

Behind the Headlines:

Stalinism and the Present World Situation—II

By JAY LOVESTONE

THOSE who do not indulge in wishful thinking or energetic cursing, must recognize that Stalinism continues to be a serious problem and obvious force in America's economic and political life.

No more costly mistake can be made in estimating Stalinism or the Communist Party than to assume that it is, or can be treated as, a political party in our normally accepted sense of the word.

But here we must also not close our eyes to or keep silent about some false and dangerous moves recently made against the Communist Party by some of its enemies.

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

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

2. Primarily, the Communist Party is not interested in or genuinely responsive to the objective conditions in the country; nor is it concerned with the needs of the land.

3. The Communist Party exploits all economic and political situations at home only on the basis of furthering Russian foreign policy at one or another moment.

4. Corpse-like obedience in executing such swift changes of policy is dictated by the interests of Russian foreign policy, alliances, machinations, manipulations, intrigues and maneuvers.

5. Obviously we deal here with a state of mind, with a peculiar type of one-way mentality that is carefully and intensively nursed among C.P. members and fellow-travelers—a type of mentality that tends to make them impervious to reason and immune to rational arguments.

6. Such people get habituated only to receiving orders. This is conducive to developing a police mind and the mentality and morality of foreign observers and servants with feet on our soil but with heads and hearts elsewhere.

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Liberal Party Sweeps Canada On "No-Conscription" Issue

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

By J. R.

Toronto, Canada, WHILE the recent federal election in Canada assumed the form of a parliamentary election, it was, in reality, a plebiscite on the issue of conscription.

CONSERVATIVES OUTMANEUVERED

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Of course, the Liberal party is now in the same boat as that in which the Conservatives were trying to embark. They have complete control of the government, no opposition to speak of, and are in a position to do almost as they please.

Zoretti in Danger!

Paris, France

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

Ludovic Zoretti is a veteran of thirty-five years of activity in the socialist and labor movements, besides occupying a distinguished place in the world of education and science as professor in the Faculty of Sciences at Caen and director of the Technical Institute in Normandy.

Zoretti signaled his opposition to the war and signed a peace manifesto as far back as last September, when hostilities first broke out. Since then he has been a marked man with the government.

House Passes Logan Bill to "Curb" Buros

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

Washington, D. C.

The Logan-Walters bill, advocated by its sponsors as a curb on federal bureaucracy and denounced by the Administration as an attempt to cripple the effectiveness of governmental functioning, was adopted by the House of Representatives last week by the overwhelming vote of 279 to 97.

The main feature of the bill is its provision subjecting the rulings and orders of about 130 federal agencies and bureaus to court review. The bill also provides uniform and "safeguard" regulations for the exercise of the quasi-legislative and quasi-judicial power of such agencies.

The bill was sent to the Senate, which last year passed an almost identical measure. It is regarded as unlikely that the upper house will consider the bill this session and, even if it should be finally carried by both houses and sent to the White House, a certain veto faces it there.

The problem of controlling the vast tangle of administrative agencies that has grown up in recent years so as to limit the arbitrary and irresponsible exercise of power is one of immense urgency. Many, however, who are thoroly aware of the seriousness of the problem, do not feel that the Logan-Walters bill offers the proper approach to its solution.

The provisions of this bill would have a paralyzing effect on these agencies in the exercise of their proper and useful functions.

FDR Calls on Congress for WPA Funds

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

Washington, D. C.

President Roosevelt asked Congress last week to appropriate \$975,000,000 for relief in the 1941 fiscal year, with the understanding that the entire sum could be spent in the first eight months of the year.

Mr. Roosevelt's plan would permit the entire fund, if necessary, to be spent by W.P.A. between July 1, 1940, and March 1, 1941. This would hold the immediate appropriation within the present budget limit and would delay until next year—after elections—a decision whether the

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Opposition to War Grows in British Labor Movement

I.L.P. Conference Reasserts Strong Anti-War Stand

London, England.

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

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

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

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

The important decision was reached to permit members of the I.L.P. to join the Cooperative Party. The view of the National Council of the party that, under the present war circumstances, it was not desirable that the party should affiliate to the Labor Party was endorsed with only two opposed.

The standard of debating at the conference was very high. The delegates have returned to their districts determined to intensify the struggle for socialism and peace.

(A full account of the recent I.L.P. conference, together with the relevant documents, will appear in coming issues of this paper.—Editor.)

came from the ranks of the union. He was elected by the miners on the basis of the everyday struggle of the union.

Will the C.C.F. learn from this experience? So far as the contesting of Temiskaming Riding is concerned, they have not learned. In this district, a huge labor vote was split between a Farmer-Labor candidate and a C.C.F. candidate. Moreover, many sincere votes that would have come to labor were most likely transferred to the Liberal candidate.

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

Herr Hitler Certainly Knows His Friends....

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

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

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

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

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

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

London, England

The conference of the National Union of Clerks and Administrative Workers, meeting at Leeds recently, gave a splendid lead to the trade union movement.

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

But it did more than this. It adopted a resolution demanding a campaign based on an immediate armistice and action to secure a socialist peace.

This resolution was moved by G. A. Barrie, of Glasgow, who is a member of the Independent Labor Party.

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

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

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

V. F. Yates, of Birmingham, urging affiliation to the N.C.L., said that the labor movement had had to swallow the bitter pill of military conscription and should not underestimate the danger of industrial conscription.

London, England

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

This amendment condemned the war as imperialist and demanded an immediate armistice and the calling of an international workers conference to ensure that peace shall be based on socialistic principles.

Among the speakers who supported it was Fred Longden, of Birmingham, who maintained that the war was merely a clash between Nazi imperialism and British imperialism.

"Must blood be shed and millions go thru misery for generations for such a purpose?" he asked.

