Russian Revolution from extinction, to begin the proletarian way out of the shambles of war, to redeem the tarnished honor of the Socialist International.

But the revolution was no model revolution carried or under model laboratory conditions. It had occurred in a backward land, cursed with poverty, lacking in a demobayonets of the German military machine, at a moment when the working class elsewhere had failed in its duty. How could it be a model revolution occurring thus under tion-wide independent labor party, C.I.O. involves himself in such fanreproach it for its failings for which our own dereliction rection. Yet the grimness of the sit- is done to the cause of labor's poliwas so largely responsible? And would it not be dangerous to try to make virtues of its hard necessities, and saddle

"It would be a crazy idea," she wrote, "to think that every

But it was this crazy idea which formed the foundation Immediately, the pamphlet was picked up and misinter- of the Communist International from the outset and ulti-

She did not use her critical method, as the enemies of smile a little to avoid weeping at cal activity of the workers that it called free will (and that means: to Germany, he would only be doing Paul Levi in publishing it. It was considered fair game to revolution did, to escape their own duties, but rather to such utter madness imply that wherever she differed with Lenin and Trotsky, emphasize them. If the Russian Revolution is warped, she either she was ill-informed and wrong, and they right—so asked, is it not because we, the German working class and that of other countries—have not fulfilled our duty? she herself had subsequently reconsidered and acknowledged | Whose fault is it that German bayonets are advancing, that her "errors." Zealous young communists were taught that it the whole economy is breaking down under the blows of was some sort of sin and danger to the soul to be found the German military machine, that the harsh terms of Brestreading it or taking it seriously, much as a pious Jew is Litovsk are being imposed, that we have not responded to taught to regard the New Testament with aversion and to the stimulus of their heroic example? "To concern one's believe that he opens it at his soul's peril. Rosa's arguments self with a critical analysis of the Russian Revolution in all were not taken on their merit either by advocates or oppo- its historical connections, is the best training for the German his own lieutenants, among his col- without any outraged rantings by nents; they were not examined critically as she would have and the international working class for the tasks which con-

(Continued in the next issue)

Norway on the Eve of The Nazi Invasion

German Refugee in Oslo Describes Tension

main activity is to keep records of

they are, why they have come to

Norway, and sometimes he tries to

make it difficult for them to stay in

Norway. It is known that he is

friendly with Nazis or Nazi sympa-

thizers, and there are rumors that he

hands over to the Nazis the informa-

tion he gathers about political re-

fugees and that he also gets inform-

ation from the Nazis. He would cer-

tainly welcome a German invasion ...

You do not need reports from me

about the internal situation in Ger-

many, Read carefully all Nazi news-

papers, and the Frankfurter Zeitung

in particular. It is almost incredible

with what cynicism the Nazis reveal

everything. Illegal reports appear a

poor source of information compared

to what the Nazis themselves reveal.

in carrying thru their internal poli-

cies. Read carefully, for instance,

about this execution as reported in

cuted. The Nazi paper publishes this

fact with just these words of expla-

nation: "She committed arson in her

factory so as not to have to work

"STALIN"

By Boris Souvarine

(A Critical Survey of

Bolshevism)

\$3.75

WORKERS AGE BOOKSHOP

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there any more. . . .

(We publish below a letter from a German political refugee in Norway written just before the German invasion.—Editor.)

Oslo, Norway. | King to appoint such an officer. He THE people here are strongly therefore feels independent of the ■ moved by national sentiments government and parliament. His under threat of a barbarian invasion. For the first time, they are facing a national catastrophe. You can imagine what it means. All of the old international and humanitarian ideas are being swept away. Feelings are simple and deep. For the immediate future, I do not yet believe that this country will become the scene of war; yet it looks very serious. Anyhow, we all are very calm in expectation of a situation where we shall perish.

Norway is one of the few countries in Europe with really democratic traditions. The small independent landowners, as well as the seafaring people, fishermen and seamen, have a strong sense of independence. Besides, this little country has not been involved in war for over 270 years. Norway has been a peaceful isle in militarized Europe, a country without military tradi-

Therefore, political refugees have not found it difficult to live on the the Frankfurter Zeitung. A 26-year best of terms with the Norwegian people. There is no race hatred and old girl from a small town is exelittle political prejudice, and many people try to help those who have come there as political refugees because of their anti-fascist activities. Yet, the police machine—in size small but, in view of the peaceful situation in Norway, quite sufficient -has never been controlled by really democratic elements. There is a special commissioner in charge of the control of "subversive" activities. especially of foreigners. He is known as a Nazi sympathizer. He has not been able to act against the political refugees because the government is elected by a left-wing parliament. But that commisioner can not be removed either because the democratic constitution allows the

=by Jim Cork=

Sen, W. W. Norton and Co., New York City. 1939. \$2.25.

political refugees to find out who

peasant movement. With such a variety of topics treated, the author manages to cover most of the important ques-The Nazis themselves proclaim the tions stirring India today. She is necessity of terror and executions prone to idolatry and her critical judgment is often blunted thereby. typical of the majority of middleclass intellectuals of India. She is words to say about the landlords;

and Gandhism. She subscribes to the like to see unity, is quite naive to grant India's demands. as to the reasons for division: "At the present moment, when the goal ing tidbits of biography and detail. of every nationalist in India is independence, there is no Right and no will supply an interesting and in-Left." The deep rift between the formative introduction to some of factions cannot be so easily exorcised India's major problems. by a phrase. After all, it exists be-

