

# Workers Age

Weekly Paper of the Independent Labor League of America

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RECREATING SOCIALISM

By LEWIS COREY

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## Behind the Headlines:

### Time for Second Thoughts

By JAY LOVESTONE

WE have had a concrete program for improving immediate conditions. We have been advocating a quite definite—a socialist—program for a fundamental reorganization of our social, political and economic life. But we have never taken it upon ourselves to hand down, as it were, orders or even advice to labor. Therefore, it is without the slightest fear of violating any laws of modesty or practice of humility that we now make haste to offer some food for immediate serious thought by labor—organized and should-be-organized—in regard to our domestic political situation.

It would be a crass underestimation of recent political trends to say that the likelihood of Roosevelt's seeking—and attaining—a third term is now stronger than ever. Roosevelt forces are active throughout the Democratic party; opposition to F.D.R. seems to be caving in; most Democratic leaders are falling in line with the "big chief" to let him control the next convention so that he can take the nomination himself and name his own ticket. In thirty-four states, the delegations to the July pow-wow will be picked by party officials or conventions. Such mighty machines as those of Jersey City's Mayor Hague, Chicago's Kelley and Nash, New York's Tammany Hall, and Pennsylvania's Guffey have been going on all cylinders for keeping Roosevelt in the White House. In his sane moments, no one can deny that just now Roosevelt can get overwhelming labor support—Lewis and Hutcheson notwithstanding. A combination of international and national forces and events has pushed forward the third-term bandwagon.

Because of all this, we hasten to pound away at labor's vital need to give second thought to the Roosevelt myth. Here are but a few facts to bite into and chew on before running after Roosevelt.

1. The Roosevelt program has failed to overcome the most oppressive difficulties facing the laboring people. Government regulation, public works, and restricted relief have failed as cures for joblessness. At least ten millions are still front-line soldiers in our army of no-occupation.

2. F.D.R. is the most military-minded man to warm the seat of the American Presidency. To rely on Roosevelt to keep us out of war would be even worse folly than we perpetrated in our reliance on Woodrow Wilson. In order to boost army and navy budgets, Roosevelt has, for some time, been liquidating the Public Works Administration. The P.W.A., it must not be forgotten, has consumed about a billion dollars annually in the last six years or so. All such projects are to be wound up by June 30. There are to be no more grants for stimulating public construction and 5,000 state, county and municipal requests for such projects have been thrown into Washington's waste baskets. From now on, armaments are going to replace public works; from his \$3,000,000,000 spend-lead program of last year, the President has swung to a \$2,500,000,000 war-preparedness program this year.

3. Roosevelt has placed military men—hard-boiled army officers—in charge of more than a dozen important government social agencies. Col. Philip B. Fleming, the new Wage-Hour Administrator, has under his control the wages and hours of more than twelve million workers. One cannot repeat too often that army officers are least responsive to public sentiment and pressure in handling social needs. Of timely and sinister significance are the following comments anent the Fleming choice by the United States News (March 8): "Another major angle of the appointment, not being overlooked, is its significance to the industrial-mobilization plans of the army. It is felt in some New Deal circles that the appointment is more deliberate than accidental in this respect." The grave menace of these industrial mobilization plans to labor has been forcefully pointed out by Vice-President Mathew Woll of the A. F. of L. in his very effective address before the Trenton Central Trades Council. This analysis deserves the most thoroughgoing consideration by every worker, farmer and friend of liberty.

4. A most pointed peril to labor is Thurman Arnold's drive to prosecute trade unions under the anti-trust laws. That this is so is confirmed by the applause with which the dyed-in-the-wool enemies of unionism have greeted Arnold's declaration of policy. For instance, the February Law Digest of the National Association of Manufacturers thus gleefully hails Roosevelt's Assistant Attorney General: "This is a constructive and much-needed declaration of governmental policy," which will "serve to encourage greatly those who have begun to despair of government asserting its sovereignty over that apparently claimed by some branches of organized labor."

Enough said. What is encouraging to the open-shoppers of the N.A.M. is obviously despairing to the ranks of labor. It is not insignificant that while we may be hearing the menacing voice of Arnold, it is the skilled hand of Roosevelt that has been allotting such encouragement to anti-labor outfits and such discouragement to labor unions. The "Roosevelt Revolution" has made quick time in travelling from a New Deal to a New Ordeal—for labor.

## Scottish I.L.P. Backs Party's Militant Stand Against War

Hit Stalin's Foreign Policy, Warn of Attack on Russia

London, England. OVERWHELMING support for the I.L.P.'s war-time program, embracing the demand for a Socialist Peace and a program of social and economic demands to meet war-time rising costs and working conditions, were features of the Scottish Divisional Conference of the Independent Labor Party held in Glasgow on Saturday and Sunday, January 20 and 21.

Travelling difficulties restricted the number of delegates, but nevertheless there was a very good representation.

In an impressive address on the opening day, Annie Maxton, the Scottish chairman, recalled the warnings given by the I.L.P. of the danger of world-wide war. Europe, she said, had been plunged into the horrors of another conflict—a conflict that threatened to engulf nations.

The days of far-off battlefields, with the civil population unaffected by the conflict, were over, and war now spreads its ugly shadow over every home. No one—humble citizen or celebrated statesman—could tell what its ultimate end would be.

What the I.L.P. could say, however, and did say with all the force and vigor it could command, was that out of wars of this nature no good could come to the working class.

The I.L.P. was the only political party which held that view and preached it constantly thru the years. A strong anti-war opinion was being built up in the country, and the job of the I.L.P. was to lead it with a confidence built on the rightness of their cause.

Statesmen's advice was "sacrifice and save," but the workers at the present time could not make ends meet on today's wages, far less save and sacrifice for the war effort. The task was impossible.

Even Sir John Simon, with all his financial knowledge, said Annie Maxton, could not run a worker's home on falling wages and rising prices.

At the end of the last war millions of people in Europe suffered from acute malnutrition, vitamins, neutrals and defeated suffering alike. Famine and disease were the only fruits of victory offered to the workers of all lands.

Yet statesmen, with a full knowledge of all these facts, still carried on with their gigantic preparations for war and its consequent destruction!

Only the workers could end war, and the task of the I.L.P. was to lead them in that great effort, which would free the peoples of all lands from the dreaded nightmare of recurring conflicts for all time.

## German Socialists Appeal to Soldiers

(We publish below an appeal to the German soldiers recently issued by the Independent Socialists of Germany and distributed secretly among the German troops. The German Independent Socialists are affiliated to the International Workers Front Against War, of which the Independent Labor League of America is also a member.—Editor.)

**S**OLDIERS of the German army: You have subjugated the Polish nation, but you have not freed yourselves. Who is your enemy, the French and British workers or Hitler's tyranny?

Who has cut down your wages and endangers the lives of your women and children by the war? Look—your children are already starving, they have too little food and too little milk! They cannot grow up to become free human beings! Stop the war!

Who has destroyed the workers organizations and tormented your comrades in the concentration camps? Who has robbed you of the right to express your political convictions? Fight against your oppressors! Stop the war!

The fate of the present generation and the future of your children will depend upon your actions. You could save the civilization of this century and the very existence of mankind—if you tried to stop Hitler's war!

Join the German Freedom Army! Form cells! Fight for the German people instead of for the Nazi party.

Speak to your friends and comrades! Speak to such soldiers of the German army whom you can trust and tell them the truth about Hitler's war. Tell them the truth about Nazi Germany!

Don't be afraid, if the Nazis threaten you. It is better to die in freedom than to live in bondage. It is better to face torture and persecution than to bow in acquiescence before the Hitler regime.

If you do not risk your lives, you will not gain what alone makes life worth living—Peace and freedom!

The honor of the German nation demands that you fight against the Hitler rule. The only will of the German people must be to abolish Hitler's tyranny, to destroy the Nazi regime!

The fight for the real welfare of the German nation—it is the fight for peace and freedom!

## European War Has Not Brought Boom to U.S.

FDR Hope of Easing Economic Crisis Thru War Orders Receives Bad Blow

Washington, D. C. FOR five-and-a-half months the United States has been living in the temper of a war economy. No forecast by a professional analyst, no comment for the papers or newsreels by a business leader, is complete without reference to Europe's war and its possible effects on business here. With most of the significant figures for the war months of 1939 on record and preliminary figures for the first six weeks of 1940 available, we can now for the first time since Europe resorted to arms draw a clear picture of war's impact on American economy.

Since September 1, a small portion of American business has enjoyed a real war boom, but most business has been thinking wishfully of war profits without getting them. Agriculture has actually suffered.

Central fact is that there has been no general boom. The tangible symptoms have failed to appear. There have been no orgies of speculation and borrowing, but rather the reverse. Nor has there been any widespread increase in purchasing power. What has happened instead has been a war-inspired economic dislocation which will have serious, if not calamitous, results for both labor and capital. The aviation industry has a backlog (unfilled orders) that will keep it on a 24-hour schedule into 1941, thousands of tobacco workers may face starvation.

The steel has already had one boom (and might have another if the war picks up); the migratory farm workers of the Pacific Coast will face new hardships for lack of an export fruit market.

The American business so far has fended off the inventory crisis which threatened it two months ago, it is now faced with a more than seasonal "recession."

### NO GAIN FOR AGRICULTURE

Clearly, American business has yet to gain more than it loses from Europe's war. Meanwhile, the President (Continued on page 4)

### Announcing

A series of Discussion Articles reexamining Socialist Theory and Doctrine in the light of the experiences of the last twenty-five years.

### In the Next Issue:

LEWIS COREY

will write on

"Recreating Socialism"

His articles will be followed by others by B. Herman, Will Herberg, etc.

Readers of the Workers Age are urged to contribute to this discussion—the only friction is that of sauce.