Another speaker in favor of the amendment was P. J. Agnew, who

urged that it would be a good thing if each country could offer as hostages about a dozen men responsible for causing the war. This would be an easier way than sacrificing millions of young people.

The amendment was defeated by 3,935,000 votes to 1,169,000 in favor of a resolution endorsing the prosecution of a "war for democracy" and for "democratic" peace aims.

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

Higher Education Board to Appeal Ruling on Russell

New York City.

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

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

The courageous attitude of the Board of Higher Education, in contrast to Mayor La Guardia's shameful evasion, received high praise in academic and liberal circles throughout the country.

Guards Own, Allied Empire Interests

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

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

"Intervention in the domestic affairs of the Netherlands Indies or any alteration of their status-quo by other than peaceful processes would be prejudicial to the cause of stability, peace and security not only in the region of the Netherlands Indies but in the entire Pacific area."

The next day President Roosevelt explicitly endorsed Secretary Hull's declaration.

Observers pointed out that the purpose of the American warning to Japan was double: (1) to protect American imperialistic interests in the far Pacific by stemming Japanese expansion in a southern and southwesterly direction; and (2) to aid England and France by preventing Japan from getting a foothold so close to Singapore, French Indo-China, and British India.

Secretary Hull's declaration, these observers stressed, was another and very striking expression of the unofficial working arrangement in existence between Great Britain and the United States, based on their common hostility to Japanese schemes of imperial expansion in the Far East.

According to this arrangement, the United States, thru diplomatic and economic pressure and, if necessary, thru its navy, is to "keep order" in the Pacific—that is, keep Japan in check and see that British and American "vital interests" are protected—thus permitting Britain to concentrate its full naval power in European waters, where, particularly today, it is so badly needed. Neither the United States nor Great Britain would relish seeing the rich Dutch East Indies, at present in the possession of a minor power, fall into the hands of so aggressive an imperialist rival as Japan.

Besides, it is believed that Japan has some sort of understanding with Germany, and must be regarded in some measure as a potential ally of the Reich.

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

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

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

Tension throughout the rest of Europe continued to mount last week, particularly in the Balkans and in the Low Countries, which hourly expected to be made the victims of new aggression on the part of the Reich and its allies. There were growing indications that a joint Russo-German-Italian plan of action in the Balkans was maturing, ready

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"RECONSIDERING MARXISM" - April 26 - SYMPOSIUM-DISCUSSION

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



# Federal "Anti-Trust" Drive Menaces Labor Movement

## Sherman Law Never Meant for Unions, Woll Stresses

By MATTHEW WOLL

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

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

The decision of Judge Peyton Gordon of the District of Columbia Federal District Court recently that labor unions do not enjoy blanket exemption from prosecution under the anti-trust laws is a notable decision which is bound to have many repercussions. It upholds for the first time the use of the Sherman law against delays resulting from jurisdictional disputes with labor organizations. It also sweeps aside the contention that labor lawyers have made for many years that, under the provisions of the Clayton Act, trade unions are expressly exempted from the operation of the Sherman Act. While I have no intention of going into the merits of this particular controversy in connection with two organizations that have been chartered by the American Federation of Labor, I do think it not unimportant for me to emphasize what is the considered opinion of the representatives of labor with reference to the so-called "trust-busting" campaign of Thurman Arnold.

### BACKGROUND OF SITUATION

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

It is my position that the ordinary industrial or business corporation is very different from the labor union. The corporation is an organization of dollars; the union is an organization of human beings. The purpose of the corporation is to make money; the chief practical duty of the union is to keep the corporation from making its profits at the expense of its workers. There is nothing in the nature of the case to show that what has worked well for one type of organization would do as well for the other.

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

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

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

monopolistic or in restraint of trade. Altho he lays much stress on his desire to prosecute violations of the Sherman Act on the part of employers of labor, the brunt of his attack has, to date, significantly gone against the trade-union movement.

### MR. ARNOLD'S "PROHIBITIONS"

The eminent Assistant Attorney-General has described five practices of labor organizations which he will not tolerate. These are unreasonable restraints designed to:

1. Enforce systems of graft and extortion.
2. Enforce "illegally fixed prices."
3. Prevent the use of cheaper material, improved equipment or more efficient methods.
4. Compel the hiring of useless and unnecessary labor.
5. Destroy an established and legitimate system of collective bargaining.

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

The second prohibition is meaningless, assuming as it does, an illegal state to begin with. The A. F. of L. would agree that insofar as price-fixing is in fact illegal, it should not be permitted. However, until we learn what activities Mr. Arnold considers "illegal" under this prohibition, we are unable to make any intelligent comment thereon.

Then, too, we are not advised if Mr. Arnold intends to disregard the "rule of reason" in this class of cases since he has completely waived aside the "rule of reason" in what may be considered strictly labor cases. Under the "rule of reason," it is held that combinations having a direct, im-

mediate and (by implication) material effect upon interstate commerce are unlawful, while those whose effect is indirect, incidental and (by implication) immaterial, are not unlawful.

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

### DANGEROUS IMPLICATIONS

It is the implications of the three principal injunctions of Mr. Arnold, rather than this flouting of judicial precedent, that discloses the fundamental anti-labor views of the Assistant Attorney-General. If a labor union may not use its economic strength to prevent the employer from using "cheaper materials," or what the employer often terms "more efficient methods," or to prevent "the use of improved equipment," then such labor organizations are seriously restricted. "Cheaper material" is almost always found to be material produced by the use of non-union labor or under depressed or sweatshop conditions. "More efficient methods" are more often than not found to be some form or other of a speed-up system. Using the excuse of "cheaper materials" or "more efficient methods," industry

## Knitgoods Union Helps Textile Workers Win

### Proves Solidarity Despite Labor Split

Brooklyn, N. Y.

