

Workers Age

Weekly Paper of the Independent Labor League of America

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Why Labor Should Oppose A Third Term

JOHN L. LEWIS'S sensational pronouncement against a third term for President Roosevelt and the more subdued tho certainly no less hostile attitude of the A. F. of L. Executive Council thrusts the third-term issue to the fore again as a burning question of labor politics.

We, too, are opposed to a third term; we, too, believe that labor should have nothing to do with the third-term agitation in any of its forms. Our reasons, however, are in many respects quite different from the standpoint developed either by Mr. Lewis or by the top leadership of the Federation.

In the first place, we do not believe that President Roosevelt deserves such unqualified, unquestioning support as is implied in the third-term idea. Indeed, we do not believe that on the whole he deserves the continued support of labor at all. Here we agree with Mr. Lewis's sharp criticism of the Administration, if Mr. Lewis can be taken to mean what he says. We agree also with many of the points in the indictment of the New Deal drawn up by the Hutcheson-Woll group in their recent statement, altho not, of course, with their yearning for a return of the "good old days" of Harding and Coolidge, when the government allegedly didn't tinker with economic or financial affairs. We are not unmindful of the benefits labor has derived from certain phases of the New Deal nor of the great advances made in labor and social legislation under the Roosevelt regime. But those days are gone, gone forever as far as the present Administration is concerned. Not only has the Administration turned its back on the earlier liberal and social ideals of the New Deal; it is even undoing its own work of yesterday. It has declared a moratorium on reform; it is engaged in a vicious crusade against organized labor under cover of the anti-trust laws; it is slashing relief and socially useful expenditures but it is boosting armaments to record highs. The 1941 budget, prepared by President Roosevelt and submitted to Congress at the opening of the present session, is a document that fairly shouts its own meaning, and its meaning is the New Deal turned reactionary.

Besides, today all political questions must be approached in the relation to the all-overshadowing question of war. Let America be dragged into the war and all the gains that labor has made in the last decade and more will be ruthlessly wiped out by the military dictatorship that war will most certainly bring in its train; the very reform legislation of which the New Deal is so proud will be perverted into a mechanism of authoritarian control. And yet it is as clear as daylight that President Roosevelt's foreign policy is a policy of unneutrality, of war involvement, a policy which, whatever its intentions, is driving the United States ever nearer the brink of the precipice. President Roosevelt stands for aiding the Allies by "measures short of war"—which, in the end, inescapably mean war. Neither labor nor any other section of the people that desires to keep America out of war can afford to give any support to the third-term idea.

There is yet another and even more fundamental side to the third-term question—the anti-third term tradition. We are certainly no blind worshippers of political traditions or conventions. But in these days of growing authoritarianism threatening the last safeguards of democracy, any tradition that stands in the way of the expanding power of the Executive is, to that degree at least, to be welcomed. Certainly, this is no time to exalt the personal prestige of the Chief Executive, surrounded by his political retinue of office-holders, or to extend the already considerable permanence of his position.

For these reasons, we feel that organized labor should not let itself be entangled in any way in the third-term movement. Labor should learn from experience and follow its own independent course.

Stalinists Fight Hard to Keep Control of A.Y.C.

FDR Denounces Russia for Invasion of
Finland; Lewis Backs Stalinist Stand

Washington, D. C.

The American Youth Congress, a national federation of youth and miscellaneous organizations, opened its annual sessions here last week under conditions of extreme political tension.

The A.Y.C. was organized by the Communist Party some years ago and has since remained under Stalinist control altho the organizations affiliated and their membership are overwhelmingly non-Communist. During the days of Popular Frontism, the Stalinists were able to maintain their control virtually unchallenged and to use the Youth Congress as a support for the Administration. With the Stalin-Hitler pact and especially after the invasion of Finland, the situation changed markedly. The official "party line" of the Stalinists, and therefore of the Stalinist leadership of the A.Y.C., shifted and became anti-Administration, while in the Congress itself conflict flared up on the Finnish issue. When the A.Y.C. gathered met in Washington last week, therefore, it became the battleground between the Stalinists desperately striving to hold on to their control, on the one side, and the Administration forces striving to get rid of Stalinist influence and use the A.Y.C. as a New Deal auxiliary, on the other.

The high point of the sessions last week was a powerful address by President Roosevelt who centered his remarks on a denunciation of Russia for its dictatorial regime and its imperialistic aggression against Finland. He reproved the New York A.Y.C. Council for adopting a pro-Russian resolution and urged the national conference not to do the same.

Mr. Roosevelt was followed by John L. Lewis who turned his address into a debate with the President and an attack on the Administration. Altho Mr. Lewis's own United Mine Workers had, at its convention the week before, adopted a resolution denouncing Russia for its invasion of Finland, the C.I.O. leader on this occasion went a long way towards supporting the attitude of the Stalinists within the A.Y.C.

By FRANK HOWARD

Washington, D. C.

By the time you read this letter, the American Youth Congress's "Citizenship Rally" will have been "captured" either by the Communist or the Democratic party. Eleanor Roosevelt and her boys, Joe Cadden and Joe Lash, and her girls, too many to mention, are sore at the way the youthful "fellow-travelers" have been soiling the reputation of the A.Y.C. They are determined to have a show-down during or after this meeting. The prospects are good for the Democrats but the Stalinists will put up a strong fight. In general, New Dealers are a little provoked that Eleanor has waded out into such deep water on the youth question.

There is good evidence that Gardner Jackson and Company are as guilty as hell in connection with efforts to frame Martin Dies and his committee. There is talk that Ben Allen of the LaFollette Committee and other Stalinist sympathizers are involved in various meetings at Jackson's house. Grand jury action and more startling revelations are probably on the agenda.

On the other hand, Dies's actions are still bothering progressives here and there is considerable rejoicing that Jerry Voorhis is tempering his Christian gentleness with a little iron in his attitude towards this vicious southern reactionary.

Rumors abound about the possible teaming up of Jack Garner and Paul McNutt. Paul V. has been unfairly treated by his New Deal friends, he thinks, and is looking elsewhere for the alliance which he hopes will put him in the White House.

It is rather late but I want to con-

F.D.R. Launches Sudden 'Peace' Move

AFL Hits New Deal Attack on Unions

Says "Anti-Trust" Crusade Aims to Fix
Government Grip on Labor Movement

Miami, Fla.

The Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, continuing its sessions here last week, condemned the efforts of the Department of Justice to use the anti-trust laws against labor as an attempt to get the labor movement under "the thumb of the federal government." The Federation, the Council said, would resist to the bitter end.

"Application of the anti-trust laws to unions would inevitably result in government dictatorship over unions and kill free, democratic trade unionism," the Council declared. American unions, it added, were threatened with the fate that had befallen labor in Germany, Italy and Russia.

The anti-trust suits against labor were, moreover, a perversion of the law, the Council contended, since the Clayton Act was supposed to have exempted labor from the provisions of the Sherman anti-trust law.

All members of the Executive Council joined in the statement condemning the anti-trust suits, including Daniel J. Tobin, president of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, the staunchest defender of the Roosevelt Administration on the Council.

"The issue," the Council stressed, "is of primary importance to every American worker and every American citizen. Once the independence of our trade unions is invaded, once they are subjected to rigid government control and domination, the democracy of our country is threatened and government dictatorship will become a reality."

The Council also charged that the Department of Justice's anti-trust suits against A. F. of L. unions were designed to favor the C.I.O., or at least had that effect. "It is noteworthy," the Council pointed out, "that the first batch of anti-trust indictments against building-trades unions of the American Federation of Labor was strangely timed to coincide with the inauguration of a C.I.O. drive to raid A. F. of L. membership in the building trades."

Great confusion prevailed in the Executive Council on problems of national economic policy. The Council as a whole issued a statement calling for a restoration of "business confidence" and "freedom" of private enterprise as the road to recovery. A day or two later, William Hutcheson, Matthew Woll and eight other prominent A. F. of L. leaders, primarily of the building and construction trades, made public a declaration deploring governmental "tinkering" with business and finance and denouncing the New Deal for engaging in such "tinkering." Yet the Council also adopted a resolution calling for large-scale governmental expenditures in the housing field, something that would involve extensive "tinkering" and competition with private business on the part of the federal government.

The pronounced anti-Administration attitude of the Executive Council, particularly the Hutcheson-Woll statement, aroused considerable resentment among the pro-Roosevelt elements in the leadership of the A. F. of L. Daniel J. Tobin, head of the teamsters, and Administration key man in the top councils of the Fed-

eration, openly charged that Republican political maneuvering was behind it all. Rumors leaked out of the sessions that Tobin and Hutcheson had come close to a fist fight, that Tobin had threatened to withdraw the teamsters union from the A. F. of L., and the like. It appeared unlikely that Tobin would take any such extreme measures, but there was no doubt that a serious rift was developing in the A. F. of L. leader-

ship. The Washington Star is this city's most conservative paper. Here is what the Star says about Thurman Arnold's anti-trust prosecution: "This business of dusting off the Sherman laws for labor causes marks one of the sharpest right swings of the Administration, several of which have been cited by professional political observers in recent weeks."

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"Land of the
Free"

SENATOR Allen J. Ellender (D-La.), asserting Louisiana 'didn't need the federal government to run' its Democratic primary next Tuesday, said today that 'Negroes were taking advantage of the situation to demand they be allowed to vote.'

"Of course," the Senator said in a campaign speech for Governor Earl K. Long, 'the Negroes won't get anywhere, but it just goes to show you what this thing may lead to.' —Associated Press dispatch in The Spartanburg Herald Journal.

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Sends Welles on Diplomatic Visit to England, France, Germany and Italy; Aid to Anti-Russian Alliance Seen

Direct diplomatic intervention of the United States in the European war crisis was initiated last week by President Roosevelt in a dual move that took the country by surprise. He commissioned Under-Secretary of State Sumner Welles to visit Italy, France, Germany and Great Britain and confer with the governments of those countries. He also authorized a formal statement by Secretary of State Hull that discussions already were under way with European neutrals with a view to a "sound and lasting peace for all nations."