### RUSSIAN INVASION OF FINLAND

The war situation in Finland was keenly debated by the delegates, a large part of Sunday's proceedings being devoted to this question. The (Continued on Page 2)

## Unemployed Increased In January

Recent Survey Shows Rise of 10% During Month, Jobless Now Reaching 9,250,000

New York City. National unemployment rose 10.6% in January, according to statistics made public recently by the National Industrial Conference Board, an employer research organization. The number of jobless persons increased 889,000, from the December total, bringing the total for the country to 9,296,000. In January 1939, the number of unemployed stood at 10,012,000, it was estimated.

The normal seasonal rise in unemployment was accentuated in January of this year by a sharp drop in business activity, it was reported. The number of employed workers declined from 46,304,000 to 45,477,000, with manufacturing and trade, distribution and finance showing the heaviest losses.

## Tanner Says Decision Will Come Soon; Molotov Going to Rumania for Treaty; Ribbentrop Leaves Suddenly for Rome

Amidst a confusing welter of rumors, reports and conjectures, frequently at variance with each other, one thing was clear last week: Conversations looking towards an armistice and a peace were under way between Finland and Soviet Russia. This fact was officially established in a telephone interview of Finnish Foreign Minister Tanner by the United Press last Saturday. Tanner declared that a decision on a settlement in the Russo-Finnish war would probably come by the following Monday or Tuesday. More than that he refused to reveal on military and diplomatic grounds. The next day, the Finnish Foreign Office officially confirmed the report.

Efforts at mediation had apparently been initiated some weeks before by Sweden, but with little success until several days ago. Then direct contact was established between representatives of the warring countries in Sweden. After some preliminary talks, discussions were transferred to Moscow, where they were under way towards the

end of last week. Finnish Premier Risto Ryti and former Premier J. P. Paasikivi headed the Finnish delegation at the Russian capital.

The immediate objective of the discussions, it was said, was to agree upon a military armistice and then upon a settlement that would end the war. Russia's demands were reported to embrace cession of the Karelian Isthmus, Viipuri (Viborg), and the whole Hango peninsula and its naval port; "regulation" of the frontier north of Lake Ladoga to Sortavala; and concessions of land in the Petsamo Arctic district. These terms were regarded as excessively harsh, for they would, in fact, turn Finland into a Russian vassal state of the type of Estonia, Latvia or Lithuania; but it was understood that the Russian demands were "flexible" and subject to further discussion.

While the initiative in mediation was presumably taken by Sweden, there were many indications that Germany was also very active to the same end. In Berlin, it was stressed that the Reich was intensely interested in releasing its Russian ally from the Finnish war if only to make possible greater economic aid and assistance from Russia. Other indications, relating to Germany's position in the Baltic, were also hinted. Special significance was attached to the reported secret trip to Berlin of Finland's former Premier, Per Eivind Svinhufvud, a notoriously pro-German influence.

Very puzzling and contradictory was the attitude of the Allies. Britain and France let it be known, unofficially, that Finland could have a large-scale military aid for the asking, but Finland didn't ask—informed quarters said because it had been tipped off from London and Paris not to do so. Indeed, there were fairly well substantiated rumors that the British Foreign Office had resumed its attempt to woo Stalin, at the sacrifice of Finland, if necessary. Chamberlain's sudden reversal of his earlier decision to publish an official account of the Allied-Russian discussions for a mutual-assistance pact last Summer was pointed to in confirmation. Of even greater significance in this respect were the rumored activities of U. S. Ambassador Laurence A. Steinhardt at Moscow in promoting efforts to end the Russo-Finnish war. In the present state of American foreign policy, it may be taken for granted that any American intervention in the situation implies prior British knowledge and approval. In Washington, it was said that the President and the State Department had "not closed the door" to mediation by the United States. Informed London sources also "predicted" that the United States might eventually be "nominated" as mediator between Russia and Finland. Not without significance also, perhaps, was a slight but noticeable improvement in Moscow's diplomatic attitude towards Washington.

In Finland, public opinion was uncertain and perplexed because there was very little information and almost no discussion of the sudden turn of events. It was understood that Risto Ryti, the Premier, was for holding out while V. A. Tanner, the Foreign Minister, was for making far-reaching concessions to Russia. Tanner's attitude was especially pronounced after his return from Stockholm last week.

Meanwhile, amidst all of these confusing cross-currents, heavy fighting continued in Finland last week, the fourteenth week of the Russian invasion. The Russians had still not taken Viipuri as the week closed.

Another major diplomatic development of the week, put somewhat in the shade by the Russo-Finnish negotiations, was the announcement by the Soviet legation at Bucharest that Russian Premier-Foreign Minister Molotov would visit the Rumanian capital soon to sign a Soviet-Rumanian non-aggression pact. A significant sidelight on this development was the simultaneous report in Berlin that Germany was investing heavily in the Rumanian national oil industry in order to increase its oil supply from that country. Germany was estimated to have invested \$10,000,000 in the industry in recent months and was expected to spend an additional sum of equal (Continued on Page 4)

### "THINGS TO COME"



## Smith Committee Urges Drastic NLRA Revision

Amendments Branded 'Emasculatory'; Vigorous Fight Expected in Congress

Washington, D. C. Amendments to the National Labor Relations Act providing drastic changes in the law, including abolition of the National Labor Relations Board and its replacement by a three-man agency divested of prosecution functions, were introduced last week in the House of Representatives by the Smith committee, which has been investigating the operations of the Board.

According to the Smith proposals, the prosecution of unfair labor practices would be placed under a new officer, to be known as an Administrator. The new Board would act only in a judicial capacity.

Orders of the Board would be enforced in the courts upon application of the Administrator and not upon application by the Board, as at present.

The Board, under the amendment, would cease being an advocate in appeal cases, this function being transferred to the Administrator.

This was only one of a number of proposed changes described by Representative Howard W. Smith, chairman of the investigating committee.

Among other modifications advocated in the Smith bill are: A move for a collective-bargaining election could be made only by the employer or his workers, not by the Board; the Board's intervention could not be invoked in a controversy between unions over the type of bargaining unit.

An employer could "discuss" any subject, including labor problems, with his men provided there was no "threat of discrimination, intimidation or coercion."

Neither an employer nor a union would be "compelled" to reach a collective-bargaining agreement or make counter-proposals.

A charge of violating the act would have to be filed within six months after the alleged infraction; no Board order for back pay could cover more than six months.

The statement that it is the policy of the United States to encourage collective bargaining would be eliminated from the law, leaving only the statement that Congress should do all it can to protect workers exercise of that right.

Board hearings would have to conform to usual rules of evidence.

The courts would be permitted to review Board decisions in representation cases.

The amendments were reported by a vote of 3 to 2. Representatives Charles A. Halleck and Harry N. Routzahn joined Chairman Smith in supporting the amendments. Two New Deal members, Representatives Arthur D. Hensley and Abe Murdock, filed a dissenting statement, calling the amendments "emasculatory" and asserting that they threatened the "principles, purposes and objectives" of the Wagner Act.

The bill containing the amendments was referred to the House Labor Committee, of which Representative Mary T. Norton of New Jersey is chairman. This committee in the past has been hostile to any changes in the Wagner Act. A sharp fight is expected in Congress.

In the statement of Representatives Healy and Murdock dissenting from the views of the majority they pointed out that their disagree- (Continued on Page 2)

## GORKIN RECEPTION

Saturday, March 23 (See ad Page 4)

Rivera Hall

BRITAIN is wooing Russia again, despite British aid to Finland. This contradiction is more apparent than real—for it was the British who vetoed the French-Scandinavian plan for direct Allied participation in the Finnish war, and present British aid is little more than a gesture.—Ludwell Denny, in the New York World-Telegram, March 7, 1940.



# Dress Progressives Stress Need for Unity of Labor

## Local 22 Group Presents Militant Election Program

(This is the second and concluding instalment of the program recently issued by the Dressmakers Progressive Group of Local 22, I.L.G.W.U. The first part of this program appeared last week—Editor)

### 2. Major Organizational Problems

THE situation which we face at the present time in the trade and in the general labor movement requires the utmost unity and solidarity of our ranks and the maximum degree of conscious activity and devotion on the part of the membership as a whole. Our Progressive Administration has always been a staunch champion of the unity of all constructive forces in our union. Thru great effort, it succeeded in establishing such unity and in maintaining it as long as possible. Political interference outside our ranks, over which we had no control has since changed the situation. Thus, after four years of united action, we are again faced with attempts to stir up internal dissension without regard to consequences.

**UNITY IN OUR RANKS** We stand today more than ever for the firmest and most extensive unity in our ranks on the basis of a program of constructive, progressive policies. We strive for the solidarity and united action of all dressmakers without regard to political belief or affiliation. We must continue our efforts to build up such unity despite any obstacles thrown in our path.

To achieve unity, we must take a firm stand against all attempts to sow dissension or division in our ranks in the interests of outside political organizations. We cannot and must not tolerate outside political control over the affairs of our union.

**MEMBERSHIP ACTIVITY** Effective organization and enforcement of union standards depends on the maximum mobilization of the mass of the membership for active participation in work of the union. Morale must be built up and maintained at the highest pitch and the fullest opportunity must be provided for the consideration and discussion of the problems that confront the dressmakers. Our union has enlisted the participation of all militant workers who want to be active. The union has established a Union Defenders Committee and daily the market is patrolled by building chairmen and building committees. We believe that this department in our Joint Board is one of the most important in the enforcement machinery that any union has ever created. We shall continue to inculcate the spirit of volunteer enforcement and cooperation of all active rank-and-file members for the work of the union.

**EDUCATIONAL ACTIVITIES** Our Educational Department has won an outstanding place in the field of labor education. This work must be continued and intensified with the goal of ever greater service to the membership. Particularly vital is the task of developing a spirit of union-consciousness among the younger members and of drawing them closer to the union and its activities.