LOUIS Nelson, manager of Knitgoods Workers Union Local 155, I.L.G.W.U. last week received the following letter dated April 1, 1940, from the New Jersey Joint Board of the Textile Workers Union.

"Dear Brother Nelson: I am very glad to report that today the Durham Dye Works, Weehawken, N. J., signed a contract with us. The contract goes into effect today."

"The contract calls for the reinstatement of the workers who were laid off because of union activities, a closed shop, a 10% increase in wages; arbitration of discharges and grievances, and provision that no work will go into a shop declared unfair to organized labor."

"We are very well satisfied with the contract and want you and your organization to know that we are very grateful for the effective work you did in helping us with the organization of the shop. I am also expressing the thanks of our Local 77 and of the Durham Dye workers."

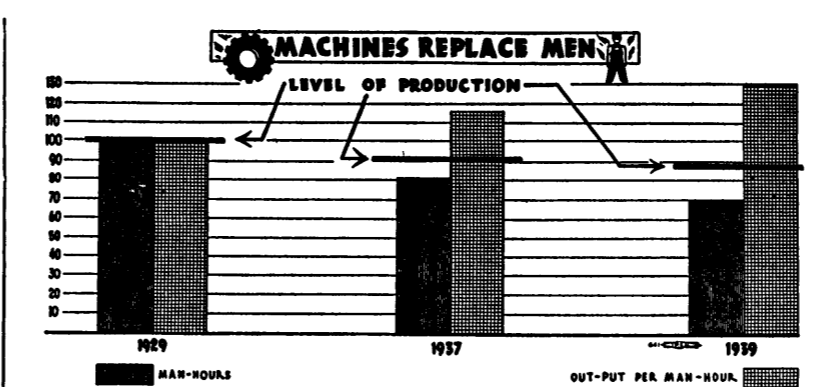
In the early part of March 1940, the Textile Workers Union, thru its officers, notified the Knitgoods Workers Union in New York City of a labor dispute between the Textile Workers Union and the Durham Dye Works at Weehawken, N. J., which firm organized a company union and refused to bargain collectively with the Textile Workers Union representing thousands of workers in the industry.

Over twenty knitting plants in New York City in contractual relations with the Knitgoods Workers who were having their fabrics dyed and finished in the Durham Dye

Works, were immediately notified by the Knitgoods Workers Union that they would have to stop sending their work to that firm.

The New York Knitgoods Union was involved in a great many difficulties as a result, being called to the State Mediation Board and threatened with court action by the employers association. In spite of this, it lived up to the pledges made to the I.L.G.W.U. by David Dubinsky, on November 13, 1938, when he said, "Having been placed in that position by the course of events, we nevertheless wish to emphasize that we shall continue our friendship with both organizations in the labor movement (C.I.O. and A. F. of L.), altho not affiliated with either. Of course, we will not feel obligated to help in situations involving competition and rivalry. But where the efforts will be genuine, having to do with safeguarding and advancing the economic welfare of the workers, we shall be found ready to assist and we hope that the attitude of the two organizations will be just as friendly towards us."

It is true that the Knitgoods Union in New York was involved in strikes and stoppages and that its members suffered materially because of the situation in the Durham Dye Works. Nevertheless, the membership showed its loyalty to the labor movement and, when their union called upon them, they responded to the call. The Durham Dye Works soon saw that it would not be able to utilize the present split in the labor movement to maintain a company union in its plant and had to come to terms with the bona-fide and recognized labor union in the industry.



The chart is made up of indexes for total man-hours worked, level of production and output per man-hour, based on 1929=100. The total man-hour figures are calculated on Bureau of Labor Statistics average payroll figures divided by average hourly wage rates in the manufacturing industries.

THE continued growth of the efficiency of production and the reduction of man-hours per unit which it causes are illustrated by the above chart, taken from the March issue of the Economic Outlook, a C.I.O. publication. In this chart, three peak years within the decade, 1929, 1937 and 1939, are given. As each of these peaks were reached, the amount of production made in each man-hour increased substantially. This estimate indicates an over-all increase of productivity per man-hour of nearly 28% in the decade of 1929 to 1939. This chart and the figures back of it show why, when production in December 1939,

reached a peak above the June 1929 peak, there were over two million less workers employed than in 1929.

Year	Man-Hours	Output per Man-Hour
Second quarter 1937	111	105.9
Fourth quarter 1939	111.9	97.3

(For indexes, 1937=100.)

## Campaign for Youth's Needs Explains Stand

By DOROTHY CAMPBELL

New York City.

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

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

Realizing, therefore, that a strong, active group is needed to contend with so vast a problem, the Bronx Youth Branch was pleased to hear Conn state that the C.Y.N. was starting modestly in order to build a firm foundation. With as few words and as little official red-tape as such constructive activity as possible, they hope to establish the ability and worth of the organization. "We want no more paper organizations," said the speaker, and he meant it.

The Campaign has limited its program to three "prejudices." They are as follows: 1. A "prejudice" against dictatorships. We don't like them abroad, and we want none of them here, whether it be of the Russian, German, Italian or our own home-grown variety. We want the support of no group which upholds totalitarianism anywhere in the world. 2. A bias in favor of democracy. And we mean something pretty definite. We want to make democracy work by making it meet human needs. 3. A prejudice in favor of workers, farmers, and consumers organizing to protect their standards of living—because thereby they move toward true economic democracy.

Other organizations interested or cooperating with the Campaign For Youth's Needs are the National Council for Methodist Youth, Workers' Circle (Youth section), Farmers Union, Young People's Socialist League, Southern Tenant Farmers Union, Workers Security Federation, Youth Committee Against War, Avukah, Consumers Cooperative groups, etc.