Both of these moves were characterized by Administration spokesmen

as "active peace moves." The President's own declaration on Sumner Welles's mission said that it was "solely for the purpose of advising the President and Secretary of State as to present conditions in Europe" and stressed that Mr. Welles would, "of course, be authorized to make no proposals or commitments in the name of the government of the United States." But informed observers discounted these formal assurances and interpreted the President's action as a move in one of two possible directions:

1. An effort to prepare the moral and diplomatic ground for direct American aid to the Allies, to the point, perhaps, of entry into the war, was seen in some quarters. It was recalled that during the World War, Col. House went abroad on various missions for President Wilson, then regarded as "peace missions" but which, it has since become known, were really for the purpose of setting in motion certain diplomatic maneuvers to influence public opinion at home in favor of joining the war on the side of the Allies. This Col. House expected to do by framing, in secret collaboration with the British Foreign Office, American "peace" terms such that England and France could accept but Germany would have to reject. Then the responsibility of continuing the war could be placed upon Germany alone and the Allies made to appear as champions of "peace and democracy." This maneuver did not work out because the British Foreign Office was then averse to having any kind of "peace" terms made by the United States.

Certain observers ventured to suggest last week that Sumner Welles's mission might be more or less of the same general character and purpose—an effort to aid the Allies diplomatically and to influence public opinion at home in favor of active aid to the Allies.

2. On the other hand, there were those who suggested that the President's action might be a move in the direction of transforming the present war into a joint four-power "holy war" against Russia with American aid, if not active participation. For some months, the British Foreign Office has, according to rumor, been unofficially exploring the possibility of reaching an agreement with Germany in which most of the Reich's demands would be granted on the basis of the formation of an anti-Russian front by the four West European powers, England, France, Italy and Germany. It was conjectured that Mr. Welles's visit to Europe might have the purpose of stimulating such a realignment. In support of this theory, it was pointed out that, according to the President's statement, Mr. Welles would visit these four powers, altho Italy is not a belligerent, but that Russia was excluded from his itinerary.

Further corroboratory evidence came in rumors circulating in Washington and in European capitals that Germany was ready for some sort of "peace" move. In the New York World-Telegram of February 9, Ludwell Denny reported from Washington that "there is speculation here about a possible Allied-Scandinavian united front against Russia, with Germany and the United States as silent partners." Two days before, the New York Times published a dispatch from Copenhagen in which similar rumors were reported with the following comment: "The Ekstrabladet said that several of the French and British delegates now at the Hague believed settlement of the German war would leave an undisturbed Europe ready to resist any further encroachment by Russia and would combine the resources of all nations to end the Finnish war."

If this is indeed Mr. Welles's mission, he will probably work closely with the Vatican, which has for some time been shaping its diplomatic efforts in such a direction. Myron Taylor's special assignment to the Vatican takes on particular importance in this connection.

Public reaction in this country to the President's sensational move was not clearly defined last week altho there seemed to be wide approval in view of the fact that it was generally taken as a peace effort. Leaders of the "isolationist" block in the Senate, however, including Senators Clark of Missouri and Johnson of California, sounded a note of warning. "I'm opposed to roving ambassadors," Senator Clark declared. "The only one we ever had (Col. House) got us into trouble, including the World War."

Other international developments last week, the twenty-third week of the European war and the tenth week of the Russian invasion of Finland, were of little importance compared to President Roosevelt's diplomatic bombshell.

WELL, WHY DON'T YOU PUT HIM TO WORK?



from Justice

A.C.L.U. Bars Totalitarians From Office

Civil Liberties Union
Decides No Fascist or Stalinist
May Serve on Board

New York City.

The American Civil Liberties Union voted last week to bar henceforth from office or committee membership within the organization either communists, supporters of fascist regimes, or avowed sympathizers of any of the "native organizations with obvious anti-democratic objectives or practices."

The new statement of policy was embodied in a resolution adopted by the national committee by a vote of thirty to ten, with three members not voting, and by the board of directors by thirteen to seven, with two not voting.

"The board of directors and the national committee of the American Civil Liberties Union hold it inappropriate for any person to serve on the governing committees of the Union or on its staff, who is a member of any political organization which supports totalitarian dictatorship in any country, or who by his public declarations indicates his support of such a principle," the resolution ran.

"Within this category we include organizations in the United States supporting the totalitarian governments of the Soviet Union and of the fascist and Nazi countries (such as the Communist Party, the German-American Bund and others), as well as native organizations with obvious anti-democratic objectives or practices."

A separate explanatory press statement accompanying the resolution pointed out that "the occasion for raising this issue at this time is the increasing tension which has resulted everywhere from the direction

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Garrison Urges Limiting Powers of Labor Board

Proposes N.L.R.B. No Longer Determine
Bargaining Unit; Unions Must Decide

Washington, D. C.

The National Labor Relations Act should be amended so as to relieve the Labor Board from the task of settling substantial conflicts between the A. F. of L. and the C.I.O. in representation cases, Llewellyn G. Garrison, dean of the Wisconsin University Law School and chairman of the National Labor Board, which preceded the present N.L.R.B., told the House investigating committee headed by Representative Smith last week.

Mr. Garrison also advocated placing the trial examiners of the Board and of all similar federal bodies in an independent agency to eliminate complaints that respondents in cases brought by these agencies are tried before employees of the complaining government body.

Defending the Wagner Act in general and the present Board's administration of it, Mr. Garrison said his proposed amendment would permit the Board to act in representation cases where there were conflicting union groups only when those groups could agree among themselves on an election formula.

The comparatively small number of cases involving substantial dispute, he said, "contain all the dynamite."

"They are the cases," he added, "which, however honestly decided, are bound to lead to recriminations and accusations of bias, which make the task of the Board so critically difficult and which weaken the support given to the law itself."

These accusations and recriminations, he said, have injured the Board's capacity to administer the substantive guarantees of the law and have led to revision proposals

which would not have been considered a year ago. Any attempt by law to lay down formulas for handling such disputes will fail, he held, as long as the current labor struggle continues.

Mr. Garrison held that substitution of a new five-member board for the present three, as advocated by the A. F. of L., would solve nothing. The new board, he maintained, would be subject to the same onslaughts and the same difficulties. On the other hand, if both A. F. of L. and C.I.O. knew that there was no government tribunal whose favorable decision they might speculate, they would be more likely to come to an understanding on unit of representation, Mr. Garrison maintained.

The Garrison proposals met with tentative approval from J. Warren Madden, chairman of the N.L.R.B. "Of the various amendments suggested," Mr. Madden declared, "Dean Garrison's is sounder than any others. He is perfectly right in saying that this (representation) is not a problem for the courts, but they only complicate it. His suggestion deserves careful study." He also stated that there was "much to be said in favor" of the proposal to take powers of appointment of trial examiners away from the Board and create a special agency to name examiners.

It was pointed out, however that unless adequate safeguards were prescribed, Mr. Garrison's plan might make it possible for a small group of workers, perhaps indirectly company-dominated to obstruct collective-bargaining elections in a plant by refusing to come to an agreement as to bargaining unit.

MUSICALE-RECITAL Saturday, February 24 - 8:30 P. M.
Steinway Hall - See ad on Page 4

"Anti-Trust" Drive Aims at Government Grip on Unions

Arnold Assumes Right to Act in Union Disputes

By ROBERT WALTERS

IN his address at a luncheon given by the Labor Club in New York two weeks ago, Assistant Attorney-General Thurman Arnold, head of the Department of Justice's anti-trust division, made an effort to prove that what he was doing in the way of indicting unions and union officials under the anti-trust laws was really a blessing to the labor movement. "I'll lay you a wager," he even said in reply to a question, "that one year from today we will have labor on our side."

ARNOLD STATES HIS CASE

On what grounds did Mr. Arnold try to sell his anti-labor crusade as a boon to the labor movement? He made three points:

1. "In the first place, the Sherman Act . . . is not designed as an instrument to police strikes or boycotts when they are used to further a legitimate labor objective."
2. The anti-trust laws can protect unions "when endangered by employers, by other unions, and by combinations of unions and employers."
3. "Finally, the Sherman Act can protect the labor movement from enemies in its own ranks."

In his very defense, Mr. Arnold condemns himself, the Administration he represents, and the entire practice of using the anti-trust laws against labor.

The anti-trust laws, Mr. Arnold assures us, will not be used against any activity designed to further "legitimate labor objectives," such as better wages, shorter hours, improved working conditions. Do you want us to take that assurance seriously? Then how about the indictments procured by you against Joseph P. Ryan and the other leaders of the A. F. of L. longshoremen's union? What was their crime? They took boycott, strike and other action to prevent a dual union from muscling in and undercutting the A. F. of L. longshoremen on wages. The A. F. of L. scale is \$44 a week, a scale gained thru years of hard fighting. Now comes a C.I.O. outfit, a branch of the United Retail and Wholesale Employees, and offers to work for \$27.50 a week. Isn't it a "legitimate labor objective" to protect a union wage scale against such chisellers, no matter what label they bear? And what other recourse has the A. F. of L. longshoremen's union than to resort to strikes, boycotts and similar methods that labor has employed for generations? Why has it now suddenly become a crime to protect union standards against unscrupulous groups determined, for one reason or another, to destroy them?

"PROTECTING" UNIONS

Oh, but that's an attack of one union upon another, Mr. Arnold rejoins, and it's the business of the Sherman Act to protect the endangered organization. But if the government is to rush to the assistance of any group that sets out to undercut or undercut an established labor union by declaring otherwise legal action in defense of union standards to be "in restraint of trade," does not the government become in effect the partner and protector of scabs? Just because the group of chisellers has a C.I.O. charter, does that change the situation? Suppose they didn't have a C.I.O. charter but called themselves an "independent union" and then tried to invade a unionized field by offering the employees to work for less, would they have government protection too? According to Mr. Arnold's reasoning, they certainly would. In short, under cover of protecting unions, what Mr. Arnold's hatchet-men are actually doing is protecting creatures who, for one reason or another, are out to destroy established union standards and thereby to undermine union organization.

NO GOVERNMENT INTERFERENCE

Mr. Arnold's last point—to "protect the labor movement from enemies in its own ranks"—is a joke, or rather would be a joke if it were not so serious. Apparently everything in this country is in such fine shape that the federal government has nothing to worry about but conditions in the labor movement. Of course, there are evils and abuses aplenty in the labor movement, and we have been harping on them constantly in these columns; some people even think too constantly and frankly. But the federal government is the last place on earth for labor to look to for relief. Give the federal government or any of its agencies the slightest entering wedge for interfering in the internal affairs of the labor movement, and you may be sure that before long it'll take over the whole works. One piece of the traditional wisdom of American trade unionism is as sound and as timely as it ever was: "Keep the government out of the unions. Don't let it get a foothold under any pretext. If evils and abuses arise within labor's ranks, it is up to labor to clean house itself—no one else can be trusted with that job!"

