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NEW YORK, N. Y., SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 24, 1940.

Vol. 9, No. 8.

A Word of Warning Is in Place

EVERY decent, responsible American wants the war in Europe to be brought to an end as quickly as possible. It is natural therefore that President Roosevelt's sudden "peace" move of last week should be welcomed by the great masses of the people of this country, and by the peace movement in particular. After all, what could be more in order at the present time than for the President to send a high State Department official to Europe to sound out the belligerent powers on the pos-

Yet we must add our note of warning. Not that we are averse to an immediate peace in Europe, as are the liberal and social-democratic war-mongers of the Nation and the New Leader. We have constantly affecting the existing establishreiterated in these columns that it is the first duty of the socialist and ments, that the people in time labor movement to exert all its power to force an end to hostilities before the full horrors of modern warfare are unleashed. But we are not so sure about the purposes or consequences of the mission on which the proaching \$1,000,000,000 annually." President has sent Under-Secretary of State Sumner Welles.

We have good grounds for our uncertainty and suspicion. We have not forgotten the exploits of Mr. Welles's predecessor as "roving ambassador of peace," Col. Edward M. House. We have not forgotten how in 1916 Col. House went abroad on just such a mission as Mr. Welles is go- expenditure fast approaching \$2, ing now, also to sound out the belligerents on the possibilities of peace. From Col. House's own memoirs, we have since learned that the real purpose of the Colonel's travels was to cook up, with the secret cooperation of the British Foreign Office, a set of American "peace" terms that would be acceptable to the Allies but would have to be rejected by No foreign power, or coalition of Germany. In this way public opinion in America would be mobilized in foreign powers, contemplates an atfavor of the Allies and active aid to their cause would be facilitated, tempt to invade the U S.A. Military even to the point of entry into the war on their side. Of course, this lit- experts agree that a successful intle scheme was kept carefully hidden from the American public, who vasion of the United States is fanwere led to believe that it was a genuine effort at peace; only Col. House, President Wilson and Secretary Lansing were in on the secret. The only reason their conspiracy did not have its expected effect of driving America into the war then and there was that the British For-eign Office, for its own reasons, was not very keen about the United tion abroad, with eight battleships States advancing any sort of peace terms at that particular moment. and nine cruisers a-building, and The full story of this instructive episode is told in another part of this two more battleships and two more

With this piece of recent history in mind, can we be blamed for being mighty suspicious of the true character of Sumner Welles's mis-

Another conjecture rises to mind as we ponder Mr. Roosevelt's latest move. It is well known that the Allies have for some months been exploring, tentatively and unofficially, the possibility of effecting a truce in the present war with Germany in order to turn it into a joint Anglo- pansion bill (separate from the \$1, French-Italian-German assault on Soviet Russia. The Vatican has been working overtime in this direction, and Mussolini is believed to be quite favorable. Has Mr. Welles's mission anything to do with this plan? Why was Mr. Welles instructed to visit England, France, Germany and Italy, but not Russia? Italy is not a belligerent. Rumors are flying thick and authorize only 50% of the construcfast in Washington and in the capitals of Europe, and in these rumors Mr. Welles's trip and Myron Taylor's assignment to the Vatican play a duction has been made. The original

Col. House's trips to Europe, we now know, were part of a conspiracy to get the United States into war on the side of the Allies. In the end, the conspiracy succeeded and we have been paying heavily during the last twenty years for its success.

Surely we don't want to be caught twice in the same trap. The be laid down under the Vinson auerican people don't want to be sacrificed again on the Anglo-French model, any more than they want to be sacrificed in a "holy war" to "save civilization" from "Russian barbarism", however of Naval Operations Harold Stack seems to be a phantasmagoria of much they may detest Stalin and his regime. Whatever the slogans, it's seems to be a phantashing of the combined fleets of Japan, Gerall the same racket in the end-making the world safe for predatory im- many, Italy and Russia converging

In short, we don't trust the Administration even when it comes America. During the hearings on verging on the barnlike Tenth Infan- They called for more adequate apbearing "peace". We know that it is committed to a war-making policy of unneutrality, of aiding the Allies thru "measures short of war" which, if carried out far enough, inevitably mean war. We know that the President would make no moves in the European situation that were not satisfactory and acceptable to the British Foreign Office. And if the satisfactory and acceptable to the British Foreign Office. And if the think the islands indefensible. But British Foreign Office has given its blessing to the Welles mission, we the Admirals want a 5-3 ratio the one side were the "economy" pense of essential services to the eloquently by Justice Black, who believe there is every reason for the American people to stop, look and against Japan, a 4-3 ratio in the At-

F.D.R.'s Arms **Budget Peril** To America

Big Navy Men Try to Whip Up Invasion Scare to Cover Demands for More Money

Washington, D. C. The 1932 platform on which Franklin Roosevelt was elected said "National Defense: A navy and army adequate for national defense, based on a survey of all facts peace may not be burdenby an expenditure fast ap-

After seven years, there is yet to be a survey of all the facts affecting the existing establishments. After seven years, the people in time of peace are being burdened by an 500,000,000 annually. They have not been asked whom or what they 'are willing to defend, nor have they been told from whom or what the Administration proposes to defend us.

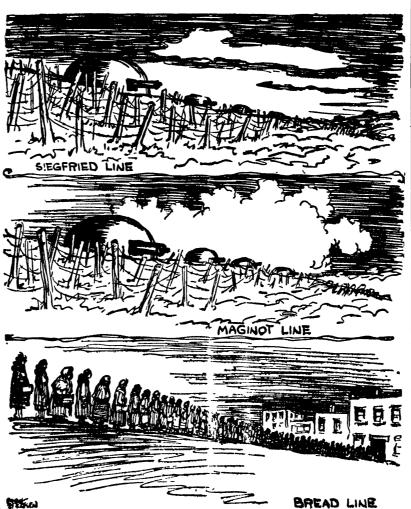
tastic, even tho the attempt came from both oceans at once. Yet, with a navy more powerful than any in the world save perhaps Britain's cruisers about to be laid down, the Administration is trying to launch the greatest peace-time expansion program in our history.

A month ago, the House Naval Affairs Committee commenced hear ings on the \$1,300,000,000 Administration-inspired Vinson naval-ex-100,000,000 naval estimate in the 1941 budget). The committee has passed amendments slashing the authorization to \$665,000,000. How-

ever, tho at present the bill would tion originally planned no real replan was for a five-year program. The present program covers only two years, and even its completion would seriously tax U.S. shipyards, which are now so choked with naval construction that no ships could thorization for at least a year.

The favorite nightmare of Chief seems to be a phantasmagoria of on an innocent and defenseless chanting slogans and finally con- menace to democratic institutions.

ONE LINE LEADS TO THE OTHER



NewRusso-German Trade Pact Signed

Billion Mark Point to Be Topped; Russia Reports Big Headway in Finland; Allies, Scandinavia Cool to Finnish Appeals

The economic bonds between So-1 strengthened last week thru the ed with great acclaim by government circles in both countries.

There was no official indication in the treaty or in the press comment of the volume of trade to be exchanged between the two countries under the new treaty, but it tant branches of Russian industry was confidently forecast that it generally. would exceed the previous high point of a billion marks a year. Under the terms of the pact, it was expected that Russia would get chiefly machines, iron and metal products as well as complete industrial installations; Germany, on the other hand, would import raw materials, chiefly wheat, cotton, oil and tobacco.

In Berlin, it was stressed that the goal of the new Russo-German agreement was to free Germany from the necessity of importing basic raw materials from Allied spheres of influence.

The big obstacle in bringing riet Russia and Nazi Germany were about so large an exchange as that contemplated in the trade pact, it signing of a new Russo-German was understood, was transport. commercial treaty that was receiv- There were reports that German assistance in building up means of transport from Russia to the Reich was being made available on a large scale. Some rumors even referred to a sort of German technical receivership over the more impor-

> Tightening of Russo-German relations was indicated also in the sudden appearance of articles in the controlled German press upholding the Russian conquest of Finland. The Voelkischer Beobachter set the pace with an authoritative article in which it stated that Finland was doomed because, instead of yielding to Russia, it had preferred to depend on the "empty promises of the western democracies" who were now leaving it in the lurch just as they had abandoned Poland. Any smaller neutrals helping Finland would meet the same fate, the Nazi paper

Events last week gave considerable point to the Nazi taunt. For the UpholdsAppeal first time since the invasion was initiated eleven weeks before, Russia made substantial headway in Finland. After terrific battling and heavy bombardment, the Russians reported that they had penetrated the Mannerheim Line at several cause Confessions Were points and were within a dozen miles of Viipuri (Viborg), an important Forced, Civil Rights Violated industrial and transport center, the second largest city in Finland, Finnish communiques admitted considerable Russian advances, but denied hands, sentenced to death for the penetration of the Mannerheim robbery and murder of an aged Line at any essential point. Intense fighting continued thruout the week. Moscow was reported preparing to send a huge new army to the fight-

> The Finnish government urgently appealed for help from "civilized nations," as had been promised by the fused military aid when officially apclined to permit a foreign army to pass over its territory on the way to Finland. In London, official circles denied that any formal appeal for help had been made by Finland. which was another way of making it clear that no large-scale assistance would be granted. Even the volume of volunteers was said to be small.

tion as to the reasons for this re-The essence of the Florida courts action. Allied sources blamed it all failure to uphold the guarantees of on the "unfriendly" attitude of the the Fourteenth Amendment, Justice Scandinavian countries, without Black said, lay in the extortion of whose cooperation nothing could be confessions from the four prisoners done. In the Scandinavian countries, after a week's persistent question- fear that any direct aid to Finland would invite attack from Germany

Thousands Go to Albany Supreme Court For Budget Hearings

Labor and Education Groups Make Plea For Full State Aid to School System

the budget ever known in the state's history swept down on this city last week as delegations from all sorts of organizations thruout the state came to the capital to take part in and of state employees, who united open hearings on Governor Lehman's \$396,700,000 Executive budget, involving a \$15,000,000 increase in the personal income tax.

represented at the hearings by more tailed or else altogether abandoned than 6,000 people, who paraded the as a result of last year's budget capital brandishing banners and slashes, and that this constituted a try Armory where the hearings conducted by the budget-making committees of the Legislature were held.

Albany, N. Y. slashing of state expenditures with The biggest demonstrations on out regard to consequences. Parti cularly were they opposed to any

-Cecil Jensen in the Chicago Daily New

On the other side were representatives of labor, C.I.O. and A.F. of of parent-teacher organizations. in protesting against cuts in social services and the reduction of exdemand was the restoration of full vided by the Constitution. state aid to the schools. They point-Over 800 groups were said to be ed out that many essential educapropriations this year.

There was little evidence that the labor, teacher and parents demonstrations had any marked effect on ble in obtaining the basis of these The delegations and demonstrat- the budget-making committees of the rights for the liberated and enfranors were of two opposed types. On Legislature. "Economy" at the ex- chised Negro race, and it was voiced groups operating under the name of people still seemed the prevailing "tax-payers" They called for the mood among the legislators.