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

Concerned with the "growing anti-

Editor, Workers Age: IN view of the Independent Labor League possibly uniting with the Socialist Party, it would be enlightening to read an analysis in the Workers Age of the Second International and what attitude you would take on the question in the S. P. UNAFFILIATED RADICAL

New York City. WHAT is your position on the Second International? Will socialist unity be accomplished as long as the Socialist Party of the United States is affiliated to it? V. H.

Editor, Workers Age: THE question of international affiliation is one of considerable importance to socialist unity, but it is one not likely to arise until a great deal of other ground has been covered on the road to unity.

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

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

But even if we were not to look backward too closely or too far, we have the present situation before us. In this present situation, the central authorities of the Second International feeling of many youth," the Campaign for Youth Needs urges labor to "help youth help itself," thereby showing youth that their cause is one with that of labor.

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

Beginning Wednesday, May 1: A Series of Six Class Discussions "Critical Problems of Marxism" conducted by WILL HERBERG WEDNESDAY EVENINGS, 7:00 P. M. - 8:30 P. M. (Beginning Wednesday, May 1)

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Read—Spread WORKERS AGE

### Letters from Our Readers:

## This Is Not the Way To Fight Stalinism

Montreal, Canada

Editor, Workers Age:

PERMIT me thru your newspaper to extend my congratulations to Brother Zimmerman and the entire progressive slate on the successful termination of the recent elections held in Local 22 of the I.L.G.W.U. A defeat for the Stalinists, regardless in what field, is a blow against foreign domination, a blow against dictatorship, and is a decisive victory for the liberal and progressive-minded workers. This victory is significant because it was won by democratic means; also it shows that the masses are just about fed up with them and their work which has proved nothing but detrimental to the trade-union movement.

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

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

I believe that the "left-wing" candidate for business agent should have been permitted to run, and then have him defeated at the polls, as was the entire "left-wing slate."

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

A MONTREAL FRIEND OF THE WORKERS AGE

### The Editor Replies:

OF course, we think our Montreal friend is entirely right in his attitude. To rule a candidate off the ballot in a union election except on strictly constitutional grounds is an arbitrary and impermissible violation of democratic rights. The case is made even worse by the official reason given for ruling the Stalinist candidate off the ballot—that his candidacy might offend the Canadian authorities. The whole incident seems to us to be entirely unworthy of a union such as the I.L.G.W.U. Our Montreal correspondent did his duty, in our opinion, when he refused to go along with the arbitrary and unjustified ruling of the Joint Council.

Nor should it be overlooked that such undemocratic "administrative" methods against the Stalinists are, in their very nature, generally ineffective and self-defeating. They enable the Stalinists to pose as martyrs and win the sympathy and even support of workers who have nothing in common with Stalinism. The only way of really defeating Stalinism is by appealing to the rank and file of the membership with a constructive program to meet their problems and needs. This is what the progressive administrations did in Locals 22 and 155 of the I.L.G.W.U. But such an appeal is possible only on the basis of genuine and unrestricted democracy.

## About the Second International

New York City.

Editor, Workers Age:

IN view of the Independent Labor League possibly uniting with the Socialist Party, it would be enlightening to read an analysis in the Workers Age of the Second International and what attitude you would take on the question in the S. P. UNAFFILIATED RADICAL

New York City.

Editor, Workers Age:

WHAT is your position on the Second International? Will socialist unity be accomplished as long as the Socialist Party of the United States is affiliated to it? V. H.

### The Editor Replies:

THE question of international affiliation is one of considerable importance to socialist unity, but it is one not likely to arise until a great deal of other ground has been covered on the road to unity. We think it is obviously inconsistent for any socialist organization that takes its socialism seriously to remain affiliated with the Socialist (Second) International, especially since the outbreak of the war. It is not necessary here to say anything about the role of the Socialist International during the World War or in the post-war period. On most essential points, its position was simply not socialist at all; in some cases, it did not even come up to the standard of advanced liberalism.

But even if we were not to look backward too closely or too far, we have the present situation before us. In this present situation, the central authorities of the Second International feeling of many youth," the Campaign for Youth Needs urges labor to "help youth help itself," thereby showing youth that their cause is one with that of labor.

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

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On Rosa Luxemburg's Work

"The Russian Revolution"

By BERTRAM D. WOLFE

(We publish below Bertram D. Wolfe's introduction to his translation of Rosa Luxemburg's famous work, "The Russian Revolution." This work ran serially in these columns in recent issues and will soon appear in book form.—Editor.)

I. THE PAMPHLET'S HISTORY

ROSA LUXEMBURG'S pamphlet on the Russian Revolution has had a strange fate. When it was written, it seemed like a work ahead of its time; the revolutionary movement is only now catching up with it and becoming capable of assimilating its meaning.

It began as a short article written for the underground Spartacus Letters when its author was in Breslau prison in Germany for her opposition to the World War. It was a friendly yet critical appraisal of the revolution that had just occurred in Russia, intended to enlighten the German proletariat as to that great event.

Every line of it was written in jail, on the basis of German newspaper accounts, of Russian newspapers and pamphlets smuggled into Germany by the Soviet Embassy and into her cell by friends and comrades.

When the censorship of her comrades was at last broken, it was under most unfortunate circumstances. Paul Levi, a close associate of hers, was expelled from the Communist Party of Germany, in a dispute in which he was by no means alone in the wrong; and only after his expulsion did he choose to issue a somewhat incomplete version of the never finished pamphlet.

Immediately, the pamphlet was picked up and misinterpreted by the Social-Democratic spokesmen as a weapon against the Communists and the Russian Revolution.

made into a faction football and kicked around by every one. It soon disappeared from circulation in Germany without leaving any significant trace upon the movement; and those in other parties of the Communist International never even learned of its existence.

