

**Coming:**  
**What's Happened to the Russian Revolution?**  
 By Jay Lovestone

# Workers Age

Weekly Paper of the Independent Labor League of America

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## Behind the Headlines:

### Much Hangs in the Balance

By JAY LOVESTONE

It is easier to hide than to heal one's affliction by seeking distraction. That too many respectable and recognized economists have yet to learn this truth, is obvious from the bulk of the New Year's financial forecasts. Hopeless senility alone can explain those experts who honestly speak of a return to the idyllic "free individual enterprise." In this respect, that old men's club known as the Executive Council of the A. F. of L. is particularly guilty, as evidenced by its latest proclamation on economic prospects and perspectives.

Far more intelligent and significant are the remarks made the other day by Assistant Secretary of State Berle before the fifth annual meeting of the Yale Political Union. Mr. Berle sought no escape in distractions, did not give himself to nostalgia, and did paint a dismal picture of post-war conditions with their grave dislocations in industry and staggering social upheaval. Mr. Berle posed the possibility and desirability of the United States saving Europe from collapse. He took pains to underline that "There will be no clear guide-posts to reconstruction. . . . The weakness of our situation will be that many of our economic institutions will no longer mesh with the institutions over-seas. . . . Either we must contribute to reestablishing a classic system abroad, or we shall have to reshape our own finance in order to be able to deal with the world at all."

There can be no doubt that the coming years will see the center of gravity of our toppling civilization shift still more towards the United States. However, the sooner the great mass of the American people realize that the world after this conflagration will be quite different from what it was on the eve of the previous and on the eve of the present world war, the greater the likelihood of the United States contributing decisively towards reconstruction and progress. At this moment, we will limit ourselves to pointing out some features of the present world economic pattern distinguishing it from the international economy thrown to the flames in 1914. I am limiting myself to a very incomplete enumeration of these new problems which demand immediate and constant consideration because of their overriding import.

1. The terrific increase of productive capacities in the last twenty-five years has only aggravated the inherent weaknesses of capitalism as a world system.

2. Gold, once the mighty life-stream of capitalist industry, is now a cesspool of infection. At best, gold has been much debilitated as an instrument of international credit, and exchange thru its mountainous piles in the United States. The burying of tons of gold in Kentucky is only symbolic of the sterilization of bourgeois economic vitality.

3. The extensive and incessantly extending state domination of capitalist economy, in varying ways in various countries, cannot be discounted.

4. The increasing proportion of our economy dominated by war demands—even in peace times—casts shadows as sinister as its substance.

5. Everywhere new problems and difficulties rather than solutions have come in the wake of the development of substitutes in raw and manufactured materials.

6. Today, Great Britain and France have far smaller reserves and resources with which to wage especially a totalitarian war. Worse than that, the United States, recognizing the debility of gold, is insisting evermore on taking in exchange for its war products only "income-producing" or "income-bearing" property. Hence, if the war lasts long enough, we will see Britain and France giving up the American securities and bonds still owned by their citizens. Wall Street's taking over some British colonial possessions in the western hemisphere assumes, under such circumstances, practical significance.

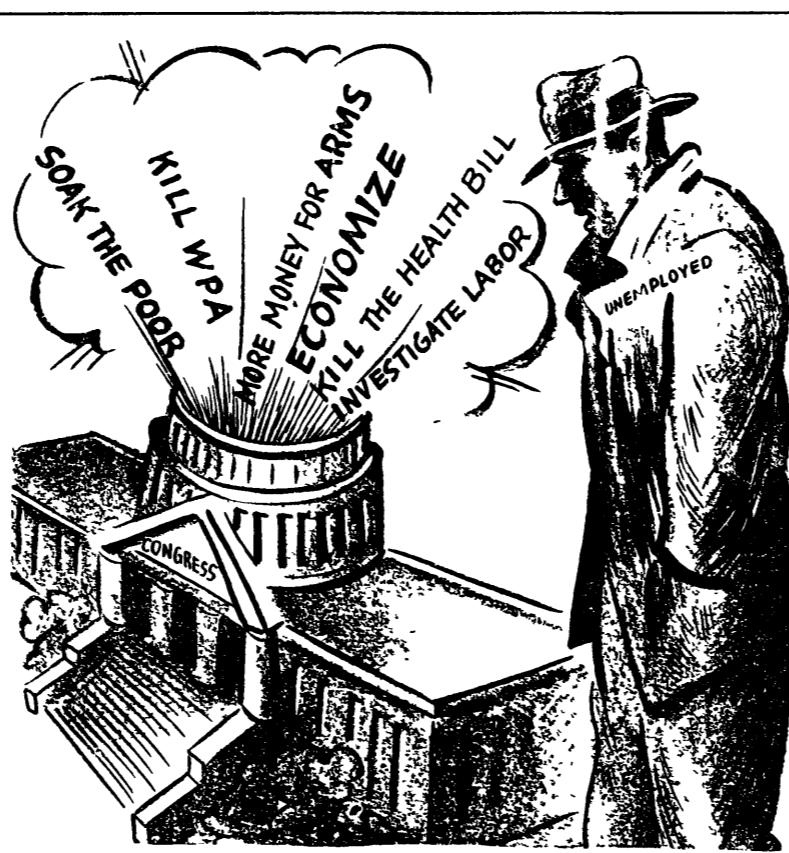
7. It appears that, for some time, the destruction of mechanical power and materials entailed by the war will be even greater than the monstrous annihilation of man-power.

8. The new positions occupied by such giant powers as the U.S.S.R. and Japan bring with them world-shaking consequences.

It is the more far-sighted observers who are aware of the heavy

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## THE FORGOTTEN MAN



### Balkan Powers Join In Parley on War

Allies, Russo-German Block and Italy Exert Pressure; Rumania in Peril

The four Balkan Entente powers—Rumania, Greece, Turkey and Yugoslavia—met last week at Belgrade to consult on measures to prevent their part of Europe from being swallowed up in the war. Three major forces pulled at these Balkan powers in a veritable tug-of-war: the Allies, the Hitler-Stalin block, and Italy. Rumania was in a particularly critical position, threatened with attack by Germany if it did not yield completely to Nazi demands for economic control. It was understood that King Carol placed before the Balkan conference the question whether Rumania could expect to receive military assistance from the other conference powers in case of a German attack, and received a decided negative for answer. In view of this attitude, Rumania let it be known that it would have to yield to German demands, especially in the matter of supplying the Reich with oil and wheat.

All this, of course, went on behind the scenes and at secret discussions. Officially, it was announced that "an atmosphere of mutual understanding and good-will prevailed at the sessions." The four participating states would continue their collaboration and an effort would be

made to bring Hungary and Bulgaria into the accord, it was stated. Italy's policy of "non-belligerence" was proclaimed, and some observers felt that Italian influence was rising at the expense of the Russo-German and the Anglo-French blocks. Italy had repeatedly warned against Russian expansion in the Balkans, which would very probably accompany German aggression in that quarter. On the western front, there were still no important developments last week, the twenty-second week of the European war. Nor did much of significance result from the warfare on sea and in the air, which was somewhat more active. The same was true of the Russo-Finnish war, in its ninth week, although the Russians did score some success in a number of air raids.

A terrible picture of the sufferings of the Polish population under the savage rule of the German and Russian conquerors was given to the world last week in a report made public at Rome by Cardinal Hlond, Primate of Poland. From other sources, it was estimated that several million inhabitants of Poland had died since the Russo-German conquest, among them about 250,000 Jews.

Last week, the American trade treaty with Japan, signed in 1911, went into discard. Notice of abrogation had been given by the United States last July 26 to take effect in six months. Until the last day, Japan had apparently expected some proposal at renewal to come from Washington, but none did. The abrogation of the treaty is not likely to have any immediate effect on U.S.-Japanese trade, which will continue on a day-to-day basis, but officially each country is now at liberty to throw up any trade barriers it may choose against the other. In Congress, a movement was developing to set up an embargo on the export of arms and instruments of war to Japan.

### U. S. War Exports To Japan Increased During Past Year

Washington, D. C. Exports to Japan of steel and iron scrap and refined copper—essential materials in the manufacture of munitions—increased sharply during the first eleven months of 1939 compared with the same period of 1938, a Commerce Department report revealed last week.

The report, issued three days before the Japanese-American commercial treaty expired, showed that exports to Japan continued to increase in November, when they were \$25,243,000 compared with \$23,367,000 in October and \$19,145,000 in November 1938.

Exports of iron and steel scrap in the first eleven months of 1939 were valued at \$30,032,000 compared with \$19,337,000 a year ago. Exports of refined copper were \$23,330,000 compared with \$17,612,000 a year ago.

### MUSICAL RECITAL

Saturday, Feb. 24  
 STEINWAY HALL

See Ad page 3

## UMW Meet Issues Call To Keep U.S. Out of War

### AFL Council Opposed to Third Term

Refuses "Blanket Support" To Any Party or Candidate; Orders I.T.U. Suspension

Miami, Fla. The Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, opening its quarterly meeting here last week, declared that organized labor would take a "strictly independent" attitude in the coming Presidential campaign and that no candidate or party would receive a "blanket endorsement" from the Federation. A resolution confirming the Federation's traditional "non-partisan" stand was adopted.

Despite Mr. Green's expression of confidence in President Roosevelt a few days before, there was little pro-Administration sentiment in the Council. It was evident that a majority would not endorse President Roosevelt for a third term.