### 3. In the Labor Movement

OUR union has always stood in the forefront of progressivism in the labor movement, and its record over many years has won wide recognition. At a time when opportunities for service to the cause of progressive unionism are growing on every side, our union must live up to the great responsibility falling upon it. We must speak out firmly and courageously in favor of unity in labor's ranks and call for a solid front of the workers against the growing threat of reaction, war and fascism.

**UNITY IN LABOR'S RANKS** The most vital issue facing the labor movement today is to overcome the disastrous split and to reestablish peace and unity in its ranks. Only thru a united labor movement will it be possible to preserve and consolidate the great achievements of the C.I.O. in bringing industrial unionism to the mass-production industries. Only thru a united labor movement will it be possible for the organized workers to defend their position against the forces of reaction and to make further advances under favorable conditions. In a great measure, the whole future of the labor movement depends on how soon peace is established in its ranks.

We call for immediate unity between the A. F. of L. and the C.I.O. We call for the immediate resumption of peace negotiations. We have supported and will continue to support the efforts of our International to aid the cause of peace and unity.

**LABOR PARTY** Our union has long been the standard bearer of independent labor political action. We have supported the American Labor Party from its foundation. We must continue to support the A.L.P. so as to make it an ever stronger and more effective

organization, and at the same time do what we can to stimulate the rise of a national party of workers and farmers.

**UNEMPLOYMENT AND RELIEF** Unemployment remains the nation's most urgent, most pressing problem. Nearly ten million are out of work today and have been for ten years, with little prospect of any large-scale reemployment in the near future. Yet W.P.A. and relief appropriations have been mercilessly cut, hundreds of thousands dropped from the rolls, the prevailing wage system abolished, and relief standards drastically slashed.

We call for an increase of the W.P.A.-relief budget sufficient to meet the emergency, as well as for the restoration of the prevailing-wage system on work-relief.

**LABOR LEGISLATION** Social and labor legislation is under fire on all fronts, in Congress as well as in the state legislatures. The danger is especially great with regard to the Wagner Act and the Wage-Hour Act; concerted movements are under way to destroy these vital pieces of legislation by amendment, exemption or denial of funds. In addition, the Justice Department is moving to revive the use of the anti-trust laws against labor. In the legislatures of many states, restrictive anti-labor bills were introduced and passed during the last session, and there are ominous signs that similar legislation will also be introduced in the present session of Congress.

Only a solid front of labor, supported by a friendly public opinion, can beat back these dangerous tactics. We must multiply our endeavors to bring such a united labor front into being as soon as possible.

**WAR AND FASCISM** The labor movement has recently been aroused to the great menace that involvement in war and war preparations constitutes for the American working masses. The Industrial Mobilization Plan is fully drafted and ready to be enacted into law on the day of the declaration of war. This would establish a veritable military dictatorship in this country under which labor's rights and labor's freedom of action would be wiped out by governmental agencies controlled by industrialists and army officers—agencies without any labor representation. Increasing arms expenditures are also reflected in the ruthless slashing of sums appropriated for relief, W.P.A. and other socially useful purposes, much to the damage of the general welfare and the living standards of the people.

Our union has always been active in the fight against fascism at home and abroad. The fascist danger has multiplied in recent years, and shocking manifestations of totalitarianism, anti-Semitism and race hatred have been witnessed in this country.

We take our stand against totalitarianism, dictatorship and fascism. We call for the united defense of the democratic rights of the American people. We urge a campaign of enlightenment to wipe out the hatreds and prejudices on which fascism thrives. We call upon all sections of the labor movement to support the A. F. of L. and C.I.O. in the fight to keep this country out of war and to head off the danger of war dictatorship.

### Record of the Administration

DURING the years it has been in office, the Progressive Administration of our Local, headed by Brother Charles S. Zimmerman, has made an energetic, earnest and successful effort to carry out its progressive principles and pledges into action. In a period of widespread unemployment and economic distress, particularly severe in our industry, it has rallied the workers in a militant fight to hold on to their gains and to beat back the efforts of the employers to undermine conditions. It has played an outstanding part in the life of the International and as a progressive force in the general labor movement. It has championed the cause of unity against the greatest obstacles. This is a record of achievement of which every dressmaker may well be proud.

These past accomplishments have been possible only because of the loyal and undivided support of the great masses of the membership of our union. We now appeal for a continuation of this confidence and support. Serious problems confront us, especially the attempts of the employers to undermine conditions by diverting production from union shops to open-shop, low-standard centers out of town. These jobs must be brought back into line; we cannot permit any open-shop centers to be established anywhere. Today more than ever, the only reliance of the dressmakers is a powerful, militant vigilante union—a constructive, progressive, fighting leadership. Today more than ever, the progressive spirit is needed to build up the strength and effectiveness of our organization in defense of our interests. Today more than ever, we must rally unitedly behind the union to prevent any elements from bringing confusion, dissension or demoralization into our ranks.

For unity—progressivism—militancy! Support The Progressive Administration headed by Brother Zimmerman.

# How the CP Gave Birth to the Youth Congress

By JERRY KANE

THE American Youth Congress's hypocritical zigzagging in the shadow of the Stalinist has by now convinced most youth of any political awareness that the organization is hardly what it poses to be. Not even Eleanor's sweetness or John L. Lewis's invitations have succeeded in countering the body-smashing blows of the two organizational splits the A.Y.C. has suffered in the formation of the Committee for Youth's Needs and the Plavner-Lilienthal youth organization. In addition, numerous repudiations of so-called "delegates" have been registered by many nationally prominent organizations, such as the National Y.M.H.A., the Christian Endeavor Society, the New York Y.W.C.A., the Youth Division of the American Jewish Congress, the Student Volunteer Association, and others.

There are still some, and Lady Eleanor is among them, who think that the A.Y.C. is just an organization that started out on the right track, has been captured by the Stalinists and can be taken away from them. To aid in dispelling such illusions, I offer my experiences as a participant in the first and inaugurating American Youth Congress in 1934.

At that time, a block was formed under the leadership of the Young Communist League to capture the Congress from the control of Viola Ilma's nationally elected leadership. This united front consisted of twelve organizations, four of which were outright Communist Party outfits, two Socialist Party, and the others outwardly non-political but actually Stalinist-led.

The ousting of Viola Ilma, and the program opposed to hers was all to the good, but the packing of the A.Y.C. with Stalinist stooge organizations doomed the organization to Stalinist control. In fact, at that time anti-Stalinist youth organizations, such as the Trotskyist Young Spartacist League, were already denied democratic floor privileges by the Stalinist stooge chairman, Waldo McNutt.

As a member of the Stalinist Workers International Relief, I was informed by Y.C.L. leaders of the block about goings-on in the Congress and it was "suggested" that I come down as a delegate to add my voice and vote where "needed." Forthwith, the W.I.R. secretary supplied my credentials as representing the youth section of the W.I.R., consisting of 250 members in New York City. Of course, it did not make any difference that, after having worked for that organization for seven months as a rank and file and as a paid functionary, at the most I could honestly say I had seen only twenty-five members who by any stretch of the imagination could be called youth. But, after all, it was for a C. P. victory. Down I went with my "credentials," joined the Stalinist-led breakaway group, voted as Gil Green motioned and spoke, shook hands with Earl Browder and helped launch what became one of

# 'Merit' System Would Peril Job Insurance

## Scheme Tends to Increase Unemployment

THE American Youth Congress's proposal, known as the Young-Wadsworth bill, designed to bring about a basic change in the tax principle of the state unemployment-insurance law. Its alleged purpose, "stabilization of employment," gives no clue whatever to its real content. Actually, it is a bill to establish a so-called "merit" system in determining the tax rates of employers under the law setting up the jobless-insurance fund. In accordance with this scheme, employers whose employment is less stable would be taxed at higher rates for unemployment in-

the most successful stooge organizations. As a further commentary on Stalinist organizations, it is interesting to note that the W.I.R. was summarily disposed of by the Communist International shortly after Will Muenzenberg was sent from Europe to tell us that our work in America was not liked, and a few months later, we were told that we had gone into retirement. Was the membership consulted? Of course not! Neither was the membership of the American League for Peace and Democracy consulted when it went out of business nor will the membership of the American Youth Congress be consulted when the Communist Party decides to dispose of it.

We, the members of the United Progressive Furriers, therefore declare:

We are convinced that our criticism has been constructive and that it has served the best interests of the fur workers. We are convinced that our criticism has expressed the thoughts and sentiments of the majority of the fur workers. It has been proven on more than one occasion that when the fur workers had an opportunity to express their feelings in a secret election, even though it was fully controlled by the Gold-Potash administration, they cast thousands of votes for the progressive candidates.

The sentiment of the workers frightened the administration. The bureaucrats began to realize that they could not go on putting over such election schemes forever. They therefore decided to resort to the old, reactionary trick of suspensions. Fear of the membership is what is driving them to this frantic crusade against the progressives.

In true Stalinist fashion, they call upon the progressives to "confess" and "repent" on the promise that the punishment will be eased up. What brazen shamelessness! The little Stalin in the Furriers Union are copying the methods of Stalin the Terrible in Russia, trying to extort "confessions" from their victims!

We, the United Progressive Furriers, declare that our fight against the Stalinist administration in the Furriers Union is conducted on a clean-cut, democratic, trade-union basis. We maintain that the charges of the administration against us have been deliberately manufactured by the union bureaucrats in order to get rid of people who have gained great influence among the masses of the fur workers. We would welcome an impartial committee of the labor movement to investigate the entire affair.

The measures taken against the six progressives, the suspensions and the heavy fines, are an act of despair. It is the kind of action that only a dictatorial clique would resort to in order to tighten up its power in the face of threatening revolt among the masses.

### APPEAL TO ALL UNIONISTS

In the name of the six suspended progressives, we appeal to every worker in our union and in the labor movement as a whole: Help us carry on our just struggle!