Of 4 Negroes

Voids Death Sentence Be-

Washington, D. C. Four young Florida Negro farmwhite merchant in 1933, were saved from execution last week when the Supreme Court held that their confessions and pleas of guilty had ign zone for the biggest smash of been obtained in gross violation of penditures for education. Their chief the guarantees of civil rights pro-

> The court's unanimous a tended opinion was based on the League of Nations. But the reaction constitutional "due-process" clause of the Allies and the Scandinavian in the Fourteenth Amendment states was cold. Sweden not only repassed after the Civil War to protect the newly granted rights of pealed to by Helsinki but even de-Negroes from arbitrary state judicial action.

It was handed down on the anniversary of the birth of Abraham Lincoln, who was chiefly responsiadmitted, after his nomination to the high bench, that he had once been a member of the Ku Klux Klan.

ng, with some evidence of physical brutality, during which they were held without warrant and were not permitted to have counsel or see any possible friends.

The wrong the justice said, was accentuated by the fact that the four were picked out of a group of nearly two score Negroes arrested also twenty-fourth week since the outwithout warrant in a general "drag- | break of hostilities, was the sensanet" procedure.

There was considerable speculawas said to be uppermost. However, observers felt that there was still something unexplained about the hesitant, half-hearted attitude of the Allies towards Finland.

In the general European war, the most important event last week, the (Continued on Page 4)

Strange Tale of Colonel House's "Peace Mission" to Europe in 1916

RESIDENT Roosevelt has just sent Under-Secretary of State Sumner Welles to Europe on a roving commission to explore the possibilities of peace. Perhaps some light on what is behind this move and what we may expect from it may be shed by the curious story of another "roving ambassador" who also went to Europe on a "mission of peace" almost exactly twenty-four the story of his embassy. years ago, in 1916.

In the following paragraphs we THE BRILLIANT will tell this instructive tale as nearly as possible in Col. Edward M. House's own words, for that "roving ambassador" was none other than the redoubtable Colonel himself. All quotations are from: The Intimate Papers of Colonel House, Arranged as a Narrative by Charles Seymour, Sterling Professor of History, Yale University, 2 vols., Houghton Mifflin Company, 1926.

First as to the general attitude of this personal representative of the President of the United States the head of an allegedly neutral state. As early as May 30, 1915, Col. House recorded (i, 442):

I have concluded that war (i.e., American involvement in the war.—Editor) is inevitable. On October 11, 1915, House told Frank Polk, counsellor to the State Department (11.82):

It will not do for the United States to let the Allies go down and leave Germany the dominant military factor in the world.

On November 28, 1915, House wrote (ii,100):

I tried to impress upon Lansing the necessity of the United States making it clear to the Allies that we considered their cause our cause, and that

ting a military autocracy to dominate the world, if our strength could prevent it We believed this was a fight between democracy and autocracy and we would stand with democracy.

Such was the attitude of our "roving ambassador" of 1916. Now to

IDEA IS BORN

According to Col. House, the brilliant idea came to him in the Fall of 1915 when he revealed it to President Wilson (11,84):

I outlined very briefly a plan which has occurred to me and which seems of much value. I thought we had lost our opportunity to break with Germany, and it looked as if she had a better chance of winning, and if she did win, our turn would come next . . . Therefore we should do something decisive now . . . My suggestion is to ask the Allies, unofficially, to let me know whether or not it would be agreeable to them to have us demand that hostilities cease. We would put it upon the high ground that the neutral world was suffering along with the belligerents and that we had

rights as well as they If the Allies understood our purpose, we could be as severe in our language concerning them as we were with the Central Powers. The Allies, after some deliberation, could accept our offer or demand and, if the Central Powers accepted, we would then have accomplished a master-stroke of diplomacy. If the Central Powers refused to acquiesce, we could then push our insistence to a point where diplomatic relations would first be broken off, and later the whole force of our government -and perhaps the force of every neutral - might be brought against them. The President seemed to acquiesce

in this neat little scheme. On October 17, 1915, Col. House wrote to Sir Edward Grey, British Foreign Professor Seymour (ii, 99): Secretary, outlining his plan and adding (11,91): It is in my mind that, after conferring with your govern-

ment, I should proceed to Berlin and tell them that it was the President's purpose to intervene and stop this destructive war . . . I would not let Berlin know,

of course, of any understanding had with the Allies, but would rather lead them to think our proposal would be rejected by the Allies. This might induce Berlin to accept the proposal, but if they did not do so, it would nevertheless be the purpose to intervene. If the Central Powers were still obdurate, it would probably be necessary for us to join the Allies and force the issue.

Towards the close of November, and President Wilson were in on it Col. House received from Grey the at this point; later on, the Secretary reply for which he had been so anxlously waiting (11,97). The reply was The general public was led to bedisappointingly cool and non-commital but not definitely hostile. Europe as personal representative There seemed to have been some suspicion of American motives, altho tion at first hand" and to "explore as Professor Seymour notes, the the possibilities of peace". House plan "was conceived quite as much in the interest of the Allies HOUSE GOES as in that of America; to carry it TO EUROPE thru would involve an immense, an incalculable sacrifice on the part of the United States" (11.99). But the President and Colonel House were not discouraged; they would save the Allies in spite of themselves. Adds

Both Wilson and House were too eager to accomplish what might prove a decisive stroke to permit the proposition to be blocked by what seemed misunderstanding of American mo-

And so towards the end of November 1915, it was decided that Col. House should go to Europe on his 'peace mission" (ii,101):

President Wilson . . .insisted that the speediest and surest method of reaching the desired end was to send House once more to England and France. It would be well at this point to emember that the entire plan was kept completely secret from the American people, from Congress and from the Congressional foreignaffairs committes, and even from the

Cabinet as a whole. Only Col. House

of State was taken into the secret. lieve that the Colonel was off to of the President to "study the situa-

Colonel House left for Lurope December 28, 1915 (ii,114). Soon he was in the thick of ne gotiations in London. An incident that occurred on January 11, 1916 is rather illuminating:

Page (American ambassador to Britain) started the conversation by saying that Mr. Chamberlain and [Austen] others had asked him "what the United States wished Great Britain to do", and he requested me to give an answer. I replied. "The United States would like Great Britain to do those things which would enable the United States to help Great Britain win the war." Page generously said, "You have answered the question with more cleverness than I had the wit to do."

My reply brought general approval, as naturally it would, and then came the discussion as to what Great Britain must do to help the United States help her.

(Continued on page 4)

Youth Congress Meet Leaves Stalinists in Full Control

But Important Organizations Repudiate Affiliation

(Special to the Workers Age) Washington, D. C. THE "citizenship institute" of the came to a close here last week af- peal of Abbot Simon that delegates ter three days of high-jinks that had should "withhold judgment" on the this effect at least that it convinced Russian invasion of Finland till every American who reads the news- they heard "Russia's side". As if papers or listens to the radio that these delegates, consisting mostly of the A.Y.C. is rigidly communist-con- young Stalinists and "fellow-traveltrolled, which indeed it has been from the moment of its creation by to the point of nausea from the colthe Communist Party a few years

The controlling hand was obvious in everything said and done with tated to condemn Franco, or Japan official sanction at the sessions, and especially in the cheering, booing and applause. You may be sure that the communists had spared nothing to get their cheering and booing squads out to Washington from all On February 10, 1916, House had parts of the country, and since anybody who wanted to could just walk

linto the "institute", there was no problem of packing the gathering. The farce reached its high point American Youth Congress in a characteristic incident: the apers" had not heard "Russia's side" umns of the Daily Worker and the C.P. press in the past few months! As if these people had ever hesior (before the pact) Hitler, without waiting to hear their side! Of course, the delegates very en-

thusiastically applauded the speaker who championed the "right" of the Young Communist League to belong to the A.Y.C. And, of course, the officers ruled out of order every proposal to make the A.Y.C. show color, especially Robin Meyer's resolution for a ban on totalitarians holding office in the A.Y.C., along the lines of the stand adopted by the American Civil Liberties Union. (Continued on Page 2)

MUSICALE-RECITAL Saturday, February 24 - 8:30 P. M. Steinway Hall - See ad on Page 3

Lewis's Attitude Bars Defend the A.L.P. Way to Labor Unity

CIO Chief Refuses to Permit Negotiations

By ROBERT WALTERS

TOHN L. LEWIS's latest "peace" plan, sprung so sensationally ir his address at the American Youth Congress two weeks ago, shows nothing so well as his own lightminded, unserious attitude to the paramount question facing the labor movement. It is an attitude that constitutes the greatest single obstacle to the reunification of labor's ranks today.

A "POLITICAL"

Even leaders of the C.I.O. feel that Lewis's idea of "one big convention", as advanced in his Youth Congress speech, was more "political" than anything else—that is, was intended simply for effect, to help him get out of a tight situation. It is significant that Lewis had not consulted with or even informed any of his associates in the C.I.O. before launching his proposal

in his address. There is nothing new in this attitude on the part of Lewis. He has always been opposed to unity and has hardly made a secret of his opposition, expressing it in one form or another as the occasion offered. He still remains opposed today and doesn't much care who knows it.

Let us go back to the time when the first peace negotiations were held in December 1937. On the basis of unimpeachable testimony, the official records kept by the late in some thirty-odd fields, including own good reasons. Special joint committee were to be the adjustments had been completed, sume its sessions. all C.I.O. unions were to be admitted into the A.F. of L. together, Ar- | NEGOTIATIONS rangements for a special convention MUST BE RESUMED of the reunited A. F. of L. were to had acquired during the fight.