The Council went on to denounce Labor's Non-Partisan League as a "paper organization" and a "puppet of the C.I.O.," asserting that endorsement of any candidate by the C.I.O. was equivalent to a "kiss of death."

The Council ordered the suspension of all locals of the International Typographical Union from all city and state bodies of the A. F. of L. This action followed the decision of the convention of the A. F. of L. at Cincinnati last October suspending the I.T.U. because of its refusal to pay the so-called "anti-C.I.O." assessment. Despite some negotiations, no adjustment could be made in the months that followed and the Council

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### Condemns Russia for Finnish Invasion But Opposes Loans to Finland; Wagner Act Hailed, Labor Board Criticized

Columbus, Ohio. The jubilee convention of the United Mine Workers of America closed its sessions here last week in a strong note of opposition to American involvement in war. Addressing the 2,400 delegates, representing a reported membership of about 600,000, John L. Lewis, president of the U.M.W.A., declared in ringing tones that the convention had served notice on the nation's statesmen that "labor in the United States wants no war or any part of war, and will hold to strict accountability any statesman departing from that policy."

"After this convention has declared itself, can there be any doubt in the minds of the people that the workers of the United States are opposed to war and that under no circumstances will labor support the policy of any statesman that will lead to war?" Mr. Lewis inquired. This anti-war declaration was greeted with warm applause from the delegates. The convention had previously adopted a keep-America-out-of-war resolution upon the recommendation of the officers.

The convention approved a resolution expressing sympathy for Finland and other victims of aggression but opposing loans to Finland as a danger to neutrality. Speaking on this resolution, John Brophy, national C.I.O. official, until recently closely associated with the Stalinites, said: "I condemn Nazi Germany for its destruction of Poland. I condemn Soviet Russia turned imperialistic for its aggression against Finland." Thomas Kennedy, secretary-treasurer of the U.M.W.A., also condemned Germany and Russia. He said there was no reason for Russia's invasion of Finland except that

it served the end of the dictatorship. National politics continued to dominate the convention during the earlier part of the week. Lewis followed up his sensational indictment of the Administration and his anti-third-term pronouncement by another attack on the policies and leadership of the Democratic party, declaring that without labor support the Democrats would face certain defeat. The idea that labor "has no place to go," he added, was a "fatal error," but he did not elaborate this remark.

The next day, Lewis returned to the same subject with a slashing criticism of Secretary of Labor Frances Perkins and with more emphatic reiteration of his earlier charge that after seven years, the Administration had failed to find a solution of any of the country's major problems.

When the resolution recommending that the U.M.W.A. International Executive Board be empowered to take any action it might think necessary in the Presidential campaign came up for discussion, it appeared that there was considerable opposition among the delegates to Lewis's anti-Administration, anti-third-term stand. How strong this opposition was or how far it went was not apparent, but those delegates that took their stand against Lewis did so with a defiance rarely witnessed at U.M.W.A. conventions. Some delegates even threatened that should Roosevelt run again and the International Executive Board refuse to back him, "we shall have to make a split and go down for Roosevelt." No officer spoke on this resolution, which was adopted almost unanimously.

Sidney Hillman, pro-Administration C.I.O. leader, addressed the convention but referred only in passing to his differences with Mr. Lewis.

The convention adopted a number of resolutions in line with the C.I.O. program. Of special importance was the action of the delegates in hailing the Wagner Act but unqualifiedly condemning the administrative policies of the National Labor Relations Board, particularly on the question of appropriate unit for collective bargaining. Speakers charged the N.L.R.B. with permitting craft unions to "raid" industrial unions and to "cave out" craft groups indiscriminately.

The convention acted on the report of the scale committee in connection with the expiration of the present contract in the bituminous fields in April 1941.

The delegates reiterated the union's long standing demand for the six-hour day and five-day week. A demand was also voiced for the abolition of all discriminatory differentials between districts. A proposal for a uniform system of strike benefits was defeated when it was explained that this would mean an assessment of \$25 per member.

### A.L.P. Councilmen Propose Low-Rent Housing Program

New York City. A five-year \$290,000,000 low-rent housing program, with a nickel-a-month tax on all telephones to help foot the bill, will be sponsored in the City Council soon by Dr. Henry W. Laidler and Salvatore Ninno, the American Labor Party councilmen announced last week.

The telephone tax would yield \$900,000 a year, which could be applied toward subsidies to keep rentals in the proposed projects down to \$5 or \$6 a room a month, Dr. Laidler declared.

"We feel," he said, "that those affording the luxury of a telephone would be glad to make this small contribution to put a roof over the heads of those needing it."

The bill would exempt telephones used by charitable, educational and religious organizations.

The Laidler-Ninno program contemplates loans of \$40,000,000 annually from the State Division of Housing, set up by the Legislature last year with a \$300,000,000 slum-clearance fund.

Dr. Laidler said he would urge the Council to make full use of the state funds despite the many imperfections in the state housing law.

The Democrats in the Council have already introduced a housing bill bearing the name of John Cashmore, majority leader. It calls on the city to make certain concessions to investors, to lure private money into the low-rent housing field.

## Russian Invasion of Finland Is Crime Against Socialism

International Workers Front Against War States Position

(Last week, we published a letter from a Norwegian adherent of the International Workers Front presenting a somewhat differing view on the Finnish question. Below we present a statement of the I.W.F. dealing with the questions raised in this letter. We thoroughly agree with viewpoint of the I.W.F. statement—Editor.)

IN making our criticism of the point of view of the Norwegian comrade and in developing our position on the situation created by the Russian invasion of Finland, we take as our standpoint the fundamental interests of the working masses, not merely of Finland, not merely of Russia, but of the whole world.

### RUSSIAN INVASION A CRIME

From this international proletarian standpoint, we must condemn the Russian invasion as a crime against the principles of socialism and the ideals of true democracy, and a crushing blow to the interests of the masses of both of the countries involved. The Russian invasion is a wanton, flagrant violation of a cardinal principle of democratic socialism, the right of national self-determination. All the degrading humbug of the puppet "People's Government" at Terijoki cannot hide this fact.

Success for Stalin in his assault on Finland would unquestionably strengthen the totalitarian dictatorship ruling Russia today, stimulate the impulses and appetites of a new Russian imperialism, and thereby speed the destruction of what still remains of the Russian revolution. Stalin's military adventures therefore run contrary to the best interests of the Russian people.

To the masses of the Finnish people, Russian conquest would bring even greater disasters. For them, it would mean utter subjection to military-totalitarian rule from Moscow, in which every sign of national self-

determination and political freedom would be wiped out, in which every vestige of independent labor organization (socialist, trade-union, cooperative) would be extirpated.

Can it be seriously maintained that the Russian armies are bringing socialism and freedom to the Finns? Can such blessings ever be bestowed at the point of a foreign bayonet, in bombs rained down from foreign airplanes? And where would Stalin get socialism and freedom to bestow on the Finns? Certainly not in Russia where not a vestige of either is to be found in the totalitarian system that prevails.

But perhaps the Russian armies are bringing to Finland, if not socialism at least a "higher level of economic relations" ("statified" economy), as the Trotskyites assert. Without entering into a discussion as to the sense in which "statification" may be regarded as a "higher" form of economy from the point of view of socialism, it must be pointed out that the claim of bringing a "higher culture" to "backward" peoples has always been the favorite form of imperialist self-justification. It is no more valid for Russia in relation to Finland than it is for France in relation to North Africa or Britain in relation to India and Africa. Forcing blessings on an unwilling people with fire and sword has always been condemned by sincere democratic and socialist opinion as a shabby, hypocritical cover for imperialist power-politics.

But is not Russia "justified" in taking measures to strengthen its military position against attack, even if that involves occupying Baltic ports and invading Finland? Yes, to the degree that Hitler is justified in seizing the Sudetenland on the same ground, or the United States would be justified in seizing Mexico and Central America, or France the left bank of the Rhine, to that degree and no more. Strategic considerations are important, it is true, but they are all-important only in the context of imperialist politics. In the days of its revolutionary greatness, Soviet Russia knew how to rely on quite other resources, on working-class solidarity throughout the world and the spirit of political offensive. Stalinist Russia has lost these bulwarks of defense. It may try to replace them by Hango or the Aland Islands but it is thereby merely proving that it can think and act only in imperialist terms. By appealing to the argument of "strategic advantage" as a justification for a wanton attack on a small neighbor, Stalinist Russia puts itself in the category of imperialist powers and asks to be judged by the standards in which we judge imperialist powers.

But even from the narrower viewpoint of practical military advantage, Stalin's predatory course is self-defeating. Which is a greater and more reliable protection for Soviet Russia, the few Baltic outposts which Stalin has just grabbed, or the esteem, confidence and support of the popular masses throughout the world which Stalin has now irrevocably lost?

### STALIN DISARMS RUSSIA

This consideration is particularly important because, at bottom, (Continued on Page 4)



# C.I.O. Dualists Count On Help from Bosses

### Building Group Makes Bid for Contractors

By ROBERT WALTERS

TWO weeks ago, this paper commented editorially on the shameful lengths to which the C.I.O. was going in its attempt to invade the building trades and set up a dual union in competition with the well-established A. F. of L. building-trades unions. The C.I.O. has gloated with ill-concealed joy at the government attacks on the building and construction unions of the A. F. of L. under cover of the anti-trust laws, not realizing, in the blindness of factional spite, that the Department of Justice crusade was a menace to the labor movement as a whole, C.I.O. as well. The C.I.O. has even hired an expert in "anti-trust" union-busting, an ex-agent of the Department of Justice, Russell Turner Sr., to serve as "special organizer" for its dual building-trades group.