Books

TESTAMENT OF INDIA, by Ella tured by John L. Lewis!

famous woman poet and nationalist;

vote itself exclusively to adoration of the Great and Wise Leader. Her general attitude is one quite as to how to secure this independsympathetic with the economic the Hindu-Moslem feud is excellent. misery of India's vast oppressed | She shows clearly how Jimnah's she throws a few polite sentences at flames of the feud with their fanathe socialists; but her essential out- ticism, producing dissension and dislook and sympathy are with Gandhi cord, and creating a tremendous obmain dogmas of the Gandhist ritual unity of the two major elements of -non-violence, passive resistance, the Indian population. Only England etc. She deprecates division in the has been gainer by this feud, and it

This Is What the Last World War Cost CASUALTIES OF ALL BELLIGERENTS

(Compiled by U. S. War Department)

ALLIES				
	Killed	Wounded	Prisoners and	Total
	and Died	Casualties	Missing	Casualties
Russia	1,700,000	4,950,000	2,500,000	9,150,000
France	1,357,800	4,266,000	537,000	6,160,800
British Empire	908,371	2,090,212	191,652	3,190,235
Italy	650,000	947,000	600,000	2,197,000
United States	126,000	234,300	4,500	350,300
Roumania		120,000	80,000	535,706
Japan	300	907	3	1,210
Serbia	45,000	133,148	152,958	331,106
Belgium	13,716	44,686	34,659	93,061
Greece	5,000	21,000	1,000	27,000
Portugal	7,222	13,751	12,318	33,291
Montenegro	3,000	10,000	7,000	20,000
TOTAL	5,152,115	12,831,004	4,121,090	22,089,709
CENTRAL POWERS				
Germany	1,773,700	4,216,058	1,152,800	7,142,558
Austro-Hungary	1,200,000	3,620,000	2,200,000	7,020,000
Turkey	325,000	400,000	250,000	975,000
Bulgaria	87,500	152,390	27,029	266,919
TOTAL	3,386,200	8,388,448	3,629,829	15,040,477

GRAND TOTAL

Killed 8,538,315 21,219,452 Prisoners & Missing

Lewis's Antics Hurt **Labor Party Prospects**

Outbursts No Way to Build Political Force

By M. S. MAUTNER

THESE are difficult, trying days people" as the special field of the I for those who aspire to a na- Stalinists. When the head of the or some promising step in that di- tastic adventures, far greater harm uation, in which all the mistakes of tical independence. previous movements are repeated and new ones created to increase the suredly no single person in the leadhappening around him and what is really being felt by the working peo- zations? Or is a labor party essenple to the extent of actually clown-And, like all comics, part of Mr. Lewis's appeal is wistful and nostalgic; his audience must at least

wintry blast at the Democratic par- battle? ty. Defied by his own miners (and defiance in the U.M.W. is defi- gue was formed, its program was port" given him by some autocratic political action would be so carica-

Mr. Lewis is a great man for arrangements if not for policy and lization of elements and ideas alprogram. He achieved labor unity THIS book by a prominent Indian all by himself thru the simple methwoman journalist and political od of designating hall, date, time writer is a well-written and inform- and seating arrangements for a ative study of important individuals, "unity convention". He has now, to events and problems of contem- his own and the Daily Worker's satporary India. The individuals treated isfaction, built a labor party by a are Gandhi; Nehru; Tagore; Bose; similar method, altho omitting the Prasad, ex-president of the Indian hall this time, probably out of sheer National Congress; Sarajini Naidu, modesty. His labor party is to be most basic needs of the workers for be afflicted give you the right to Even more than that, England in based on no known program. It his own inscrutable ends of power-Jimnah, head of the Moslem League; would consist of the Townsend move-Malaviya, head of the fanatical com- ment, which is hardly in Mr. Lewis's munalist Maha-Sabha, Hindu coun- pocket; the American Youth Conterpart of the Moslem League; and gress, which is divided on the issue, Abdul Ghaffar Khan, colorful leader the Stalinists being with Lewis, the of the Red Shirts of the Northwest few remaining "innocent" youth Frontier, bone in the throat of the leaders denying that the organiza-English military, Moslem follower tion has agreed to such political of the Congress, and known as the commitment; the National Negro Frontier Gandhi. There are chapters Congress, a Stalinist paper organion the following questions: the zation; and Mr. John L. Lewis. To Young Socialists, terrorism, commu- begin with, therefore, this is to be nalism, women's movements and the a labor party without labor, without the trade unions, to rest almost

> Now we are used to this kind of cause of the fundamental differences

exclusively on communists, and to de-

Miss Sen's critical treatment of peasant mass; she has some harsh Moslem League and Malaviya's Hindu Maha-Sabha have fanned the stacle in the way of the necessary Indian National Congress and would is still a trump card in her refusal

As to the rest, there are interest-For the general reader, this book

We have already discussed in political party? Is it not on pro- ern powers have not the slightest hese columns the significance of Mr. I gram that labor rallies its forces, Lewis's method and argument in his and all progressives as well, to do When Labor's Non-Partisan Lea-