Mr. Arnold has a different idea: "The anti-trust division will utilize its prosecutions to take the yoke off the back of labor by ridding it of the control of those who betray its own fundamental interests." Just picture

Well, Which Is It?

THE inside New Deal attitude now is that John L. Lewis always was a Republican and in criticizing the President is just moving back to his old party. From the Lewis side comes word that the labor leader thinks he has a stir up a ruckus in an effort to get more consideration for his viewpoint. "Washington Whispers," United States News, February 2, 1940.

Department, once upon a time, a Coolidge or a Hoover sat in the White House—and their like may do so again. It would be sheer folly, outright madness, for the labor movement to allow the government to acquire such arbitrary power over it; it would be an invitation to totalitarian "coordination"

A CURIOUS DIFFERENCE

When Mr. Arnold spoke before the Labor Club in New York, he was asked by one of his hearers why the Justice Department did not proceed against those in California who are responsible for the shocking conditions described in John Steinbeck's "The Grapes of Wrath." It was "largely a matter of personnel in the office of the Department of Justice," Mr. Arnold blandly explained. "I think it is largely a matter of getting an organization in each state. . . . The problem is one of distribution. There you get into all sorts of log jams. . . ."

Curious, isn't it! To persecute labor, Mr. Arnold has all the personnel he wants, he has solved the "problem of distribution" and has broken the "log jams" But when it comes to doing something to relieve the miserable, mistreated, exploited Okies, then it's something else again. Then there are all sorts of "difficulties." Draw your own conclusions!

Without Labor Unity, No Effective Labor Politics

THE whole question of independent labor political action thru a nationwide party of workers and farmers has acquired a new immediacy in view of John L. Lewis's recent indictment of the Roosevelt Administration and his sharp pronouncement against a third term. It is by no means certain, perhaps not even probable, that Lewis himself is thinking in such terms, but there can be little doubt that there are broad sections of the American people ready and waiting for such a departure. The New Deal, to so many once the clarion call to battle for life more abundant, is beginning to ring with the clangor of arms and armaments. The liberal, progressive ideals of its earlier days are being scuttled by the Administration in its preoccupation with war preparations and diplomatic maneuvers to help the Allies. The problems of the economic crisis, still with us after ten years, of permanent mass unemployment amounting to ten millions, remain unsolved and even the readiness to face and deal with these problems is disappearing in governmental circles in Washington. The 1941 budget, prepared by the President and presented by him to Congress, is a document eloquent of the havoc wrought in the New Deal by the Administration itself.

Yes, the times call most insistently for a bold, energetic move by labor as an independent force on the political field. That is why Lewis's pronouncement, whatever may have been at the back of his mind when he made it or whatever it may lead to in the end, struck a responsive note in the hearts of large masses thruout the land.

But independent action by labor on the political field, if it is to be at all effective, must be united action. And there's the rub! For the labor movement today is notoriously not united; in fact, it is more divided than ever, with the printers out of the A. F. of L. and the prospects of the early resumption of peace negotiations rapidly receding.

Obviously a political movement bound up with only one section of the labor movement would be foredoomed to failure. It would develop simply into the political arm of a faction and could never become the embodiment of the aspirations of the masses of working people in factory, farm or office. Even the American Labor Party, which has scrupulously avoided all commitments to either C.I.O. or A. F. of L., has suffered greatly from the civil war in labor's ranks, the extremists of each faction denouncing it as the tool of the other.

What does all this add up to? To the fact that as long as the savage feud continues to tear the labor movement apart, the prospect of a significant labor-party movement on any but a limited scale is remote indeed. This is a fact, and we had better make up our mind to face it. It is hard to believe that even a man as self-sufficient as Mr. Lewis could seriously contemplate a departure such as the logic of his words implies under present conditions of division and dissension in the labor movement. "Labor feels . . ." "Labor demands . . ." "Labor intends . . ." the C.I.O. leader is fond of saying. But as long as labor is not united so that it can speak with one voice, what practical meaning have these phrases?

Is there not a fatal contradiction between Mr. Lewis's ringing call to labor to stand up for its rights and interests on the political field and his persistent refusal to allow labor to reunite its badly divided forces on the industrial field? Without trade-union unity, what can labor hope to achieve anywhere?

AFL Hits New Deal Attack On Trade Union Movement

(Continued from Page 1)

ship, not over questions of trade-union policy or strategy but over which employing-class party and candidate to support.

After hearing a report from William Green on the unity situation, in particular on the recent efforts of President Roosevelt to bring the A. F. of L. and C.I.O. together, the Executive Council adopted a statement placing the responsibility for the continuation of the feud in labor's ranks on the shoulders of John L. Lewis personally, and appealed to President Roosevelt to inform the country of the facts in the situation.

Mr. Green emphasized that the A. F. of L. was ready to resume negotiations with the C.I.O. "anywhere, any place, any time."

On foreign affairs, the Executive Council adopted a resolution insisting that "the United States maintain strict neutrality and keep out of European wars." At the same time, it expressed almost in so many words sympathy with and support for the Allies. A strong resolution was adopted denouncing Hitler and Stalin but omitting any direct reference to Mussolini. The Russian invasion of Finland was condemned and the Hoover Finnish relief fund endorsed.

The Council also adopted a resolution calling on all affiliated unions to

give moral and financial support to the underground labor movement in Germany.

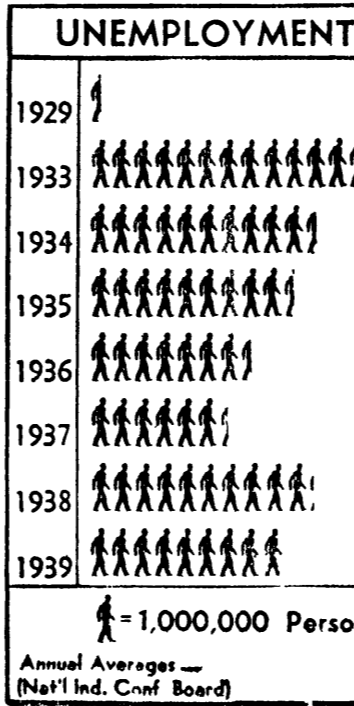
(Read the editorial, "Counsel of Futility," on page 4.—Editor.)

Roosevelt Holds Lewis Responsible

Washington, D.C.

In a statement made at his press conference the day after the A. F. of L. Executive Council asked him to make public the documents relating to his efforts to bring about labor peace, President Roosevelt declared that responsibility for the non-resumption of negotiations between the two rival labor bodies rested with John L. Lewis, head of the C.I.O. Mr. Lewis had informed him during a White House visit just before Christmas that he thought no useful purpose would be served by resuming negotiations "at this time," the President said.

Speaking on the following day before the American Youth Congress, Mr. Lewis called for a joint convention of the A. F. of L. and C.I.O. to take place on March 15 at which all C.I.O. affiliates would be admitted to a body into the A. F. of L. and which would then and there adjust all outstanding disputes. The A. F.



Industry Rises To High Levels, Jobs Decrease

Washington, D. C.

INCREASING industrial activity still is outdistanced by unemployment, which after increasing in November for the first time during the calendar year, continued unchanged thru December and remained in excess of 9,000,000 during both months, Colonel F. C. Harrington, Works Projects Commissioner, announced last week.

On the basis of a summary review of relief and economic conditions, Colonel Harrington reported that despite the rise in industrial production to a level above the "prosperity" peak of 1929, and with national income payments equaling those achieved during the recovery year of 1937, the pressure of relief and unemployment problems has been intensified with increased demands on local relief and W.P.A. offices for assistance.

Civil Liberties Union Puts Ban On Totalitarians

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of the communist movement since the Soviet-Nazi pact."

"The abandonment of the struggle against fascism and the other changes in communist policy have raised sharply issues which were reflected in the attitudes of members of our Board of directors," this statement declared.

Eight directors whose terms expired last week were reelected and all the Union's officers except the retiring chairman, Dr. Harry F. Ward, a Stalinist "fellow-traveler," were also reelected.

of L. proposal has been for the admittance of the C.I.O. affiliates only after jurisdictional and other conflicts are adjusted by negotiation.

Observers pointed out that Mr. Lewis plan would give him great undue advantage since at a joint convention such as suggested by him the C.I.O. affiliates would be represented on the basis of their own claims of membership which are notoriously greatly inflated. In the A. F. of L., a system of representation in proportion to per-capita payments prevails.

When informed of Mr. Lewis's plan, William Green, president of the A. F. of L., suggested that it be submitted by the C.I.O. chieftain to the joint A. F. of L.-C.I.O. committee authorized to negotiate a settlement.

KEEP AMERICA OUT OF WAR

By Norman Thomas and Bertram D. Wolfe \$1.50

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Sharecroppers Plight Acute Despite AAA

Tenant Farmers Union Their Only Reliance

By LAYLE LANE

ON January 17 there appeared in Mrs. Roosevelt's "My Day" a short paragraph which read "Then I had several visitors, among them a group who are planning an education campaign in New York City schools to acquaint people with the problem of share-croppers in other parts of the country. I think it is an interesting thing to do, for we should surely make every effort to have people in the cities understand the problem of their country neighbors."

Six members of the Educators Committee of the National Share-Croppers Week Committee—namely, William Funke, director of Manumit School, Pawling, N. Y.; Agnes Martocchio, in the educational work of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers Union; Ruth Scheeter, English teacher at Haaren High School; Isabel Taylor, Workers Education Project, Paul Murray, secretary of the National Share-Croppers Committee; and Layle Lane, social-studies teacher Benjamin Franklin High School, made up the delegation. The appointment with Mrs. Roosevelt was to secure her aid in fostering an educational campaign to acquaint the public as widely as possible with the wretched plight of the share-croppers, with the objective of securing support for them. This aid Mrs. Roosevelt consented to give in three specific ways—she will sponsor the educational work of the committee; she will give the prizes in the public-school contest sponsored by the committee, totaling \$50; and finally she will award these prizes at a public dinner held during Share-Croppers Week, the first week in March.