But evidently even that is not enough. The C.I.O. is going into the building-trades fight in a way that is reminiscent of the worst practices that have ever disgraced the labor movement; in fact, there are few conservative unions of the A. F. of L. that would not blush at such doings—at least to make them public.

### "GREEN LIGHT" FROM CONTRACTORS

In illustration, we quote the following report published in the January 15 issue of the C.I.O. News under the headline, "New Jersey Builders Show Interest in C.I.O. Construction Plans":

"The C.I.O. drive to organize construction workers got a green light this week from a large section of the industry in the East. From the Building Contractors Association of New Jersey, a state-wide contractors organization, came a formal invitation to Chairman A. D. Lewis of the United Construction Workers Organizing Committee to appear before them and discuss the C.I.O. program . . .

"Between 300 and 400 New Jersey

contractors, handling all types of construction jobs in all parts of the state, are expected to be at the meeting . . . These contractors are eager to hear the C.I.O. program since they have suffered for years from craft-union abuses.

"Another indication of why the industry welcomes the U.C.W.O.C. came from the National Association of Real Estate Boards, many of whose members favor the industrial union . . ."

This report speaks for itself, and what it says will go down as an indelible stain on the record of the C.I.O.

From the account in the C.I.O. News, no one would know that there are workers in the building trades. Certainly, the C.I.O. dual union doesn't seem to be very much concerned with them in its "organizing" activities. The workers aren't even mentioned. For the C.I.O. it's apparently enough to get a "green light" from the contractors and the real-estate men. Then the field will be clear!

"These contractors are eager to hear the C.I.O. program since they have suffered for years from craft-union abuses." That's a new one on us—the contractors "suffering" from "craft-union abuses." Perhaps the C.I.O. was organized to bring industrial unionism to the poor, suffering, craft-ridden employers?

Yes, the "industry"—that is, the employers—may welcome the C.I.O. dual outfit; it fits in nicely with their profit interests. But the building-trades workers, that's something else again. They intend to stick by their unions, cleanse, improve and strengthen them; they certainly don't intend to let a dual outfit muscle in and destroy wage scales and other standards that have taken years of hard fighting to build up.

And the workers in the bona-fide C.I.O. affiliates? Are they going to stand by to see their parent organization sponsor and throw its name and resources behind as vicious and irresponsible a piece of dualistic union-smashing as has been seen these many years?

### UNDERCUTTING THE A.F.L. UNIONS

But we understand the eagerness of the contractors to hear the "C.I.O. program" in the building trades. Why shouldn't they be eager when they hear that the C.I.O. dual union has signed contracts in Washington, D. C., at wage scales as much as 30% below the A. F. of L. scales? Is it any surprise that the New Jersey contractors association which is so "eager" to hear Denny Lewis and the "C.I.O. program" recently postponed renewal of their agreement with the A. F. of L. building-trades unions until they could properly "study" the Washington

## Is Lewis's Word The Supreme Law?

"ON behalf of the New Jersey C.I.O. unions, William J. Carney, regional director, said the lead of Mr. Lewis would probably be followed by all New Jersey C.I.O. unions. He added there had been opposition in the state convention's recent endorsement of a third term."—New York World-Telegram, January 25, 1940.

But the state convention of the New Jersey C.I.O., as Mr. Carney well knows, did pass a resolution in favor of a third term for President Roosevelt. We believe this resolution was an error; it was, however, the official, authoritative voice of the New Jersey C.I.O. unions.

But John L. Lewis has now spoken out against a third term. And to Mr. Carney it seems obvious that once John L. Lewis has spoken, it becomes the law of the land, taking precedence over all conventions or membership bodies whatsoever. Without even consulting the New Jersey unions, he knows they will "follow" the Lewis "lead."

What a devastating commentary on the democracy that is supposed to reign in the C.I.O.!

C.I.O. contracts with their lower wage scales?

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# Labor's Program for Crisis Never Tried

### Jobs for Workers Is Nation's No.1 Problem

By JOHN L. LEWIS

(We continue below the report on the economic situation and the program of labor delivered by John L. Lewis at the last convention of the C.I.O. in San Francisco—Editor)

IT is more and more clear that one of the changes that is most essential to the stabilization of our economy is a drastic revision of the tax structure. There has been an increasing tendency for the last few years for the income of governments, federal, state and local, to be drawn more and more from the pockets of the small consumers. The past year has seen no reversal of this trend. Indeed, there has been an intensification of it.

It has been reliably estimated that in 1929, 30.2% came from taxes bearing primarily upon consumption, such as excise taxes, customs, tobacco, and liquor taxes, and 69.8% came from other taxes, such as those on corporate incomes, income above \$5,000 per year, estates and gifts.

By 1938, the percentage of taxes bearing primarily upon consumption was 51.3% and the other taxes constituted only 48.7% of the total tax income. In 1938, there were taxes of \$1,508,000,000 collected from the payrolls of workers. In 1929, this tax did not exist.

The same trend has arisen in state and local taxes. There the mushroom growth of general sales taxes, liquor and tobacco taxes in the last few years is an evil sign.

The existence of huge quantities of tax-exempt government securities has been one of the serious deterrents to the use of large fortunes in private investment. It has become safer and more profitable for great fortunes to be placed in tax-exempt securities rather than in securities which are taxable or, in other words, industrial securities even though the yields from the latter should be at exceptionally high rates.

The only major changes in the federal tax structure during the past two years have been a substantial reduction of the capital-gains tax and the repeal of the undistributed-profits tax. This has been simply to take two grains of sand out of the scales on the side of great wealth and add them on the already over-laden side of the common people.

The flow of taxation is being drained increasingly from the poor and those of low income. The national economy can never be healthy until a real and substantial adjustment is made which derives most of the tax income from taxes based upon ability to pay, largely out of the income otherwise withheld from active purchasing.

6. The stabilization of farm income appears now even more remote than it did at the time last year when it was pointed out how necessary such stabilization was to the general economy.

There has been no measure provided effectively to meet the extent of the farm tenancy and share-cropper problem. Nor has there been any surcease in the flood of destitute farm workers which press upon the labor market and the American wage level.

7. No progress can be reported in the adjustment and control of credit by the government.

It is perfectly obvious that the past year has seen a substantial halt in any steps towards a progressive economic program. There is every indication, and labor believes profoundly, that if such a program were tried with vigor and courage and good faith, it would be successful.

### AN ACTIVE INDUSTRY WITH MILLIONS JOBLESS

In the meanwhile, the national economy is sliding into a most serious condition. It is now clear that it is possible for the most important part of American industry to operate with a substantial and wholly satisfactory profit in the face of a national unemployment of 12,000,000 workers. A computation of the profits of the leading corporations for the first half year of 1939 by a conservative banking firm estimates their average profit at 7.1%, a most satisfactory figure. One of the largest automobile firms was reported to be making profits at the rate of 19.7%, 21 automobile equipment firms at the rate of 11%, 6 aircraft and parts firms averaged a rate of profit of 24.6%.

A number of serious consequences arise out of this condition. For the first time in our economic history, it has become possible for the major part of American industry to operate fully while a quarter of the working population is unemployed.

That means substantially that the economic interest of the most powerful industry in the world is well served without the reemployment of the great army of American unemployed. It is now no longer worth their while to seek a program to re-employ these workers. Their only concern now is to see that the care of the unemployed constitutes as small a burden as possible upon industry. There is danger, therefore, that the whole weight of America's industry will be thrown against making any kind of adequate provision for our unemployed.

It is now clearly evident that

# Red Cap Union Signs Up N. Y. Central System

Chicago, Ill.

HAILED by union officials and rank and file members as a victory of first magnitude and importance, an unprecedented agreement covering approximately 700 station red-caps, porters and train red-caps was signed last week between the New York Central, the Grand Central Terminal Company, the Michigan Central, the Cleveland Union Terminal Company and the International Brotherhood of Red Caps.

Participating in the negotiations for the union were President William S. Townsend and members of the union's board of adjustment of the New York Central system Company negotiators, headed by John G. Walber, vice-president in charge of personnel, included general managers and division superintendents of the various operating districts of the huge railroad system.

Union officials expressed confidence that the new agreement would lay the ground-work for a series of reforms and a more equitable distribution of work, especially at the spacious Grand Central Station in New York City. This station is credited with having instituted the red-cap service some fifty years ago, and today employs over 400 red-caps.

To a complete economic breakdown of our nation.

The workers and the citizens of this country now know that they can judge the temper and the quality of our national leadership by the response it makes to the challenge of economic chaos. People will not be fooled by high-sounding platitudes or dark subterfuges. Rhetoric is not enough. The proof they demand from those who would exercise leadership is steady jobs.

# N.L.R.B. Bans Boss Bias in Employment

Washington, D. C.

THE National Labor Relations Board, acting in behalf of two loom workers in Manchester, N. H., contended last week that discriminatory refusal by employers to hire union men was outlawed by the Wagner Act as much as discriminatory discharge for union activities.

The Board's argument was advanced in a brief in support of Alphonse Charties and Edward G. Geoffrion, who charged that the Waumbec Mills, Inc., in Manchester refused to employ them in July 1937, because they had served as union leaders.

The two loom workers now a finding that Waumbec Mills now should offer them immediate employment with back-pay at substantially the same jobs they would have obtained if hired in July 1937.