LEWIS VETOES

These terms were agreed to by of the press. The press. The press of the negotiating committee and take both sides, and indeed it must be the negotiating committee and take things, a restraining influence on with Japan, he told his audience C.I.O. everything essential and were left off in the early part of more. Just as they were about to be last year. finally ratified, John L. Lewis, who had not participated in most of the There is no use debating the merits discussions, stepped in and vetoed or demerits of Lewis's plan. The the whole thing. Then even more point is that until negotiations are than now, John L. Lewis was the resumed all "plans" are merely for C.I.O. and what he said went. The peace conferences broke off without

Later, in March 1939, when the two sides were brought together thru the White House, something very similar occurred. The A.F. of L. declared itself ready to repeat its previous offer with the additional concession that it would readmit the "original" C.I.O. unions with their expanded jurisdictions, that is, with the jurisdictions as increased since the split (II M W A taking in the line). Meet Leaves C.P the split (U M.W.A. taking in the coal-processing workers, the A.C.W. the laundry workers, etc.). But again In Full Control Lewis held out. The discussions were suspended during the time that the miners leaders were busy negotiating with the bituminous operators for a new contract, but forceful address or Mrs. Roosevelt's there was a distinct understanding that as soon as Lewis was free again, the discussions were to be resumed. They have not been resumed yet. On the contrary, instead of tak- the Administration forces expected ing up the discussions where they to have an easy job of breaking the were left off, Lewis let loose one of the weirdest blasts of denunciation that even his picturesque career can produce. Peace was "impossible" and it was useless to resume negotiations because-Matthew Woll and | can Youth Congress is headed for | Thomas Rickert, A. F. of L. vice- the rocks. It could flourish only un- ments we come into open conflict presidents, were connected with a der the sign of Popular Frontism, monopoly of advertising in the when you could serve Stalin and Britain's side in war. If Japan backs Federationist" and a "life-insurance Roosevelt at one and the same time. company", and furthermore unity Now that you can't, the whole thing lies instead of one, and the brutal was a "secondary" question! By not will go to pieces, especially since so much as one word did Lewis re- even Mrs. Roosevelt must realize fer to the original purposes of the that it is really a Stalinist outfit. C.I.O., to industrial unionism and Don't get the impression that the the organization of the mass-production industries. It was clear that | Many of them didn't have the slightthe original idea of the C.I.O. as a temporary instrument of bringing | didn't even know they were affiliatthe labor movement to a higher level of organization and unity had their knowledge just because they

* New York Times, May 26, 1939

quite faded from Lewis's mind; he was now thinking in rigid, dual-

RESUME TALKS

When, last Christmas, President Roosevelt tried to have negotiations resumed, the A.F. of L. immediately acquiesced, but Lewis held out. He refused; it was "useless", he said.

At every stage, it was Lewis's effort to project fanciful "unity" schemes, which always served to obstruct any constructive discussion First, it was to have the C.I.O. admitted into the A. F. of L. as an autonomous department; then it was to have both the C.I.O. and A. F. of L. merge into some sort of new federation; now it is something else again. But at every point, these schemes were put forward by Lewis as substitutes for patient, piece-bypiece negotiation.

Lewis's present "unity plan" is of the same type. What does he propose? That the C.I.O. and A. F. of L. should hold conventions on March 15 at Constitution Hall in Washington (time and place kindly arranged in advance) with "one convention on each side of the aisle." The conventions would then vote on a proposal that all C.I.O. unions be admitted into the A. F. of L. and chartered Jurisdictional and other conflicts would be adjusted later.

There is nothing new in this pro posal. It was made by Lewis in slightly different form in December Charles P. Howard, then secretary 1937. At that time, the A. F. of L. of the C.I.O., also confirmed by re- answered that it objected to any marks of Philip Murray and others, procedure that would suddenly inwe know that A. F. of L. and C.I.O. troduce a series of new jurisdictionnegotiating committees had already al conflicts into the A. F. of L. all reached an agreement on the pro-cedure of reuniting the labor move-of I. proposed that jurisdictional and ment. The A. F. of L. declared it- other conflicts be negotiated first self ready to readmit the "original" and when adjustments had been C.I.O. unions with full industrial reached, all CIO. unions should be jurisdictions and to recognize indus- admitted together into the A. F. of trial unionism as the standard form L. Lewis rejected this plan, for his

all that the C.I.O. was interested in.* Even now Lewis does not make his proposal to the joint A. F. of L.set up to adjust conflicts due to C.I.O. negotiating committee, but at overlapping and clashing jurisdic- a public session of the Stalinist-contions. Cases that could not be set- trolled American Youth Congress. tled in this way were to be referred Lewis obstinately refuses to allow to mediation or arbitration. When this negotiating committee to re-

Say that Lewis's plan is perfect be made and at this convention the which it obviously is not. Still, the Executive Council was to be shorn A. F. of L. leaders may not see it of some of the excessive powers it that way, or they may think they have a plan more perfect still. What shall they do? Make public statements at youth congresses or discuss the whole issue in the columns These terms were agreed to by of the press? Why not reconvene is supposed to be, among other the negotiating committee and take things. a restraining influence on the sides, and indeed it must be the negotiating committee and take things. a restraining influence on the sides, and indeed it must be the negotiating committee and take things. The sides is a multitary department on Anglo-American affairs. Regarding the sides is supposed to be, among other things. The sides is supposed to be a side is supposed to be a si

> That's the crux of the situation. publicity and political effect.

To resume peace negotiations is the immediate, unpostponable task before the labor movement. How much longer will John L. Lewis be favoring a navy big enough to whip able to keep the road to unity the world, even when the world is barred?

Youth Congress

(Continued from Page 1) It is difficult to say exactly what

influence President Not much probably. It seems that miles away. Stalinist grip over the A.Y.C. and keeping it as a New Deal auxiliary. It is hardly necessary to say that this plan was a failure.

It is pretty certain that the Amer-A.Y.C. affiliates are communistic. est idea what it was all about; some ed-they were "affiliated" without happened to endorse the American Youth Act or something of the sort.

JAY LOVESTONE

"Road to Labor and Socialist Unity"

Thursday, Feb. 29, 6 P. M RIVERA MURALS HALL

131 W. 33rd St., (7th floor)

Admission Free

Auspices: Dressmakers Branch, Independent Labor League of America

In the Primaries

WITHIN a few weeks, the American Labor Party will face a decisive test, the outcome of which will go a long way towards determining its future existence. For early in April will take place the primaries to de cide the leadership of the party and its control. It will be a contest between the established trade-union leadership of the A.L.P., on the one side, and the Stalinists and their "fellow-traveler" allies, on the other. Should the latter manage to register even a measurable degree of success, it will certainly spell the doom of the only labor party in an industrial state in this country.

We have many disagreements on policy with the present leadership of the A.L.P., and we have not hesitated to air these differences in the columns of this paper on more than one occasion. We have criticized the party leadership for the hospitality—yes, protection—they extended to the Stalinist cohorts until quite recently. We disagree with their unquestioning support of the Roosevelt Administration, amounting almost to subservience. We cannot see eye to eye with them on questions of foreign policy, on which, too, we believe they trail too unthinkingly behind the Administration. Finally, we do not believe that certain organizational procedures hitherto followed are for the best interests of the party.

These are grave differences, indeed. But they are honest differences within the labor movement, differences of opinion that do not by any means imply any question as to sincerity or devotion to the cause of labor. They are differences that must be settled, and ultimately will be settled, within the bounds of the labor movement in a constructive, fra-

But the situation is drastically different with the Stalinites. Stalinism has no legitimate place in or connection with the labor movement of this country. It is no more than a disguised instrumentality of the Russian government, of the Stalin dictatorship in the Kremlin, controlled and di rected by the G.P.U. Such an outfit—and we are now speaking of the Stalinist party as such and not of the sincere radicals that are to be found here and there in its ranks—there is no sense in arguing with or appealing to in the name of the labor movement, any more than there is n the case of any other brand of secret police agents that worm their way into labor's ranks. It is not a question of difference of policy, big or small; Stalinism is simply an outside, hostile, corrupting force that must be thoroly destroyed if the labor movement is to be capable of healthy, constructive growth.

For every responsible worker or friend of labor, there can be no hesitation on how to vote in the coming primaries. The A.L.P. leadership must be sustained against the Stalinist-Connolly disrupters. Stalinist influence must be wiped out once and for all from the A.L.P. or else the party is doomed. We appeal to every progressive trade unionist to mobilize his fellow-unionists affiliated with the A.L.P. for the primaries. We appeal to every reader who is a member of the A.L.P. to spare no effort to help the party weather the crisis with banners flying. Remember, the life of the party is at stake!

President's Arms Budget Is Peril to America

Navy Men Try to Raise Invasion Scare

(Continued from Page 1) (Continued from Page 1) London as the logic of history in lantic against the rest of Stark's the mysterious Orient.

nightmarish coalition. What they would like most of all is a \$2,500, 000,000 five-year plan free from Congressional interference. Military professionals tradition-

ally hear things going thump in the night, and are always pleading for more ships and guns. But the civilsays what Franklin D. Roosevelt tells him to, not only asked for everything Stark wanted, but went the Admiral a couple better by including Britain and France among our potential enemies and by maintaining that such a navy would have been necessary even had Europe's war not broken out. The Roosevelt Administration is now on record as at peace.

Insistence on a 5-3 preponderance over Japan means that the Administration contemplates the possibility of war with Japan. It may also mean that the United States is being committed to the role of watchdog over in the Far East without any man-Stalmists it naturally had no effect. rectly threaten Tokyo some 1500 with Germany.

> That the British have clearly foreseen the possibility of American involvement in war thru trouble in the Far East rapidly becomes more apparent. As protector of Britain's interests in the East, we can relieve part of her imperial responsibilities. If in protecting Britain's investwith Japan, we are committed to down, Britain will have two new alrape of China will be condoned in

Now that the A.Y.C. has been smeared Stalinist in every which way, things are bound to happen. Already a number of alleged "affiliates" have made public statements that they have nothing whatever to do with the American Youth Congress. These include some of the numerically most important groups that the A.Y.C. has claimed: the Christian Endeavor Union, the Young Women's Christian Association, the American Bapitist Publication Society, the Youth Division of the American Jewish Congress, the Young Women's Hebrew Association, the Disciples of Christ, the Student Volunteer Movement, the Girl Scouts of America, and others. To some of these, the news of their "affiliation" really came as a surprise; others simply determined to shake the Stalinist dust off their feet as soon as they learned what's

Another group of organizations broke from the Youth Congress and decided to set up a youth federation of their own, called the "Campaign for Youth's Needs". These or-

High-placed Britons weigh their words well these days before speaking out in public. At Oxford, Sir Frederick Whyte, director of the and other needy causes. I have not American division of Britain's Ministry of Information, who knows America well and has degrees from Michigan and Dartmouth, lectured refused to support some group that nan head of a military department on Anglo-American affairs. Regardjittery professionals. Nevertheless, that only Russia was doing more Secretary of the Navy Edison, who than the U.S.A. to restrain Japan ın Chına. With unmistakable meaning, he added that few Americans realized how closely related to Amerıcan policy ın Europe was American policy in the Far East. The Sino-Japanese war, he said, was really a part of Europe's war.

Not so long ago, Lord Lothian told the Chicago Council on Foreign Relations: "Even at this moment, if we honestly face the facts, our present safety today rests upon the fact that we control the Atlantic and you control the Pacific."