Miss Paul Murray presented the details of the contest plan to Mrs. Roosevelt with supporting comments by other members of the delegation. The plan was conceived by Dr. Caudace Stone, New York chairman of the Educators Committee, of which Dr. Mary Wooley and Dr. Abraham Harris are national co-chairmen.

The contest is for three different groups of students:

1. Private-school students: This involves any type of activity, dramatic, artistic or otherwise that will best convey to the public the problems of the share-cropper.

2. Public high-school students: Here students will be asked to write a letter to an editor giving a graphic description of the share-cropper problem, or to write a book review of a publication dealing with the same problem, such as "You Have Seen Their Faces" by Erskine Caldwell and Margaret White; "Rural Youth," W.P.A. research book; Howard Kester's "The Revolt of the Share-Cropper," or a similar piece of literature. It is in this division Mrs. Roosevelt will make the awards.

3. College students: In this field, competitors are asked to write a solution to the share-cropper problem. The winning entry will be published in the Nation.

It is hoped large numbers of students will participate not only with rewards in mind but with a genuine desire to strengthen real "national defense."

National Share-Croppers Week is a campaign which has been held annually for the past five years under the auspices of the Southern Tenant Farmers Union to aid it in arousing nationwide concern for the victims of the share-crop and tenant-farm system of southern agriculture.

The union was organized in 1934 to find thru organization a means of combating the disastrous effect of the plowing under program of the A.A.A. as well as to work for the abolition of the entire system this program, while intended to help landlord and tenant alike, resulted in gross injustice to the workers for they did not often share in the payments to the landlords, nor had they security on the land taken out of cultivation.

CHEATING THE SHARE-CROPPERS

The following is a copy of an actual contract which a landlord tried to force on share-croppers on his place in Arkansas. They were shrewd enough not to sign it but in countless other instances the tenants were not so wary. The contract is a sample of many which have been brought to the attention of the S.T.F.U., and in turn to the attention of the government.

"I had a share crop with my landlord (name) for the year 1935, under the United States government contract. "At my request, I am selling all my interest in said crop to my landlord and I order that all the benefits that I have or may have coming to me from the United States government be paid to my landlord (name). This means that all my claims to said crop of cotton, corn and all other crops on said premises, including cotton-allotment and parity payments are to go to (name of landlord)."

"The consideration is the cancellation of my account of \$30.20 as of 1-1-'36."

"I also agree that should I fail to give satisfaction in any way I will move off his premises on notice to me by him or his agent."

"I further agree that this is authority and power of attorney to my landlord (name) to sign for me any papers required to be signed on account of my 1935 contract with the United States government."

It would be hard to find anything that would more completely put one at the mercy of the landlord than

CIO Hits Relief Cut as Making Crisis Worse

Washington, D. C.

SLASHES in relief expenditures in President Roosevelt's "economy" budget are the chief factor contributing to an immediate economic outlook described as "unpromising," according to the C.I.O.

In its monthly survey in the Economic Outlook, made public last week, the C.I.O. asserted that "present policies of curtailing the government's contribution to purchasing power will result in a sharp drop in consumers expenditures." It charged that the "economy" budget is part of a political game of tag in an election year.

In addition to federal economy, the C.I.O. predicted four principal depressing factors as follows: "A substantial fall in steel production to come during the first quarter of 1940."

"Sharp declines in production and employment" in the automobile industry, said to be coming soon, which will further affect steel.

"A continuing decline" in orders for basic raw materials.

"Failure of private investment to pick up"

Spending for relief is more desirable than spending for national defense, the C.I.O. stressed.

"The expenditures for arms have a much less healthy effect on the economy dollar per dollar than the same amount spent for public works and the W.P.A.," it was stated in the survey.

The survey declared that "current reductions in the W.P.A. and those planned for the future are out of line with the needs of the unemployed." Anything less than a level of 3,000,000 employees by the W.P.A. is stipulated, it was added.

In the "political game of tag" which the C.I.O. said is being played, the President "led off" by slashing "most severely certain pet Congressional appropriations, such as those for rivers and harbors, roads, public works and payments to farmers."

"The Congress, the survey continued, "is now retaliating by cutting sharply or wiping out appropriations for pet projects of the President."

Labor and the Wagner Act

(This is an editorial from the January 15 issue of Justice, official paper of the I.L.G.W.U.—Editor)

WHAT is the current session of Congress planning to do with regard to the National Labor Relations Act?

Needless to say, the organized labor movement is keenly concerned with this question. The Wagner Act has been subjected to a continuous barrage from four sources in the past year. The American Federation of Labor, regarding itself as the father of the act and friendly to it as a whole, finds fault with the Board's assumption of authority to decide for workers in any industrial plant without letting them choose for themselves the unit in which they are to be classed for the purpose of collective bargaining. This must be done away with, says the A. F. of L., or else the Board will have seized the power of "life and death over trade unions."

The A.F. of L. also, would abolish the present administrative set-up of the N.L.R.B., substituting for it a new federal labor board of five members to be appointed by the President. It claims that the nation has lost confidence in the present Board and demands a "house-cleaning" to obtain a "fair, just and impartial administration of the law."

The C.I.O., speaking thru its chairman, John L. Lewis, is also dissatisfied with the act, on different grounds. The enforcement provisions of the act, says the C.I.O., limited to cease-and-desist orders and back-pay requirements, are not sufficiently severe to obtain actual enforcement from delinquent industrial firms. It demands, therefore, the imposition of criminal penalties which would put teeth into the Wagner Act. It is also displeased with some of the N.L.R.B. decisions which have gone in favor of the A. F. of L. and "threatened the existence of the C.I.O." in several instances.

From the Labor Board has come a voice of sincere disapproval not of the act itself but of some of its administrative features. Board Member Leiserson, while defending the Wagner Act as a good law and denying the necessity of amending it in any vital way, points to the Board's weakness in the delay in handling cases and frankly charges its secret management and lack of understanding of the administrative problems involved in his office.

From the camp of organized employers, as represented by the National Association of Manufacturers, comes, as one might have expected, a blanket indictment of the Wagner Act. If left to it, it would have all but junked the entire law. The N.A.M. appears to have learned nothing from the experience of the past dozen years and has forgotten none of its old enmity toward organized labor.

On closer analysis, it would seem quite clear that, altho the Wagner Act may have its flaws and administrative weaknesses, it is not in need of any vital changes. Since most of the difficulties experienced by the Board revolve around the question of the appropriate bargaining unit, it is obvious that these difficulties owe their origin to the division in the ranks of organized labor. Furthermore, let us not forget, those who are now attacking the Wagner Act and are demanding that it be drastically revised belong to the same crew which always has opposed labor legislation of any kind and has been frothing at the mouth at any effort to promote social justice for the masses of our people in any shape or form.

And to the charges frequently made by the same group that the Wagner Act is one-sided and does not protect the employer, we should like to say: the National Labor Relations Act is a labor law. The adoption of this act was necessitated by the opposition of many American employers to labor unions and to the rights of workers to organize. It was meant to curb practices of such anti-union employers in coercing, intimidating, discriminating against and interfering with the right of workers freely to organize. There is nothing secretive or hidden about the meaning and purpose of this act. It is constitutional and the courts have said so on more than one occasion. If it has rough edges, it should be smoothed out. If the Board which administers the act has assumed too wide interpretative powers in passing judgment on whether organization of workers along the lines of an industrial unit is better than on craft lines or vice versa, it should have these powers restricted.

Basically, however, the act is sound. Those who are now attempting to tamper with its fundamentals definitely aim to destroy it. The organized labor movement, however dissatisfied with some of its details, should rally like one mighty body to its defense.

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Souvarine Book on Stalin Is Broad Survey of Bolshevism

Offers Rich Materials But No Unified Standpoint

By BERTRAM D. WOLFE

BORIS Souvarine's "Stalin" is a monumental work. Despite the incredible difficulties involved in reconstructing the life of a man who has used a colossal state power to obliterate all documents, rewrite or falsify all historical records, and "liquidate" all living depositories of knowledge concerning him, Souvarine has succeeded in giving the reader a rich, many-sided and dependable picture of his enigmatic protagonist. Unfortunately, the American publishers have done the work less than justice by omitting all bibliographical notes; and even the original French edition makes the mistake of not citing sources for each controversial statement, not indicating which are hostile, which friendly, nor at which particular juncture a quoted authority made such and such statements. Yet, within the text itself there is enough evidence of careful research to give a convincing picture and one which is self-consistent throughout a big work, and consistent with all the available evidence.

What the biography may lack on the personal side—Stalin's private life, his relations with women, his habits in food and drink and speech and meditation, matters that the evidence does not cover and that are besides of secondary importance in so public a character—it more than makes up for by its vivid picture of its anti-hero as politician, leader and ruler.

Those who, like the present reviewer, have known Stalin personally will recognize in this work a true portrait, and those who have known him only thru the extravagancies of official Stalinist hagiography or bitter and unthoughtful denunciation, will for the first time understand the man in the setting of his country, his time and the movement that has shaped and been shaped by him. And that, after all, is the main requirement of a public man's biography.

DECAY OF THE REVOLUTION

The book is more than just a "life"; it is at the same time a picture and analysis of the decay and degeneration of the Soviet state and the Russian Revolution. Here the details and evidence are piled up in such selective profusion that it automatically becomes the best source book so far written for an understanding of what has happened and is happening in the Soviet Union.

The author traces the degeneration of the Russian Revolution, as nearly as I can summarize so rich a material in brief compass along the following lines:

1. The program and organization of the Bolshevik party arose from the fusion of an imported, ready-made European Marxist doctrine with a specifically Russian conception of the professional revolutionary, the disciplined army and the authoritative leader.

2. Lenin was brilliant enough, humane, self-critical and flexible enough to make his leadership on the whole salutary, but when he was wrong, ill, or in exile and cut off from communication, the party was apt to be wrong and incapable of sound self-orientation. Little deficiencies in his leadership were adopted and enlarged by his successors who lacked his restraining and offsetting positive qualifications.