"labor parties" and this kind of

"all-embracing conferences of the

Can a labor party be created by

of reprisal against former political

ance indeed), Lewis went his uncon-subservient to the Democratic parcerned way, failing to mobilize any ty, its organization as weak as a leagues in the C.I.O. among the Mr. Lewis in an empty auditorium trade-union rank and file. He ap- carrying back to him his own echoed peared quite satisfied with the "sup- | words, the League gave promise because the organized workers were Stalinist executive boards of C.I.O. aroused by its straightforward polunions in defiance of their own con- icy and caught up in the enthusiasm vention decisions. Yet, despite his of its creation. When the American overweening egotism, so help us, we Labor Party was formed, it receivnever thought to see the day when ed support because the forces creatlabor's grave need for independent ing it had been maturing, had been organized over a long period of time. The organization of the party was a consolidation and crystalready in existence and needing just

such invigoration. none of these matters and so, tho of deadly infections; the police can in the last months of 1939. titular head of a national trade- reach the center of the plague only union movement finds himself vir- by crossing your home. Neither the 1940 and 1915. France and England tually isolated with none to lean on invocation of the Magna Charta nor are getting a much larger share of but the Stalinists. Like them and your reasonable fear of the trouble their goods from their colonies and with them, he is playing with the with which your living room could from the dominions than in 1914-17. politics in the Democratic party.

Being no substitute for the "labor" in "labor party", Mr. Lewis is cupy apartments but possess what succeeding in making mock of the whole notion of independent labor questionable if anyone would want political action, and with the utter abandon of one seeking to amuse, mocks himself as well.

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131 West 33rd Street Reviewed by J. CORK

Willi Schlamm Shows **Allies How to Fight**

Urges British, French to Invade Neutrals

By DONALD GRAHAM

NO one can match the determination of the Social-Democratic Federation in asserting undying BRITISH WORKERS WORSE loyalty to democracy and the peaceful, gradual transition to socialism. Hardly an opportunity is missed by them in condemning violence-particularly working-class violence. It is noting the outburst of Willi of that paper, in which he lets a a whole bag-full of death-dealing felines emerge.

HOW TO FIGHT "REAL WAR"

into the backbones of the pacifistic, democracies." About a quarter of week-kneed Allied General Staff. He the delegates to the recent national sets forth to show these generals how | conference of the British Cooperato fight a real war. When Schlamm tive Party cast over a million votes gets going in a war, you are for a resolution condemning the war soon made to realize it's an honest- as "imperialistic" and demanding to-goodness violent one, not one con- "an immediate peace and calling for ducted with cameras and leaflets. an international workers conference He proposes to start things going to insure that peace should be based with a mere side-excursion of in- on certain principles." Schlamm canvading Soviet Russia! He writes: not restrain himself at the thought "If the democratic forces want to of more than a million class-contake the initiative in southeastern scious British workers, and not Europe, they can strike the Moscow- Stalin stooges either, voting for Berlin Axis at its weakest point by peace. It inspires him to write the having General Weygand's army following outburst: launch an attack against the Cau-casus." Apparently, Schlamm is writer wants to express his sincere ready to sacrifice the last Frenchman, if necessary, to get at Stalin. the world more deserving of hatred When Stalin invaded Finland, what than war, and more contemptible indignation was displayed in the than even fascism: it is the irres-New Leader! What denunciation of ponsibility of 'radicals' who sigh and the Russian War Lord! What re- weep our world into desperate conminders of the right of nations to fusion of destruction and death." self-determination! But when it comes to invading Russia, Schlamm has forgotten all about such minor matters as ruthless and bloody invasion or the self-determination of However, don't think that Schlamm

vasion of Russia. That just whets but for the New Leader and for sohis appetite. He then suggests cial democracy in general, since in smashing thru all neutral countries this particular case only does he without such out-of-date formalities make any specification. a determined individual, by a threat as asking "by your leave," and then bearding the Nazi monster in his HOW TO HELP friends, by an announcement in the dan. He says: "Have the All'es of HITLER ership of the labor movement is so press, by a vigorous speech, by reck-there is no other way to get at the with crackpot and Stalinist organi- draw Nazi Germany's neutral neigh- for Hitler that I have seen since bors into the field of their police the war began. For it actually justitially a process and movement ra- action, even against these neighbors fies in advance Hitler's invasion of ing about it as is Mr. John L. Lewis. ther than a thing, an expressed de- expressed will? There is no other Scandinavia! If Hitler printed miltermination of labor's millions that way to beat Nazism. As long as the lions of copies of the Schlamm hymn they will no longer be bamboozled, Scandinavian and the Balkan states to war, and distributed them thruout a vehicle for such democratic politi- are allowed to execute their so- Scandinavia, the Balkans, Russia and cannot be mistaken for a traditional prefer serfdom to fight), the westchance to overcome Nazi Germany

respect [the neutrals] formal privileges for the sake of the essential leges for the sake of the essential sissues would be as right as it would Remedy for U.S. be understandable." Schlamm is proposing here no less than marching forward with Chamberlain to "peace and democracy" over the prostrate bodies of the Scandinavian democrabodies of the Scandinavian democratics. As to the democratic will exburged by the neutrols to keep out pressed by the neutrals to keep out with 10,000,000 unemployed men and of the slaughter, or as to their rights women, the war is looked upon in to self-determination-these have become mere "formal privileges." There is no question about it—when New Leader social-democrat gets violent, he can make even the Allied generals look like sissies. And Hitler has not been very slow in taking Schlamm's advice.