The implications of these statements by Lord Lothian and Sir Frederick are clarified by British publicist Sidney Rogerson's "Pro-Britain's vast imperial investment | paganda in the Next War": "The position will naturally be considerdate, implied or explicit, from the ably eased if Japan were involved, American people. In Washington, and this might and probably would Navy extremists shout daily for the bring America in without further problems, youth activities and youth fortification of Guam, denied them ado. At any rate, it would be a nat- organizations. We are now consider-Roosevelt's by Congress last year. The only ex- ural and obvious object of our procuse for the precarious extension of pagandists to achieve this, just as will remedy this defect, at least to a gentle, persuasive talk had on the naval defense to Guam is to protect during the great war they succeednot quite 100% Stalinists—on the the indefensible Philippines and di- ed in embroiling the United States

> ganızatıons, claimıng a total affilıation of nearly two million members were the National Council of Methodist Youth, the Youth Section of the Workmen's Circle, the Farmers Union, the Young People's Socialist League, the Southern Tenant Farmers Union, the Workers Security Federation, the Young Poale Zion the Student Zionist Federation (Avukah), and the Youth Committee Against War. Lewis Conn was chosen director of the new youth federation and among its sponsors were reported to be Dr. George S. Counts president of the American Federa tion of Teachers; Gladys T. Edwards, Farmers Educational and Cooperative Union; Dr. Harry Laidler, A.L.P. councilman in New York; Ernest L. Meyer, columnist; James Meyer, industrial secretary of the Federal Council of Churches of slightest interest in the problems and Christ; A Philip Randolph, president of the Sleeping Car Porters of slogans it raises and the demands it America; and Norman Thomas so- puts are determined exclusively cialist leader.

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HIS REAL TARGET



Letters From Our Readers:

Shall We Cooperate With Stalinists?

New York City.

T am a subscriber to your news-

■ paper—I can almost say our

newspaper. Since I am a college

student, one of the important events

for me is the coming session of the

American Youth Congress. Your

paper has carried, from time to time

(far too infrequently), a column on

activities of your youth section and

a discussion of problems particular

to the youth. Right now, I am

frankly puzzled. I live in a com-

munist neighborhood-the Cooper-

ative, affectionately called "Little

Russia." I've been stopped many

times both here and in school to sign

petitions for the American Youth

issue. What should one's position be

ists on domestic issues such as relief,

Again I urge a permanent youth

column which would make your fine

WE agree with our correspondent

needs adequate coverage of youth

ing an arrangement that we hope

As to working with the Stalinites,

our advice is emphatically no, under

practically any circumstances we can

imagine. As we have stressed

repeatedly in these columns the Com-

munist Party cannot be regarded as

a bona-fide labor, socialist or radical

organization. It is essentially noth-

ing but an American agency of the

Stalin dictatorship in Moscow and is

directed in everything it does by

is really the same type of organiza-

tion as Fritz Kuhn's German-Ameri

can Bund; in fact, in its own way,

the Communist Party is little more

than a Russian-American Bund. Its

entire function is to operate in this

country as a power group, disguised

as a working-class political party, in

the interests of Russian foreign

policy and under the control of the

The Stalinist party has not the

needs of the American workers. The

from the standpoint of the shifting

interests of the Russian government

doesn't change the essence of its

"line," which is the advancement of

the interests of the ruling clique in

Russian government.

remote control from the Kremlin. It

-the Workers Age badly

in regard to working with the Stalin

the cause may be?

paper even better.

The Editor

Replies:

ertain degree.

Congress and also to help send

Editor, Workers Age

Kremlın dıctatorship and its Foreign

Six months ago, when Stalin was flirting with the "democracies" and praises of the New Deal, the A.S.U., the A.Y.C. and the whole troop of them were doing likewise. Today, after the Stalin-Hitler pact, the C.P. has changed its "line" and so have folk dancers. its "front" organizations. That is why the AY.C. has now suddenly become so "militant" about relief, W.P.A., peace, etc.

The Nazi German-American Bund too, is up in arms against the Roosevelt Administration and the New Deal, and for the same reasonbecause such an attitude fits in very well with the interests of the Hitler (Stalin) government at the present moment.

delegates by contributing some pennies to a fund. The solicitors are Under these circumstances, how mostly from the A.S.U. and the s it possible to work with the Young Communist League. They Stalinites in any cause, for any purtalk about fighting for the National pose? They may argue: "All right, Youth Administration, W.P.A., relief you don't agree with us. But you want more relief, don't you (or contributed or signed anything bewhatever else it is?) Then why don't cause I feel suspicious of any cause you cooperate with us for something that is Stalinist-supported. I've even we both want?" This is the general wanted to send a delegate, which approach they follow in their "front" group. This brings me to my point. ment has any validity, it should foremost Flamenco (Spanish Gypsy) apply with equal force to such or-Why not have a permanent youth ganizations as the Bund. The Bund, a successful South American tour. column where such problems as these for example, wants to keep Ameriare discussed? And, incidentally, ca out of war (obviously Hitler) could you clarify and argue this therefore cooperate with the Bund W.P.A., N.Y.A., N.L.R.B., lynching, "for something we both want?" No; etc? Should one work with them or but why not? refuse to cooperate no matter what

Because for both the C.P. and the Bund, relief or keeping out of war or whatever else the issue is, is mere camouflage. They don't care anything at all about the issue itself or about the needs of the people; they raise the issue and agitate for it because it fits in with Hitler's or Stalin's foreign policy. Tomorrow. they may change completely in the twinkling of an eye, as they have done repeatedly in the past. How, then, is it possible to have any confidence or trust whatever in them, that minimum of confidence without which even the slightest cooperation is impossible?

But far more decisive is the following consideration. By cooperating with the Stalinists on some particular issue, you do more than advance that particular issue. You also help build up the standing, power and prestige of the Communist Party. And that is an evil that vastly outweighs the small must refuse, and advise everybody amount of good that might concervably result from such cooperation. At bottom, and aside from the any similar organization in any profoundly important question of manner, shape or form.

Civil Pilot Program Hit As War Plan

New York City. THE civilian pilot training program now being administered by the Civil Aeronautics Authority in

cooperation with more than forty colleges and universities is dominated by military and naval considerations, it was charged here last week in a report by the Committee on Militarism in Education. The report, issued as a pamphlet

entitled "Mars in Civilian Disguise," has a foreword by John Dewey. In it he warns that moneys needed for peace-time pursuits are being diverted to the cause of war.

"All the pertinent evidence combines to dictate the conclusion that the civilian pilot training program was initiated as a military and naval preparedness measure, and that its chief justification in the minds of those who formulated the plan and are now administering it is the expectation that it will gear into and effectively serve the Administration's larger program for expanding the regular army and navy forces, the report states.

Who's Who On February 24

ON another page of this issue, there is an advertisement for the Musicale-Recital to take place on February 24 at Steinway Hall. But the advertisement itself cannot possibly tell you all that we would like you to know about the splendid program arranged for the evening or about the distinguished artists who will take part. Let us tell you the American C.P. was singing the here something about these artists. Louis Polansky is a versatile, talented concert pianist.

Dorita Montero and Faye Torrens are delightful Galician (Spanish)

Laura Duncan and Albert Moss are the finest interpreters of Negro Spirituals. You may have had the pleasure of hearing them when they sang for us last year-when they stopped the show and gave encores until they were physically exhausted. "Set to Music," the Noel Coward show, and "Swingin' the Dream" were greatly enhanced by Laura Duncan's fine contralto. Albert Moss formerly musical director of the Federal Theater Project, is a profound student of Negro music and one of its best interpreters. It is truly a privilege to hear them.

The Trio Moderne has been described by an eminent music critic as possessing excellent virtuosity . . . Each of the group is a fine ertist and has great potentialities."

Soledad Miralles is one of the dancers. She has just returned from

Villarino, who accompanies Miralles, is a guitarist of unusual talent. doesn't want the U.S.A. to help the He is to Spanish folk music what Allies). So do we want to keep | Segovia is to classical music. He will America out of war. Should we render some solos on the guitar in addition.

> Vicente Cordellat, a noted Spanish baritone, is a member of the Rossini Opera Company.

> Eva Ortega must be known to you. Her songs delighted us the same evening Laura Duncan and Albert Moss sang for us last year. Miss Ortega starred in "Set to Music" and has had successful engagements at the Rainbow Room, at the Cafe Russe of the Hotel St. Regis, not to speak of her engagements at prominent night clubs thruout the coun-

> You will agree, we are sure, that this is an unusual type of concert, a concert from which you will derive unusual pleasure and satisfaction. It will be held, you will recall, on Saturday night, February 24, at Steinway Hall, 113 West 57th Street, Studio 503. Reserved seats (in advance) are \$1.00 and 75 cents; general admission is 50 cents.

sincerity, that is the reason why we to refuse, to cooperate with the Communist Party, the Nazi Bund or

That's One View of It...

(These paragraphs are from TRB's column in the New Republic of February 12, 1940 T.RB is credited with access to the top circles of the C.I.O.

MR. LEWIS has broken with Mr. Roosevelt in order to have elbow room to play balance-of-power politics. Altho his words have been unaccountably ignored, he himself said substantially that at Columbus. And, in the present situation, if the C.I.O. is to play balance-of-power politics, it must be in a position to dicker with all Democratic candidates -barring Messrs. Garner and McNutt-and with Republicans as well. . . .

The New Dealers tell the C.I.O. that Mr. Roosevelt's sympathies are pro-labor and anti-business—which is obviously true—that, if they will be patient, Mr. Roosevelt will eventually execute another of his turns to the left. To the C.I.O., this states the issue with exactness, altho to them it has a meaning very different from what the New Dealers intend. To the That is why the C.P. can change its 'party line" overnight. It really C.I.O., it means that it is being offered responsibility without power. It is being asked to buy a pig in a poke. If it is true that the 1933-36 era of liberal reforms is over, and that henceforth organized labor must fight for such small favors as it may receive, then the C.I.O. must have freedom the Kremlin; it merely changes the to bargain wherever it can.

form and outward appearance. And The problem may be stated in other terms. The New Dealers say that what is true of the Communist Party is true also of its many "false-front" | Mr. Lewis ought to support the New Deal because it is, at bottom, a labor organizations, such as the recently party. In the C.I.O., such a suggestion is regarded as a fantasy. If the defunct American League for Peace | New Deal were, in fact, the equivalent, for example, of England's Labor and Democracy, the American Stu- Party, its personnel would be union men, and in matters of broad policy, dent Union, the American Youth it would be subject to union dictatorship. In fact, there is not a single Congress, etc. They are all, without, member of the Roosevelt Cabinet who holds a union card. Whatever the of course, the great bulk of their membership realizing it, at one New Deal may be, Mr. Roosevelt's Democratic party is still bourgeois. remove or another, agencies of the structurally identical with the Republicans.

Why, That Would

Be "Unthinkable"!

R. J. Edgar Hoover has been very busy on the spy hunt. That is proper.

Every country maintains spies.

Does Fascism Menace America?