The brief, prepared for filing in the Circuit Court of Appeals in Boston to support a petition for an order of enforcement, contends that Congress meant "precisely what it said" when it listed in the Wagner Act as an unfair labor practice:

"Discrimination in regard to hire or tenure of employment or any term or condition of employment to encourage or discourage membership in any labor organization."

The Board's effort to win a court enforcement order is regarded as an important test of its view.

The Circuit Court of Appeals in New York recently upset a Board order in a split decision on a similar issue in the National Casket Co. case.

The New York court action, the Board argued in the Waumbec brief, was "plainly erroneous." The brief said:

"It is plain that by refusing employment to an applicant because of his membership or activity in a labor organization, the employer is imposing a discriminatory term or condition of employment which discourages union membership."

"A discriminatory denial of employment no less than a discriminatory discharge," the Board added, "sounds an open warning to those already employed in the plant that their employer is hostile to union activity and that loss of livelihood may follow upon their disregard of this hostility."

"It is inconceivable that when Congress sought in the present (Wagner) act to protect workers in the exercise of the fundamental right of self-organization, it meant to exempt from the operation of the statute the practice which served to make the union blacklist effective, namely the common practice of employers to refuse employment to union members."

The finding of the New York court that the Wagner act conferred rights on employees, not on applicants for employment, was contested in the Board brief.

It said the New York court "overlooked the markedly coercive effect of a discriminatory denial of employment upon those presently employed."

"The important point," the Board said, "is that the choice of the employer, both in regard to discharge and the selection of applicants for employment, remains unrestricted except that it may not be exercised because of membership or non-membership, activity or non-activity in a labor organization."

# State A.F.L. Calls For Full Financial Aid to Education

New York City.

THE New York State Federation of Labor called on the Legislature last week to restore full state aid for education in framing the new budget.

Thomas J. Lyons, new president of the Federation, sent the following telegram to all members of the Assembly and Senate:

"Speaking in behalf of the 1,100,000 members of American Federation of Labor unions in New York State, I respectfully urge that full state aid be provided for in the new budget.

"Labor is vitally interested in the maintenance of an excellent free public-school system in this state. It was labor that always was in the fight to widen and improve free public education, and we feel now that it would be intolerable to let that which has been built up so slowly over the years be undermined and demolished on a pretext of economy.

"Organized labor desires that conditions which have prevailed in recent months in New York City and other communities of the state—conditions that have made it difficult, if not impossible, for children to progress with their education—shall be speedily corrected.

"We of labor, perhaps more than any other group in our American society, are constantly on guard lest our cherished democracy be impaired. Crippling of the free school system is, of course, a devastating blow against democracy. We must not try to save money on our youth."

SPREAD THE WORKERS AGE

# Administration of N.L.R.A. Is Problem of Democracy

### Labor Split Has Multiplied Difficulty, Says Leiserson

By WM. M. LEISERSON

THE problems of the Wagner Act and its enforcement are problems of democracy, and to some extent they are bound to be with us so long as our working people will be free to associate themselves in organizations for mutual benefit and bargaining in any manner they see fit. If we have industrial dictatorship or autocracy, the problem disappears. If we want democracy in industry as well as in government, we must pay the price in possible disputes among free men as to what they consider best promotes their interests.

### SPLIT IN LABOR MOVEMENT

Among the unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor as well as among the independent railroad brotherhoods there have been for many years bitter jurisdictional controversies, and the disputes about bargaining units arise out of such differences regarding the jurisdiction of various labor organizations. When the Wagner Act was passed in 1935, we had a united labor movement, and if that condition had continued, the difficulties of the Board in handling representation disputes would have been serious enough. But they would never have reached the proportions and they would not have developed the bitterness of feeling that has come since the split between the A. F. of L. and the C.I.O. I doubt if the opposition to the National Labor Relations Act itself would have been taken as seriously as it is now if it had not been for this division in the ranks of organized labor.

I do not regard the problem as insoluble, however. That it is possible to get labor organizations which are fighting among themselves to accept a rule for deciding disputes as to bargaining units in good spirit, and to follow that rule uniformly in all cases involving

choice of representatives, is evident from the experience under the Railway Labor Act, although the problems under that act are not as complex as they are in the vast field covered by the National Labor Relations Act. The essential requirement for satisfactory adjustment of disputes as to the appropriate unit is that the government board shall not undertake to pass judgment on whether organization of employees along the lines of an industrial unit is better than on craft lines, or that craft or plant units are preferable to industrial or other units.

### NO GOVERNMENT INTERFERENCE

The employees who organize themselves along one line or another believe that the units they prefer are the most effective for their purposes in collective bargaining. It is wrong, I think, for the government to say that one structure or form of labor organization is more effective than another in accomplishing the purposes of collective bargaining. All forms have their advantages and disadvantages.

But Section 9 of the Labor Relations Act provides that in deciding disputes as to which unit is appropriate, the Board shall make its decisions "in order to insure to employees the full benefit of their right to self-organization and to collective bargaining, and otherwise to effectuate the policies of the act." This wording is rather broad; it appears to leave it to the judgment of the members of the Board to decide what form of unit is best to insure the right of self-organization and will best effectuate the purposes of collective bargaining. I do not think Congress intended by this wording to give such large powers to the Board. The intent was rather, it seems to me, that the customs and practices of the employees in establishing their forms of self-organization and collective bargaining relationship with employers would reveal the preferences of the em-

ployees themselves as to the most effective bargaining units, and that the Board would make its decisions accordingly.

### AGREEMENT ON INTERPRETATION

This is a matter of interpretation which can be worked out by more experience in administration with the assistance of the courts, as it has been under the Railway Labor Act. I am of the opinion that both the A. F. of L. and the C.I.O., as well as the employers, would agree that it is unwise to vest a government agency with any such authority as would give it a free hand in deciding what form of organization is best for labor bargaining. However difficult it may be to bring together the divided labor camps in a united organization, I think it not at all impossible that both camps could reach an agreement that the practices, customs, and forms of organizations established by the employees themselves and by their collective agreements with employers should control the Board in deciding disputes as to bargaining units. If such an interpretation of Section 9 were accepted by the A. F. of L. and the C.I.O. and were applied by the Board in deciding disputes as to bargaining units, it is my judgment that much of the difficulty in handling these cases would disappear.

(This is the last of a series of articles taken from the memorandum submitted recently by William M. Leiserson to the Smith Committee investigating the N.L.R.B.—Editor.)

# A.F.L. Executive Council Opposed to Third Term for FDR

(Continued from page 1)

His drastic step was the result. Claude M. Baker, president of the I.T.U., said that his union would "go its own way until there is a healing of breach in the general labor movement." There was no possibility of the I.T.U. affiliating with the C.I.O.

The action of the Council is bound to result in many serious difficulties throughout the country where I.T.U. members hold important positions in A. F. of L. bodies.

The Council dealt with a number of questions relating to economic conditions in the country but there was nothing essentially new in the ultra-conservative position it adopted.

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### Support Rises For War Poll, Survey Shows

New York City. A SUBSTANTIAL majority of the people of the United States favor a referendum of the voters before the government should be allowed to draft men for overseas war service, according to a survey of Dr. George Gallup's American Institute of Public Opinion.

"Rank-and-file sentiment for a 'people's vote' has increased in a marked manner since the outbreak of the European war five months ago," the report states.

At that time the Institute found a bare majority—51%—in favor of a national vote before another expeditionary force could ever be sent overseas.

"But the present survey shows that 60% now think it would be well to consult the public. This is almost the same sentiment as existed ten months ago, before the present war became an actuality. The trend of opinion in successive Institute surveys has been:

	Yes.	No.
March 1939	61%	39%
September 1939	51	49
Today	60	40

"Five percent of those interviewed—or one in twenty—said they were undecided about the question."

### Books

by Jim Cork

NEHRU, THE RISING STAR OF INDIA, By Anup Singh. The John Day Co., New York, 1939. \$1.75.

THIS compact little biography traces the career of the man, who, next to Gandhi, has more mass influence, probably, than any other living Indian. The story of how this scion of a wealthy aristocratic Brahmin family, a well-rounded fascinating personality, a highly cultivated intellect, a skeptic, a lonely and aloof philosopher, gave up his wealth and position to embrace the cause of India's oppressed, drove thru intellectually to agreement with Marxian socialism, languished for years in jail, was elected three times to the presidency of the Indian National Congress and is able to sway the peasant masses of India more than any man, Gandhi excepted, is fascinating indeed.

The details of that story, interesting as they may be, need not concern us here now. Rather do we propose to deal with a number of the more basic questions treated in this book, which tend to throw light on the exact character of the political leadership of Nehru, viz., his relationship to Gandhi (which occupies a sizable portion of the book), his attitude on the British Empire, his stand on the present World War in relation to India's drive for independence.

It is most peculiar how many thinkers, including most socialists, check their reason outside when approaching the figure of Gandhi. They regard him with wonder and awe. They usually make of him a combination of saint and medieval mystic whose baffling tactics, supposedly fitted to the peculiar needs of India, cannot be comprehended by the puny rationalism of the West. That Gandhi's tactics are suitable for achieving their supposed ends (Indian independence) is rarely challenged in a forthright manner by any of these pundits. The present book is a case in point. Lin Yutang, who contributes and eminently nonsensical introduction to the book, rids himself of the following emotional outpourings on Gandhi:

"It seems to me that Gandhi is the female spirit, while Nehru is the male spirit guiding India in her struggle for independence, and in Taotic evaluation, the female spirit is the more basic, more enduring one. . . . Gandhi hears the cries of the masses with the ear of an Indian saint. . . . Gandhi is for eternity. . . . Gandhi is not only too good for India, but rather too good for all of us. . . . The people listen to Nehru, Nehru listens to Gandhi, and Gandhi listens only to God. The interplay of these forces will bring a free and independent India. . . ."