Do not permit persecution and discrimination to be inflicted with impunity upon honest, active, devoted union members.

Do not permit the Stalinist bureaucrats, who control the Furriers Union, to deprive us of our chance to make a living because we happen to be opposed to their policies and practices!

Our part, we make it emphatically clear that we will not give up the fight—we feel that justice is on our side. No amount of suspensions, discriminations, persecutions or fines will stop us. We are confident that such criminal action on the part of the administration will not fail to rouse the masses of the fur workers and strengthen our struggle for a clean, democratic and progressive union free of Stalinist domination—a union of, for and by the fur workers!

### Acknowledgement

The Workers Age acknowledges with deep appreciation and warmest thanks receipt of a contribution of \$17.88 from J. R. as an expression of international working-class solidarity from our friends in Toronto, Canada.

# SWP Backs Down On Debate on Finnish Issue

By D. B.

SOME time ago, Felix Morrow, writing in the Socialist Appeal, the official paper of the Socialist Workers Party, on Russia's invasion of Finland, in highly dramatic fashion, challenged either the Socialist Party or the Independent Labor League of America to a debate on the question. The Independent Labor League accepted the challenge and invited the S.W.P. to appoint a committee of two to meet with a similar committee of the I.L.L.A. in order to make the necessary arrangements.

Two meetings of these committees were held and after considerable effort agreement was reached on the subject: "Resolved that labor should defend the Soviet Union in the current war against Finland." Curiously enough, the committee of the S.W.P. was averse to including the words, "against Finland," and insisted on the word "defend" rather than "support" as first agreed upon. But agreement was reached finally on the formulation stated above because the I.L.L.A. was eager not to let secondary questions stand in the way.

Agreement was also reached on date, place, time arrangements and chairman. Everything seemed to be set, awaiting only the signal to go.

But not for the S.W.P. and its representatives! Contrary to all debate and organizational procedure, the S.W.P. insisted on deciding who the spokesman of the I.L.L.A. in the debate should be. The I.L.L.A. accepted without question the selection of James Cannon as S.W.P. spokesman as we would have accepted the selection of any other spokesman because we regarded that as exclusively the business of the S.W.P. But when informed that Will Herberg, editor of the Workers Age, would be the I.L.L.A. speaker, the S.W.P. raised objection and insisted that it be Jay Lovestone. Otherwise, the debate was off!

Strange indeed for an organization supposedly interested in presenting its viewpoint to call off a debate to which it had itself issued the challenge unless it was allowed to name the speaker of the opposing organization!

Can it be that there are other motives at work, which do not appear on the surface? Can it be that the S.W.P. is not so very eager for the debate to which it so rashly issued the challenge?

# Scot I.L.P. Backs Party's Militant War Program

## Attack Stalin Regime's Foreign Policy

(Continued from Page 1) conference ultimately adopted a composite resolution as follows:

"This conference, reviewing the events which led up to the present situation in Finland, condemns the foreign policy of the Russian government.

"We warn the workers, however, to be on guard against the intensive propaganda in which world capitalism seeks to canalize opinion against Russia.

"The capitalist states, led by British and French imperialism, were ever the enemies of freedom and democracy and are not now lining up to free the Finns, or any other people, but on the contrary will seize every opportunity to prevent the liberation of the workers of the world.

"We therefore resolve to oppose the formation of a capitalist bloc against Russia and consider that we can best assist the workers and peasants of Russia by concentrating our energies against the capitalist, imperialist enemy at home."

Supporting a resolution in which the conference expressed its solidarity with all individuals and organizations resisting conscription, military or industrial, John McGovern, M.P., completed a good week's work begun at the area tribunal (for conscientious objectors) in a criticism of the tribunal. The trade-union representative, he said, was letting the workers down, while the tribunal was acting generally in a biased way toward the C.O.s and completely misinterpreting the spirit of the act.

McGovern also gave the Parliamentary report, outlining the work of the I.L.P. members in the fight for the workers in the House and their outspoken criticism of the government's war policy. The report was enthusiastically approved, McGovern being specially applauded for his exposure in the House of the communist member's failure on the war issues raised.

Despite opposition from the Scottish Divisional Council and certain branches, the conference, by an overwhelming majority, supported the National Council's proposal to include the section, "The Armed Forces" (making demands for rights and liberties), in the party war-time program.

Several speakers declared that opposition to the military machine should not blind socialists to the fact that soldiers are workers in khaki. Support was also given by the conference for the National Council's resolution on "The Struggle for a Socialist Peace"—an amendment by

Bridgeton to delete the condemnatory paragraph relating to the Communist Party being heavily defeated.

The four members elected to the S.D.C. were D. Gibson, Shetleston; W. Gillies, Govan; T. Taylor, Morspark; and J. Reilly, Larkhall.

On the motion of James Maxton, M.P., an emergency resolution was adopted unanimously declaring determined opposition to the threatened attack on working-class standards contained in the recent speech of Sir John Simon in Glasgow.

The resolution drew the attention of the industrial movement to the repeated similar statements by government representatives and called for the immediate termination of the industrial and political trade.

It urged complete support for the Engineers demand for 10s. a week increase and for the demands made by other workers, and proposed that the workers should call for an immediate control of prices, increased wages, and the abolition of profiteering.

Following the conference, the policy of the party, as outlined by James Maxton, M.P., John Mac Govern, M.P., and Bob Edwards, was enthusiastically received at a large demonstration held in St. Andrew's Hall, the largest in Glasgow.

# Smith Committee for NLRA Changes

(Continued from Page 1)

ment "resulted from a vote on the question of adoption of the amendments as a whole."

The amendments redefining the term "employee" were opposed by the minority as placing the peaceful picket at the mercy of the labor spy, provocateur and hired thug. Divorce of the Board's prosecution powers, they said, acted to set up the Board as a mere labor court.

They objected to the limitation of the term "collective bargaining" as undermining "the very foundation of the act."

They revealed that while they objected to the drastic reorganization of the Board at least until the investigation was completed, they had offered unsuccessfully a proposal to add two men to the present Board.

The so-called "free-speech" amendment was assailed by the dissenters as a "deceptively cloaked" effort to permit the use of the economic weight of the employer to interfere with the free exercise of the right of self-organization.

# United Progressive Furriers Denounce Suspension of Six

## Brand "Trial" As Frame-Up, Appeal for Support of Labor

(We publish below an appeal issued recently by the United Progressive Furriers.—Editor)

A GREAT crime has been committed by the administration of the Furriers Union against six of the most active members of the union. This crime can find a parallel only among the most reactionary organizations.

Six active members of the union have been suspended for two years and fined \$25 each. The union administration has gone even further. It threatens to deprive its opponents of the opportunity of making a living in the trade. At the recent local meetings, Mr. Potash, the manager of the union, called on union members to refuse to work in the same shop with the progressives. What this means there is hardly any need to explain.

In their fight against the progressive opposition, the administration is resorting to methods that the most reactionary unions would hesitate to use. Frame-ups, insults, mud-slinging, discrimination, and persecution are practised daily. Their latest exploit has been to initiate a "Moscow trial" against six progressives, among the most

active members of the union. The aim of the "trial" was, of course, to find them "guilty" and drive them out of union activity, thereby hoping to make it impossible for the United Progressive Furriers to go on with its work.

Those suspended are: Benjamin Baraz, Samuel Glassman, Nathan Kramer, Ben Antonoff, Michael Intrator and Simon Kass.

The record and activities of these workers are well known to the furriers as well as to many in the general labor movement. It is therefore unnecessary to declare that they never committed the "crimes" alleged against them. Those who should have been tried and found guilty are the Stalinist administration and not the progressives. It is important for the people in the labor movement to realize this in order to appreciate the tremendous odds we face in our fight against a mighty bureaucratic machine under the direct control of the Communist Party.

The real "crimes" which the suspended members have committed are:

1. They demanded that our union

be cleansed of Communist Party control and domination and that a democratic control be instituted.

2. They demanded that all the commissars sent in by the Communist Party into our union be dismissed and that the union officials stop squandering the union treasury and begin to bring some economy into our union.

3. They demanded that a stop be made to the close cooperation between the union leadership and the bosses so that the workers in the trade may get the benefit of the conditions in the agreement.

4. They fought for honest elections.

They fought fearlessly and in spite of the discriminations practised by the administration against them.

Another of our "crimes" was that we brought before the fur workers all the problems of our union and the trade. We exposed the squandering of the union treasury and made a number of other accusations against the union leadership. Of course, the administration did not like these accusations against them. They therefore fabricated a number of charges against the opposition members. The official charges were that the progressives had stated in a leaflet that anyone swearing allegiance to the Communist Party would immediately be promoted to a high position in the union, although he might be the worst sort of rascal. A "trial" similar to the Moscow "trials" was put on and the six members were asked to come and present facts and documents for the judgment of the very ones they had accused. When they pointed out the futility of standing trial before such a committee and repeated their demand for an impartial committee of the labor movement, the grievance board carried on farcical "trial" in the absence of the accused,

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## Unemployment on Increase In World During War

Washington, D. C. THE general impression that war keeps everyone employed at home out by facts, a study made by the International Labor Office reveals.

To the contrary, the I.L.O. says, as war drags on unemployment increases.

In most belligerent countries and in many neutral countries, the I.L.O. release says, "unemployment rose in the first months of the war and still remains at a relatively high level."

In Great Britain, close to 2,000,000 more workers were without jobs in mid-November, two months after war was declared, than in mid-August, several weeks prior to the war. In France, unemployment increased by 14,000 and in Belgium by over 45,000.