The Ideology of Fascism

By WILL HERBERG

(This is the fourth article of the series, "Fascism in America" The fifth article, dealing with the fascist groups in this country today, will appear in the next issue -Editor)

Fascism requires an historical tradition-doctored up for the purpose, if necessary—from which to draw its reactionary inspiration. Where would American fascism find this historical tradition? In the American Revolution, properly falsified and distorted; there are already semi-fascist groups in this country calling themselves is wiped out. Native American fascism is not very arti-Minute Men, Paul Reveres, etc. In the frontier, with its "direct-actionism," its lynchings, its vigilante bands; but here, too, the authentic frontier, individualistic, libertarian, hostile to external authority, would have to be suppressed in favor of a falsified tradition in the fascist spirit. In the South, the still-living political 1936, in fact, Gene Talmadge held his fascist "grassroots" conference in Georgia under the auspices of nouncements in the course of the past year: the Stars and Bars And what could fit in better with system of the ante-bellum South or the night-riders and Ku Klux Klan of the period that followed the

"National-Populism" As Social Ideology

Fascism needs a social ideology to serve as the content of its pseudo-"radical" demagogy. In Italy, the fascist social ideology arose as a sort of "national-syndicalism"; im Germany, as "national-social-1sm"; everywhere it takes its surface color from the type of radicalism that characterizes the environment in which it springs up. In America, neither socialism nor syndicalism has made any serious impression on the masses of the people. Here the only form of radicalism that has any real roots among the broad masses is middle-class, agrarian Populism, and it is as a sort of "national-Populism" that American fascism would appear before the people. Its sham-"radical" demagogy would turn to use every stray notion, every vagary or panacea of traditional middle-class Populism-money reform, land reform, "bust-the-trusts." What could be more "Populistic" than Huey Long's agitation with its slogans, "Share the wealth," and "Every man a king"?5 Or Coughlin's demagogic denunciations of Wall Street and the "international bankers" coupled with his farfetched schemes of money reform. The striking resemblance between these formulas and the magic spells of German Nazism is not due to conscious imitation certainly that did not exist in Huey Long's case-but rather to the essential similarity in the salvationist fantasies of the tortured middle-class mind everywhere in the modern capitalist world.

Hostility to Socialism, Genuine Unionism

one wears a crown

Books

=by Jim Cork=

CHINA AT WAR, by Freda Utley.

THE author of "Japan's Feet of

L Clay" has written a provocative

book about the present situation in

China. A descriptive travelog for the

most part interlarded with vignettes

recent great crop of books on China

more basic economic and political

factors involved in China's struggle.

It is this which invites a critical dis-

cussion of some of Miss Utley's

Many of those ideas are involved

in the author's description of per-

sons, for these individuals symbolize

one approach or another to the

problems of Chinese emancipation.

John Day Co., New York, 1939.

It is hardly necessary to stress that, despite its sham "radicalism," fascism is bitterly hostile to every variety of genuine radicalism or socialism, to every manifestation of labor independence. And this is as true in America as anywhere else. The blood-thirsty diatribes of the fascist demagogues of the Coughlin stripe against socialism, radicalism and liberalism, which they lump all together as "communism," are notorious. Their animus against ordinary trade unionism is just as strong, altho not as obvious. Almost at the very outset of his agitation, Coughlin urged the suppression of free and independent trade-unionism and the assumption of the functions of unionism by the government—a form of totalitarian "coordination" Hitler was then carrying

"Make the United States Department of Labor a real power," he urged in an interview published in the In America Detroit Times of October 10, 1934. "Let it take over the functions of collective bargaining—the functions to fulfill. Let it supplant the A. F. of L. entirely.

Huey Long didn't do much talking on such questions but close observers testify that the system he actually over the labor movement that went far beyond the ordinary domination of a state machine.

Today denunciations of unionism and projects of governmental control are the stock-in-trade of all fascist groups in this country, altho most of them disguise the character of their attacks by pretending it is merely the "communistic" C.I.O. that they are against. But at

5 Even the phrase itself is of Populist origin William Jennings Bryan once proclaimed. "Every man a king but no

bottom, they are as hostile, as bitterly and uncompromisingly opposed, to the most conservative union in the A. F. of L. as they are to the C.I.O. or to the

Anti-Democratic

In Principle

Fascism is, of course, irreconcilably anti-democratic. Its political goal is an authoritarian dictatorship in which every vestige of democracy or democratic rights culate or mature in its political ideology; in this respect it shares the "practical" character of American politics generally. But the authoritarian strain is unmistakable. Huey Long, for example, actually erected a kind of "decree-dictatorship" in Louisiana and tricked it out with a good many of the emotional trimmings of fascism. In imagery of the Confederacy would be prominent. In Father Coughlin's agitation, "theoretical" authoritarianism is far more pronounced. Consider these two pro-

"The principle of mere 'majority-ism'-sometimes the essential spirit of fascism than the racial caste called democracy and sometimes Bolshevism-is not enough. The popular fallacy is that 'fifty million Frenchmen can't be wrong'! As a matter of experience and historic fact, fifty men are much more likely to be right than fifty million."6

"Is it possibly true that the retention of democracy would prove a greater menace than the adoption of dictatorship because the people who were privileged to vote and the representatives whom they elected were no longer capable of achieving the objectives of peace, prosperity and national happiness?"

Coughlin has even expressed himself directly in favor of the corporate state on the fascist model,8 but such theoretical reaches are unusual with American fascism. For the most part, it remains content with exalting the Constitution, damning democratic institutions as "Bolshevism," and preaching one or another form of totalıtarıanısm.

In its crusade against democracy and the established political system, which, of course, it also lumps together, American fascism is able to play upon two potent features of the native folk-mind: the low esteem in which politics and politicians are held and the everalive tradition of direct action, lawlessness and violence. Where but in the United States could such a maxim as this gain universal currency: "When Congress goes home, business gets better"? Where but in a land where politics is regarded as essentially a game of patronage and spoils, of futility and corruption, of log-rolling and the pork-barrel? The idealistic appeals of Teddy Loosevelt's Progressivism, of Woodrow Wilson's New Freedom, of F.D.R.'s New Deal, while widely hailed, have made but little change in the popular attitude. Here is fertile soil, indeed, for the fascist demagogue with his diatribes against "politics," with his evangel of a "new movement above and beyond parties"-far more fertile, certainly, than Europe with its ingrained awe of the state and the high mysteries of statecraft.

Fascism in America can also count on the frontier tradition of direct action and violence to play to its advantage. The great masses of the American people are not class-conscious or radical, but they are militant in the sense of being ever ready to get up and fight. Such sentiments as "get down your rifle and let 'em have it" and "string 'em up" still arouse living echoes in many parts of the country. Now militancy of this sort, unillumined by class consciousness or an understanding of issues and interests, is precisely the mood upon which fascism thrives and which it feeds and cultivates with its fire-eating demagogy. Where but in the United States has it so favorable a soil?

The Leader Cult

Even the Leader cult, so vital to fascist authoritarianism, is not without its native roots in America When which the American Federation of Labor is now trying | Huey Long officially adopted the title of "Kingfish," he was obviously not borrowing from Germany altho that title is the exact southwestern equivalent of "Fuehrer." In fact, the fascist Leader, the man of the people raised established in Louisiana included a political control to absolute power on the shoulders of the masses, the "tribune of the people" turned dictator, has his forerunner in America in the so-called "cracker" demagogues of the Tom Heflin and Cole Blease stripe. What was Huey Long but their direct descendant under the new conditions of an emerging fascism?

> Social Justice, February 20, 1939 New York Times, January 8, 1940

8 "A corporate state in which parties would be abolished was proposed Sunday by Father Charles E Coughlin "-New York World-Telegram, March 4, 1938

By J. CORK

of leading Chinese personalities past | British investments, trade and comas well as present, it yet attains a merce in the Far East. British serious stature denied to most of the centers of control had been the large coastal cities, from Hongkong and Canton in South, thru Shanghai on by virtue of its frank facing of the the Yangtze, to Tientsin, the most important port in North China. Thru these, she maintained her very profitable contact with central China. most easily accessible to Japanese attack and were captured first. Since former monopolistic position in the trade and commerce of these decisive

With the treatment of some of them (Madame Sun Yat-sen, Madame Chiang Kai-shek, Wang Ching-wei The British position in North and others) the reviewer has no China today is exceedingly precaquarrel. But others don't come off rious. British interests in and around quite so successfully—to wit, Agnes | Tientsin, chief port of North China, Smedley, Eugene Chen, or Chiang cover many fields, including coal Kai-shek. Miss Utley's panegyrics to mining, banking, manufacturing and "Open Door." Discriminatory legisla-Agnes Smedley seem a little puzzling trade. In Tientsin proper, the total tion has been passed against Japin a book which is so sensitive to the value of British property before anese trade and commerce with suffering of the Chinese masses, Japan's invasion was about \$50,000,which is so insistent on clarity as to 000, and more than twice that in the methods of achieving emancipation rest of North China. What it is toand which contains some bold and day is hard to tell, but that it has fine words on the subject, to be been substantially decreased in the noted hereafter. Granting, for the last two years is hardly debatable. sake of argument, Agnes Smedley's Japan controls all the railroad lines sincerity of purpose, her purity of between Tientsin and the interior, motive, her continuous sacrifices, it and has been using that control to yet remains a brute fact that her the hilt against England. To this undoubted literary talents have been must be added export provisions, explaced at the service of the Commu- change-control regulations, tariff nist International and the Commu- revisions, etc., all favorable to Japnist Party of China. In season and anese interests and opposed to Britout, thru all the tortuous twists and ish. The net result has been the (Continued on Page 4)

The story is about the same for

The British lion is not allowing its tail to be twisted without scratching back. All sorts of pressure is being brought to bear on Japan to make her relax her "violations" of the other parts of the British Empire. The recent abrogation of America's trade treaty with Japan is part of a concerted Anglo-American pressure program. In the meantime, England establishing a new center to accom- perial Britain is determined to hold measure to the Bolsheviks. These

gar Hoover to tell him of his work against British and French agents. 'Oh!' said Mr. Hoover, 'we've got nobody

Imperialism Mean?

omplicated situation —Editor)

tary dictatorship The same prophesy

has been consistently made ever

since the Bolshevik victory in 1917.

That prophesy has been fulfilled to-

day, tho not in the form in which

the prophets imagined. Stalin's ad-

vance into Finland has taken us all

by surprise, not because we were

under any illusions, since the great

purges of recent years, that he cared

for the rights of man or the precepts

of Lenun, but because we believed

that he had accepted the existing

frontiers of the Soviet Union and

was too wise to take a step which

would discredit the USS.R with its

sympathizers and strengthen its

enemies all over the world. His

been content to keep strategic points

that he could have got by negotiation

dictatorship with that of the other

totalitarian regimes

DEGENERATION OF

THE REVOLUTION

(We publish below, with some abridgement, an unsigned editorial article in

the December 9, 1939 issue of the New Statesman and Nation, British liberal

weekly We cannot, of course, share the writer's readiness to defend Stalin's

'peaceful' serzure of control over Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania; between that

for Stalin—unsolvable economic, social and political crisis within the USSR.

phesied its development into a mili- fertile plains of the Ukraine. But

to its own territory. If Stalin had Russians have yet given them.

We do. I know a general who told me he spent two years in Mexico City as a street-car conductor and charted every Mexican military feature. But also every country properly does everything to frustrate spies. A writer asked J. Edworking on them. The State Department won't let us'."-John T. Flynn, in the New Republic, January 29, 1940.