It would be better for all concerned were Lin Yutang to limit himself to long novels on China and homiletics on morals and the good life. Political matters are not his forte.

The author of the book, an obviously more reasoning and less emotional person than Lin Yutang, and one not untouched by socialist ideals, is not blind to what he terms the shortcomings in Gandhi's philosophy: "Gandhi accepts the fundamental social structure of India built around the caste system. . . . Gandhi approves the stratification of society. Gandhi's future India has room for the princes, the big landlords, the money-lenders. . . . With Gandhi, non-violence is the cardinal tenet of his faith. India may remain under British rule, the under-privileged may be crushed beyond words, but violence must never be used to achieve even a laudable end."

To a radical with not too complicated a thought apparatus these well-known features of Gandhi's outlook would testify to the reactionary character of that philosophy. Anyone with the slightest tinge of socialism in his make-up would, it

### Does Fascism Menace America?

## Basic Features of Fascism

By WILL HERBERG

(The first article in this series, published last week, discussed the social roots of fascism—Editor)

As a movement on the way to power, fascism manifests all the earmarks of its petty-bourgeois origins. It develops as a popular mass movement, primarily of the lower middle classes, a plebeian movement. It develops as an oppositional mass movement, distinct from and hostile to the established political parties of the old order. It is not merely oppositional in the usual parliamentary sense of the term. It preaches contempt for official legality, it exalts extra-legal violence; and it organizes its own extra-legal private armies (Storm-Troops, Fascist Militia), which it employs very effectively for recruiting, for anti-labor terror, and for that "creation of chaos" that forms so essential an element of fascist strategy.

Spiritually, fascism is built on an ideology and a faith, on an organized system of beliefs and hates. The binding ideology of fascism is a mystical nationalism or racialism—at once the exaltation of the obscure, inarticulate reactionary prejudices of the backward middle-class masses; a compensation for their social insufficiency, their collective "inferiority complex," in present-day society; and a sort of "harmless" outlet for the stored-up discontent and rebelliousness of the masses. In each of these connections, anti-Semitism naturally plays a central role in the hierarchy of fascist hates.

Fascist ideology is grounded in cultural reaction and obscurantist mysticism. It exalts instinct and blind faith as against intelligence and reason. It requires a backward-looking historical tradition, appropriately distorted and falsified, from which to draw its reactionary inspiration—the old Roman Empire for Italian fascism and medieval Germany or primitive Teutonic paganism for Nazism.

Fascism fuses with its appeal to blood, race and nation a characteristic pseudo-"radical" demagoguery, taking its color from the conditions amidst which it develops. In Germany, it appeared as a "national-socialism"; in Italy, as a "national-syndicalism"; but everywhere it is a reckless hodge-podge of crackpot utopias, salvationist panaceas and social quackeries, promising everything to everybody, without the least regard to impossibilities, absurdities or contradictions. But even here fascism is not original; even these odds and ends of social demagoguery that form its program are drawn from the irrational, half-formed yearnings and fantasies of tormented middle-class groups driven to distraction by modern capitalism. In a certain sense, the very absurdity and irrationality of the program constitute its source of strength.

Fascism, as a number of keen observers have pointed out, offers a middle-class substitute system for working-class socialism: national-racial solidarity for class solidarity, national struggle (war) for class struggle, the authoritarian-corporate state for the democratic-socialist state.

As essential to fascism as its racial or national fanaticism is its authoritarianism, its shrill contempt for democracy, its sacred Leadership principle and Leader cult. In this, too, we may see a mechanism of compensation for the insignificance and impotence of the petty bourgeoisie in present-day society, a mass abdication of responsibility a self-abasement and a self-abandonment to an infallible, omnipotent, god-like Leader.

### Taking Power—And After

Such is the fascist mass movement as it drives to power. How it achieves power has been told in detail in many accounts of Italian and German fascism. One thing is certain it does not come to power thru "violent revolution." On the contrary, as Silone has well pointed out, the fascist "revolution" is a "revolution by arrangement" in which power is taken over by the fascist leaders thru the connivance, thru the direct assistance, of the powers-that-be in the old state, the bureaucrats, the generals, the industrialists, the financiers, the land owners.

Once fascism is in power, it passes thru a series of fundamental transitions that strikingly alter its political physiognomy and social character. The original coalition government established on the day of fascist

should seem, clearly differentiate himself from that philosophy, and condemn it as an obstacle in the path of India's age-long aspirations for independence. Yet not so our author. Admitting all the above, he yet can say: "The listing of these may give the impression that Gandhi is a reactionary and a mere reformist; yet such an impression would be erroneous. Gandhi is a unique revolutionary of our age. . . . His methods are different and strange; they puzzle the western world. . . . He is a spiritual genius, not to be judged by ordinary standards for he is coined from a different metal."

Nehru, too, is tainted by this debilitating worship of Gandhi's "saintliness." His clear-cut rationalism in most matters has, in this one case, evidently, not proven strong enough. Troubled he has been at times at the obviously reactionary nature of Gandhi's theories in action, but never sufficiently so as to make a break openly and publicly with Gandhi. On the contrary, he has consistently refused to make such a break, and has vigorously defended Gandhi at all times against all critics.

Nehru's adherence to Gandhi is his outstanding weakness. It has colored his attitude, his approach, especially recently. The adverse effect upon his actions becomes especially clear at critical times like the present. Here is a man, India's outstanding mass leader after Gandhi, who has preached unconditional and absolute independence from the British Empire for years, who has proclaimed the destruction of that empire as necessary if humanity is to progress, who has frequently pointed out the favorable opportunity another world war involving England would afford to India, who has preached words on socialism as eloquent as any in this century, who in a certain sense is feared more than Gandhi by the British government because he symbolizes the ideal of socialism to the outside world, such a man—who, one would expect, would use his vast popular influence to help to unleash a vigorous and broad mass movement for absolute independence at the present favorable moment created by England's involvement in the war—finds himself rather trailing behind Gandhi, following the latter's hesitating, vacillating, bargaining policy with the British Raj. It is likely to prove a personal tragedy for Nehru as well as for the Indian

triumph is transformed more or less quickly into a one-party totalitarian dictatorship. From an oppositional mass movement, fascism develops into a military-bureaucratic governmental machine and ruling caste. These transitions are not accomplished peacefully by any means. Sharp and often bloody political struggles, drastic shifts of social composition, ruthless party purges and extermination of its own "unreliable" mass organizations, are some of the ways in which fascism adapts itself to its new responsibilities as the wielder of absolute power in the totalitarian state, as the mandatory of the historical interests of national capitalism.

Such is the course of fascism "from below"—from its beginnings to its entrenchment in power. The course of fascism "from above" is essentially different although the final goal may be the same.

### Road of "Fascism From Above"

Fascism "from above" arises out of a situation of extreme social emergency—an economic, social and political breakdown, a war crisis, or the like. Only in this case no oppositional fascist movement is given a chance to emerge. Strategically-placed groups in the old state themselves take the initiative in moving toward an authoritarian regime that will be capable not only of "controlling the situation"—that is, of keeping power in the hands of the old ruling classes—but also of heading off any outcroppings of fascist demagoguery and fascist plebeianism. Why can't we accomplish the same results ourselves without having to call in these reckless, irresponsible fascist adventurers to do it for us?—the men in power in the old state ask themselves.

Fascism "from above" begins with a virtual coup d'etat by these men in power in order to establish what we might call, by the French analogy, a decree-dictatorship. In case of war, it is a military dictatorship to win the war; in other cases it is an "emergency" regime to "ride over the crisis." However that may be, dictatorship has already obtained its foothold.

But a decree-dictatorship is not yet totalitarianism by a long shot. There now begins a process of converting the decree-dictatorship into a totalitarian state. An authoritarian military-police regime is established. Oppositional organizations are suppressed and political existence, not to speak of civil and political rights, is made the monopoly of the masters of the state. The old democratic institutions, where not formally abolished—and they need not be, are allowed to wither away in contemptuous disuse. In their place, a network of state-controlled organizations are created as instruments of propaganda, secret police espionage and political control. Finally, thru the cultivation of an appropriate ideology and system of social demagoguery, thru stimulation and cultivation of the characteristically fascist passions, themselves frequently engendered out of war hysteria, full-blown fascism is achieved.

The line of development here sketched is necessarily oversimplified and schematic, for as yet we have no actual example of the installation of fascist totalitarianism "from above" from which to draw our materials. But it should not therefore be concluded that it is all idle speculation. France and certain of the Balkan states have already taken more than a step or two along this road and the rest of the way is definitely foreshadowed, tho by no means inevitable or inescapable in every one of its stages.

Fascism "from above" is the logic of political development in a decaying capitalism. For capitalism today is no longer a self-acting and self-regulating mechanism; it can no longer work without constant governmental stimulation, without systematic economic regimentation, without increasing authoritarian control and "coordination" of all social functions. Fascism "from above" is a carefully planned effort to achieve such authoritarian control at the least cost to the dominant classes. It is an attempt of the powerful industrialists, bankers, generals and bureaucrats of the old regime to reap the "blessings" of fascism—authoritarian state, subjection of the masses—while avoiding the "curse"—the painful necessity of handing over direct political power to an insurgent lower-class group. It is fascism made safe for the powers-that-be.