Members of labor unions in the neutral countries were hard hit. Unemployment in the ranks of organized labor rose from 9.5% to 21.5% by the end of November in Denmark. The I.L.O. study states that some of the reasons for this growth in un-

employment during war time can be found in the dislocation of industry as it changes from a peace-time to a war-time basis; in the closing down of many small enterprises due to mobilization and civil evacuation; and in the introduction of large numbers of women in the labor market who in times of peace are satisfied to stay at home and take care of their families.

"In the United States and Canada," the study says, "there was a spirit of optimism in the first weeks of the war. Large numbers of unemployed workers were absorbed in industries producing war needs. Nevertheless, national officials in these countries continue to warn against over-optimism as to the future, and to point out the large pockets of unemployment which are—and will probably remain for some time—basically unaffected by current developments."

The fact that after almost six months of war the number of unemployed in this country shows no signs of decreasing proves to the observant that the I.L.O. study must be basically correct. War is no cure for unemployment.

## Russian Poetry Under Totalitarian Blight

### Leader Cult Reduces All to Word "Stalin"

By DONALD GRAHAM

THE output of Soviet poetry and music under the inspiration of the great leader Stalin keeps pace in quantity and quality with the manufacture of overcoats. However, there is this difference: the Russian worker does not have to stand in line twenty-four hours for his supply of poetry, even though both are composed of shoddy. The overcoats don't warm the body, and the poems don't warm the soul.

Soviet culture is obviously suffering from the blight of totalitarianism. Instead of expressing the thoughts, emotions and aspirations of a people, Soviet poetry has become transformed, as the in the reign of a Pharaoh, into the instrumentality for glorifying the supreme ruler. If this view should appear too sharp or biased, I refer the reader to three specimens of poetry published in Soviet Russia Today during 1939 and 1940. Soviet Russia Today is printing, it is reasonable to assume, the best specimens of Soviet poetry. So we are not being unfair in taking their selections as representative.

#### AN UZBEK SINGER GOES TO WORK

In the December 1939 issue, we find the following "Uzbek Song": "I contemplate my mother country; my gaze is filled with dazzling light. My startled eyes are overpowered; life's majesty overwhelms me quite. I see no bound to our abundance; of my wild joy there is no telling—I utter then the name of Stalin— it voices every thought upwelling."

The poet's eyes were hardly more startled than were mine in gazing on his remarkable production. The very utterance of the name of Stalin voices every thought! It would undoubtedly be unsafe for our poor Uzbek poet to harbor any other kind of thought. Uzbek thinking may be safe, but it must be awfully monotonous.

#### A KAZAKH BARD

The second poem appears in the January 1940 issue of Soviet Russia Today and is entitled "Two Horses." It is written by Jamboul Jabavev, Kazakh bard. It appears that Jamboul received a horse as a gift from Stalin and wrote the following glowing declaration of gratitude:

"I sing him who spreads truth's power Over the world from Kremlin's tower; Whose world-warming heart sent me a ray, Gave me my youth, my steed, my day.

Great thinker in the Kremlin, hear, The mountains sing, the rivers cheer; Stalin, hear them joining me, Hear the whole world singing thee!"

I had thought that the Uzbek songster laid it on pretty thick in expressing all his thoughts with the word Stalin. When the Kazakhs, it appears, not only do the same, but when even their mountains sing, and their rivers cheer for Stalin, I have a feeling that the G.P.U. is carrying things too far.

#### MOTHER OF ALL THE RUSSIANS

The third poem is appropriately entitled "Stalin" (playing safe again) and is written by Sancho Perez, a Spanish peasant. It is to be found in the same issue of the magazine. Whether Sancho is now in Russia and has learned to write in Russian is not stated, but he has certainly learned to think in the purest Russian: "Children howled, donkeys brayed, Peasants were poor.

There was a man who smoked a pipe, His name was Stalin. He lived far away, Where snow falls in Summer. No donkey could get you there.

Today I cleaned my rifle. To my mother I said: 'Stalin!' My mother is old and ignorant. I said the one word 'Stalin!' It is the same as saying: 'Mother!' It is the same as saying: 'Comrade!'

I had thought the Uzbek and Kazakh bards had reached the peak of adulation, but when Sancho declares that the word Stalin is identical with "mother", I think he has really been overdoing it. If you can think of Stalin's purges and Stalin's mustaches and pipe and then think of your mother, you will get what I mean. Moreover, for Sancho to grab a rifle and then carry on a practically mono-syllabic conversation with his aged and ignorant mother, was hardly sporting, in my opinion. Who knows what a poor mother might think whose son grabbed a rifle and shouted "Stalin" at her?

#### SOVIET "CULTURE" AND INTELLIGENCE

Evidently, if Soviet literature develops under the influence of the "great thinker in the Kremlin" during the third and fourth five-year plans at the astonishing rate it has during the first two plans, it will be reduced to a vocabulary of one word: "Stalin". It is because of this extreme concentration of thought that I feel that the recent reports of intelligence tests given to cap-

(Continued on Page 4)

## Does Fascism Menace America?

# How to Defeat Fascist Peril

By WILL HERBERG

ALTHO the forces making for it lie deep in our present social and economic order, fascism is by no means inevitable. It may be averted and the country saved from the dreadful scourge of totalitarian dictatorship. But how?

Certainly not by the negative appeal of "anti-fascism"; certainly not by hymns of praise to the beauties of democracy or by denunciations of the horrors of fascism, however appropriate both may be. Such an approach shows a complete misunderstanding of the problem of fascism.

### No Defense Of The Status-Quo

At bottom, the only way to defeat fascism is to deprive it of its social base, to make it impossible for the rabble-rousing fascist demagogues to win the support of large sections of the middle and lower classes so as to transform the originally small, insignificant crack pot groups into a popular mass movement on a formidably large scale. But this cannot be done in terms of defending the status-quo; this cannot be done by reading the distracted, tormented masses a lecture on the "inestimable value of their heritage of freedom." It just simply won't work, and for a good reason.

Fascism is born of failure—failure of our economic system and democratic institutions, laboring under the incubus of capitalism, to function for the welfare of the people. At moments when this breakdown is most acute, the masses begin to stir out of their age-old lethargy, driven by their distress to a formless, inarticulate rebelliousness. It is this obscure but potent insurgency that the fascist demagogues exploit in order to frustrate, in order to build up a sham—"radical" mass movement that will lift them to power and, at the same time, maintain the reactionary, decaying system of capitalism for the benefit of their upper-class allies and paymasters. Such is the paradoxical logic of fascism.

Under such circumstances, it should be clear that we cannot fight fascism by standing still. We cannot head off its destructive sweep simply by defending the status-quo against its onslaught, for it is precisely the widespread dissatisfaction with and revolt against the status-quo that makes fascism possible. If we are to take the ground from under the feet of fascism, we must be able to show a real way out of the blind-alley of capitalism. A genuine solution of the desperate plight of the masses is the only effective answer to the demagogic sham solutions offered by fascism.

### But Advance To Socialism

To defeat fascism, it is therefore necessary not to stand still but to move forward towards socialism, to break through the limitations of the existing system, to broaden, deepen and extend democracy to new horizons. The struggle against fascism is a struggle against the outlived, decaying system of capitalism.

To put it another way: Fascism, we have said, is born of the failure of our economic system and democratic institutions to function for the welfare of the people. And they cannot function in that way as long as they are dominated by the narrow interests of capitalism, with its private profit and private exploitation of the technological progress of society. The only way out is the plentiful, systematic reconstruction of our economic and social order along the lines of democratic socialism with its economy of welfare instead of profit.

### Unity of Workers And Middle Classes

Fascism is born not merely of failure but also of division—of division in the working class and of division between the working class and the other useful classes in society. Fascism can triumph only if it can

exploit for its own advantage the insurgency and discontent of the middle classes. If, however, the working class is able to win the confidence and support of the middle-class masses on a clear, forward-looking program of economic and social reform, fascism can't get very far. This unity of all useful, constructive forces in society for the positive purpose of achieving a progressive solution of our problems, is the only sure and certain protection against fascism.

But such unity is manifestly impossible unless the working class itself is united, well-organized, militant and determined. In the end, therefore, the responsibility rests with the labor movement. A strong, united, progressive labor movement can make an effective appeal to the middle classes and the farmers. It can show them the real way out of the crisis of capitalism and thus save them from falling victim to the suicidal sham—"radical" demagoguery of the fascist spell-binders. It can cement that progressive unity of workers, farmers and middle classes that alone can withstand the assaults of fascism.

For the American labor movement this is a big order indeed. It means unity in the first place. As long as the labor movement is divided against itself as it is today, the danger of fascism is multiplied many times over. But it means more than that. It means a new social philosophy for the labor movement, a social philosophy able to look beyond capitalism to a new social order and beyond the narrow "trade" interests of the workers to the interests of all useful, constructive groups in society. It means the systematic development of organizational forms and movements to bring organized labor with the popular masses, especially the farmers and the middle-class groups. It means a new approach, a new attitude, a new orientation, but in the long run that and that alone can save us from the dreadful scourge of a formidable fascist mass movement in this country.

### War As The Road To Fascism

Fascism, however, can come not merely "from below" in the form of a popular mass movement; it can also come, as we have pointed out in earlier articles, "from above," thru the imposition of a totalitarian dictatorship by the powers-that-be in the old regime. That is by far the graver and more immediate menace for America, for, as we have repeatedly stressed, let America become involved in another large-scale war and the installation of a rigid, iron-clad military dictatorship in this country would be inevitable. That would not yet be fascism but it would certainly be a long step along the road leading to it. And once that step is taken, the others will not be slow in coming.

There is one way and one way only at the present time to escape this danger of fascism "from above," and that is to keep America out of war. The fight to keep this country at peace is also a fight to head off the menace of totalitarian dictatorship.

### How to Defeat Fascism

How, then, can we meet and defeat the growing menace of fascism and dictatorship?

By breaking thru the stifling limitations of capitalism and passing beyond to a new social order making for the security and welfare of the people.