Willi Schlamm gives the most remarkable argument for his warmongering. He writes: "Suppose that to increase industrial production to next to your apartment a man keeps But Mr. Lewis has considered and trains rats, dangerous bearers prevent police action." This argu- particular is now trying to take over ment is really weird. Aside from the the markets formerly held by Gerfact that the neutrals don't oc- many. is called sovereignty, it is more than the police to enter his apartment to hunt rats if it meant that all the members of his family would be slaughtered and his home wrecked in the precess. And besides, who's proclaimed the Allied imperialists to be the supreme police force of the universe anyway?

> AMERICA ALSO A NEUTRAL

Apropos the largest of all neutrals, the United States, Willi Schlamm is amazingly restrained. In fact, he is completely silent. Do the Allied powers have Schlamm's permission to disregard America's rights as a neutral? Are the rights of the United States as a neutral privileges" which Chamberlain and States at this time. Or perhaps the prices are on the way up. United States should send an army abroad to help Britain and France the effect of the war on our econin the rather large undertaking that omy with the comment: "In any Schlamm has planned for them? event, the immediate impact of war Again, Schlamm has nothing to say. on the American economy is not re-Even before Hitler's invasion of sulting in any quick solution for our Scandinavia, the idea of an Amer- unemployment problem." ican army landing in Oslo and It all comes down to the point that arouse enthusiastic approval among standing."

the people. Schlamm may be in a bellicose mood, but he also knows how to keep a diplomatic silence.

THAN HITLER!

One might think that, after having drawn into the orbit of invasion by the Allied powers every neutral country from the Atlantic to the therefore very much worth-while Pacific, from the Arctic to the Indian Ocean, even the most blood-Schlamm, leading contributor to the thirsty militarist would be satisfied. New Leader, in the March 30th issue One could expect Willi Schlamm to sit back then, rub his hands, and deviolent cat out of the bag. In fact, clare gleefully: "Not bad for one day's work."

But that would be underestimating Willi. For Schlamm is now in a berserk mood, and has hardly gotten started! He turns his attention Schlamm proposes to put iron to the enemies within the "great

conviction: There is something in

From this I gather (1) that Schlamm regards millions of organized workers in England as worse than war and worse than fascism, and (2) that when he was advocating the invasion of Soviet Russia, Scandinavia and the Balkans, Schlamm is to be satisfied by the mere in- was speaking not for himself alone

Actually, Schlamm's article is about the best piece of propaganda (Continued on page 4)

a. . A decision by the Allies not to War Boom Is No Unemployment

many quarters as something which will solve our problems.

What is the impact of the war on American economy? What is it doing to jobs, profits, prices?

Plan Age, a monthly publication issued by the National Economic and Social Planning Association, tries to answer these questions: "The immediate impact of the war, has been a new post-depression high." Business in certain quarters did pick up

But there is a differences between

There is, then, at present little prospect of wholesale buying. Thus the dangers resulting from the temptations of war trade are lessened.

How did the workers share in the so-called war boom? In many sections of the country, there was an increase in employment but the rate was below the rate of increased production.

A. S. Miller in the Annalist points out that the employment gain "was only 3% in contrast to the 8% ad vance in industrial production."

And wage rates have not kept up with the rise in living costs. Prices have been rising since the

outbreak of the war in September. Consumer organizations report that t now takes \$1.10 to buy food costing \$1.00 before the war. Isador Lubin, Commissioner of Labor also to be regarded only as "formal Statistics, says: "Curtailment of normal sources of supply has caused Reynaud can do with as they the wholesale price of numerous please? Schlamm is silent. After all, drugs and medicines to more than frankness on this matter might not double in the last few months." Silk, prove so popular in the United cotton, rayon, wool and leather

Plan Age concludes its study of

marching thru Stockholm, while an- "the reemployment of our people in other American expeditionary force productive work still remains the went to Siberia, was not one to measure of our task, war notwith-

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No. 17.

BETRAYAL IN NORWAY

TNHE story of the treachery of high Norwegian officials that opened the way for the German invaders, as laid bare in press reports last week, is appalling indeed. But it is instructive too, altho the newspaper stories have naturally failed to indicate the real point of significance.

How was such wide treachery possible? How could so many men high up in the Norwegian military and civil service have been suborned by the Nazis? Talk of "spy rings," "bribery," "infiltration," and the like explains nothing, for obviously there must have been something in Norwegian social and political conditions that provided a fruitful soil for such insidious manipulations. What happened in Norway that made such a thing possible?

Essentially the same thing happened in Norway as had taken place in Spain in the years of the republic just before the outbreak of the fascist dictators, Hitler and Musso-Franco revolt in 1936. In Norway, as in the Spain of those times, there was a moderate reform government in office, here socialist, there Popular Frontist in character. The political course followed by this government led with an inescapable logic to a most dangerous situation. On the one hand, its reform measures, altho far more drastic in program and promise than in actual performance, aroused the hostility of wide sections of the reactionary classes, of the exploiting interests in industry and agriculture, the army and other ultra-nationalist groups. In this way, the enemies of the reform regime were consolidated into a bitter, implacable, desperate force. Yet, on the other hand, the hopelessly "moderate" character of the regime, stemming from its dread of truly radical, revolutionary measures, left this reactionary malcontent group in full possession of its positions of responsibility and power, especially in the armed forces. Having aroused against itself a formidable force of the resulting crisis in bourgeois de- responsibility of the Second Interreaction, the Popular Front or socialist regime did not dare to draw the fangs of this dangerous group and deprive it of its power for mischief, by driving it out of the key positions in the military and civil service and thus dispersing it. Caught in a fatal dilemma of its own making, at once radical and conservative, bold and timorous—the one in social program, the other in administrative and political action—the regime was virtually doomed from the start.