Present Prospects of **U.S. Labor Politics**

Resistance to Curb on Unions Vital Trend

By M. S. MAUTNER

■ ABOR'S voice has been raised in presenting a chorus of disunity on the biggest problem of the year: the Presidential elections. John L Lewis, in typical and increasingly meffective manner, served personal notice on the Democratic party that certain promissory notes were long overdue. The other, but less prominent half of the C.I.O., Sidney was a land of milk and honey and

Leningrad, Peter the Great's "win-

dow," would be an even more tempt-

ing door. It was never an easy place

mines. It is also a corridor that leads

thru Norway to the vital Atlantic

port of Narvik. Stalin cannot justify

all he is doing by an excessive

concern for the safety of his existing

empire We must rather think of him

as reinstating the Czarist Empire;

there are signs that he means next

all because of the Roosevelt Administration. The American Federation of Labor's Executive Council L dissonant caterwauling recently first denounced Mr. Lewis for "ingratitude," but couldn't really make it stick because the Republican stalwarts of the Council seized the opportunity for boosting their party rather than for a labor-minded attack on the New Deal. Nevertheless, Daniel Tobin, campaign labor secretary for the Democratic party, and William Hutcheson, cam paign labor secretary for the G.O.P., were able to realize the sinister Hillman, served his notice that this implications of the government's anti-trust attack on the trade unions and permit a unanimous denunciation of, and protest against, Thurman Arnold's menacing moves. And What Does the New Stalin finally, the temporarily independent ILG.W.U. supported the Roosevelt Administration so lustily that it issued a special resolution on the

WHY LEWIS'S MOVE IS INEFFECTIVE

indirection.

and the armed invasion of Finland, there is no very deep difference of morals Perhaps no better summary of or principle, and both are to be condemned. We feel also that the writer's explathe failure of the New Deal's affirmative. The obvious and logical nation of the new Stalinist imperialism is defective because it does not take into promise to labor and the people has conclusion of Lewis's indictment been made than that of Mr. Lewis; would call for steps looking towards account what to us seems the most important factor of all the pressure of thesurely by no one in so prominent (Nevertheless, despite these shortcomings, the article appears to us well a position. Yet, a few lines above, the 1940 elections. But we see no worth presenting to our readers as a fresh and thoughtful view of a very difficult, I had the temerity to declare this signs of that on the horizon, we declaration, with which I am thoroly sorrowfully confess. in accord, to be typically ineffective. A T the beginning of the French Revolution, Edmund Burke pro- might break thru Poland into the There are three important factors tending towards such a conclusion:

reciprocal trade treaties of Secre-

tary Hull-an issue affecting the

garment workers only by extreme

1. Mr. Lewis is too enamored of American literary legend, especially gram far above the Hutcheson-Woll Priscilla's dictum: "Speak for yourto defend and it is now the centre | self, John." There is no evidence of of a busy industrial region any preparation for this nation-Stalin had this always in mind rocking blast even among his leadduring the Anglo-Soviet discussions. | ing cohorts in the U.M.W.A. And Stalin in these talks asked the Hillman's disagreement makes it western powers to support his coming demand for the Latvian Committee of the C.I.O. hardly islands of Oesel and Dago, and to speaks with one voice.

back him in his claims upon the Finns. The western powers were too confident or too scrupulous to endorse these terms and therefore Stalin struck his bargain with von in fact, have had Mr. Lewis con-Ribbentrop and precipitated the war he had seemed so eager to prevent. occupation of the Russian part of The German soldiers, who never has been dining at the White House. Poland when Germany had taken the shared Hitler's ambition to colonize This flitting about has produced rest, was readily explicable; his Russia, may have viewed with calm merely copy for the columnists. The operations against the three Baltic the closing of their road to Leninvery delegates to the U.M.W.A. states were realistic measures of grad: they were delivered from their would have overwhelmed Mr. Lewis defense, accomplished without war | nightmare of a war on two fronts, had the matter been voted on then and justifiable on the usual im- and they may have reckoned on more and there. What effect can his stateperialist argument that a great generous help in the shape of oil, ment then be having outside the power must hold the strategic keys minerals, foods and fibers than the

3. There is no clearly indicated Stalin is now doing what Hitler in the Baltic and to bargain with the permitted him to do, and he is doing practical conclusion to Lewis's Finns until he had secured greater it with a characteristic excess of justified indictment of the Demosecurity for Leningrad, that too zeal. . . . His attempt to impose cratic party. Would be be satisfied see this as a labor rather than as an could have been defended on strategic a puppet government upon a with that party if only Senator anti-Democratic issue? Can John L. grounds. But by adopting the united and democratic nation is Wheeler were its standard-bearer? Lewis subscribe to this vital familiar technique of the Fuehrer, an act that cannot be justified as a Is he preparing to avoid "igno- ment, and give life to his own? Can bombing Helsingfors and bringing military precaution. Nor can the minious defeat" by backing the Hillman and Dubinsky see this as a his vast army into play against this fear of a future German attack ex- Presidential candidate of the time for program and action, rather small country, when it was clear plain his demand for the Arctic Republican party? Is he con- than hosannas? territory round Petsamo. There he templating the possibilities of a all that the most timorous Russian may have two objects in view. This could have asked for in the way of barren region contains one of the labor ticket? Or is this merely a will be significantly settled by labor's

Bulk of Japan's War Materials Come from U.S.A. OVER 70% of United States ex-

ports to Japan are materials needed for war purposes-\$171,574,-167 of the \$239,620,000. The biggest American export is of pig iron, scrap iron and steel, etc., totaling \$66,-038,000. Next come raw cotton, cotton linters, etc., at \$53,569,000; crude oil, gasoline, kerosine, etc., at \$51,809,000; and machinery, automobiles and auto and airplane parts at \$49,019,000. Most of these four items are required for war.

On percentages, here is the share of Japanese total imports which she buys from the United States: copper, 92.9%; automobiles and parts, 91.2%; all oils, 60.5%; pig iron, 41.6%; other iron, 59.7%; machinery and engines, 49.5%; and zinc, 20.4%. Japanese imports of scrap iron and steel have shown striking increases in the last few years.

more promises and partial deeds, to Jim Farley's slick outfit?

If you recall what Thomas J. Kennedy, C.IO. candidate, said about David Jones, his rival in Pennsylvania's 1938 Democratic primaries, and his later support of that same Jones in the elections, you have an analogy perhaps enabling you to answer the last question in the an independent ticket for labor in

Yet, while Lewis's bolt is not backed by preparation, by convinced masses, by certainty and clarity of goal, it must be ranked as a prostatement. The latter is indelibly stained with the marks of G.O.P. propaganda.

A PROMISING TREND

The really serious trend in labor political thought which bodes some good for the future is the opposition manifested by the A. F. of L. to the 2. The workers don't change attempted application of anti-trust their minds with the 1hythm and legislation to the labor unions. Here tempo of Mr. Lewis. All sorts of is a basic issue on which both C.I.O. political rumors, with some basis and A. F. of L. can and must unite as labor organizations defending ferring with various political forces their very life. Such unity would for the past year. In between, he find them in opposition to the government, a government openly supported on this question by both Republicans and Democrats. This, indeed, requires real independent political action of labor, and can be the well-spring of a national labor

> Can the trade unions recognize the gravity of the situation in time to strike out on new paths? Can they unite? Can the Republican die-hards in the A. F. of L. Council

The answers to these questions do security, he compels us to rank his richest of the world's few nickel prelude to capitulation, for a 1-w attitude to the 1940 elections.

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British Are Hard Hit By Japan in China

English Position in North Very Precarious

TAPAN'S invasion of China has, of J course, been a severe blow to Precisely these coastal cities were then, Japan has been systematically squeezing England out of her

ish. The net result has been the plish this end. Rangoon, in Burma, on to as much of her loot in China achievements and ideals are not steady undermining of Britain's has been the new door for Britain's as possible.

power in North China.

Shanghai and Yangtze Valley. Only here it hits England harder because the Yangtze Valley has always constituted the chief sphere of British interest in China. In Shanghai alone were concentrated about one billion dollars of British investments, more than half of her total investments in all China. With Japan controlling the main artery to the interior, the Yangtze River, Shanghai's increasing isolation from the back country has already cost England many millions of pounds. Her former monopoly of shipping up and down the Yangtze has disappeared and similar discriminatory acts are being practised by Japan on the Shanghai network of railroads as at Tientsin.

is losing no time in utilizing entry into central and western China. favorable opportunities created by English capital is also aiding the present and possible future changes Chinese Nationalist government to in the internal situation in China. | build up the Southwest. It helped in British interests, which can no the building of the Yunnan-Burma longer penetrate China's interior highway. It has granted loans and from the former vantage points on credits to the Nationalist governthe coast, are now in the process of ment. In short, come what may, im- women everywhere is due in large

of the Soviet Union. If he sapped this defense by his purge, he has now almost destroyed it. While he lives and reigns, few of us will orient our praying-carpets towards Moscow We shall do well, however, pete in their moral wrath with the Duce. What the Albanians and Abyssinians felt is not recorded. In America, as in Europe, the press of the more reactionary section of the owning class leads the chorus of calculating anger. It will fall on the more active section of the working class in France and the United States long before it can reach the Kremlin . . .

exemplar in Berlin may turn east-

The Russian Revolution has fol lowed precedent only too faithfully It began by making a cult of the

to turn to the reoccupation of Besunflinching use of force, but the ends sarabia. which it then served were the libera-The consequences of this advention of the masses the world over ture may not answer all Stalin's ex-To the cult of force it is still loyal, pectations. Experience may not but the ends it seeks seem increasjustify the more extravagant estiingly those of Russian aggrandizemates of the Red Army's quality. ment. This degeneration reflects, The Swedes are roused, and the faithfully enough, the personality that always was Stalin's. It is dif-Aland Isles may not come into ficult to believe that the idealism of Russia's hands without a struggle. the revolution in its early, heroic The Baltic is not yet a Russian lake. But it is on the moral plane that phases can ever have meant anything to him. What is tragic is that Stalin has revealed the limitations by the suppression of all free discus- of his intelligence. The sympathy of sion and criticism and by the denial all that is progressive in two hemiof the processes of justice he has spheres was one of the main defenses degraded the mind of the nation that the Bolsheviks began to educate. One is tempted to sum up this achievement in the jargon of Stalin's sect. By the mexorable laws of its dialectic, Bolshevism brought into being its antithesis, National Socialism. To- to bridle indignation. It would day, the question being asked is quickly place us in unwelcome comwhether the ugly thing that now pany. Not the most vociferous reigns from Vladivostok to Cologne friends of Finland can hope to comis turning into the inevitable synthesis, National-Bolshevism. The motive and explanation of

Stalin's performance is evident to the whole world. No one, not even the drilled masses in Moscow, can believe that the master of 180 million Russians feared the aggressive ambitions of less than four million Finns. What he first fears is that his wards, if he survives this war. If he does not survive it, fear can always provide a variation on its original theme. The soldier or the Emperor who may succeed Hitler, be he a Goering or a Hohenzollern, will cherish the same ambition and may be encouraged by the capitalist powers to fulfil it. In that event, two

PERMANENT

ACHIEVEMENT

But there is another reason for

caution. While condemning the at-

tack on Finland, we should not

forget that the achievements of the

Russian Revolution are not tran-

sitory. That workers shall not be ex-

ploited, that education shall be the

key to freedom and power for all,

that the great resources of the

modern world shall be planned under

public authority for a happier

future-these and other basic con-

ceptions took root and blossomed in

the U.S.S.R. and the strength of

their hold in the minds of men and

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IN Albany, last week, an amendment was introduced to the Devany law to bar "subversive" elements from public office in New York

NOBODY'S RIGHTS ARE SAFE

State even if they are elected to it. The Devany law itself, passed at the last session of the Legislature and signed by Governor Lehman, applies only to the classified civil service. In Detroit. Milwaukee and New York, last week, G-men swooped

down on headquarters of the Veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade and arrested a number of communists on charges of having recruited for the Spanish Loyalist government during the late civil war.