By building up a powerful, united, militant and forward-looking labor movement, able to win the confidence and support of the masses of the people thruout the country.

By cementing the unity of the working class with all other useful, constructive classes in society in a popular movement for economic and social reform looking towards a new social order.

By keeping America out of war.

(This is the last of a series of seven articles by Will Herberg on "Fascism in America"—Editor.)

## Japan Under Big Strain in Prolonged "China Incident"

By J. CORK

THERE was a noticeable tendency on the part of experts in the early days of the Sino-Japanese "incident" to predict an economic breakdown in Japan within two years under the strain of the war. It can now be seen that the experts underestimated Japan's material and moral resources and her ability to adapt herself to a critical situation. It is always difficult to determine the tensile strength of a national economy, to predict the exact time when it will break down. Nevertheless, it is undeniable that the China war has subjected Japanese economy to a severe shock, one, furthermore, which is increasing rather than decreasing. Circumstantial evidence, at least, of such a definite trend can be found in many fields, in public finance, in industrial and agricultural production, in foreign trade and the balance of payments, etc. For what they are worth, the following cold figures on these matters are certainly significant.

### INCREASE OF WAR BUDGET

The increase of the war budgets indicates the extent to which Japan's national resources have been more and more diverted to war uses. In 1937-38, about 2½ billion Yen were appropriated for the "Chinese incident." In 1938-39, that sum was almost doubled, and for 1939-40, it is well over five billion.

Even before the war, Japan was already on a deficit finance basis due to her drive for rearmament.

In addition, practically the entire cost of the war has been met by borrowing. The effect on the national debt can well be imagined. It has doubled in two years. Today, it stands at about 20 billion Yen!

The burden of taxation, both direct and indirect, has consequently risen precipitously. Estimated tax receipts for 1939-40 are more than double those of any past pre-war year. Meanwhile, production has not kept pace with the enlarged demand for goods created by military expenditures. Since the beginning of the war, total volume of industrial production has increased by about 10%, while military demand has risen around 40%. This has meant a proportional displacement elsewhere, chiefly in consumption goods at home, which have lost about 10%

in the same period. Agricultural production has suffered an absolute decline, with the chief crops, rice, wheat, barley and coconuts, all decreasing in 1938 and 1939.

### FOREIGN TRADE HARD HIT

Foreign trade has been hard hit. Export industries have been severely handicapped by the diversion of raw materials and financial resources into military production. Total exports declined by about 15% in 1938 and by at least as much in 1939. In spite of the curtailment of imports, they still overbalance exports. This necessitates a constant drain on gold to make up the unfavorable trade balance. Since the war began, Japan has had to export about two billion Yen worth of gold in this manner. The gold stock left is insufficient to support her economic superstructure, especially under a condition of increasing strain. How she will make up her depleted stock of gold remains one of the biggest in a row of ticklish problems for Japan to solve.

Of course, all this tremendous expenditure of money, materials, manpower, these sacrifices at home, are regarded by the Japanese leaders as merely a temporary and necessarily transitional effort, which will in a short time be paid back and with interest by the territories already brought under control. Japan has now control over large sections of China, especially North China. Has the investment begun to pay appreciable dividends? The answer is, very little to date.

### FRUITS OF CONQUEST

True, Japan has conquered valuable resources of iron, coal, cotton, salt and other raw materials which she needs. But these must be developed. Mines must be opened, railroads must be built, factories erected, etc. The lack of surplus capital in Japan and the activities of the Chinese guerrillas have pretty much blocked any effective exploitation on any appreciable scale of the potential resources that lie at hand.

And this is reckoning without the joint Anglo-American pressure that is being steadily applied against Japan.

All in all, Japan's position is hardly an enviable one. It is difficult to predict what the end is likely to be.

## Report Shows Havoc Of Stalin Army Purge

### Widespread Disorganization, Chaos Result

THE February 1940 issue of Events, an informative and thoroughly reliable monthly review of world affairs, contains an article by Earl Reeves on the extent and effects of the Stalin purges in the Soviet military, naval and air forces. The material presented by Mr. Reeves is from a secret report to the French government by the Army and Navy Intelligence and the famous "Second Bureau" of the Secret Service. The report was completed last Summer not long before the war broke out. In the following paragraphs, we summarize Mr. Reeves' material. It is only necessary to add that the facts and figures presented by Mr. Reeves agree very well with our information on the Russian purges derived from independent and thoroughly trustworthy sources.

### IN THE ARMY

The purge of the Soviet Red Army, the French report makes clear, went beyond anything heretofore known. We already know that out of five marshals three were "removed"—Tukhachevsky, Blucher and Yegorov—and that six of the eight generals who passed sentence on them were later shot in their turn. The fact has also been published that every regional commander has disappeared.

The French report, which brings this "liquidation" record up to March 1939, contains these further items of information: Out of 80 members of the Superior War Council, 75 have disappeared; nine-tenths of the political commissars of the army have been removed; 62 generals and special commissars, identified by name, have been either shot or imprisoned. In addition, there were executed or imprisoned: 13 out of 19 commanders of armies, 15 out of 85 corps commanders, and 110 out of 195 division commanders. Including the three executed marshals, this means 141 officers in the direct line of army command who had rank, at our rating, of major general or higher. Add brigade commanders, 202 out of 406, and it appears that 349 officers of 754 of a rank higher than regimental command, or colonel, have been victims of the purges.

"As a matter of fact," the French report adds, "the above list is very incomplete." The purges extended on downward through the lower officer ranks. According to a summary prepared by General Barstier of the French army, "wholesale massacres have meant disappearance from the ranks of the Red Army

### IN THE AIR FORCE

In the air force, despite the high place of honor it holds in the Soviet Union, the "death or imprisonment" list includes two commissars for air, the chief of the air force general staff, three chiefs of the air forces, the commander of the Moscow air-drome. The man known as "the creator of Soviet aviation," Andrei Nikolaiev Touptolev, has disappeared. His initials, A.N.T., for fifteen years designated the leading models of Soviet aircraft. He had designed forty different types. In the purge, Touptolev's principal collaborators went also. The wastage of aviation experts "in a country as poor in specialists as Soviet Russia," fairly staggers the compilers of the French report.

### IN THE NAVY

The story of the navy, the little publicized, is the same as that of the army and air force. The purge of naval officers "exceeded in murderous thoroughness that of the military command." During 1937, at least 12 of the highest ranking naval officers were executed by Stalin's command. Besides the admirals and commissars executed, officers of lower ranks were shot, so that, as in the army, juniors had to be jumped to commands for which they had no training. Furthermore, the French experts assert that the Soviet Union will not be able to build any important tonnage for years, and that it will take even longer to recreate competent command and good morale. "In any major conflict, the Red Navy would never dare venture any distance from the shelter of its bases."

## Is Negro Education Force for Social Progress in America?

### Prominent Educator Depicts Caste System in Our Culture

By DOXEY S. WILKERSON

(Doxey S. Wilkerson is associate professor of education at Howard University and vice-president of the American Federation of Teachers.—Editor.)

WE must revise our assumption that Negro education is a force for social progress. Any realistic appraisal of current practice in American education in general leaves little basis for the common faith that education must, somehow, necessarily, promote the development of genuine democracy. This is even more true of Negro education. Its net social effect is reactionary, not progressive; its predominating role rather to strengthen our exploitative system of caste and class, not to promote the wholesome reconstruction of society.

This thesis does not imply that Negro education cannot serve the ends of social progress; but rather, that in practice it does not. Analysis of its structure, its extent, and its predominating social orientation suggests the validity of this judgment. Such analysis suggests also certain important implications for organized labor.

### STRUCTURE AND EXTENT OF NEGRO EDUCATION

Viewed in quantitative terms alone, public education for Negroes is so severely limited as largely to nullify whatever positive contribution it might otherwise make toward the promotion of social progress. Further, as its very meagerness tends to produce a generally ignorant—and hence more easily exploited—class of workers, so its caste-like structure tends to perpetuate and widen the historic, artificial, division between workers of the white and Negro groups. In this connection, it is well to review certain

generally known facts concerning the education of Negroes in the United States.

First, four-fifths of all Negro Americans live in southern states which require complete school segregation. As a result some 2,500,000 of the 3,000,000 Negro elementary and secondary school pupils in the nation are forced to attend schools set aside for an allegedly "inferior" social caste. Further, school segregation exists and is tending to spread in a number of northern and western communities. Thus, in its basic structure, Negro education is designed to strengthen and perpetuate the barriers of caste.

Second, the extent of and facilities for public education for Negroes in the South are so limited, and so inferior to those for whites, that their inevitable effects are to keep the Negro masses in ignorance and progressively to widen the cultural gulf between the white and Negro populations. The following facts are suggestive in this regard.

1. Approximately 500,000 Negro children of school age are not enrolled in school. Even one-sixth of those within the legally "compulsory" school-age limits are out of school.

2. Some 70% of all Negro pupils enrolled in public elementary and secondary schools are to be found in the first four grades. Out of every 100 Negro children entering school, only 56 get as far as grade 4, 28 reach grade 7, 14 enter high school, and only 5 reach fourth-year high school.

3. The Negro pupils constitute less than one-fourth of the total enrollment; there are 125,000 Negro pupils (as compared with only 32,000 white pupils) attending schools with five-month terms or less. The average Negro pupil goes to school for five weeks fewer per year than the

average white pupil. On this basis, he would have to attend nine and a half terms to get the same amount of schooling that the average white pupil gets in eight terms.

4. On the basis of pupils now enrolled, there is a shortage of nearly 20,000 Negro teachers in public elementary and secondary schools. This is the number necessary to staff Negro schools at the current level for white schools.

5. The average Negro elementary and secondary school teacher receives an annual salary of only \$610 (about \$43 per month on a twelve-month basis), as compared with \$833 (about \$69 per month) for the average white teacher.