3. Lenin never forgot that democracy was inseparable from socialism. But under the stress of the hard conditions of civil war and a world of enemies, under the conditions of a ruined and backward land and exhausted proletariat, and faced with the inability to win the support of workers with other parties, the Bolsheviks drifted during the course of the revolution into a dictatorship of a single party. Followed the destruction first of the soviets and soviet democracy, then increasingly of party democracy. This led—to some extent even while Lenin was alive and against his desire and sporadic resistance—to the systematization, codification and permanence of measures originally regarded as exceptional and intended only to meet a temporary emergency. In time, the "temporary state of emergency" became the permanent atmosphere of the Soviet dictatorship.

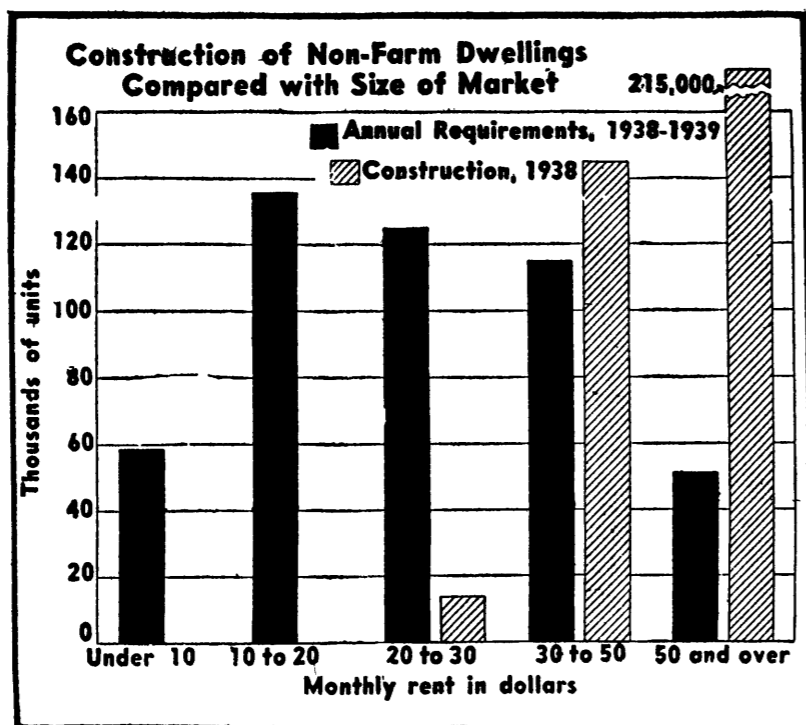
4. Lenin's program was more suited than that of any of his rivals for the ending of Russia's ruinous participation in the war, for the seizure of power, and for the solution of the hardly soluble problems of war-time Russia. But the program was based upon a false calculation as to the situation in Western Europe and the tempo of world revolution. Whether Lenin, had he lived and retained his authority over the party, would have been able to rectify its course to meet the problems of a Russian revolution that failed to spread into a world revolution, and whether he would have been able to combat and correct the regime of "permanent emergency"—Souvarine seems unable to quite make up his mind.

5. That none of the other leaders was capable of doing so or even sufficient.

ficiently conscious of the problems involved, Souvarine has no doubt, Stalin defeated his various rivals for the succession because they were less than he an expression of Russia's backwardness and of the newly developing bureaucratic interests, because they were less capable than he in the obscure maneuvers required in a struggle which Souvarine regards as not ideological in its essence but personal. Trotsky, his most dangerous, popular and capable rival, was defeated because he did not know how to organize a faction, did not know when to strike and when to withhold, and because he himself justified and tended to enlarge the evil aspects of Leninism which Stalin was developing from little flaws into an entire system—the dictator-

ship of the party over the masses and the leaders over the party, the theory of blind party loyalty and military discipline, the tendency to discredit and annihilate opponents rather than to consider and refute propositions, the use of military measures in the organization of Russian economy and industrialization, and the cult of infallibility. None of the oppositions, with the possible exception of the early Workers Opposition and Democratic Centralist Opposition, ever dreamed of opposing or protesting against the measures used until their own fate was involved, and even then tended to confirm the principle while protesting against its application to their own faction. Under these circumstances (Continued on Page 4)

THE CASE FOR PUBLIC HOUSING



THIS chart illustrates very vividly what's the matter with the housing situation and what's going to continue to be the matter until the government takes a hand in it in the form of large-scale public housing for low-income families.

The black bars show the annual housing requirements for the various income groups designated by the monthly rent these groups are able to pay. The shaded bars show how much housing was actually built for each group. The figures are for 1938.

Thus families that could afford to pay \$50 or more rent a month, needed about 50,000 units of housing; over 215,000 units were actually built. A similar surplus existed for families paying \$30-\$50 monthly rental: about 115,000 units needed, about 142,000 actually built. But for the lower-income groups, the relation was reversed: far less housing was built than was needed. Thus, for families that could pay between \$20 and \$30 a month rent, only about 15,000 units were built, whereas they needed about 125,000 units. And the lower down in the income scale the worse: no housing at all was built for families able to pay monthly rentals between \$10 and \$20 or less than \$10 altho the former group needed over 135,000 units and the latter nearly 60,000 units.

Thus, the trend in general was that those people who could afford to pay higher rentals had more housing built for them than they needed; those with low incomes, the poor and "ill-housed," had practically no housing built within their reach. Why? Because there's no profit in building housing for low-income groups. And since the building industry is run on the profit system, the low-income families just have to do without proper housing and live in wretched slums.

Only a large-scale program of low-rent public housing can possibly meet the critical situation that this chart pictures. And such a program would not only provide housing for the people but also jobs for the workers!

Anti-War Group Hits C.P. Swindle Trick

Labor Anti-War Council Exposes New Fraud

NEW YORK CITY. REPUDIATION of any relationship of the Labor Anti-War Council and the Keep America Out of War Congress with the "Keep America Out of War Committee" of District 2 of the Maritime Federation of the Pacific was expressed last week in a statement issued by the Labor Anti-War Council.

The West Coast committee which has published a pamphlet "The Yanks Are Not Coming" was termed "the direct result of the efforts of the Communist Party."

It was charged that the pamphlet was written by Mike Quinn, columnist for the People's World, West Coast communist paper. The charge that the committee was the result of political inspiration of the Communist Party was substantiated by the failure of the Maritime Committee to reply to a letter from Labor Anti-War Council which said in part: "Soviet Russia has shocked the world and labor opinion by the ruthless invasion of Finland and the bombing of open cities. . . Do you support this ruthless act of aggression on the part of Stalin?"

The full text of the statement follows: "Many trade unionists have confused the Keep America Out of War Committee of District Council No. 2 of the Maritime Federation of the Pacific with Labor Anti-War Council and the Keep America Out of War Congress, whose chairman is John T. Flynn. The Congress and the Council were founded two years ago, when the leaders of the Maritime Federation were advocating a policy of governmental action on behalf of Great Britain and France. Neither the Labor Anti-War Council nor the Keep America Out of War Congress

has any connection with this West Coast committee and have not endorsed their pamphlet, 'The Yanks Are Not Coming.'

"It is our belief that this pamphlet and the committee are the direct result of the efforts of the Communist Party. We have learned that the pamphlet, though unsigned, was written by Mike Quinn, columnist for the People's World, West Coast Communist Party paper. Likewise, our belief that the committee is the result of communist strategy is substantiated by the failure of the Maritime Committee to reply to a letter from Labor Anti-War Council dated December 22, 1939, which said in part:

"Soviet Russia has shocked the world and labor opinion by the ruthless invasion of Finland and the bombing of open cities. . . Do you support this ruthless act of aggression on the part of Stalin?"

"Because we are concerned with giving help to any bona-fide labor sentiment that opposes American entrance into war, we want you to make clear your attitude on the questions that separate genuine anti-war labor sentiment from that bogus attitude being sponsored by the Communist Party. Just as the so-called anti-war sentiment of the American Nazis is the result of foreign political inspiration and can make no contribution to the welfare or social program of American labor, so the so-called keep-America-out-of-war sentiment being sponsored by the Communist Party at the behest of Stalin makes no contribution to the welfare of American workers.

"We believe that the interests of labor in the United States can best be served by keeping this country

F.D.R. Is Already Preparing His "Fourteen Points"

ALREADY, even before the United States has been driven into the war, President Roosevelt has his Fourteen Points all prepared. According to well-informed Washington sources, he has been confidentially discussing with various "prominent persons" a program of "democratic ideals" as the basis for peace terms. "If the opportunity offers," declares the United States News of January 26, "these ideals will figure in a formal peace gesture this Spring."

Instead of Fourteen Points, Mr. Roosevelt has Four Freedoms—"freedom of worship," "freedom of commerce," "freedom of information" and "freedom from military domination." It is not our purpose at this time to examine what real content these "freedoms" can have within the framework of capitalism and imperialism. What we do want to do is to direct attention to their practical significance as diplomatic and propaganda weapons in the present war and to warn against them as a trap laid in the way of American peace and neutrality. Such a warning seems particularly necessary in view of the great likelihood that sincere and well-meaning peace groups will be among the first to hail the President's "peace program," when he chooses to make it public.

From the vantage point of twenty years, it should not be difficult for us to estimate the role the Fourteen Points played in the last war. Whatever may have been Mr. Wilson's motives, can there be any doubt that his Fourteen Points served as a smokescreen for the bitterly selfish, imperialistic war aims of the Allies? Can it be doubted that they served to sell the war as a crusade for "democracy" to the American people and, to a great extent also, to the war-weary and disillusioned peoples of Europe? Is there any question that they served the Allies as a powerful propaganda instrument in breaking down German resistance at the most critical moment?

In short, the Fourteen Points, for all their noble phrases, in practical fact functioned as a stratagem of war. Once the victory was assured, they were scornfully thrust aside to give way to the cynical realities of Versailles.

By all political and historical logic, President Roosevelt's Four Freedoms are bound to serve the same purpose as propaganda weapon and stratagem of war for the Allies. Again they will be used to sell the war to the American people as a crusade for "democracy"; again they will be used to provide a spurious mantle of idealistic phrases for the crassly imperialistic war aims of the Allies. And after they have served their purpose, they will be contemptuously flung aside to make way for another, a super-Versailles.

That's the net practical meaning of President Roosevelt's "planning for peace"; in reality, it is planning for war and the spoils of war.