(The next article by Will Herberg will deal with the essential features of American fascism, its conditions and prospects.—Editor.)

## Unemployment Rises In Europe During War

### I.L.O. Shows War No Way Out of Job Crisis

Washington, D. C. THOSE who look to war as the solution of America's unemployment problem need to study the situation that exists in Europe today. Unemployment, both in belligerent and neutral countries, remains a serious problem. In fact, since the outbreak of war last September, figures show that unemployment has increased in most European countries.

Information made public by the International Labor Organization of the League of Nations indicates that, contrary to the belief that war conditions and large-scale mobilization would abolish unemployment and alleviate distressing economic and social problems, the war has had a "much more complicated effect" on national employment markets.

Moderate increases in employment have been noted in some countries, but these have been temporary in most cases.

What are the reasons for the continued unemployment existing in European countries today? As enumerated by the I.L.O. report, they are:

1. The transition from a peace or a semi-war economy to an economy directly geared to war needs.
2. Small enterprises have closed down and many small trades have been disorganized by mobilization and civilian evacuation.
3. The arrival of large numbers of women workers in the labor market many of them forced into job-hunting by the mobilization and many more dismissed from employment in the personal-service industries.
4. Considerable numbers of salaried employees and of workers in such

msases, for Nehru seems to be the only one at present who could start a substantial counter-current to Gandhist in potency.

Reviewed by J. CORK

trades as the building trades have lost their jobs and have not yet been absorbed into the changed economy.

5. Trade restrictions have affected employment in export industries or industries which depend on imports for their raw materials.

6. Seasonal factors account for some of the unemployment.

In the United States and Canada, employment has increased slightly in industries producing for war needs. But, as the I.L.O. report points out, "national officials continue to warn against over-optimism as to the future, and to point out the large pockets of unemployment which are—and will probably remain for some time—basically unaffected by current war developments."

### KEEP AMERICA OUT OF WAR

By Norman Thomas and Bertram D. Wolfe

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## 250,000 Jews Dead in Poland Since September

New York City. OVER 250,000 Jews have been wiped out in Poland by military operations, disease and starvation since Sept. 1, according to an estimate released last week by the Joint Distribution Committee on the basis of reports it has received. It added that 80% of the remaining 1,250,000 Jews in the German-occupied area have been reduced to beggary.

Typhus epidemics are raging in Warsaw, Lodz and many other towns, and their virulence is augmented by the widespread starvation and exhaustion, the committee said. Economic life has been "completely strangled," and hundreds of thousands of families, uprooted from their homes, wander along open roads, seeking a shelter. Women, aged men and children are "subjected to countless indignities."

Also the suffering from starvation, epidemics, pogroms, persecutions and wholesale expulsions is most acute in the German-occupied territories, there is also intense hardship in the Russian-occupied section, where 600,000 Jews have taken refuge, and among the refugees in the bordering countries, according to the report of the committee.

The borders between the German and Russian occupied areas, as well as between the German area and Lithuania, are "peppered with no man's lands, where small groups of Jews are huddled under conditions of the utmost misery, unable to advance or retreat," the committee said.

### Letters from Our Readers:

## Are We "Fanatical"?

Jamaica, N. Y. Editor, Workers Age.

I HAVE been a subscriber to the Workers Age for some time, and the more I read your publication, the more distasteful your fanatical, branding diatribes become to me. It is not that I object to justifiable and constructive criticism of anything or anyone, but vicious bitterness is a poor substitute for sound reason, and to temperate minds who like to consider dispassionate facts—without labels—it is most distressing.

I do not belong nor did belong to either the orthodox or the independent communists, but I am interested in following their, and other progressive, attitudes on vital issues. Therefore I subscribe to the Workers Age and read the New Masses, and I have come to the conclusion that the internecine warfare among disagreeing left groups is a sad mistake and will be the undoing of all progressivism. Independent thinkers have no alternative now except the one that finds expression in "a plague on both your houses."

The latest victim in your columns seems to be the New York local of the Teachers Union. I am a member of the T. U. I belong to no clique, either "Independent" or "Rank and File," but to the large proportion of union members who prefer to make decisions on the merits of cases, with due consideration of pros and cons, presented in democratic fashion.

I happen to know that it is not the intention of the Independent Group to "wreck" the T. U. but I know of no better way to accomplish this than by the way overzealous members of the Independent Group, aided and abetted by the Workers Age, have publicized their "I-told-you-so" grievances to a public who can at best get only a one-sided picture.

May I suggest that, in the interest of promulgating harmony rather than discord among such an important group as Local 5 represents, you scrap the "punitive column" on the T. U.

A SUBSCRIBER

### The Editor Replies:

DESPITE the vehemence of our correspondent's tone, we find it impossible to see eye to eye with him on the point at issue.

Exposure of the policies, practices and activities of the Communist Party is not "internecine warfare among disagreeing left groups." The Communist Party is not a left group, despite the undoubted sincerity of many of its members. It is an agency of the Stalin dictatorship of Russia, having no legitimate place in or connection with the American labor movement. Its entire function is to operate in this country as a power group, disguised as a working-class political party, in the interests of Russian foreign policy and under the control of the Russian government.

That in describing the role and character of the Communist Party in this way, we do not in the least exaggerate, no one should be in a better position to judge than a member of New York Teachers Union Local 5, such as is our correspondent. For where better than in the New York Teachers Union, with its Stalinist-controlled administration, could one observe the sudden twists and shifts of Stalinist trade-union policy with every twist and shift of Russian diplomacy?

We agree with our correspondent that "the internecine warfare among

## Philippine Minerals Tighten U. S. Control

### Ore Deposits Bolster "Retentionist" Forces

By J. CORK

THE fate of the Philippines was, of course, not settled finally by the passage of the original Independence Act, which named July 4, 1946 as the day on which the islands would become an independent republic. The question has been raised and raised again so many times since, both in the United States and in the islands, that the political discussion bids fair to assume a comic-opera character. Two things are certain, however: first, that the issue is very far from settled, and secondly, that when it is finally decided the decision will be made on the basis of protecting American imperial and business interests in the present world situation, especially in the light of Japan's attempt to dominate the Pacific.

### U. S. INTERESTS DIVIDED

American business interests are divided on the question. Strong sugar and farm groups, concerned with protecting their products from Philippine competition, are in the van of those who favor independence. In 1934, they were able to have their way in the passage of the independence bill. But the demand that the question be reexamined has become stronger and stronger since today, there is one weighty argument that the "retentionists" are working overtime—the valuable mineral deposits only recently discovered or laid open for exploitation in the islands. In a war-torn world, with minerals so important in the conducts of any war, this argument may prove decisive.

Rich as the United States may be in minerals, it nevertheless does lack certain in them. The United States depends partly or entirely on outside sources for the following minerals vital in war: aluminum, antimony, chromium, manganese, mica, mercury, nickel, tin and tungsten.

Mining in the Philippines is chiefly concentrated in gold production. Iron and copper production has advanced rapidly in recent years. In addition to these, of which the U.S.A. has no deficiency, two minerals have recently been exploited that are indispensable to the steel industry and of which the United States has insufficient quantities—chromium and manganese. Of the two, chromium is of much greater significance because of the greater amount available on the islands.

The U.S.A. is the world's leading consumer of chromium. In 1937, for instance, it produced only 2,300 tons of the metal, and had to import half a million tons. Philippine deposits are calculated at about eleven million tons, with probably more as yet undiscovered. The importance of these deposits is therefore obvious.

ENTER JAPAN

The United States also has good reason to worry about the recent development of the iron and copper export trade of the Philippines. Both, particularly iron, have increased rapidly. In 1934, the islands exported only 7,000 metric tons of iron ore. Yet four years later, in 1938, they exported almost a million tons. Most of it went to Japan, which also took about 25,000 tons of copper. America's ability to exert effective pressure on Japan depends largely on the latter's need for American minerals, either as ores or in their manufactured state. Such dependence will naturally be weakened in proportion as Japan is able to gain access to deposits in the Philippines.

All of these considerations together seem to be of sufficient importance to have brought about a shift in the attitude to Philippine independence held in official and business circles here. Last Summer, an amendment to the original Tydings-McDuffie Act was passed by Congress, and signed by President Roosevelt on August 7, providing among other things, for an economic conference between representatives of the United States and the Philippines not later than 1944, the possibly sooner. Here the question may be settled, if it is not settled before.

point but the Stalinist. It tells a straightforward story and draws some obvious and very essential conclusions.

Our correspondent upbraids us with "publicizing" the "grievances" (Continued on page 4)

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WILL HERBERG, Editor

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## A COSTLY BLUNDER

EVERY friend of the American Labor Party will keenly regret the decision of the party leaders to endorse the Democrat, M. Michael Edelman, as candidate for the vacancy in the Fourteenth Congressional District of New York. It is a distinct setback for the party which has recently made some headway towards independence.

The A.L.P.'s failure to name an independent candidate in the Fourteenth leaves labor and progressive opinion without anyone to support. That would be bad enough, but the matter is made even worse by the special situation in the Fourteenth District. For that is the district in which the Communist Party has put up Earl Browder on a platform compounded of the new Stalinist line and bitter hatred of the A.L.P. The failure of the A.L.P. to name its own candidate not only leaves the party position virtually undefended in the Fourteenth District but makes it possible for Browder to make a strong bid for votes on the ground that he is the only "independent" candidate in the running. Thereby also it strengthens the disruptive Stalinist-Connelly faction in the A.L.P. It is a dreadful blunder all around.