We know how that happened in Spain. Those who remember Bertram D. Wolfe's articles in these columns on the Spanish civil war will recall the startling story he told of the paralysis of the Popular Front government in the face of the almost open preparations for revolt on the part of the monarchist and fascist generals, spurred on and aided by Germany and Italy. The hesitating reforms of the Popular Front government aroused Spanish reaction to revolt, but the very hesitancy and halfheartedness of these reforms rendered the republican regime incapable of lifting a finger in its own defense. In effect, the Franco revolt was a monstrous act of treachery, in which Spanish generals conspired with intervening foreign governments against their own country.

The Norwegian episode was of essentially the same character. Large sections of the conservative and ultra-nationalist classes were growing more and more disaffected with the domestic and foreign policies of the Nygaardsvold regime. But, despite the fact that outstanding representatives of these groups held strategic positions in the country's service, particularly in the defense forces, the government simply couldn't muster up enough resolution to do anything about it, altho it was plainly a matter of political self-preservation. These disaffected elements naturally gravitated more and more towards fascism and many of them fell directly under Nazi influence; and still they were tolerated as high officers in the army and navy and civil burocracy. Tolerated? Nay, protected! On another page of this issue, there will be found a letter from Oslo, written just before the Nazi invasion. This letter tells how the control of "subversive" activities in Norway was put in the hands of a fascist-minded official, suspected of being in direct contact with the Nazis. And this official was named and retained in office by the King himself. How many more such officials must have permeated the entire governmental structure in every one of its branches, we are only now beginning to learn. And yet we wonder at the treason that opened the way for the invading

The lesson is plain enough: In questions that strike so deep at the foundations of the social order, especially in questions of fundamental power relations, compromise, half-way measures are suicidal; they are worse than nothing at all. Only in resolute, determined, truly revolutionary action lies the hope of safety!

STALINISM AND PRESENT SITUATION

(Continued from page 1)

national socialism.

7. Because of this, no member or follower of the Communist Party is really responsible—in a rational sense—for what he says, for what he does, or for the policy of his party. Under such circumstances, individuals, even with the best of intentions, play a dangerous and irresponsible role in all labor organizations, movements or causes to which they may

8. It is on account of such characteristics that the Stalinist parties and their open or concealed auxiliaries are such an inherently dangerous force, seriously menacing the best interests of labor and progressivism. This is true, regardless of what Russia's foreign policy may be or may not be at one or another moment. This was true a year ago when the Stalinites raged against Nazism and shrieked for "collective security." This is true today when Stalinism renders incalculable economic, moral and bearer were cast for the King govpolitical assistance to the vilest crimes of Hitler's legions. This will be true tomorrow and the day after tomorrow about the Stalinites, because the "National government" and conit is not the objective, domestic situation and labor's interests at home, but rather Stalin's foreign policy that alone determines the policies, the tactics, the strategy—and strategems—and decrees the actual activities of the Communist parties at all times.

The leadership of the American Labor Party apparently failed to see this. Before the Stalin-Hitler Pact, the A.L.P. leadership thought it was perfectly all right to allow the Stalinites to entrench themselves in the of Kirkland Lake and Timmins; his organization because, after all, didn't the communists accept Roosevelt and his foreign policy at that time? It is largely because of the failure of the A.L.P. leadership to grasp the real menace of Stalinism and their tendency to judge it on the basis of temporary and superficial appearances only, that the A.L.P. was recently thrown into such an acute crisis and that the Stalinites were able to make so much headway in their campaign to capture or destroy this organization.

9. Obviously, tremendous resources are at the disposal of these agents of the Hitler-Stalin block, of such a party and its auxiliaries.

10. Corruption, as well as misguided and misdirected idealism, combined with mechanical military discipline, serve further to turn the Communist Party into a pestilential factor.

11. An active and energetic membership and a devoted fanatical following-living on past favors and positions granted them in the days when they were pro-New Deal, as well as thru their control of sections of the C.I.O.—explain in no small measure the Communist Party's continuing as a virulent force today.

It is essential to keep in mind the above features of the Communist Party today. To lose sight of these features spells failure to comprehend the real role of Stalinism in the American labor movement and in all walks of life. To disregard the above features means to disarm oneself in the struggle against the Stalinist type of totalitarianism—a menace ganizationally deteriorated into an confronting all labor and genuine progressive forces in the United States. | electoral machine, and as such its Without petty persecution but within our democratic procedure, labor will be able to defeat Stalinism and all other totalitarian expressions seeking to destroy the independence of the working-class organizations and our democratic rights.

(The first part of this analysis appeared in the last issue of this paper.—Ed.) lish contacts with the mass of the Will the C.C.F. follow?

We Must Choose: Socialism or Fascism!

By JULIAN GORKIN

(We publish below the speech delivered by Julian Gorkin, P.O.U.M. leader now in this country, at the mass neeting held on Aprll 7, 1940 in connection with the recent convention of the Socialist Party in Washington.

BRING you greetings in the name of the P.O.U.M. and I want to thank you fraternally for the solidarity that you have shown the Spanish people during the civil war.

I want to speak to you in all sincerity in the name of the tragic experiences which we have lived thru -experiences that should serve to teach the entire international working-class movement. The defeat of the Spanish Revolution was the result of twenty years of defeats of the European proletariat, which permitted the seizure of power by the lini, the maintenance of the French and British empires, and the burocratic degeneration of the Russian Revolution. All these factors have combined in various forms to assassinate the latest and most heroic revolution-the Spanish Revolution.