Let's not forget the hard lessons of experience so easily. Not so many years ago, following the will-o'-the-wisp of Wilson's Fourteen Points embodied in the Wilsonian rhetoric long before they were officially formulated, we fell into the abyss of war and the unspeakable "peace" that followed. Let not Roosevelt's Four Freedoms lure us along the same fatal road today.

Empire Gives Lie to British War Aims

Repression in Africa, India Tells Own Tale

By GEORGE PADMORE

LONDON, ENGLAND. "WE are fighting against evil things—brute force, bad faith, injustice, persecution and oppression," declared the British Prime Minister in his statement of Allied war aims. In other words, the Second World War, like the first, is again being fought for democracy and the right of self-determination for small nations.

It was natural, therefore, that these lofty sentiments expressed by Mr. Chamberlain would find an immediate response among the hundreds of millions of colored subject peoples in the British and French colonial empires, who, too, are struggling for full democratic rights and national freedom.

INDIA'S CLAIM REJECTED

On the basis of the Prime Minister's declaration, the Indian National Congress, the largest political body in the "Jewel of the British Crown," addressed a memorandum to the Viceroy of India, asking him to state in explicit terms in what way did Britain intend to implement her profession to democracy in relation to India, and for that matter, to other sections of the colonial empire.

After conferring with Mr. Gandhi and other Indian leaders, the government has now issued a statement to the effect that there is to be no extension of democracy in India during the course of the war, but in the event of victory, the government promises to convene a round-table conference, like the one held in London some years ago, to review the scheme for a federal government in India and to see if and how improvement can be made.

In the meanwhile, the Indian workers and peasants, like the Africans, are expected to fight loyally and die for the freedom of the Poles, Czechs and other white peoples in Europe who might be the victims of Nazi aggression.

The British government's action is a great disappointment. It is not only a rebuff to the hopes and aspirations of the Indian people, but to all other subject races of the Empire, struggling for full democratic, national freedom and social emancipation from the yoke of finance-capital. However, it should have one good effect: that of removing the illusion created among the British people, especially the workers, that in supporting their imperialist class, they are really helping to spread democracy within their Empire.

India has rendered a great service

out of war. But the sincerity of anyone—particularly in the labor movement—who says "Keep America out of war" is judged by his willingness to speak out against all dictatorship, including that of Stalin.

"Your silence in answer to this letter will be construed by us as meaning that your committee is motivated by the new policy of the communists. We do not intend to see our movement labelled among honest unionists by union committees that have been communist-inspired!"

to the common peoples of the world by tearing the mask off the face of those who attempt to hide their imperialist aims behind a barrage of platitudeous verbosity. The British ruling class stand exposed for what they are: arch-humbugs!

REPRESSION IN AFRICA

Now let us turn to Africa and see what is happening there. Despite the censorship, we know that the forces of reaction are strengthening their grip upon the natives. The few rights which they enjoyed are being filched from them under a variety of war emergency regulations.

No sooner was war declared than the government of Sierra Leone, West Africa, arrested Wallace Johnson, the organizing secretary of the West Africa Youth League and president of the Sierra Leone Trade Union Congress. All strike and trade-union activities have been forbidden. The workers are being terrorized by threats under the Emergency Powers Act.

Similar repression is operating in the West Indies where the sugar planters and oil barons are attempting to deprive the workers of the few concessions which they were forced to make during the strikes and other labor disturbances which swept over the islands last year.

But the case of Wallace Johnson is typical of what is in store for those natives who dare to demand justice and fair play for their people during the war. This man committed no offense. The authorities simply considered him a "dangerous" person, raided his home, confiscated all his books and other literature and placed him under protective arrest. For, according to the Deportation Ordinance enacted into law last May, the governor has the right to order the arrest and deportation of any native whom he considers an undesirable. In the eyes of the bureaucrats, trade-union organizers are the most "undesirable" people. The war has given them their opportunity and they intend to use their powers to the full. These so-called "trustees of the natives" are in reality the defenders of vested interests.

Were it not for the vigilance of a small group of M. P.s, who from time to time raise colonial grievances in the House of Commons, the British people would know even less than they do at present about the rotten state of affairs in their colonial empire. The following interrogation of the Secretary of State for Colonies in the House on October 13 shows how necessary it is for Parliament to keep a close watch on the Colonial Office and its representatives in the non-self-governing sections of the Empire.

SIERRA LEONE "DEFENSE" RULES

On the above date, Mr. Creech Jones asked the Secretary of State for the Colonies whether Mr. Wallace Johnson was still under arrest in Sierra Leone, with what crime he was charged, and whether he would be brought to trial.

Trotskyites Resort To "Amalgam" Tactic

Use Stalinist Methods in Defending Stalin

By DONALD GRAHAM

AT a meeting of Russian White Guards held in New York for assistance to Finland, a direct plea was made for the organization of a White Russian army to fight on the side of Mannerheim against the Soviet Union.

"The main speaker, Boris Sergievsky, a Czarist aviation officer, was cheered to the echo by his White Guard friends in attendance. What he said is of more than passing interest:

"For twenty-two years we have been waiting for this moment. Now there is a place where we can go back home."

"There in two sentences is the whole story of all the tear-jerking, money-raising committees to aid 'poor little Finland' against 'Russian imperialism' from Hoover down to the wretched Lovestonites and Thomastites."

We give you one guess as to the paper from which this editorial is taken. . . . You're wrong, it is not the Daily Worker. It happens to be the leading editorial in the Trotskyite Socialist Appeal, January 27, 1940. Your error is a very natural one. The method is so typically Stalinist in the construction of an amalgam of labor and radical groups with the Russian monarchists, and so similar to the cheap and vicious type of argumentation used for the last fourteen years by Stalin against the Trotskyites, that one can hardly believe that this is now the stock in trade of the Socialist Workers Party.

But when one is hard put to defend the Stalinist atrocities against Finland, one cannot be too finicky. The end justifies the means in both Stalinist and Trotskyist morality. After all, what is a little thing like framing up Norman Thomas and the Lovestonites with the Russian White Guards when the end is to "defend the Soviet Union"?

IT WORKS BOTH WAYS

The trouble with this sort of "logic" is that it works both ways. By this time, it is common knowledge that the Russian monarchists in Paris are pro-Stalinist and support the Russian invasion of Finland.

Moreover, the Russian fascists in Berlin are now followers of the same Kremlin line, and are whooping it up against the Finns. It would be only too easy to show—in the style of a Socialist Appeal editorial—that Trotsky is lined up with Mlukoov, and is in league with the Russian fascists. Extending the method further, upon the basis of Hitler's notorious control of the Russian fascists in Berlin, one can then prove that Trotsky is in league with Hitler, and that Felix Morrow is a Nazi agent. This at once recalls the Moscow trials, in which by this logic, Stalin attempted to prove that the Trotskyites and Bukharinites were agents of the Gestapo. The Trotskyites rightfully protested against this as a frame-up, but their editor is not adverse to pursuing the identical method against the Socialist Party and the I.L.L.A. to serve his own factional ends.

What we have here is a distortion of the simple and elementary law of logic by which two things that are equal to a third are equal to each other. If both A and B are equal to C, then A is equal to B. It works in

Colonies (Malcolm MacDonald): "Mr. Wallace Johnson is detained under a Sierra Leone Defense Regulation, corresponding to Regulation 18B of the Defense Regulation in force in this country—which provides for such detention when the governor is satisfied that it is necessary to prevent the individual concerned acting in a way prejudicial to public safety or defense. Mr. Johnson's objections as to his detention will be heard by an Advisory Committee set up, as provided by the Regulations, consisting of the Chief Justice, a senior administrative officer, and one of the African Unofficial Members of the Legislative Council."

Mr. Creech Jones: "Will the right honorable gentleman impress upon colonial governors and governments the importance of safeguarding civil and political liberty during the period of the war and that natives or inhabitants of the territories should not be interned merely for holding unpopular opinions?"

Mr. MacDonald: "The colonial governors and governments are fully aware of that consideration and are anxious to carry it out."

Mr. Paling: "Does the right honorable gentleman's answer mean that this man has been detained, and is being detained, for no reason whatever, except that somebody there does not like him, and is it not time that kind of thing was finished, particularly at this time?"

Mr. MacDonald: "No, sir; the answer does not mean that at all. The law of procedure as regards this matter in the colonies is similar to that which has been consented to in this House in the present emergency."

The only comment we need add to the above is that the Unofficial African Member referred to by the Secretary of State as one of Johnson's judges is none other than the man whose candidacy for the Legislative Council is being opposed by Johnson, who has been nominated by the trade unions.

algebra, and to simple minds it is valid in politics. The Stalinist syllogism of a year ago was: "Hitler is our worst enemy. The Lovestonites and Trotskyites are also enemies of ours. Therefore the Lovestonites and Trotskyites are agents of Hitler." In Spain, we were "Franco's Fifth Column." But after the Hitler-Stalin pact, the Stalinists, instead of applying this method to themselves, (that Stalin had become an agent of Hitler) used the syllogism in this manner: "Chamberlain is our main enemy. The Lovestonites and Trotskyites are still enemies of ours. Therefore the Lovestonites and Trotskyites are agents of Chamberlain." Absurd as this may appear, the thesis of the Central Committee of the American Communist Party, following the Hitler-Stalin pact, actually characterized these tendencies as "agents of Chamberlain." By this method, your opponent can be a "fascist agent," or an "agent of democratic imperialism" on alternate days. It is important to analyze the method, therefore, better to comprehend, from a scientific point of view, the peculiar mental operations of the editors and readers of the Daily Worker and the Socialist Appeal. It is the method of pseudo-"scientific" billingsgate in journalism. In totalitarian regimes, it provides the excuse (wherever a pretext is required) for mass executions.

Both the Daily Worker and Socialist Appeal have been working this logic overtime in the Finnish situation. Both raise the menace of the White Guardist Mannerheim to gigantic and grotesque proportions, with the same intent in view, to prove that Finland is a White Guard outpost for the destruction of the U.S.S.R. All those who dare to raise their voices for the defense of Finnish independence can then be dubbed as "agents of Baron Mannerheim." Great care must be exercised to conceal the fact that out of 200 members of the Finnish parliament, the largest group, 85, are socialists, and that 143 represent workers or peasants parties. Otherwise, the cry of a "White Guard Mannerheim regime" would fall to the ground, and without a Mannerheim bugaboo, the amalgam would be worthless.