In 1928, when the Communist International was already breaking down, the pamphlet began a new cycle of history. In that year it was published in the present, complete form, by Felix Weil in Gruenbergs Archiv fuer die Geschichte des Sozialismus under der Arbeiterbewegung, Vol. XIII.

I have made a completely new translation—the first complete version, so far as I know in English—for serial publication in the Workers Age, of which the present pamphlet is a reprint. I have followed in general the Neuer Weg text, but have also made use of Levi's and Olivier's versions, and have reproduced as closely as possible even the unfinished fragments.

II. APPRAISAL OF THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION

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

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

But the revolution was no model revolution carried on under model laboratory conditions. It had occurred in a backward land, cursed with poverty, lacking in a democratic tradition, ill-equipped economically and culturally for the building of a model socialist order.

"It would be a crazy idea," she wrote, "to think that every last thing done and left undone in an experience with the dictatorship of the proletariat under such abnormal conditions should represent the very pinnacle of perfection."

But it was this crazy idea which formed the foundation of the Communist International from the outset and ultimately caused its destruction! That is why Rosa Luxemburg opposed its formation, for she saw the inevitable defect in the foundation.

She did not use her critical method, as the enemies of revolution did, to escape their own duties, but rather to emphasize them. If the Russian Revolution is warped, she asked, is it not because we, the German working class—and that of other countries—have not fulfilled our duty? Whose fault is it that German bayonets are advancing, that the whole economy is breaking down under the blows of the German military machine, that the harsh terms of Brest-Litovsk are being imposed, that we have not responded to the stimulus of their heroic example?

(Continued in the next issue)

This Is What the Last World War Cost . . .

CASUALTIES OF ALL BELLIGERENTS

(Compiled by U. S. War Department)

Table with columns: ALLIES, Killed and Died, Wounded, Prisoners and Missing, Total Casualties. Rows include Russia, France, British Empire, Italy, United States, Rumania, Japan, Serbia, Belgium, Greece, Portugal, Montenegro.

Table with columns: CENTRAL POWERS, Killed and Died, Wounded, Prisoners and Missing, Total Casualties. Rows include Germany, Austro-Hungary, Turkey, Bulgaria.

GRAND TOTAL

Summary table showing Grand Total: Killed 8,538,315; Wounded 21,219,452; Prisoners & Missing 7,750,919; Total Casualties 37,494,186.

Willi Schlamm Shows Allies How to Fight

Urges British, French to Invade Neutrals

By DONALD GRAHAM

NO one can match the determination of the Social-Democratic Federation in asserting undying loyalty to democracy and the peaceful, gradual transition to socialism.

HOW TO FIGHT "REAL WAR"

Schlamm proposes to put iron into the backbones of the pacifistic, week-kneed Allied General Staff. He sets forth to show these generals how to fight a real war.

However, don't think that Schlamm is to be satisfied by the mere invasion of Russia. That just whets his appetite. He then suggests smashing thru all neutral countries without such out-of-date formalities as asking "by your leave."

When Labor's Non-Partisan League was formed, its program was subservient to the Democratic party, its organization as weak as a new-born calf.

When Labor Party was formed, it received support because the forces created by it had been maturing, had been organized over a long period of time.

But Mr. Lewis has considered none of these matters and so, the titular head of a national trade-union movement finds himself virtually isolated with none to lean on but the Stalinists.

Being no substitute for the "labor" in "labor party," Mr. Lewis is succeeding in making mock of the whole notion of independent labor political action, and with the utter abandon of one seeking to amuse, mocks himself as well.

AMERICA ALSO A NEUTRAL

Appropos the largest of all neutrals, the United States, Willi Schlamm is amazingly restrained. In fact, he is completely silent.

It all comes down to the point that "the reemployment of our people in productive work still remains the measure of our task, war notwithstanding."

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

BRITISH WORKERS WORSE THAN HITLER!

One might think that, after having drawn into the orbit of invasion by the Allied powers every neutral country from the Atlantic to the Pacific, from the Arctic to the Indian Ocean, even the most blood-thirsty militarist would be satisfied.

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

"Not speaking for anybody, this writer wants to express his sincere conviction: There is something in the world more deserving of hatred than war, and more contemptible than even fascism: it is the irresponsibility of 'radicals' who sigh and weep our world into desperate confusion of destruction and death."

From this I gather (1) that Schlamm regards millions of organized workers in England as worse than war and worse than fascism, and (2) that when he was advocating the invasion of Soviet Russia, Scandinavia and the Balkans, Schlamm was speaking not for himself alone but for the New Leader and for social democracy in general, since in this particular case only does he make any specification.

HOW TO HELP HITLER

Actually, Schlamm's article is about the best piece of propaganda for Hitler that I have seen since the war began. For it actually justifies in advance Hitler's invasion of Scandinavia! If Hitler printed millions of copies of the Schlamm hymn to war, and distributed them thru Scandinavia, the Balkans, Russia and Germany, he would only be doing

(Continued on page 4)

War Boom Is No Remedy for U.S. Unemployment

IN this country, rich in resources but beset by a depression and with 10,000,000 unemployed men and women, the war is looked upon in many quarters as something which will solve our problems.

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

Plan Age, a monthly publication issued by the National Economic and Social Planning Association, tries to answer these questions: "The immediate impact of the war, has been to increase industrial production to a new post-depression high."

But there is a difference between 1940 and 1915. France and England are getting a much larger share of their goods from their colonies and from the dominions than in 1914-17.

Even more than that, England in particular is now trying to take over the markets formerly held by Germany.

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

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

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

And wage rates have not kept up with the rise in living costs. Prices have been rising since the outbreak of the war on our part. Consumer organizations report that it now takes \$1.10 to buy food costing \$1.00 before the war.

Plan Age concludes its study of the effect of the war on our economy with the comment: "In any event, the immediate impact of war on the American economy is not resulting in any quick solution for our unemployment problem."