It is more than a blunder. It is a symptom of that indecisiveness, of that fear of independence and independent responsibilities, of that still unbroken bond with old-party politics that is the greatest handicap in the way of the A.L.P. and that may lead to utter disaster unless it is resolutely faced and overcome.

## THE DANGER IS NOT OVER

WHEN the neutrality issue was being debated in Congress some months ago, we pointed out the real danger in the situation. The President, we stressed, was actually opposed to any kind of neutrality legislation whatsoever, no matter how weak. For the moment, he might have to accept what the temper of the country forced upon him but the whole effort of the Administration would be to undermine the neutrality law that would be passed by stretching every possible loophole in it to the breaking point and beyond.

Today, everybody can see that this is just what is happening. Congress adopted a neutrality law, weak and inadequate, but some protection at any rate. Hardly was the ink dry on the President's signature to this law, when the United States Lines tried to put over a little scheme to evade its restrictions by transferring eight of its ships to Panamanian registry. The Maritime Commission approved and so did the President, but the storm of protest throughout the country was so great that the matter was dropped—for a while. Only a couple of weeks ago, the same plan of evading the law was taken up again and this time put over, again with Administration approval. Eight U. S. Lines ships were "sold" to a Norwegian company of which the U. S. Lines admits owning 40% of the stock. Under the Norwegian flag, these ships can now carry on "business as usual," convey goods to belligerent ports, pass thru dangerous "combat areas" and the like, all of which are forbidden by law to American ships.

Now we learn that legal experts in Washington have given it as their opinion that Canadian subsidiaries of American corporations, if incorporated in Canada, can invest their own profits or surplus in Canadian war loans without violating the Neutrality Act. By law, American concerns are forbidden to invest in loans floated by belligerent governments so as to prevent the building up of an economic interest in this country with a direct financial stake in the victory of any belligerent group. This legal prohibition is a wise one, practically everybody agrees. But now we are told that subsidiaries of American firms in Canada, and presumably in other belligerent countries, are not bound by this law; apparently they may participate in belligerent war loans to their heart's content, although essentially they are no more than branch offices of the American concerns. This is no mere loophole; it is a wide-open door to evasion of the neutrality law.

The greatest mistake the American people could make at the present time would be to think that now that a neutrality law has been passed and the President is always talking about peace, they can sit back in security. Such an illusion would be fatal. Whatever the President may be saying, the Administration is as energetic as ever in pushing a policy making directly for our involvement in war. His message to Congress and his 1941 budget show it; his connivance at the flagrant evasions of the neutrality act proves it to the hilt.

Now as never before are vigilance and clear thinking the price of peace and security.

## MUCH HANGS IN THE BALANCE

(Continued from page 1)

pull of anxiety laid upon the social, political and economic set-ups by the emergence of the above and other new developments. Any attempt—no matter where it hails from and regardless of its possible momentary superficial success at the outset—to reconstruct our post-war world on the basis of 1914 or 1939 can at best bring only years of disintegration. This will spell collapse more painful than that ushered in by the breakdown of 1929. An inkling of how much is hanging in the balance is thus revealed by Winthrop W. Case in the *Annalist*, January 25, 1940:

"The national impoverishment from a long struggle seems likely to require the continuation after the war-time measures of government control over industry and trade, such as may well prove permanent and which may not be greatly different, at least in essence, from those of a socialistic state."

Mr. Case's expression "socialistic state" is nothing but a gloved courtesy. It brings us no cheer. We have much more cause for concern over his stressing the likelihood of "war-time measures of government control" being continued after the conflict. Unless the working masses in this city and on the land take power in their own hands, such measures can only be ruthless, dictatorial moves for perpetuating the bankrupt, historically outlived capitalist system. For the United States to play such a world role means for it to become the last stronghold and diadem of a decaying anti-social order desperately battling against the forces striving for genuine and free socialism. Here is where American labor can prove decisive. It is up to us to see to it that our country repays the world for its present privileged position. And the best way we can save the world from collapse and help it in the coming difficult days of reconstruction is by using our tremendous resources—material, technical and man-power—and bona-fide democratic and revolutionary traditions and experience, in behalf of a new world building for socialism and peace.

WITHOUT the least desire of interfering in the no doubt very profound inner disputes of the Socialist Workers Party (Trotskyites) but merely for the purpose of illustrating how widely the atmosphere in that party differs from the uncritical, totalitarian, Leader-worshipping spirit of Stalinism, we present the following extract from an article by Max Schachtman in the *S.W.P. Internal Bulletin*, issue of November 14, 1939:

"At the plenum the majority presented for a vote the document of Comrade Trotsky which had arrived only a few hours earlier. There could not have been an opportunity for any comrade to reflect on this document. Some of them had not even a chance to read it. Moreover, it was physically impossible for anybody to have read it in full for the simple reason that one page of the manuscript was accidentally lost in transit. Nevertheless, read or unread, studied or unstudied, complete or incomplete, the document was presented for a vote and finally adopted by the majority on the grounds, as one comrade expressed, of faith in the correctness of Comrade Trotsky's position."

By Rosa Luxemburg:

# The Question of Suffrage

(We continue publication of Rosa Luxemburg's "The Russian Revolution," written in 1918 and now for the first time translated in full into English. Another section will appear in the next issue of this paper—Editor)

LET us take another striking example. The right of suffrage as worked out by the Soviet government is not altogether clear what practical significance is attributed to this right of suffrage. From the critique of democratic institutions by Lenin and Trotsky, it appears that popular representation on the basis of universal suffrage is rejected by them on principle, and that they want to base themselves only on the soviets. Why, then, any general suffrage system was worked out at all is really not clear. It is also not known to us whether this right of suffrage was put in practice anywhere; nothing has been heard of any elections to any kind of popular representative body on the basis of it. More likely, it is only a theoretical product, so to speak, of diplomacy, but, as it is, it constitutes a remarkable product of the Bolshevik theory of dictatorship.

Every right of suffrage, like any political right in general, is not to be measured by some sort of abstract scheme of "justice," or in terms of any other bourgeois-democratic phrases, but by the social and economic relationships for which it is designed. The right of suffrage worked out by the Soviet government is calculated for the transition period from the bourgeois-capitalist to the socialist form of society, that is, it is calculated for the period of the proletarian dictatorship. But, according to the interpretation of this dictatorship which Lenin and Trotsky represent, the right to vote is granted only to those who live by their own labor and is denied to everybody else.

## Right to Vote Based On Right to Work

Now it is clear that such a right to vote has meaning only in a society which is in a position to make possible for all who want to work an adequate civilized life on the basis of one's own labor. Is that the case in Russia at present? Under the terrific difficulties which Russia has to contend with, cut off as she is from the world market and from her most important sources of raw materials, and under circumstances involving a terrific general uprooting of economic life and a rude overturn of productive relationships as a result of the transformation of property relationships in land and industry and trade—under such circumstances, it is clear that countless existences are quite suddenly uprooted, derailed without any objective possibility of finding any employment for their labor power within the economic mechanism. This applies not only to the capitalist and land-owning classes, but to the broad layer of the middle class also, and even to the working class itself. It is a known fact that the contraction of industry has resulted in a mass-scale return of the urban proletariat to the open country in search of a place in rural economy. Under such circumstances, a political right of suffrage on the basis of a general obligation to labor, is a quite incomprehensible measure. According to the main trend, only the exploiters are supposed to be deprived of their political rights. And, on the other hand, at the same time that productive labor powers are being uprooted on a mass scale, the Soviet government is often compelled to hand over national industry to its former owners, on lease, so to speak. In the same way, the Soviet government was forced to conclude a compromise with the bourgeois consumers cooperatives also. Further, the use of bourgeois specialists proved unavoidable. Another consequence of the same situation is that growing sections of the proletariat are

maintained by the state out of public resources as Red-Guardists, etc. In reality, broad and growing sections of the petty bourgeoisie and proletariat, for whom the economic mechanism provides no means of exercising the obligation to work, are rendered politically without any rights.

It makes no sense to regard the right of suffrage as a utopian product of fantasy, cut loose from social reality. And it is for this reason that it is not a serious instrument of the proletarian dictatorship. It is an anachronism, an anticipation of the juridical situation which is proper on the basis of an already completed socialist economy, but not in the transition period of the proletarian dictatorship.

## Force Should Be Used Only Against Force

As the entire middle class, the bourgeois and petty-bourgeois intelligentsia, boycotted the Soviet government for months after the October Revolution and crippled the railroad, post and telegraph, and educational and administrative apparatus, and, in this fashion, opposed the workers government, naturally enough all measures of pressure were exerted against it. These included the deprivation of political rights, of economic means of existence, etc., in order to break their resistance with an iron fist. It was precisely in this way that the socialist dictatorship expressed itself, for it cannot shrink from any use of force to secure or prevent certain measures involving the interests of the whole. But when it comes to a suffrage law which provides for the general disfranchisement of broad sections of society, whom it places politically outside the framework of society and, at the same time, is not in a position to make any place for them even economically within that framework, when it involves a deprivation of rights not as a concrete measure for a concrete purpose but as a general rule of long-standing effect, then it is not a necessity of dictatorship but a makeshift, incapable of being carried out in life. This applies alike to the soviets as the foundation, and to the Constituent Assembly and the general suffrage law.