Nor is it ever explained why if Mannerheim's participation in the Finnish defense somehow justifies the Russian invasion and deprives the Finns of our sympathy, the same is not true for China and Chiang Kai-shek. When it comes to eminence as a White Guard butcher of the workers, surely Chiang Kai-shek need not be ashamed to match his record with Mannerheim's. Because Chiang Kai-shek is head of the Chinese Nationalist government, are we therefore to bless the Japanese invader and deny the Chinese masses our sympathy and support?

The shamelessness of the official Trotskyite attitude towards the Finnish struggle for independence, and their venom towards Norman Thomas and the Lovestonites is combined with an easing up of their attack on Stalin. Criticism of Stalin as the worst enemy of the Russian masses, which used to be the main function of the Trotskyites, has now ceased.

For how can one attack Stalin as the barbaric destroyer of the freedom of the Russian people, and at the same time try to put over the fairy tale that Stalin will bring socialism to the Finnish workers? Such contradictions is the basis of the crisis within the Trotskyite organization.

(Continued on page 4)

U.S. Never More "Isolationist" Briton Reports

OXFORD, ENGLAND. THE United States was never more isolationist than it is today, Sir Frederick Whyte, director of the American division of the Ministry of Information, declared recently in a lecture here.

Detestation of the Nazi doctrine, indignation against Nazi oppression and aggression, sympathy for the smaller European victims of Nazi power—these feelings, said Sir Frederick, moved in the American mind parallel to equally mixed feelings about France and England. Altho there was a "natural sympathy" in the United States for the Allies, he said, America was "perplexed" by the course of the war and by the political policy of the Allies in the past few years.

"America was never more isolationist than she is today in the sense of reluctance to go to war," he said.

Sir Frederick pointed to a real contradiction in the American mind, because it was the very desire among Americans to see the Allies win that made them fear they would be drawn out of their isolation.

"The European observer," Sir Frederick warned, "should shed from his mind the perhaps natural assumption that somehow America belongs to Europe and bear constantly in mind that there is a distinctly American attitude and purpose."

He cautioned his hearers to remember that when Americans denounced aggression they were expressing a popular emotion, not declaring a national policy of involvement in the war.

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WILL HERBERG, Editor

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COUNSEL OF FUTILITY

THE statement, "A Call to United Action," issued last week by ten prominent A. F. of L. leaders is a significant document. It is significant for the advice it gives to America's laboring millions, for this advice, when shorn of its obscuring phrases, turns out to be nothing more original than "Out with the New Deal." It is significant for the light it throws on the unbelievable backwardness of the outlook and thinking processes of the men who lead labor in this country today.

For here are ten veteran labor leaders, among them at least, Matthew Woll, a man of intelligence, telling the country that what it needs most in its present state of confusion and distress is to go back to the "good old days" of Harding and Coolidge when allegedly the government didn't "inker" with economic and financial affairs. Were conditions so idyllic then, Mr. Woll? Was the outlook for the great mass of the people any more promising? Maladministration by the National Labor Relations Board, we are told in the statement, has "shattered" the "orderly processes of industrial relations." In this country the "processes of industrial relations" ever "orderly" when? When United States Steel and General Motors refused so much as to talk to a union representative, when the open shop and the company union flourished unchecked, when it meant taking your life into your hands for a union organizer to enter certain industrial towns in this country? If you were not so deeply touched by the woes of the employers and management, gentlemen, if you looked at things more from the standpoint of the working men in whose name you speak, you might not have put your signatures to a document that, with a few omissions and minor changes, might just as well have been issued by the National Association of Manufacturers!

Not that the indictment of the failure of the New Deal, contained in the Hutchesson-Woll statement, is essentially overdrawn. In fact, it repeats John L. Lewis' indictment pronounced a few days before at the U.M.W.A. convention: "After seven years of power, the Democratic party finds itself without solution for the major questions of unemployment, low national income, mounting internal debt, increasing direct and consumer taxation and restricted foreign markets." Nor is the warning against the encroaching power of the Executive and the virtually arbitrary rule of "innumerable boards, bureaus and authorities" in the least out of order; here, indeed, is one of the sorest spots in the body politic, one of the most dangerous trends of present-day political development.

But what do the A. F. of L. leaders suggest as a way out of the critical situation they describe so vividly? "No 'inking'," "restoration of public confidence," etc.—all the well-worn and meaningless phrases that are trotted out at every Chamber of Commerce luncheon. At bottom, what they really propose is a return to the pre-crisis "free" capitalism that was smashed to smithereens by the onset of the Great Depression in 1929. But can they really be so short-sighted, so blind, as to believe that such a return is possible today, even if desirable? Let them look about them, not only at the United States but at the rest of the world, and see what irreversible economic changes have taken place within the last decade. What is left of "free" capitalism when even the British government, according to the London Economist, is now compelled to exert some sort of control over three-fourths of the economic life of the traditional land of "laissez-faire"? No, a return to the "good old days"—"good old days" for whom?—is impossible.

The A. F. of L. leaders criticize the Administration and the New Deal from the right; Lewis presumably from the left, although the direction of his drift is by no means certain. Yet Lewis is as hard put to it to point a way out as is the Hutchesson group. All Lewis can propose is that the New Deal do more and more of what it has been doing for the past seven years. Yet during these seven years, on Lewis' own showing, it has left unsolved the "major questions" of the crisis. What reason is there to believe that more of the same sort of medicine will have any better effect?

The truth of the matter is—and it is a truth that neither Hutchesson, Woll nor Lewis will recognize—the ailments afflicting our present economic order lie very deep, deeper than any surface remedies can reach. Our economic system is sick unto death, sick of capitalism, sick of production for profit, sick of private ownership and control of the means of social life. Permanent, mass unemployment, government by administrative agencies, and the other evils of which Lewis and the A. F. of L. spokesmen justly complain are all manifestations and consequences of this deep-seated dislocation of our economy, and they cannot be conjured away by strong phrases or by yearning for the "good old days." Only a fundamental reorganization of the very foundations of our economy on the basis of the collective ownership and democratic control and operation of our economic resources for the welfare of all can show the way out of the present crisis in which this country, along with the rest of the world, finds itself.

There is plenty of room for reform, even within the old system, and we should not overlook even the slightest possibility of alleviating the evils from which we suffer. But all of these reforms put together will not bring us out of the crisis or restore our system to health. Fundamentally, socialism—democratic socialism—is the only way out.

MRS. ROOSEVELT said that it was 'quite true' that the Young Communist Bureau was an active affiliate of the American Youth Congress . . . but that nothing in her own observation and research . . . justified a belief that the spoken word or vote of the League delegates amounted at any time on any point to domination of the Youth Congress." —New York Times, February 6.

"With only five dissenting votes, 1,000 delegates attending a meeting yesterday sponsored by the New York City Council of the American Youth Congress took a decisive stand against granting of aid to Finland. . . . Altho former sessions of the local Congress chapter has praised both President Roosevelt and his New Deal, an abrupt reversal of that stand was taken yesterday. . . . That all the 'cards' were not on the table was charged by Cal Schenkman of the Washington Heights Y.M.H.A. He accused the group of being an apologist for Russia and trying to whitewash anything that Stalin did." —New York Times, February 4.

What was it that Ben Stolberg called Mrs. Roosevelt? "Politically the highest type of Gracie Allen," wasn't it?

WALTER Duranty's back in Moscow, busy writing new apologies for Stalin's new atrocities. He now discovers (New York Times, February 4) that Russia's foreign policy is based on principle of "reciprocity"—a sort of Golden Rule in diplomacy. That ought to interest the Finns.

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Does Fascism Menace America?

Face of American Fascism

By WILL HERBERG

NOWADAYS there are not many left who insist "it can't happen here." Nobody believes that America is immune from fascism. But there is still little appreciation of how fascism might come to America, along what road, under what forms and slogans, driven by what circumstances and forces.

America is full of the raw materials of fascism. It is full of the strange, obscure hates, fanaticisms and utopias that are the very life-blood of fascism. It possesses historical traditions and deep-rooted prejudices that fascism could well exploit for its own purposes. It contains in vast numbers those submerged, despairing and frustrated social groups that everywhere go to make up fascism as a movement. It has already developed many of the authoritarian techniques and mechanisms that fascism requires. Given the essential background of profound social crisis and a spark to set off the conflagration, and anything may happen.

What would be the physiognomy, the characteristic features, of a native American fascism? In the sprouting fascist sects in various parts of the country—above all, in the most significant fascist movement ever to develop in the United States, Huey Long's "Share-the-Wealth" movement—we see these features outlined more or less clearly, more or less authentically. An insight into what a native American fascism would be like should help us considerably in grasping the real character of the fascist menace in this country.

Popular Oppositional Movement

Fascism in America would, of course, be the popular, lower-class movement it is everywhere else. It would draw its strength from as wide a variety of social groups, and essentially from the same social levels, as the "classical" fascism of Europe: demoralized, desperate unemployed; Southern "poor whites," impoverished, distracted farmers and middle-class people in every part of the country; declassed professionals, embittered white-collar workers, students and youth denied a future; assorted "hate" and crackpot reform movements; vigilante, strike-breaking and terrorist outfits; nationalist, racist and jingoist groups of all sorts.

The thoroughly plebeian, lower-class character of fascism was plainly evident in Huey Long's "Share-the-Wealth" movement, and is no less obvious in the Coughlin movement and in the other fascist and semi-fascist outcroppings of today.

Fascism is an oppositional mass movement, distinct from and hostile to the traditional political parties. It is therefore fantastic to imagine either of the old-line political parties becoming the vehicle of fascism in America. Of course, a local or state political machine may serve as a base of operations, as Louisiana did for Huey Long, but ultimately the movement would have to break thru the traditional party system. It will be remembered that Huey Long himself was at the point of launching a third-party movement ("a party different from all other parties") when he was assassinated, and it should not be overlooked that "anti-partyism" is one of the most persistent themes of the Coughlinite agitation.