These are signs of the times, and they are dark times indeedtimes of rising hysteria and intolerance, all too reminiscent of the dreadful days of the World War.

The proposed amendment to the Devany law is a shameful assault on the most elementary principles of democracy. For if democracy means ing development by their suppression of public life anything at all, it means that the people have the right to elect their own representatives without political restrictions or disqualifications. What the Devany amendment aims to do is to deprive the people of by the Bolsheviks, and then, having reached their this right. It would bar regularly elected candidates, not accused of any highest peak, became superfluous thereafter. (Lenin's crime, from taking office just because Mr. Devany and his friends don't happen to approve of their political views.

The present Devany law, barring "subversive" elements from the classified civil service, is bad enough as a discriminatory measure providing a political test oath. But the amendment is an unspeakable outrage and if passed, would make a mockery indeed of democratic government. These people-Devany and his crowd-dare to talk of Americanism! Was there ever a measure more flagrantly contrary to American constitutional principles than that which they are sponsoring?

Let us hope the New York State Legislature will not pass it or at least that Governor Lehman will not sign it. But it would be well not to be too confident. Last year, let us remember, the Legislature did pass the original Devany bill and Governor Lehman did sign it, against all expectation. What assurance have we of anything better now?

The arrest of communists for having recruited soldiers for Loyalist Spain is a direct piece of political oppression, brazen and undisguised Whatever activities are now charged against the communists took place well over a year ago, perhaps several years ago. They were then as well known to Washington as they are today, but the federal government didn't move a finger to stop them. Why? Because Russia was then a "friendly" power, a possible ally in the "collective-security" front of the "great democracies." And so the American Stalinists were accepted as unacknowledged auxiliaries of the Administration, as Browder recently boasted. Today, everything is changed—the Kremlin has made a diplomatic right-about-face—and so, rather belatedly, the outraged majesty of the law cries out for vengeance.

If to recruit for Loyalist Spain was illegal then, why is it any more legal to recruit for Finland now? Such recruiting is going on in the open, right under the eyes of the federal authorities, but nothing is done, Nay more; President Roosevelt himself is encouraging this recruiting by statements such as the one he recently made to the effect that Americans fighting in the Finnish armies could retain their citizenship. We do not wish to suggest that Finnish recruiting in this country be prohibited; but we do protest against the Administration's double standard—one for Finland, another for Loyalist Spain.

government, his American stooges—and the politicians in Albany and tionary party, which needs only to be carried out and assembly, without a free struggle of opinion, life Washington are cunningly exploiting this popular sentiment for their energetically in practise. This is, unfortunately—or dies out in every public institution, becomes a mere own reactionary ends. Our readers need not be told our attitude towards perhaps fortunately— not the case. Far from being Stalinism: we detest and execrate it as one of the most pernicious in- a sum of ready-made prescriptions which have only mains as the active element. Public life gradually falls fluences in America today. We are not making this protest because it to be applied, the practical realization of socialism as asleep, a few dozen party leaders of inexhaustible happens to be the Stalinists who are affected; we would make it who- an economic, social and juridical system is something energy and boundless experience direct and rule. ever the victims might be. We protest because we regard discriminatory legislation and political oppression, no matter against whom directed, as a standing menace to every man, woman and child in this country. Nobody's rights are safe while anybody's rights are violated with im-

PRAGUE-AND BIRMINGHAM

MPERIALISM is a dreadful, blood-thirsty monster, no matter what uniform it wears, no matter what language it speaks, the rough gutturals of the Prussian drill-yard or the cultured accents of Oxford.

Some months ago, the world was shocked at the report that thirteen Czech students had been shot at Prague by the Gestapo for demonstrating their hostility to German rule and their determination to reestablish the freedom and unity of Czecho-Slovakia. Two weeks ago, two young Irishmen were hanged at Birmingham, England, for alleged acts of terrorism in furtherance of the Irish Republican Army's campaign for the unification of Ireland and its complete separation from Great Britain.

Oh, but there are vast differences between the two cases, we will be told by the admirers and apologists of the British Empire. In one case, they got a farcical military trial; in the other, a civil trial with all due solemnities. In one case, they were condemned merely for demonstrating: in the other, for alleged overt acts, and so on. All this may be true, but it is of secondary importance. The main point is that both the shootings at turns, she has "explained," condoned, Prague and the hangings at Birmingham were essentially acts of repression on the part of an imperial power against movements striving for national unity and self-determination. The frock-coated gentlemen at Downing Street can no more tolerate the I.R.A. than the brown-shirted barbarians can tolerate the Czech national movement. One like the other is outlawed; one like the other is hounded and repressed.

International socialism raises its voice against oppression of every kind and species, national oppression included; it demands the full and unrestricted democratic right of national self-determination for all. In memory of the two Irish republicans murdered by British imperialism, we can do no better than repeat the declaration of the Dublin commit-

tee that fought in vain to save their lives: "Today Ireland mourns, but Ireland knows that the memory of these men can best be served by working for the ideals for which they died.

"Whatever may be said, the ultimate cause of their deaths is the aggression of England against Ireland."

It would be well for all Americans to remember these words when next they are called up to rush to the aid of Allies in the name of freedom and democracy.

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By Rosa Luxemburg:

Problem of Dictatorship

(We continue publication of Rosa Luxemburg's "The of the school of its own experiences, born in the full in English for the first time Another section will appear in the next issue —Editor)

state, of the bourgeoisie. To a certain extent, he says, it is only the capitalist state stood on its head. This simplified view misses the most essential thing. bourgeois class rule has no need of the political trainvery air without which it is not able to exist.

"Thanks to the open and direct struggle for governmental power," writes Trotsky, "the laboring masses accumulate in the shortest time a considerable amount of political experience and advance quickly from one stage to another of their development."

Here Trotsky refutes himself and his own friends. Just because this is so, they have blocked up the fountain of political experience and the source of this ris-Or else we would have to assume that experience and development were necessary up to the seizure of power speech: Russia is won for socialism!!!)

In reality, the opposite is true! It is the very giant tasks which the Bolsheviks have undertaken with courage and determination that demand the most | Demoralizes intensive political training of the masses and the accumulation of experience.

Freedom for Opposition Is Needed

Freedom only for the supporters of the government only for the members of one party—however numerous they may be-is no freedom at all. Freedom is always and exclusively freedom for the one who thinks differently. Not because of any fanatical concept of "justice" but because all that is instructive, wholesome and purifying in political freedom depends on this essential characteristic, and its effectiveness vanishes when "freedom" becomes a special privilege.

The Bolsheviks themselves will not want, with hand on heart, to deny that, step by step, they have to feel out the ground, try out, experiment, test now one way now another, and that a good many of their measures do not represent priceless pearls of wisdom Thus it must and will be with all of us when we get A Prophetic to the same point-even if the same difficult circum- | Picture stances may not prevail everywhere.

Socialist Construction Is Experimental

rection in which to look for the necessary measures, and the indications are mainly negative in character climinate at the outset in order to free the road for a socialist economy. But when it comes to the nature of the thousand concrete, practical measures, large and small, necessary to introduce socialist principles into economy, law and all social relationships, there is no key in any socialist party program or textbook That is not a shortcoming but rather the very thing be, and can only be, an historical product, born out tion)

Russian Revolution," written in 1918 and now translated in course of its realization, as a result of the developments of living history, which—just like organic nature of which, in the last analysis, it forms a part-ENIN says, the bourgeois state is an instrument has the fine habit of always producing along with any I of oppression of the working class; the socialist real social need the means to its satisfaction, along with the task simultaneously the solution. However, if such is the case, then it is clear that socialism by its very nature cannot be decreed or introduced by ukase. It has as its prerequisite a number of measures ing and education of the entire mass of the people, at of force—against property, etc. The negative, the opening new ways. Only unobstructed, effervescing life falls into a thousand new forms and improvisations, brings to light creative force, itself corrects all mistaken attempts The public life of countries with limited freedom is so poverty-stricken, so miserable, so rigid, so unfruitful, precisely because, through the exclusion of democracy, it cuts off the living sources of all spiritual riches and progress (Proof: the year 1905 and the months from February to October 1917.) There it was political in character; the same thing applies to economic and social life also. The whole mass of the people must take part in it. Otherwise, socialism will be decreed from behind a few official desks by a dozen intellectuals

Rule by Terror

Public control is indispensably necessary Otherwise the exchange of experiences remains only within the closed circle of the officials of the new regime. Corruption becomes inevitable. (Lenin's words, Bulletın No. 29) Socialism in life demands a complete spiritual transformation in the masses degraded by centuries of bourgeois class rule. Social instincts in place of egotistical ones, mass initiative in place of inertia, idealism which conquers all suffering, etc., etc. No one knows this better, describes it more penetratingly, repeats it more stubbornly than Lenin. But he is completely mistaken in the means he employs. Decree, dictatorial force of the factory over eer, draconic penalties, rule by terror-all these things are but palliatives. The only way to a rebirth is the school of public life itself, the most unlimited, the broadest democracy and public opinion. It is rule by terror which demoralizes.