MANKIND FACES THE ALTERNATIVE

gressive and genuinely humain solu- class international. tion: socialism. Yet socialism did not

the courage to answer it frankly. The subjective factors did not correspond, were not in the proper relation to the objective factors, which were favorable to revolution. The Second and Third Internationals were not able to rise to the level of their historic tasks. They both failed miserably and we must have the courage to admit this failure and use our understanding as the starting-point for our new efforts.

The class-collaboration policy of the social-democracy has had the worst possible results for the international, which can no longer be cial-democrats collaborated in governments, they opened up the road to the worst reaction. All experience is conclusive on this question. The last test was that of the People's Front. Look at France. Paul same People's Front.

The chief responsibility for the victory of fascism in Germany and for the defeat of the People's Front in France—the two main political events in the last seven years—lies with the Third International, which has become nothing but the instru-During the post-war period, man- | ment of the foreign policy of the kind was faced with this dilemma: | Stalin regime, But the responsibility socialism or fascism. The chronic of the Third International does not crisis in the capitalist system and in any way detract from the great mocracy should have led mankind to- national, which can no longer be wards the only logical, the only pro- considered as a socialist or working-

The Spanish Revolution might

itulated before the demands of the British Conservatives and of the to choose between fascism and revolution, the Anglo-French bourgeoisie naturally chose the former, in consocial-democracy and Stalinism correspond?

The Spanish Socialist Party, which political situation, also failed to error. On the contrary, support of is forced to resort to intensified maintain a class position. It followed the line of the Spanish bourgeois republicans and gave up everything in man people. The latter are opposed to war of the masses. It is your duty order to win the "friendship" of the to Hitlerism and to war, but they up by surrendering to the Stalinists. les, or the partition of Germany. The Reynaud was the most determined In 1936, Stalin had just gone over German proletariat will fight against enemy of the People's Front in from his policy of "social fascism" France, but right now he is govern- to that of "democracy against fasing France with the help of a cism." He showed no scruples in his Chamber of Deputies elected by this efforts to impose his dictatorship ing class in the Allied countries over Spain in order to force it to follow his line of a block with the so-called "democratic" imperialisms against the fascist imperialisms. In order to extend his dictatorship over Spain, he committed the most monstrous crimes, the worst of which was the political and physical assassination of the revolution.

AGAINST BOTH **IMPERIALISMS**

Stalin wanted to turn the Spanish ivil war into an international imperialist war. He was not able to do tends to do that counts far more. national and international scale. ler, which marked the actual begin- towards America, but the European

non-intervention" killed it. The coming increasingly dependent on class must carry on the most vigorous struggle against both Hitler and formity with all class logic. But to the last remnants of democracy in ism and social-democracy. what class logic did the policy of France and in England. There are many who feel that by fighting UNITE FOR PEACE against British and French imperialism they might be giving indirect was the central force in the Spanish aid to Hitler. We must expose this and even in England, the bourgeoisie to reinforce Hitler among the Gerwestern "democracies," and ended certainly do not want a new Versail-Nazism and against the war and for revolutionary struggle of the workguarantees that the German revolution will be safe from intervention

and social emancipation. this so he signed the pact with Hit- The European bourgeoisie is looking conquer; fascism won instead. Why? have triumphed in 1936, as it coin- ning of the present war. It is obvious | working class also, and for very dif- of the World!

Europe with the struggle of the

All socialists must first ask them-|cided with the mass movement in |that the Stalin regime and the Hit-|ferent reasons, has its eyes on selves this question, and must have France of the same year. But the ler regime are becoming more and the United States. It understands policy of the People's Front and of more alike, and that Stalin is be- very well that America's entry into the war would only tend to intensify French socialists and Stalinists cap- Hitler. The international working and prolong the war. And the European working class, in spite of the shameful lies of the social-demo-French bourgeoisie. When they had Stalin. But, in order to do this, crats, does not want the war either should the workers support the Al-lintensified or prolonged. It went to lies - Anglo-French imperialism? | war in spite of itself, because it was Certainly not! War is finishing off | led there by the betrayals of Stalin-

AND SOCIALISM

In France, as well as in Germany, Anglo-French imperialism only helps | measures of repression in order to meet the discontent and opposition here, comrades, to fight with determination against American intervention, against the extension of the war. You must support with all your strength the European proletariat in the revolution only insofar as the its fight against war and against the regimes responsible for the war. You must fight for a socialist peace.

Comrades, more than ever are we faced with the dilemma: socialism and will not be drowned in blood. or fascism, rule of the workers or It is the duty of the proletariat in rule of monopoly capital. Either the all countries to fight for its own international working class will class program; it must unite its prove able to bring about a socialist struggle for socialism in western peace, a genuine workers democracy, or it will be forced to suffer, after colonial peoples for their national all the horrors of the war, the barbarism and slavery of fascism. We We hear a lot about what Amer- must clarify our viewpoint, in conican imperialism will or will not do. formity with the experiences of these While this is very important, it is last twenty years and we must unite what the American working class in our proletarian action on both the Against war!

For the Socialist United States

I.W.F. Appeal On Scandinavian Crisis:

Stop This Massacre!

(We publish below a declaration on the Scandinavian, does not recognize any laws or principles when its crisis issued on April 10, 1940 by the International Workers Front Against War.—Editor.)