It all comes down to the point that "the reemployment of our people in productive work still remains the measure of our task, war notwithstanding."

Lewis's Antics Hurt Labor Party Prospects

Outbursts No Way to Build Political Force

By M. S. MAUTNER

THESE are difficult, trying days for those who aspire to a nation-wide independent labor party, or some promising step in that direction. Yet the grimness of the situation, in which all the mistakes of previous movements are repeated and new ones created to increase the burden, has its comic relief.

Can a labor party be created by a determined individual, by a threat of reprisal against former political friends, by an announcement in the press, by a vigorous speech, by reckless and irresponsible collaboration with crackpot and Stalinist organizations? Or is a labor party essentially a process and movement rather than a thing, an expressed determination of labor's millions that they will no longer be bamboozled, a vehicle for such democratic political activity of the workers that it cannot be mistaken for a traditional political party?

When Labor's Non-Partisan League was formed, its program was subservient to the Democratic party, its organization as weak as a new-born calf. But, for a year or so, without any outraged rantings by Mr. Lewis in an empty auditorium carrying back to him his own echoed words, the League gave promise because the organized workers were aroused by its straightforward policy and caught up in the enthusiasm of its creation.

Mr. Lewis is a great man for arrangements if not for policy and program. He achieved labor unity all by himself thru the simple method of designating hall, date, time and seating arrangements for a "unity convention." He has now, to his own and the Daily Worker's satisfaction, built a labor party by a similar method, albeit omitting the hall this time, probably out of sheer modesty. His labor party is to be based on no known program. It would consist of the Townsend movement, which is hardly in Mr. Lewis's pocket; the American Youth Congress, which is divided on the issue, the Stalinists being with Lewis, the few remaining "innocent" youth leaders denying that the organization has agreed to such political commitment; the National Negro Congress, a Stalinist paper organization; and Mr. John L. Lewis. To begin with, therefore, this is to be a labor party without labor, without the trade unions, to rest almost exclusively on communists, and to devote itself exclusively to adoration of the Great and Wise Leader.

Now we are used to this kind of cause of the fundamental differences as to how to secure this independence. Miss Sen's critical treatment of the Hindu-Moslem feud is excellent. She shows clearly how Jinnah's Moslem League and Malaviya's Hindu Maha-Sabha have fanned the flames of the feud with their fanaticism, producing dissension and discord, and creating a tremendous obstacle in the way of the necessary unity of the two major elements of the Indian population.

As to the rest, there are interesting tidbits of biography and detail. For the general reader, this book will supply an interesting and informative introduction to some of India's major problems.

Reviewed by J. CORK

Norway on the Eve of The Nazi Invasion

German Refugee in Oslo Describes Tension

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

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

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

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

King to appoint such an officer. He therefore feels independent of the government and parliament. His main activity is to keep records of political refugees, to find out who they are, why they have come to Norway, and sometimes he tries to make it difficult for them to stay in Norway. It is known that he is friendly with Nazis or Nazi sympathizers, and there are rumors that he hands over to the Nazis the information he gathers about political refugees and that he also gets information from the Nazis. He would certainly welcome a German invasion.

You do not need reports from me about the internal situation in Germany. Read carefully all Nazi newspapers, and the Frankfurter Zeitung in particular. It is almost incredible with what cynicism the Nazis reveal everything. Illegal reports appear a poor source of information compared to what the Nazis themselves reveal. The Nazis themselves proclaim the necessity of terror and executions in carrying thru their internal policies. Read carefully, for instance, about this execution as reported in the Frankfurter Zeitung. A 26-year old girl from a small town is executed. The Nazi paper publishes this fact with just these words of explanation: "She committed arson in her factory so as not to have to work there any more. . . ."

"STALIN" By Boris Souvarine (A Critical Survey of Bolshevism) \$3.75 WORKERS AGE BOOKSHOP 131 W. 33 St., New York City

Books by Jim Cork

TESTAMENT OF INDIA, by Ella Sen, W. W. Norton and Co., New York City, 1939. \$2.25.

THIS book by a prominent Indian writer and political worker is a well-written and informative study of important individuals, events and problems of contemporary India. The individuals treated are Gandhi; Nehru; Tagore; Bose; Prasad, ex-president of the Indian National Congress; Sarajini Naidu, famous woman poet and nationalist; Jinnah, head of the Moslem League; Malaviya, head of the fanatical communalist Maha-Sabha, Hindu counterpart of the Moslem League; and Abdul Ghaffar Khan, colorful leader of the Red Shirts of the Northwest Frontier, bone in the throat of the English military, Moslem follower of the Congress, and known as the Frontier Gandhi. There are chapters on the following questions: the Young Socialists, terrorism, communalism, women's movements and the peasant movement.

With such a variety of topics treated, the author manages to cover most of the important questions stirring India today. She is prone to idolatry and her critical judgment is often blunted thereby. Her general attitude is one quite typical of the majority of middle-class intellectuals of India. She is sympathetic with the economic misery of India's vast oppressed peasant mass; she has some harsh words to say about the landlords; she throws a few polite sentences at the socialists; but her essential outlook and sympathy are with Gandhi and Gandhism. She subscribes to the main dogmas of the Gandhist ritual—non-violence, passive resistance, etc. She deprecates division in the Indian National Congress and would like to see unity, is quite naive as to the reasons for division: "At the present moment, when the goal of every nationalist in India is independence, there is no Right and no Left." The deep rift between the factions cannot be so easily exercised by a phrase. After all, it exists be-

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WILL HERBERG, Editor

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

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## BETRAYAL IN NORWAY

**T**HE story of the treachery of high Norwegian officials that opened the way for the German invaders, as laid bare in press reports last week, is appalling indeed. But it is instructive too, altho the newspaper stories have naturally failed to indicate the real point of significance. How was such wide treachery possible? How could so many men high up in the Norwegian military and civil service have been suborned by the Nazis? Talk of "spy rings," "bribery," "infiltration," and the like explains nothing, for obviously there must have been something in Norwegian social and political conditions that provided a fruitful soil for such insidious manipulations. What happened in Norway that made such a thing possible?