When all this is eliminated, what really remains? In place of the representative bodies created by general, popular elections, Lenin and Trotsky have laid down the soviets as the only true representation of The tacit assumption underlying the Lenin-Trot- the laboring masses. But with the repression of politisky theory of the dictatorship is this: that the socialist cal life in the land as a whole, life in the soviets must transformation is something for which a ready-made also become more and more crippled. Without gene-The masses of the people of this country heartily detest Stalin, his formula lies completed in the pocket of the revolu- ral elections, without unrestricted freedom of press semblance of life, in which only the bureaucracy re which lies completely hidden in the mists of the fu- Among them, in reality only a dozen outstanding ture. What we possess in our program is nothing but heads do the leading and an elite of the working a few main signposts which indicate the general di- class is invited from time to time to meetings where they are to applaud the speeches of the leaders, and to approve proposed resolutions unanimously—at botat that. Thus we know more or less what we must tom, then, a clique affair—a dictatorship, to be sure, not the dictatorship of the proletariat, however, but only the dictatorship of a handful of politicians, that is a dictatorship in the bourgeois sense, in the sense of the rule of the Iacobins (the postponement of the Soviet Congress from three-month periods to sixmonth periods!). Yes, we can go even further. such conditions must inevitably cause a brutalization of that makes scientific socialism superior to the utopian public life: attempted assassinations, shooting of hosvarieties. The socialist system of society should only tages, etc (Lenin's speech on discipline and corrup-

Book of the Age

(Continued from Page 3) whitewashed the Stalinist line in China. She has never once risen to a public recognition of the C.I.'s respqnsibility for the strangulation of the Chinese Revolution of 1925-28, of which Miss Utley, on her part, is acutely aware and to which she devotes some excellent pages. For that lack Agnes Smedley must bear moral

Miss Utley is also a little taken in by the blarney of Eugene Chen, Foreign Minister of China during the great upsurge of 1925-28. An opportunist and careerist, who made his own individual contribution to the 1928 defeat, he is now trying to get back on the stage where he proved himself such a miserable actor. His program today, as indicated by Miss Utley herself, is worse even than it was in the compromising and capitulatory days of '28. Says Eugene Chen now, as quoted by Miss Utlev: But the united front has now outneed is a mational front. I myself days, in favor of throwing Britain and America out of China. I am prepared to go along with Britain today and for so long as China's and Britain's interests are the same"! As if China's and Britain's interests ever could be the same! Yet this Miss Utley calls "realism." It is the type ried the Chinese Revolution. Most ideas, or write the following: "To to the extent that Miss Utley comes curious is Miss Utley's reaction to awaken the people to national con- to understand the logic of her own Chen's criticism of Chiang Kaihis own hands: "Could Chiang ad- means also awakening them to con- and become a clearer exponent of mit others to equal power with him- sciousness of their own grievances, and better fighter for the Chinese self, could group leadership be sub- to resentment of the privileges and

leadership without renewed political disunity?" Most curious because elsewhere in the book Miss Utley shows herself to be not ignorant of the negative aspects of Chiang Kaishek's character, of the class interor a one-man dictatorship.

"objective," and "undogmatic." The contradictory; yet, as understood by Miss Utley, they are. Certainly the out. unresolved struggle between the two gives some strikingly contradictory cy, and to dangerous hatred of the results. In one place, she can be lived its usefulness. What we now tempted to trust in the "democracies"; yet she can also write in anhave never been, even in the old other: "[China] must rely in the main on her own strength and the against their enslavement."

She can in one place describe Chen's ideas on "united fronts" and in 1927 to a just and scathing critistituted in China for a one man material advantages of the burocra-

New Russo-Nazi Trade Pact is Concluded

(Continued from page 1) tional violation of Norwegian neuests he represents, or of the dangers | trality by Great Britain when British generally of a centralized burocracy | destroyers, under direct orders from the Admiralty, entered Norwegian In truth, this tendency to see the territorial waters, attacked and ran "good" and "bad" in individuals as aground the German naval auxiliary well as ideas gives a curiously inde- ship Altmark, and freed several cisive and contradictory touch to the hundred British merchant seamen book as a whole. It is as if two con- | held prisoner below decks of the Gertinuously warring attitudes were man ship. Norway protested vehestriving for mastery over Miss Ut- mently but apparently without efley's mind; her old Marxist revolu- | fect. This flagrant violation of neutionary training and her obviously tral rights on the part of Great newly acquired and openly stated de- Britain was linked to Winston sire to be "fair," "sympathetic," Churchill's speech some weeks ago calling upon all neutrals to get into two are in themselves not necessarily | the war and forecasting a worse fate in store for them if they staid eign agents!

> landowners, and of the usurers and employers who exploit them."

This is the heart of the whole question, the central point on which the Chinese revolution succeeds or determination of her people to fight fails. Only to the extent that the internal exploitation of the Chinese upper classes is broken can the drive for national emancipation from im-"national fronts" as "realism"; yet perialism find a broad enough base she can also submit the C.I.'s line of support among the Chinese masses to have a chance of success. But this of "realism" which once before bu- cism for its capitulation to just such means revolution inside China. Only sciousness and mobilize them to take words, will she be able to overcome shek's concentration of all power in an active part in winning the war the contradictions in her own mind

Revolution.

Reviewed by J. CORK

Menace of Semi-Fascism

(This paragraph is from an article, "Glossary for 1940," by Robert Bendiner in the February 10, 1940 issue of the Nation -Editor)

FEW enlightened persons imagined a year or so ago that there could be anything worse than fascism. Now, thanks to the men of the extreme left, we know that there is. It is semi-fascism. This is what the Red troops of the Soviet Union fought against in Poland, as soon as they discovered it had been there all the time, and it is what they are fighting now in Finland. Your full-fledged fascist is a reasonable creature. He may systematically rob a million people, torture hundreds to death because their grandmothers were descended from their great-grandmothers, and forbid milk to non-Aryan babies, but as Pravda good-naturedly put it, it's all a "matter of taste." The understanding Soviets admit that the Nazis do have droll customs, but it would be the grossest folly-someleast not beyond certain narrow limits. But for the tearing down, can be decreed; the building up, the thing like unprogressive child-training perhaps—to deal with them forceproletarian dictatorship that is the life element, the positive, cannot. New territory. A thousand prob-fully. It is better to give them sympathy and help them in their little lems. Only experience is capable of correcting and problems. But these Finns with their cooperatives and their elected governments! Semi-fascists, that's what they are, and fire and sword aren't good enough for them. There ought to be a League Against War and Semi-Fascism. Probably there will be.

Strange Tale of the 1916 "Peace Mission"

Colonel House's Adventure Has Its Lessons

(Continued from Page 1) his first interview with the Foreign Secretary, in the course of which the Colonel presented his precious plan Professor Seymour paraphrases his remarks as follows: (ii,170):

House recognized two possible alternatives: The United States might wait until the Germans withdrew their submarine promise, and enter the war upon the submarine issue, Or the President might demand a peace conference and, if Germany refused the "reasonable' terms which would be offered, the United States would enter the war to enforce them.

Of the two alternatives, House preferred the latter. It would, at least, give Germany the opportunity to yield. If she did not embrace it, and House did not believe she would, the entrance of the United States into the war would be based upon the clearest and the highest motives.

On the same day, Col. House wrote to the President informing him of his interview with Grey and outlining the plan again (11,171).

BRITISH REACTIONS

Grey expressed himself as favorably inclined, but did not make final commitments. He thought the time was not altogether "opportune". So between the two they worked out a neat little arrangement (11, 175):

The next point that came up was how the British government could let us know they considered the time propitious for us to intervene, without first submitting the question to the Allies, and, if they did not submit it to the Allies, how to avoid the charge of doubledealing.

The solution I suggested for this was that at regular intervals I would cable Sir Edward Grey, in our private code, offering intervention. He could ignore the message until the time was propitious and then he could bring it to the attention of the Allies as coming from us and not as coming from Great Britain.

If my plan was adopted [the Colonel added (11, 176)] I believed it would inevitably lead to an alliance between the United States and Great Britain France and Italy, the democracies of the world.

Why was Grey so reluctant? Professor Seymour explains (11.178) They approved the principle of the American offer, altho they refused to set a date for Wilson's intervention. They still wished to try the fortunes of war against Germany, unhampered . . . On the other hand, they agreed that if in the future it might become apparent they could not make a serious impression on the German lines, President Wilson should de-

House promised that if the Germans refused to accept the terms he had outlined, the United States would enter the war. A pretty picture—the President's ter of a foreign power to drag the can entry into the war.

mand a peace conference; and

United States into war, plotting against the peace and welfare of AND NOW-ANOTHER his own country Talk about for-

PRES. WILSON APPROVES

Towards the end of February 1916, Col. House sailed for the United States. On March 6, 1916, he reported to President Wilson (11,199) and then to Secretary of State Lansing. Wilson accepted the confidential memorandum House and Grey had drawn up in its entirety, adding just one cautious word, "probably". It would perhaps be helpful at this point to reproduce the most important part of this me morandum (ii,201):

Colonel House told me [wrote Grey! that President Wilson was ready, on hearing from France and England that the moment was opportune, to propose that a conference should be summoned to put an end to the war. Should the Allies accept

this proposal, and should Germany refuse it, the United States would probably enter the war against Germany,

Colonel House expressed the opinion that, if such a conference met, it would secure peace on terms not unfavorable to the Allies; and, if it failed to secure peace, the United States would (probably) leave the conference as a belligerent on the side of the Allies if Germany was un-

Weeks passed but no word from Grey. Finally, towards the beginning of May 1916, House drafted another message to the British Foreign Secretary, which Professor Seymour describes as follows (ii.

In view of the German setbacks at Verdun, the moment was opportune for the Allies to express their willingness to accept reasonable peace terms; if Germany refused, the emptiness of her peace protestations would be clearly displayed.

With this in mind, Colonel House drafted a new appeal to Grey, emphasizing these facts and suggesting that the President, in calling for a conference, might publicly announce the willingness of the United States to take part actively in world affairs. At the same time, he warned Sir Edward that, if German submarine war was really ended, anti-British feeling in the United States would rapidly develop as a result of trade restrictions and interference with mails. Wilson approved the venture heartily and gave his sanction to the mes-

Still no word from Grey. As Professor Seymour puts it (ii, 281), "a curious lethargy seemed to have fallen upon the Allied diplomats, as if they were bound by fate and could not hope to influence events.'

It is not difficult to understand this "curious lethargy", which perhaps wasn't so curious after all. With the United States obviously being driven down the road to war by the Wilson Administration, as Colonel House's plan itself showed so strikingly, why did the British Foreign Office have to get itself all involved in conferences contrived for no other purpose? All that was necessary, Downing Street calculated, was to stall a little longer and let the forces of war involvement in America take their course. And Downing Street was right-within less than a year after House's plaintive appeal in May 1916, the United States was in the war-without any conferences or embarrassing commitments on the part of the Al-

But no one can deny that House tried. He did his best for "dear old England". It turned out that England didn't need that particular kind of aid at that particular time. but it was grateful for the Colonel's efforts nevertheless. Why, he was even permitted to use the British diplomatic secret code, as he himself proudly tells us! And he deserved all the recognition he got, for even tho his plan didn't work out as he expected it would, it did contribute emissary conspiring with the minis- its share towards preparing Ameri-

"PEACE MISSION"

The story of Col. House's "peace mission" of 1916 is an interesting and instructive one. The reader can draw his own conclusions for today. It would be mighty interesting and instructive, at any rate, to have as detailed and as frank an account of Sumner Welles's "peace mission'

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