WITH the invasion of the Scandinavian countries the war has entered a new phase: the two robber bands are today engaged in crushing the peaceful populations of the Scandinavian countries who had succeeded in avoiding war for over a century.

The criminal aggression of Stalinist imperialism against Finland opened the way.

The British violation of Norway's neutrality in mining Norwegian waters gave Hitler his pretext.

So, after the nickel mines of Petsamo have been seized, it is now the rich iron-ore deposits of Sweden that arouse the greed of the imperialists.

Tomorrow, it will doubtless be the turn of the Rumanian oil wells . . .

But at the same time as this competition for raw materials breaks out into the open, the mask is torn off the pretexts which the governments have been using to win support of their peoples for this war.

Why do they need iron ore? The better to conduct the war! And why are they at war? In order to get more iron ore!

(Continued from Page 1)

ment" man would slip in on a split

vote. Here, as in a multitude of

cases, votes that would have come

ernment, in order to make sure that

The Farmer-Labor candidate in

Temiskaming was a C.I.O. mine-

union man, and he had been elected

Kirkland Lake. He was undoubtedly

the popular choice among the miners

vote proves this. The C.C.F. claimed

that he was under the influence of

the Communist Party, and that he

ran on a Farmer-Labor ticket with

communist backing, after promising

to run for the C.C.F. This is most

likely true, but it cannot be denied

that he was the legitimate represen-

tative of labor in this district. He

polled 3.500 votes to the C.C.F.'s

2 200. Why did the C.C.F. oppose

Why did the CC.F., which should

have materially increased its parlia-

mentary representation, do little

more than hold its own, despite its

gain in Nova Scotia? The cause is

not far to seek. It lies in the isola-

tion of the C.C.F. from the every-

day activity of the workers on the

economic field. The C.C.F. has or-

activity is limited to the political

field. The only chance it has to func-

tion politically is in election cam-

paigns, at which time, for a period

of thirty days or so, it has to estab-

him?

SUCCESS

WHY NO BIGGER

scription were defeated.

And thus the ridiculous absurdity of this war is exposed together with that of the economic system which has brought it about.

The International Workers Front Against War denounces the invasion of Denmark and Norway by the Hitler hordes just as it denounces the British provocation which furnished the excuse for this action.

These acts of banditry show that imperialist savagery other countries! Stop the massacre! Fraternize!

for fear that a "National govern- to its program This is a sheer im-

by the miners to the town council of appeal by supplementing its eco

existence is at stake.

In denouncing these acts, the International Workers Front Against War also denounces the system of exploitation that has thrown the world into dictator- Harlem on April 7th to hear a sym- educate white workers that there can ship and destruction for the profit of a handful of totalitarian burocrats and competing industrial and financial groups.

But the very horrors of war bring about growing unrest and protest among the popular masses. From the hidden opposition of today, there will little by little emerge an active opposition, which will in the end pass over into a positive struggle for peace, the only kind of peace which can bring a real solution—a soialist peace.

If men continue to throw themselves by the millions against each other in an insane struggle for raw that Negroes, in order to determine ganizing such a successful forum, materials and imperialist booty, the only result will their attitude toward the govern- and requested to be invited to future be to spread the most dreadful poverty, ruin and barbarization thruout the world.

But if, on the contrary, the peoples of the world prove able to unite against their butchers and to get rid of their oppressors, plutocratic, fascist and Stalinist alike, then they will be in a position to lay the foundations of a new world, a new social order of peace. freedom and plenty. The reign of militarism and the law of might will be replaced by the collaboration of that democracy." He urged pressure peoples in liberty and justice.

These are the issues in the great struggle, which has only just begun.

WORKERS OF ALL COUNTRIES!

people and attempt to win them over

possibility. Compare this situation

battle was half-won. The mine union

day. It did not have to make an

eleventh-hour appeal to the work-

ers. It had been appealing to the

workers every day on the economic

field. On election day, it improved its

nomic arm with its political arm.

Despite the fact that the C.C.F.

has fallen into a rut elsewhere, this

election shows that in Nova Scotia

it has become the party of labor

It can become the party of labor

elsewhere by duplicating its Nova

Scotia affiliations. Every conscien-

tious C.C.F. member should work for

this tie-up with the economic organ-

izations of the workers. If this is

achieved, not only will the results in

parliament register political growth

but it will also indicate the vast eco-

The lesson to be learned from this

election is that the C.C.F. entered

the election without policy, because

it was isolated from the masses it

wished to represent. No contact, no

understanding; no understanding, no

policies. Contact every day, in every

way—only in this way will the

C.C.F. come to represent the masses.

No organization can approach the

people from outside every four or

five years and win their support

merely by offering a program for

Nova Scotia has shown the way.

nomic support behind the C.C.F.

LESSON FOR

their acceptance.

THE C.C.F.

Do not let the dreadful conflagration spread to still

"No-Conscription" Issue How to Fight

(Continued from Page 3)

his own cause a service. One thing is with the set-up in Cape Breton clear: The German people will not South. From the day that the be broken away from Hitler by such U.M.W.A. affiliated to the C.C.F., the bloodthirsty war-mongering propaganda as that of Willi Schlamm, was the C.C.F. It functioned every Just the reverse, such propaganda only has the effect of palliating Hitler's crimes and consolidating his support at home.