[The Bolsheviks designated the soviets as reactionary because their majority consisted of peasants (peasant and soldier delegates). After the soviets went over to them, they became correct representatives of popular opinion. But this sudden change was connected only with the peace and land questions.]

But the Constituent Assembly and the suffrage law do not exhaust the matter. We did not consider above the destruction of the most important democratic guarantees of a healthy public life and of the political activity of the laboring masses—freedom of the press, the rights of association and assembly, which have been outlawed for all opponents of the Soviet regime. For these attacks (on democratic rights), the arguments of Trotsky cited above, on the cumbersome nature of democratic electoral bodies, are far from satisfactory. On the other hand, it is a well-known and indisputable fact that without a free and untrammeled press, without the unlimited right of association and assembly, the rule of the broad mass of the people is entirely unthinkable.

18 The three sentences contained within the brackets were found as a note on an unnumbered loose sheet of paper in the manuscript. It is probable that Rosa Luxemburg intended them as an expansion of the preceding sentence, namely "This applies alike to the soviets as the foundation, and to the Constituent Assembly and the general suffrage law." This sentence was crossed out in the original manuscript, indicating that the writer intended to rework it, or develop it further in some other form.

## Letters From Our Readers:

### Are We "Fanatical"?

(Continued from Page 3)

next to D. Benjamin's account of the misdeeds of the Stalinist administration of Local 5, we published an article by George S. Counts, president of the American Federation of Teachers, making clear that the Stalinists, for all their hold on the New York Teachers Union and cripple it as an effective trade-union organization. The only way to eliminate these evils and abuses is to bring them out into the full glare of publicity. Nor do we publicize them in a "one-sided" manner. The reports we publish are scrupulously accurate and objective as to the facts; as to the conclusions, the reader himself may judge—we leave that to his intelligence and common sense. And our correspondent should know that the readers of the *Workers Age* are not of the breed whose minds are "coordinated," who see, hear or think of nothing but what they are "permitted" to. They know where to find the "other side" of every question, and frequently they do—which is at it should be.

Returning to the particular article referred to, may we call to the attention of our correspondent that we went a good deal out of our way to be scrupulously fair and avoid creating a false impression? Right

praises articles on Russia. Editor, *Workers Age*. THE clear, logical and searching analysis of the present Russian situation presented by Will Herberg is indeed refreshing. It is helpful in these days when the atmosphere of radical thought is obscured by foggy arguments, however agile, of the orthodox communists. It is doubtful whether the like in apologetics has ever been seen in the realm of political and economic thought.

HODGE KIRNON

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## Stalinist Front League Expires At Last...

THE American League for Peace and Democracy, the leading "false-front" organization of the Communist Party, began its official dissolution here last week. Organized in 1935 as the American League Against War and Fascism, it adopted its new name with the onset of the Popular Front policy. It was through nothing more than a Stalinist agency pushing a program of American participation in a "collective-security" front of the "democracies" against the "fascist aggressors," a program wholly in line with the then Russian foreign policy.

When Russian foreign policy changed abruptly with the Stalin-Hitler pact last September, the League not only lost its function from the Stalinist standpoint but

## "We Liberals Have Been Deceived and Sold Out..."

(Dr. Holmes's remarkable statement is more than a personal confession of error. It is a moving expression of genuine liberalism at last awake to the full horror and indecency of Stalinism. The transparent honesty of Dr. Holmes's words stands in welcome contrast to the tricky, self-justifying apologetics of such repentant "fellow-travelers" as Louis Fischer, Vincent Sheean, Ralph Bates and Frederick L. Schuman—Editor)

New York City. WE liberals have been not only deceived, we have been sold out by Soviet Russia," John Haynes Holmes recently told the congregation of Community Church at Town Hall.

"I am sick over this business, as the I saw my father drunk or my daughter on the street," said Mr. Holmes. "And all the more, since I feel that I have deceived myself as well as been deceived."

"If we liberals were right on certain single aspects of the Russian Revolution, we were wrong, disgracefully wrong, on the question as a whole. We were wrong because, in our enthusiasm over Russia's liberation from the Czar, our hope for the further liberation of the Russian people from economic as well as political serfdom and our vision of a new world springing from the womb of this Russian experiment, we permitted ourselves to condone wrongs that we knew to be wrongs. We consented to violations of principle that we knew to be fatal to the moral integrity of mankind."

"We defended, or at least apologized for, evils in the case of Russia which horrified us wherever else they appeared, and by whomsoever else they were done. We accepted covertly, if not openly, the most dangerous and ultimately disastrous idea that can lodge within the human mind, namely, that the end justifies the means."

Liberals, Mr. Holmes said, condoned the dissolution of the Consti-

tuent Assembly, approved "the denial of free political institutions to a people seeking nothing so much as freedom," and "apologized for and frequently denied the horrors of massacre and torture that followed upon the attempted assassination of Lenin."

"We found explanations for the Soviet concentration camps and exile prisons which outdid the days of the Czars," continued Mr. Holmes. "We failed to denounce the despoiling of the kulaks and the enforced collectivization of the farms—a terror so horrible as to be beyond description. We defended the purges. The purges disgusted and nauseated me, and I denounced as ridiculous and horrible the idea that the helpless victims of these massacres were not guilty of the crimes to which they ironically confessed."

"Then came the anti-aggression pact with Hitler and the invasion of Finland—and I was thru! A new Ivan the Terrible had appeared."

"What can we learn from this ghastly experience—not only we liberals but everybody? That immoral means can never lead to moral ends! That power invariably corrupts and runs those who use it arbitrarily and unrestrictedly for however good a cause. That democracy and freedom are the indispensable condition of all human progress. Above all, that it is the prime business of men to be true to themselves, to be faithful to the best and highest ideals to safeguard the moral law, and to serve no cause at the expense of liberty."

## Stalin Invasion Is Crime Against Labor

### International Workers Front States Stand

(Continued from Page 1)

Stalin's campaign of aggression in the Baltic (and tomorrow in the Balkans?) is part of the developing war situation. With the Russo-German alliance, Soviet Russia has become part of the "hungry"-power block and Stalin is now following the lead of his ally, Hitler, in the politics of aggrandizement and expansion. But tomorrow, is not an anti-Russian regrouping of the European powers possible, with England, France, Germany, Italy and even America lined up against Soviet Russia? Is not the possibility of such a development becoming increasingly evident? Is not Stalin himself, by his new policy of aggrandizement and expansion, facilitating, practically inviting, a rapprochement between Anglo-French and German imperialism at the expense of Russia? And is he not, at the same time, disarming Russia, rendering it especially vulnerable to such an attack, by alienating working-class and popular sympathies abroad, for so long the best defender of a revolutionary Russia surrounded by imperialist tigers?

From every angle, Stalin's new imperialism, the latest expression of which is the invasion of Finland, merits unreserved condemnation from every socialist, every opponent of war, every friend of freedom.

Because we sincerely believe in the principle of national self-determination, because we recognize the disastrous effects of Stalin's inva-

sion from the standpoint not only of the Finnish people but also of the Russian people and of the international workingclass generally, we sympathize with the Finnish struggle against the Russian invader. Of that there cannot be any doubt.

Is it not folly, it may be objected, for little Finland to stand up to gigantic Russia? Is it not a hopeless cause, and a fight better never attempted? No cause is hopeless until it is definitely lost. And even when it is definitely lost for the time being, the hope of ever resuming it again depends very materially on the determination and resistance displayed in the first place. We cannot without dishonor to ourselves reproach the Finnish people for having taken up the struggle against odds however great.

But that does not mean that the Finnish bourgeoisie is competent or to be relied upon to give effective and steadfast leadership in the struggle against the Russian invader. The Finnish bourgeoisie, only yesterday flirting with Nazi Germany, is now linked up with the Anglo-French block. In fact, its whole policy is to stake everything on the support of Allied imperialism. But for Allied imperialism, Finland is no more than a pawn in the game of diplomatic intrigue, to be sacrificed, if its own interests require it, as Loyalist Spain was sacrificed, as Czecho-Slovakia was sacrificed, as Chamberlain a few months ago offered to sacrifice half of Poland to Stalin. The Finnish bourgeoisie cannot follow an independent policy of revolutionary defense involving an appeal to the solidarity of the international working class (and, in the first instance, to that of the Russian proletariat). But such a policy is the only one that can save Finland.

The Finnish working class and its organizations should therefore maintain their vigilance and independence and refuse to be swallowed up in the intoxication of "national unity." The Finnish working-class must not allow its hands to be tied by the intrigues of the bourgeois and government leaders with Anglo-French imperialism. It must strive to take its fate in its own hands and, putting itself at the head of the masses, defend the independence and freedom of the people along revolutionary lines.

That is our position on the Finnish crisis. But that is not all. In a world scarred by the horrors of oppression and war, international socialism represents the higher vision and the higher interests of tomorrow, of the society of the future freed from its capitalist chains. We realize that for Finland, as for all other small countries, there cannot be any complete independence and self-determination except in the framework of a Socialist United States of Europe. We realize that, ultimately and in the long run, the contradictions and antagonisms which are now tearing Europe and the world apart, can be eliminated only with the overthrow of capitalism and imperialism and their replacement by the free, democratic relations of socialism. That is why we judge everything from the standpoint of international socialism and refuse to dip our banner, the banner of socialist revolution, before the idols of nationalism and imperialism under any circumstances.

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