6. More than one-half of all Negro schools are housed in more or less dilapidated one-room buildings. Investments in school property average \$36 per Negro pupil, as compared with \$183 per white pupil.

### DIFFERENTIAL EXPENDITURE

7. Current annual expenditures for elementary and secondary education average \$13 per Negro pupil, as compared with \$38 per white pupil. Some \$34,000,000 annually would be required to operate Negro schools at the current expenditure level for white schools. This is \$36,000,000 more than is actually spent on Negro schools.

8. More than 350,000 Negro children of high-school age live in some 400 or more counties which provide no four-year high school facilities for Negroes. For every 100 Negro children of high school age, only 19 are actually enrolled in public high schools.

9. Only about 10,000 Negro students, as compared with 150,000 white students, attend publicly-sup-

ported graduate and professional schools for Negroes in the entire South.

10. Even the bulk of the educational money which the federal government gives to the southern states on the basis of their Negro populations is diverted from the education of Negroes to the education of whites. Nearly \$2,000,000 annually is diverted in this manner from federal funds for agricultural extension and vocational education alone.

Third, because of the low level of their formal education, widespread poverty, and racial discrimination, the Negro masses do not or cannot share fully the benefits of such meager informal adult educational experiences as are afforded by American society. For example, the really important educational values which might result from using public libraries and museums, reading, good books, attending concerts and worthwhile drama, participating in community government and civic enterprises, taking part in trade unions and consumers cooperatives—these values, which are shared by an extremely small proportion of the American people generally, are denied an even more overwhelming majority of the Negro people.

Thus, in its caste-like structural organization, its astounding meagerness, and its gross racial discrimination, the present status of Negro education negates the very concept of democracy. In its qualitative relations to the forces and ideology of social reaction, one finds an even more unwholesome condition.

(Dr. Wilkerson's second article on Negro education in America will appear in the next issue.—Editor.)

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WILL HERBERG, Editor

Editorial Board: Lyman D. Fraser, Jay Lovestone, M. S. Mautner, Bertram D. Wolfe, Charles S. Zimmerman.

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## HAVE PUBLIC EMPLOYEES ANY RIGHTS?

**M**AYOR La Guardia's announcement that the city, after taking over the Interborough and B.M.T. transit systems and converting their 27,000 workers into city employees, will not recognize the right to strike or the union closed shop, confronts the New York trade-union movement with an immediate problem of the utmost gravity.

We have repeatedly warned in these columns against the dangerous trend towards the restriction of labor's freedom of action involved in depriving public employees of their fundamental rights. Last Summer, President Roosevelt and Attorney General Murphy told the W.P.A. workers that they had no right to strike "against the government." Now Mayor La Guardia says that city transit employees have no right to strike or even to organize along closed-shop lines.

The Mayor's statement carries the threat to labor's rights farther than ever. Remember, the transit workers are public employees only because the city has decided to go into the transit business. Suppose tomorrow the city decides to go into the milk-distributing or the power business; will milk drivers and power-house workers be automatically robbed of their right to strike and to strive for a closed shop?

By what conceivable logic does a public employee lose rights as an American citizen which his fellow-worker, doing exactly the same kind of work for a private employer, is recognized as possessing? Where and how are you going to draw the line? The truth of the matter is that no line can be drawn. Deprive the many hundreds of thousands employed by federal, state, county and municipal administrations in this country of their fundamental rights and how long will it be possible for the workers as a whole to retain them? The working people of the United States cannot remain half in possession of their rights and half robbed of them, any more than they could remain half slave and half free. This is especially true in view of the marked tendency for government to go into business on an ever larger scale and to extend its authority as an employer over increasing numbers of workers. Isn't that the road to totalitarianism?

That is why the issue that confronts the C.I.O.'s Transport Workers Union in New York City is an issue that gravely concerns the labor movement as a whole. We realize that the Transport Workers Union has done everything to isolate itself from the rest of the labor movement. It has always acted in a particularly offensive way towards the A. F. of L. It has allowed a clique of Stalinist agents to dominate and control it. It has injected itself as a disruptive force on behalf of the Stalinites in the American Labor Party crisis. Yet these considerations should not be permitted to be decisive at the present time. The precious rights of thousands of transport workers—in a real sense, of the entire labor movement—are at stake. The labor movement of this city, C.I.O. and A. F. of L. alike, must find a way of uniting to drive back the encroaching wave of government totalitarianism. Last Summer, the A. F. of L. showed that it could not be cowed by thunders emanating from the White House. Now is the time for organized labor as a whole to show that, however divided it may be on issues of organization and strategy, it is capable of uniting to beat back a threat to its very existence.

**T**HE American journal, Science, quotes from the Astronomical Journal of the Soviet Union a resolution adopted by a Russian astronomical society:

"Modern bourgeois cosmogony is in a state of deep ideological confusion resulting from its refusal to accept the only true dialectic-materialistic concept, namely, the infinity of the universe with respect to space as well as time.

"The hostile work of the agents of fascism, who at one time managed to penetrate to leading positions in certain astronomical and other institutions as well as in the press, has led to revolting propaganda of counter-revolutionary bourgeois ideology in the literature [of cosmology].

"The few existing Soviet materialistic works on problems of cosmology have remained in isolation and have been suppressed by enemies of the people, until recently.

"The expose of the enemies of the Soviet people makes necessary the development of a new Soviet materialistic cosmology. Already there are a few pioneer Soviet specialists in this subject. . . ."

With this weird hodge-podge of politico-"scientific" nonsense compare the following ravings of Dr. Walter Gross, leading exponent of Nazi "science" in the Third Reich, as alike as two peas in a pod:

"The so-called theories of Einstein are merely the ravings of a mind polluted with liberal, democratic nonsense which is utterly unacceptable to German men of science."

**"R**EPRESENTATIVE John Taber of New York, a Republican, is quoted as urging that men of military age be barred from W.P.A. and C.C.C. rolls if they refuse to enlist in the army or navy.

"In other words, if you're a young man and can't find a job, either join up or starve.

"Mr. Taber is 59 and has a job which pays him \$10,000 a year plus sundry perquisites. It would be interesting to hear what some of his young unemployed constituents think of his plan.

"As for us, we think it is about as shameful a proposition as ever emanated from Washington."—New York World-Telegram.

## "CEMENTED WITH BLOOD"



"The friendship between Germany and the Soviet Union, cemented with blood, has every reason to be lasting and firm."—Soviet Dictator Stalin to German Foreign Minister von Ribbentrop.

By Rosa Luxemburg:

## Democracy and Dictatorship

(This is the final instalment of Rosa Luxemburg's, "The Russian Revolution," written in 1918 and now for the first time translated into English in full. This work will shortly be published in book form with a critical introduction by Bertram D. Wolfe, the translator. The introduction will appear in an early issue of this paper.—Editor.)

**T**HE basic error of the Lenin-Trotsky theory is that they too, just like Kautsky, oppose dictatorship to democracy. "Dictatorship or democracy" is the way the question is put by Bolshevism and Kautsky alike. The latter naturally decides in favor of "democracy," that is, of bourgeois democracy, precisely because he opposes it to the alternative of the socialist revolution. Lenin and Trotsky, on the other hand, decide in favor of dictatorship in contradistinction to democracy, and thereby, in favor of the dictatorship of a handful of persons, that is, in favor of dictatorship on the bourgeois model. They are two opposite poles, both alike being far removed from a genuine socialist policy. The proletariat, when it seizes power, can never follow the good advice of Kautsky, given on the pretext of the "unripeness of the country," the advice being to renounce the socialist revolution and devote itself to democracy. It cannot follow this advice without betraying thereby itself, the International, and the revolution. It should and must at once undertake socialist measures in the most energetic, unyielding and unhesitant fashion, in other words, exercise a dictatorship, but a dictatorship of the class, not of a party or of a clique—dictatorship of the class, that means in the broadest public form on the basis of the most active, unlimited participation of the mass of the people, of unlimited democracy.

"As Marxists," writes Trotsky, "we have never been idol worshippers of formal democracy." Surely, we have never been idol worshippers of formal democracy. Nor have we ever been idol worshippers of socialism or Marxism either. Does it follow from this that we may also throw socialism on the scrap-heap, a la Cunow, Lensch and Parvus, if it becomes uncomfortable for us? Trotsky and Lenin are the living refutation of this answer.

"We have never been idol-worshippers of formal democracy." All that that really means is: We have always distinguished the social kernel from the political form of bourgeois democracy; we have always revealed the hard kernel of social inequality and lack of freedom hidden under the sweet shell of formal equality and freedom—not in order to reject the latter but to spur the working class into not being satisfied with the shell, but rather, by conquering political power, to create a socialist democracy to replace bourgeois democracy—not to eliminate democracy altogether.

### Democracy Must Begin at Outset

But socialist democracy is not something which begins only in the promised land after the foundations of socialist economy are created; it does not come as some sort of Christmas present for the worthy people who, in the interim, have loyally supported a handful of socialist dictators. Socialist democracy begins simultaneously with the beginnings of the destruction of class rule and of the construction of socialism. It begins at the very moment of the seizure of power by the socialist party. It is the same thing as the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Yes, dictatorship! But this dictatorship consists in the manner of applying democracy, not in its elimination, in energetic, resolute attacks upon the well-entrenched rights and economic relationships of bourgeois society, without which a socialist transformation cannot be accomplished. But this dictatorship must be the work of the class and not of a little leading minority in the name of the class—that is, it must proceed step by step out of the active participation of the masses; it must be under their direct influence, subjected to the control of complete public activity; it must arise out of the growing political training of the mass of the people.

Doubtless the Bolsheviks would have proceeded in this very way were it not that they suffered under the frightful compulsion of the world war, the German occupation and all the abnormal difficulties connected therewith, things which were inevitably bound to distort any socialist policy, however imbued it might be with the best intentions and the finest principles.