HENDERSON ANSWERS WILLI SCHLAMM

Surprisingly enough, an effective answer to Willi Schlamm is to be found in the very same issue of the New Leader-but quite unconsciously. Charles Yale Harrison has read Nevile Henderson's book, "Failure of a Mission." Henderson was Chamberlain's ambassador to Germany until the outbreak of the war. With unusual bluntness, Henderson reveals what the rulers of the "democratic" British Empire have really been thinking. Henderson

"Nor are all dictatorships, even if prolonged, reprehensible. Ataturk (Mustapha Kemal) built up a new Turkey on the ruins of the old; and his expulsion of the Greeks, which perhaps suggested to Hitler that he should do the same in Germany with the Jews, has already been forgiven and forgotten.

Sir Neville's forgiving and forgeting mood continues:

services which Signor Mussolini has rendered to Italy; nor would the world have failed to acclaim Hitler as a great German if he had known the gang in control in Wilhelmwhen to stop; EVEN, FOR INST- strasse." ANCE, AFTER MUNICH AND No comment is necessary.

In Harlem Symposium By D. B. struggles and self-reliance; (3) co-New York City.

Negro and War Discussed

posium discussion on "Whither the bo no freedom for the white man as Negro in the Present War?" The ward K. Welsh, Mary Ovington of the N.A.A.C.P., Frank Crosswaith of the Negro Labor Committee, and Jav Lovestone.

Dr. Huggins called for unity of Negro and white workers, and pointment in the event of war, would the government toward them. In dramatic fashion, he showed that while Negroes were fighting for the United States in the last world war, 115 colored people were lynched in the same period in "democratic" America. "Before we fight for democracy," he said, "we wish to taste Block Jap Move to keep America out of war, and called for war against unemployment, poverty, lynching, and race discrimination instead

Mrs. Ovington agreed with the attitude that America must be kept out of war and did not see how paricipation in the war would do the Negroes or the public in general any good. Frank Crosswaith said that the Negro masses, as an integral part of the working class, should oppose war. The Negro was himself a minority of the population and needed allies in the struggle for freedom, and the best ally, one that also suffered from capitalism and its wars,

was the working class. Jay Lovestone showed how war ntensifies reaction from which the Negroes, under the present political and social set-up, would be the first and oppressed colored peoples should take advantage of the difficulties of the imperialist powers and strike for freedom. Stalinism was not the way out for Negroes or workers generally, and as proof of this, he pointed to the role of Stalinism in connection with Ethiopia, the destruction of the colonial movements with Germany, and the invasion of and the Balkans, in both of which it Finland. He suggested a concrete was scheduled to share in the loot. plan of action: (1) Do not trust op- London reports spoke of "closer repressors; (2) develop independent lations" between Turkey and Yugo-

THE NUREMBERG DECREES FOR THE JEWS."

It is quite obvious what Sir Nevile is driving at: Fascist dictatorships are a good thing, if they know where to stop-that is, stop treading on the toes of Britain's imperialist interests.

The effect of this book has been to upset Harrison quite a bit. When Harrison adopted his pro-war, pro-Allied position last September, he thought England was fighting for democracy. The millions of classconscious workers in England opposed to the war, the Independent Labor Party, and our own Workers Age couldn't convince Harrison to the contrary. But Sir Nevile Hen-"One cannot just because he is a derson has done the trick. Harrison dictator, refuse to admit the great must now admit: "This volume con firms the suspicion that there is much in common between the Cham-`erlain-Halifax-Henderson crowd and

operate with, and become part of, the working-class struggle; (4) keep A VERY much interested audience America out of war; (5) get rid of the war-makers; (6) Negroes must long as the Negro is enslaved; and speakers included Dr. Huggins, Ed- (7) support the work of the International African Buro.

A short but stimulating discussion period followed. Those present expressed great satisfaction at the forum which permitted democratic discussion as well as the effective ed out that the first job for the Ne- | presentation of various points of groes in the United States was to view. Many asked questions about improve their conditions in this the Independent Leabor League of country. Edward Welsh made clear America which had succeeded in ormeetings. The Workers Age, which first have to consider the attitude of plans to publish some of the speeches delivered at the symposium, was bought by many in the audience.

U.S.A. Acts to On Dutch Indies

(Continued from page 1) to be initiated at the first favorable opportunity. The Italian press continued thundering against the Allies and blazoning forth the solidarity of the Rome-Berlin Axis, and anti-British demonstrations were disclosed to have taken place in Rome, Florence and Milan.

Rumania followed up a decree temporarily ending further exports of grain, a measure apparently affecting Germany, with an order releasing all the interned pro-Nazi Iron Guardists and permitting the return of those who had fled to Germany. It was rumored that a new "broad" cabinet would soon be formed, with strong representation to suffer. He stated that the colonial of the pro-German elements. Rumaina also acted to put its Black Sea and Danube porsunder extraordinary naval control. It was reported that the trade treaty with Germany had been amended to permit a wider. exchange with the Reich but no details were forthcoming.

Russia remained in the background of affairs last week, altho it nder its control in the days of was vitally interested in all devel-'Popular Frontism," the recent pact opments, particularly in Scandinavia slavia, on the one hand, and Russia. on the other.

There was no important action on the western front last week, the thirty-third week of the war.

FDR Calls on Congress For WPA Funds

(Continued from Page 1) budget was to be exceeded or the W.P.A. rolls drastically cut. W.P.A. this fiscal year is spending \$1,500,000,000. The \$975,000,000, if spent in eight months, would provide about the same monthly amount for W.P.A. Despite this, it is believed that some reduction in W P.A. rolls will prove necessary in

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the coming months.