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

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

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

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

## STALINISM AND PRESENT SITUATION

(Continued from page 1)

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

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

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

9. Obviously, tremendous resources are at the disposal of these agents of the Hitler-Stalin block, of such a party and its auxiliaries. 10. Corruption, as well as misguided and misdirected idealism, combined with mechanical military discipline, serve further to turn the Communist Party into a pestilential factor.

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

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

(The first part of this analysis appeared in the last issue of this paper.—Ed.)

# We Must Choose: Socialism or Fascism!

By JULIAN GORKIN

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

**I** BRING you greetings in the name of the P.O.U.M. and I want to thank you fraternally for the solidarity that you have shown the Spanish people during the civil war. I want to speak to you in all sincerity in the name of the tragic experiences which we have lived thru—experiences that should serve to teach the entire international working-class movement. The defeat of the Spanish Revolution was the result of twenty years of defeats of the European proletariat, which permitted the seizure of power by the fascist dictators, Hitler and Mussolini, the maintenance of the French and British empires, and the bureaucratic degeneration of the Russian Revolution. All these factors have combined in various forms to assassinate the latest and most heroic revolution—the Spanish Revolution.

## MANKIND FACES THE ALTERNATIVE

During the post-war period, mankind was faced with this dilemma: socialism or fascism. The chronic crisis in the capitalist system and the resulting crisis in bourgeois democracy should have led mankind towards the only logical, the only progressive and genuinely human solution: socialism. Yet socialism did not conquer; fascism won instead. Why?

## I.W.F. Appeal On Scandinavian Crisis:

# Stop This Massacre!

(We publish below a declaration on the Scandinavian crisis issued on April 10, 1940 by the International Workers Front Against War.—Editor.)

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

These acts of banditry show that imperialist savagery

does not recognize any laws or principles when its existence is at stake.

In denouncing these acts, the International Workers Front Against War also denounces the system of exploitation that has thrown the world into dictatorship and destruction for the profit of a handful of totalitarian bureaucrats and competing industrial and financial groups.

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

If men continue to throw themselves by the millions against each other in an insane struggle for raw materials and imperialist booty, the only result will be to spread the most dreadful poverty, ruin and barbarization throughout the world.

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

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

## WORKERS OF ALL COUNTRIES!

Do not let the dreadful conflagration spread to still other countries! Stop the massacre! Fraternize!

## Liberals Sweep Canada on "No-Conscription" Issue

(Continued from Page 1)

people and attempt to win them over to their program. This is a sheer impossibility. Compare this situation with the set-up in Cap Breton South. From the day that the U.M.W.A. affiliated to the C.C.F., the battle was half-won. The mine union was the C.C.F. It functioned every day. It did not have to make an eleventh-hour appeal to the workers. It had been appealing to the workers every day on the economic field. On election day, it improved its appeal by supplementing its economic arm with its political arm.

Despite the fact that the C.C.F. has fallen into a rut elsewhere, this election shows that in Nova Scotia it has become the party of labor. It can become the party of labor elsewhere by duplicating its Nova Scotia affiliations. Every conscientious C.C.F. member should work for this tie-up with the economic organizations of the workers. If this is achieved, not only will the results in parliament register political growth but it will also indicate the vast economic support behind the C.C.F.

## WHY NO BIGGER SUCCESS

Why did the C.C.F., which should have materially increased its parliamentary representation, do little more than hold its own, despite its gain in Nova Scotia? The cause is not far to seek. It lies in the isolation of the C.C.F. from the everyday activity of the workers on the economic field. The C.C.F. has organizationally deteriorated into an electoral machine, and as such its activity is limited to the political field. The only chance it has to function politically is in election campaigns, at which time, for a period of thirty days or so, it has to establish contacts with the mass of the

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

The class-collaboration policy of the social-democracy has had the worst possible results for the international, which can no longer be social-democrats collaborated in governments, they opened up the road to the worst reaction. All experience is conclusive on this question. The last test was that of the People's Front. Look at France. Paul Reynaud was the most determined enemy of the People's Front in France, but right now he is governing France with the help of a Chamber of Deputies elected by this same People's Front.

The chief responsibility for the victory of fascism in Germany and for the defeat of the People's Front in France—the two main political events in the last seven years—lies with the Third International, which has become nothing but the instrument of the foreign policy of the Stalin regime. But the responsibility of the Third International does not in any way detract from the great responsibility of the Second International, which can no longer be considered as a socialist or working-class international.

The Spanish Revolution might have triumphed in 1936, as it coincided with the mass movement in France of the same year. But the policy of the People's Front and of "non-intervention" killed it. The French socialists and Stalinists capitulated before the demands of the British Conservatives and of the French bourgeoisie. When they had to choose between fascism and revolution, the Anglo-French bourgeoisie naturally chose the former, in conformity with all class logic. But to what class logic did the policy of social-democracy and Stalinism correspond?