Sectional Development Of American Fascism

In one respect, American fascism differs markedly from its European prototypes. America is still a land of "sections" of regions, that are politically, culturally and even, to some degree, economically distinct. American fascism, too, develops along sectional lines. The fascist groups that arise in the various parts of the land show striking differences in many essential features; no southern fascist movement, for example, could conceivably be Catholic; it would very probably be distinctly anti-Catholic. The logic of American de-

1 The political system that Huey Long erected was in reality a curious combination of a state political machine along traditional lines and an embryo fascist movement reaching far beyond Louisiana

velopment seems to make for the emergence of sectional fascist movements, a struggle for survival and hegemony among them, and ultimately, should appropriate conditions appear, their fusion into one dominant organization?

Under the Banner Of "100% Americanism"

Fascism needs its binding ideology, its "philosophy" its faith. In the United States, this is the cult of "100% Americanism." In such a cult are implied all the hates and fanaticisms with which this country abounds. It is the cult of the "white Christian American," with its anti-foreignism ("America for Americans"), its anti-Negroism ("white supremacy"), and its anti-Semitism ("Kick the Jews out"); in some sections of the country, such as the South or the Middle-West, anti-Catholicism ("No Popery") would be added.

Ultra-nationalism, super-patriotism, jingoism of the most blatant sort are, of course, inherent in fascist emotionalism and would nowhere be as violent or inflamed as in the United States. The heart of the political faith of American fascism is clearly Constitution-worship, the idolization of the Constitution as the sacred symbol, the ikon of "national existence." And yet the authoritarianism and totalitarianism that are of the essence of fascism are as repugnant to the conservative, "checks-and-balance" spirit of the Constitution as anything could conceivably be. This contradiction lies close to the heart of American fascism and is of great significance.

Huey Long is reported to have said that in this country no serious fascist movement would for one moment think of imprinting that intensely unpopular term upon its banner; in America, he said, fascism would advance under cover of a great crusade to save the country from the threat of fascism and dictatorship. Huey Long certainly knew what he was talking about. Every fascist movement that has so far appeared in this country has presented itself as a crusade to uphold and protect the Constitution, to save the Constitution from those who would subvert it—the radicals, the "Reds," the labor unions, the Jews, the "international bankers," the New Dealers. Nothing could be more indicative of the inherent political irrationality of fascism—an irrationality deliberately fostered and cultivated by the irrefragably demagogic who are its leaders—than the fantastic Constitution-worship of the American apostles of totalitarianism.

American fascism is demonstratively "Christian" and finds its most appropriate religious atmosphere in latter-day backwoods Fundamentalism. The "Bible Belt" is a veritable hotbed of native American fascism. Old Dr. Townsend showed a somewhat unexpected insight into political realities when he spoke of a "new movement" arising in America, composed of his own pension groups and "all other dissatisfied persons in this country excepting radicals. . . people who believe in the Bible, cheer when the flag flies by—the Bible Belt sold Americans." No more apt description of American fascism could be given in so few words.

(This is the third article of the series "Fascism in America." The fourth article, dealing with the ideology and social and political philosophy of American fascism, will appear in the next issue of this paper.—Editor.)

2 America is not quite alone in this peculiar form of fascist development. In Germany, too, it will be remembered fascism grew up along regional lines, Hitler's NSDAP, for example, was originally almost entirely a Bavarian movement in competition with similar North German groups. It was not until much later that a merger took place with Hitler dominant.

3 We are frequently assured that our long habituation and attachment to democratic institutions will be an insuperable obstacle to fascism in this country. Unfortunately, there is little reason to believe this is so. Our habituation to democratic forms would most probably serve not to make fascism impossible in this country but to give a "democratic" cast to its slogans, ideology and demagoguery. "Fascism in order to save democracy"—that would be the keynote of an American fascism.

4 Quoted in the New Republic, July 1, 1936

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Finland and the Allies

By LUDWELL DENNY

(These paragraphs are from the New York World-Telegram of February 1, 1940.—Editor)

ALLIED policy—rather than lack of an American military loan—prevented Finland from getting the American planes she needs in her desperate defense against Russia. If the American government voted Finland a billion-dollar military loan or gift tomorrow, she could not get planes here because factories are tied up with Allied priority orders.

Great Britain and France can turn over their American-made planes and priority orders to Finland any day they wish. So far, they have been unwilling to do so. The best London has done is to send Finland 80 old British planes, while the British kept new American ones.

Finland is able to pay the British for American planes with American non-military products, obtainable with her untouched \$9,000,000 loan balance already available at the U. S. Export-Import Bank.

Enactment of the pending Administration request to increase the power for non-military purposes would not change this situation.

These facts—known to the Allies, the Finns, President Roosevelt and Congress—are obscured by most of the official statements.

Souvarine Book Is View of Bolshevism

Has Rich Materials, No Unified Standpoint

(Continued from Page 3)

stances, the most ruthless and consistent and unadulterated embodiment of this evil side of Bolshevism was the inevitable victor.

6. The whole course of development after Lenin's death, and perhaps—Souvarine seems undecided on this score—the whole course of development since Kronstadt, is one of growing counter-revolution. Milestones are the political defeats of Trotsky in 1923, of Bukharin-Trotsky block in 1927, of Zinoviev in 1929, then the ruthless attack on the masses in the course of forced industrialization and collectivization of agriculture, the attack on science, art, culture, thought and elementary decency in the Stalin apotheosis, the development of a counter-revolutionary foreign policy, and the bloody purge.

7. The direction of this counter-revolutionary development is towards a growing resumption of the age-old evils of Russian Czarist autocracy, complicated and enlivened by a vile use of revolutionary demagoguery and by the employment of unprecedented instruments for the control of economic, political and cultural life. The radio, a one-hundred percent controlled totalitarian press and publishing apparatus, a complete control over the movements of 150,000,000 people, and the conviction carried by the modern tank, bombing plane, machine-gun, dictatorship, job-control, and other devices not available to previous despots. The Soviet Union is still in transition but is developing into a totalitarian, bureaucratic slave-state with ruling group not exactly comparable to the class or caste of earlier societies, something historically new in which all traces of workers state and socialism have been eliminated or turned into their opposites, into instruments of oppression, terrorization, corruption of the few and exploitation of the many.

The two successive collapses of the world revolutionary movement within an interval of less than a generation—the slow, then more rapid, and at last landslide decay of the first great experiment in working-class rule; the simultaneous visible breakdown of the old social order and ever more visible degeneration of the first efforts at the construction of the new, oblige us to test all theories, question all dogmas, challenge all infallibilities, reexamine all problems in the light of what has happened and what is even now happening. Souvarine's book does much to clear away old rubbish which obstructs the painful and urgent task of reconstruction. If it has a fault, it is rather that it clears away too much—even stout beams and solid foundations that might be used in the new edifice. Yet the service it performs is a sanative one, and so necessary that it is better to clear away too much, as it seems to me Souvarine does, than to attempt to rescue and utilize rotten timbers or faulty structures and incorporate them into that which must so largely be built anew.

Souvarine at the end of his work does Souvarine seem to become conscious of the larger problems involved, and then he raises them in the following

(This review first appeared in the January-February 1940 issue of the Parisian Review, from which they are taken.—Editor)

indecisive terms. "The force of things and the behavior of men have contradicted all Lenin's optimistic forecasts, his hopes in a superior democracy as much as his semi-libertarian ideas. Nothing in the individual theses of Trotsky has stood the test any better. . . . Lenin died too soon to write the epilogue to the miscarriage of Bolshevism. Trotsky has not afforded by exile to make a true and conscientious examination. . . . His articles and pamphlets vainly paraphrase a hackneyed argument without throwing light on a single problem. The miscarriage of Bolshevism in Russia coupled with the irreparable failure of the International, and the lessons of experience, go far beyond the sphere of civil war. . . . The death agony of socialist hope in the world thus opens up an immeasurable ideological crisis. It will be the part of the epigones of a powerless generation to make out the balance-sheet of national Bolshevism, of international communism and of traditional socialism. . . . And this should logically lead them to examine what is still alive and what is dead in the present doctrine, Marxism."

Thus the work closes with a question mark, to which it suggests no answer. Naturally, we cannot count it as a deficiency of a book which sets out to be a biography that it does not undertake this overpowering task. But when it also calls itself "A Critical Survey of Bolshevism," then we have some reason to expect that the author should outline, at least for himself, the main lines of the answer so that he can use it as an implicit and consistent criterion throughout the work. But evidence is lacking that there is any such viewpoint underlying the approach to the events and problems here touched upon. It is characteristic that the author now borrows Lenin's outlook, now Trotsky's, now Luxemburg's, now Martov's, even Masaryk's. He has seen the structure of his own views crumble into ruins but has not succeeded in the subjective reconstruction which is a prerequisite for full usefulness in undertaking the collective task of rebuilding the revolutionary movement and the socialist system of thought. He is too informed to let his disillusion with the Russian Revolution restore an impossible faith in decaying capitalism. His strength is in negation—a significant task—for the rest he wrings his hands and laments at the ruin and the waste places he has helped to clear.

However, he has done a mighty job of clearing. Those undertaking the tasks he but indicates will be deeply grateful for this book. Those who spurn it because it leaves certain big questions unanswered or calls in question things they would rather see untouched, can avail little in finding the answers Souvarine has failed to find.

Clearing, he has done a mighty job of clearing. Those undertaking the tasks he but indicates will be deeply grateful for this book. Those who spurn it because it leaves certain big questions unanswered or calls in question things they would rather see untouched, can avail little in finding the answers Souvarine has failed to find.

(This review first appeared in the January-February 1940 issue of the Parisian Review, from which they are taken.—Editor)

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NOTICE

For technical reasons, we have been obliged to omit from this issue the regular installment of Rosa Luxemburg's "The Russian Revolution." It will appear in the next issue.—Editor.

Trotskyites Use Amalgam Tactic Of Stalinists

(Continued from Page 3)

Not all the American followers of Trotsky are able to swallow a turn from rabid anti-Stalinism to support of the Kremlin's bloody invasion of Finland. There is some limit to human indecency beyond which anyone would hesitate to go. Internal crises require strong remedies. The editorial in the Socialist Appeal is directed not merely against the Socialist Party and the I.L.L.A., but is a warning to the faithful of what is in store for them if they attempt to apply either their political logic or common decency to the Finnish situation. Today it is Mannerheim and Norman Thomas, but tomorrow it will be the "White Guard Schachtman." It is not the first time that the Trotskyites have employed Stalinist methods, morals and logic. But morals are apparently a "matter of taste," and if these are your morals, you are quite welcome to them!

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