A crude proof of this is provided by the use of terror to so wide an extent by the Soviet government, especially in the most recent period just before the collapse of German imperialism, and just after the attempt on the life of the German ambassador. The commonplace to the effect that revolutions are not pink teas is in itself pretty inadequate.

### We Must Not Make Virtues of Defects

Everything that happens in Russia is comprehensible and represents an inevitable chain of causes and effects, the starting point and end term of which are: the failure of the German proletariat and the occupation of Russia by German imperialism. It would be demanding something superhuman from Lenin and his comrades if we should expect of them that under such circumstances they should conjure forth the finest democracy, the most exemplary dictatorship of the proletariat and a flourishing socialist economy. By their determined revolutionary stand, their exemplary strength in action, and their unbreakable loyalty to international socialism, they have contributed whatever could possibly be contributed under such devilishly hard conditions. The danger begins only when they make a virtue of necessity and want to freeze into a complete theoretical system all the tactics forced upon them by these fatal circumstances, and want to recommend them to the international proletariat as a model of socialist tactics. When they get in their own light in this way, and hide their genuine, unquestionable historical service under the bushel of false steps forced upon them by necessity, they render a poor service to international socialism for the sake of which they have fought and suffered; for they want to place in its storehouse as new discoveries all the distortions prescribed in Russia by necessity and compulsion—in the last analysis only by-products of the bankruptcy of international socialism in the present world war.

Let the German Government Socialists cry that the rule of the Bolsheviks in Russia is a distorted expression of the dictatorship of the proletariat. If it was or is such, that is only because it is a product of the behavior of the German proletariat, in itself a distorted expression of the socialist class struggle. All of us are subject to the laws of history, and it is only internationally that the socialist order of society can be realized. The Bolsheviks have shown that they are capable of everything that a genuine revolutionary party can contribute within the limits of the historical possibilities. They are not supposed to perform miracles. For a model and faultless proletarian revolution in an isolated land, exhausted by world war, strangled by imperialism, betrayed by the international proletariat, would be a miracle.

### The Future Belongs To "Bolshevism"

What is in order is to distinguish the essential from the non-essential, the kernel from the accidental excrescences in the policies of the Bolsheviks. In the present period, when we face decisive final struggles in all the world, the most important problem of socialism was and is the burning question of our time. It is not a matter of this or that secondary question of tactics, but of the capacity for action of the proletariat, the strength to act, the will to power of socialism as such. In this, Lenin and Trotsky and their friends were the first, those who went ahead as an example to the proletariat of the world; they are still the *only ones* up to now who can cry with Hutten: "I have dared!"

This is the essential and enduring in Bolshevik policy. In this sense theirs is the immortal historical service of having gone at the vanguard of the international proletariat with the conquest of political power and the practical placing of the problem of the realization of socialism, and of having advanced mightily the settlement of the score between capital and labor in the entire world. In Russia the problem could only be posed. It could not be solved in Russia. And in this sense, the future everywhere belongs to "Bolshevism."

## "Invasion" Scare Has No Basis in Fact

**O**NE of the favorite devices of the war-mongers and armament-boosters is to try to whip up an invasion scare among the people of this country. A combination of wicked totalitarian powers is being formed to invade our shores, we are warned in hysterical tones, and therefore we had better "prepare" by voting nearly three billion dollars for "national defense" in the next fiscal year—or perhaps we had better even go out to Europe or Asia and lick these totalitarian powers (Germany, Japan) before they get ready to attack us. Such, in all its crudity, is the line of argument of the war-mongers of all stripes, from the patrioteering generals and admirals in Washington to the pro-war "liberals" and "socialists" of the old "collective-security" school.

We have repeatedly stressed in these columns that this entire invasion scare is nothing but panic and hysteria, mixed with not a little deliberate deception. We now add in confirmation the following paragraphs from the recently published manual, "Handbook of the War," by John C. de Wilde, David H. Popper and Eunice Clark:

"We in the United States are uniquely fortunate in our strategic situation. No hostile fleet can launch a mass attack on our coast; navies are limited in war to a radius of about two thousand miles, and no major foreign base lies that close to the continental United States. Even if the American navy were swept from the seas, we should still be safe. Except for Britain, no two powers combined have the ships to transport more than two hundred thousand troops to this country. One scarcely envies the fate of such a small force if by some miracle it landed here. It would be opposed by a larger army and an embattled populace fighting for its homes and supplied by an unrivaled industrial plant.

"The air menace to America is even more illusory. Individual planes carefully groomed in advance and loaded only with gasoline may fly for thousands of miles. But fleets of bombers, weighted down with explosives and forced to navigate under unfavorable conditions, can seldom attain a radius of action exceeding five hundred to six hundred miles, while the number of craft suitable for such long-range missions is still small. Enemy planes might be launched from aircraft carriers for sporadic raids, but these vessels are themselves highly vulnerable to attack, especially from the air, and could not in any case convey sufficient forces to exercise a decisive effect."

## European War Fails To Bring Boom to U.S.

### FDR Hope of Recovery Thru War Hard Hit

(Continued from page 1)  
dent asks less for relief and Congress tries to cut more from already cut estimates for farmers who there are still at least 9,000,000 unemployed.

By now, it is clear that if and when the war boom comes, it will be concentrated in manufacturing to the exclusion of agriculture.

Belwether of business in a steel age is the steel industry and the best criterion of the steel industry is the rate of steel-ings production. Early in December, steel was on the crest of a boom largely created by Europe's war—directly by European buying, indirectly by domestic buying in anticipation of war profits. Ingot production had reached the unprecedented rate of 94.4% of capacity. For the last quarter of 1939, steel profits soared to boom levels. Steel exports for the quarter rose 65% in value above those of the corresponding period of 1938. But in mid-December, the production rate began to drop and is now down to 71. Trade journals hint darkly of the possibility of a price peak. Scrap prices are already down.

### COPPER PRICES FALLING

In September copper, one of the World War periods biggest money-makers, boomed as new war profits loomed. But Britain and France from the beginning have bought

most of their copper in their own empires, in South America and in the Balkans. In spite of abnormally large shipments to Russia, the price of copper is falling, and so is the price of other non-ferrous metals.

Despite crowded photographs of acres of army trucks parked on Staten Island waiting shipment, the automobile industry can look forward to a drop in exports instead of a rise. The December rush of truck orders from the Allies is over. From now on Britain is expected to fill her own needs and those of France besides. As a matter of fact, automobile exports in December 1939 were 22% less than in December 1938. Gasoline rationing in Europe has slashed foreign sales of passenger autos, even in neutral countries.

Because of the development during the last twenty years of the vast resources of the British and French empires, American agriculture faces curtailment instead of profits this time. Grain exports, basis for much of the frenzied expansion of World War days, fell 24% during the last four months of 1939 in comparison with the corresponding period of 1938. The Allies will not buy enough cotton here to help the American farmer.

In other words, Europe's war will not even be a temporary panacea for the economic ills of the United States. Gains in one direction will be more than offset by losses in another—even if the boom comes. The cure for unemployment, and for the consequent lack of widespread purchasing power, must be sought elsewhere than in war business.

## Russian Poetry Under Blight of Totalitarianism

(Continued from Page 3)  
tured Russians by the Finns are not manufactured out of the whole cloth. Russian officers, who have held high positions in civil life, such as factory managers, were unable to answer such questions as: "Who was Napoleon? Jesus? Rasputin?" One thought Berlin was the capital of France. Another thought that the Scandinavian countries were Sweden, Finland and Turkey. None had ever heard of Beethoven. But all answered as one voice when asked: "Who is the commander-in-chief of the Finnish army?"—"General Mannerheim." These reports from Finland may sound unbelievable, but hardly less so than the proud boast of Soviet Russia today that the word "Stalin" is sufficient to express all thought and emotion.

### RUSSIAN MUSIC—HYMNS TO STALIN

The latest art to get coordinated into the totalitarian system is music. The Daily Worker, January 27, 1940, reports with glee that Serge Prokofiev, the Russian composer, has written a new lyrical work for orchestra and chorus entitled: "Health to Stalin!" It was written to celebrate Stalin's sixtieth birthday. It is built upon seven poetical works from the Ukrainian, Moldavian, Marii, Russian, Belo-Russian, Kurd and Kumik. Apparently the Uzbeks and Kazakhs didn't make the grade. The music and poetry carry you thru Stalin's boyhood, to a Batum social-democratic meeting led by Stalin, then to Stalin's Siberian exile, depicts the "happy life" in Russia today, and winds up with a fiery "Hymn to Stalin."

The Stalinization of music can have no better results than the Stalinization of literature. From symphonies and tone poems to hymns of praise seems an inevitable stage for Russian music. A composer can take a hint as well as a poet.

## Russian-Finnish Peace Talks Are Under Way

(Continued from page 1)  
proportions on new wells. Taken together, the two events pointed to a tightening of Rumanian relations with Russia and Germany, or what is the same thing, to an extension of Russo-German influence over Rumania, the key Balkan state under present conditions.

The Finnish and Balkan situations were expected to loom large in the discussions between Dictator Mussolini, seconded by his Foreign Minister Ciano, and German Foreign Minister von Ribbentrop, who left for a sudden visit to Rome last week. But the central subject will probably be the recent sharpening of relations between Italy and the Allies, owing to the British seizure of German coal cargoes on Italian ships.

Some improvement of relations between Germany and Italy was expected from the Mussolini-Ciano-Ribbentrop conversations and even a rapprochement between Italy and Russia was hinted at, based on an understanding and a delimitation of spheres of influence in regard to the Balkans. At any rate, it was quite clear that Italy was far from having broken its old Axis connections with the Reich.

Military operations on the western front continued desultory last week, the twenty-seventh week after the outbreak of hostilities last September.

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