The Spanish Socialist Party, which was the central force in the Spanish political situation, also failed to maintain a class position. It followed the line of the Spanish bourgeoisie republicans and gave up everything in order to win the "friendship" of the western "democracies," and ended up by surrendering to the Stalinists. In 1936, Stalin had just gone over from his policy of "social fascism" to that of "democracy against fascism." He showed no scruples in his efforts to impose his dictatorship over Spain in order to force it to follow his line of a block with the so-called "democratic" imperialisms against the fascist imperialisms. In order to extend his dictatorship over Spain, he committed the most monstrous crimes, the worst of which was the political and physical assassination of the revolution.

that the Stalin regime and the Hitler regime are becoming more and more alike, and that Stalin is becoming increasingly dependent on Hitler. The international working class must carry on the most vigorous struggle against both Hitler and Stalin. But, in order to do this, should the workers support the Allies — Anglo-French imperialism? Certainly not! War is finishing off the last remnants of democracy in France and in England. There are many who feel that by fighting against British and French imperialism they might be giving indirect aid to Hitler. We must expose this error. On the contrary, support of Anglo-French imperialism only helps to reinforce Hitler among the German people. The latter are opposed to Hitlerism and to war, but they certainly do not want a new Versailles, or the partition of Germany. The German proletariat will fight against Nazism and against the war and for the revolution only insofar as the revolutionary struggle of the working class in the Allied countries guarantees that the German revolution will be safe from intervention and will not be drowned in blood. It is the duty of the proletariat in all countries to fight for its own class program; it must unite its struggle for socialism in western Europe with the struggle of the colonial peoples for their national and social emancipation.

We hear a lot about what American imperialism will or will not do. While this is very important, it is what the American working class intends to do that counts far more. The European bourgeoisie is looking towards America, but the European working class also, and for very different reasons, has its eyes on the United States. It understands very well that America's entry into the war would only tend to intensify and prolong the war. And the European working class, in spite of the shameful lies of the social-democrats, does not want the war either intensified or prolonged. It went to war in spite of itself, because it was led there by the betrayals of Stalinism and social-democracy.

## AGAINST BOTH IMPERIALISMS

Stalin wanted to turn the Spanish civil war into an international imperialist war. He was not able to do this so he signed the pact with Hitler, which marked the actual beginning of the present war. It is obvious

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UNITE FOR PEACE AND SOCIALISM  
In France, as well as in Germany, and even in England, the bourgeoisie is forced to resort to intensified measures of repression in order to meet the discontent and opposition to war of the masses. It is your duty here, comrades, to fight with determination against American intervention, against the extension of the war. You must support with all your strength the European proletariat in its fight against war and against the regimes responsible for the war. You must fight for a socialist peace.

Comrades, more than ever are we faced with the dilemma: socialism or fascism, rule of the workers or rule of monopoly capital. Either the international working class will prove able to bring about a socialist peace, a genuine workers democracy, or it will be forced to suffer, after all the horrors of the war, the barbarism and slavery of fascism. We must clarify our viewpoint, in conformity with the experiences of these last twenty years, and we must unite our proletarian action on both the national and international scale.

Against war!  
For the Socialist United States of the World!

For the Socialist United States of the World!

## Negro and War Discussed In Harlem Symposium

By D. B.

New York City.

**A** VERY much interested audience filled Renaissance Casino in Harlem on April 7th to hear a symposium discussion on "Whither the Negro in the Present War?" The speakers included Dr. Huggins, Edward K. Welsh, Mary Ovington of the N.A.A.C.P., Frank Crosswaith of the Negro Labor Committee, and Jay Lovestone.

Dr. Huggins called for unity of Negro and white workers, and pointed out that the first job for the Negroes in the United States was to improve their conditions in this country. Edward Welsh made clear that Negroes, in order to determine their attitude toward the government in the event of war, would first have to consider the attitude of the government toward them. In dramatic fashion, he showed that while Negroes were fighting for the United States in the last world war, 115 colored people were lynched in the same period in "democratic" America. "Before we fight for democracy," he said, "we wish to taste that democracy." He urged pressure to keep America out of war, and called for war against unemployment, poverty, lynching, and race discrimination instead.

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

Jay Lovestone showed how war intensifies reaction from which the Negroes, under the present political and social set-up, would be the first to suffer. He stated that the colonial and oppressed colored peoples should take advantage of the difficulties of the imperialist powers and strike for freedom. Stalinism was not the way out for Negroes or workers generally, and as proof of this, he pointed to the role of Stalinism in connection with Ethiopia, the destruction of the colonial movements under its control in the days of "Popular Frontism," the recent pact with Germany, and the invasion of Finland. He suggested a concrete plan of action: (1) Do not trust oppressors; (2) develop independent

## THE NUREMBERG DECREES FOR THE JEWS

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

The effect of this book has been to upset Harrison quite a bit. When Harrison adopted his pro-war, pro-Allied position last September, he thought England was fighting for democracy. The millions of class-conscious workers in England opposed to the war, the Independent Labor Party, and our own Workers Age couldn't convince Harrison to the contrary. But Sir Neville Henderson has done the trick. Harrison must now admit: "This volume confirms the suspicion that there is much in common between the Chamberlain-Halifax-Henderson crowd and the gang in control in Wilhelmstrasse."

No comment is necessary.

struggles and self-reliance; (3) cooperate with, and become part of, the working-class struggle; (4) keep America out of war; (5) get rid of the war-makers; (6) Negroes must educate white workers that there can be no freedom for the white man as long as the Negro is enslaved; and (7) support the work of the International African Bureau.

A short but stimulating discussion period followed. Those present expressed great satisfaction at the forum which permitted democratic discussion as well as the effective presentation of various points of view. Many asked questions about the Independent Labor League of America which had succeeded in organizing such a successful forum, and requested to be invited to future meetings. The Workers Age, which plans to publish some of the speeches delivered at the symposium, was bought by many in the audience.

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

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

Russia remained in the background of affairs last week, altho it was vitally interested in all developments, particularly in Scandinavia and the Balkans, in both of which it was scheduled to share in the loot. London reports spoke of "closer relations" between Turkey and Yugoslavia, on the one hand, and Russia, on the other.

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

## FDR Calls on Congress For WPA Funds

(Continued from Page 1)

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

Read—Spread  
**WORKERS AGE**