# Workers Age

Weekly Paper of the Independent Labor League of America

CLINICAL SPECIMEN OF TROTSKYIST DOGMATICS . . . by Will Herberg . . .

KNITGOODS PROGRESSIVES WIN BIG VICTORY . . . page 2.

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### Behind the Headlines:

# Unity – Or Else . . . .

By JAY LOVESTONE

JUST at the moment when a united trade-union movement is most urgently needed, do we find that the outlook for trade-union unit is dimmest. It would be folly to play the ostrich and wishfully think that somehow or other the A. F. of L. and C.I.O. will soon get together.

The entire labor situation has taken a turn for the much worse in recent months. John L. Lewis has rudely rebuffed all A. F. of L. efforts at further negotiations. The A. F. of L. Executive Council—inept, devoid of imagination and sterile in initiative—has failed to make any moves to force or dramatize the issue or, for that matter, even to acquaint adequately the rank and file with the startling facts of Lewis's guilt in this situation. To add fuel to the flames menacing labor's vital interests, the C.I.O. has increasingly and systematically been resorting to rankest dualism and disorganization, especially against the highly organized buildingtrades unions. The "bright boy" and evil genius of the governing coterie of the C.I.O.—a lawyer, Lee Pressman—has gone so far as to applaud state secretary, would retain control publicly Thurman Arnold's sinister assault on unionism. Badly muddying all these life-streams of labor is the obnoxious Stalinist dirt, the weight of which has become much heavier in C.I.O. councils since the last convention at San Francisco.

Very small wonder, indeed, that in the face of such suicidal internecine strife Congress may enact a law prohibiting political campaign contributions by labor unions. It is the split in the labor movement which is primarily responsible for the grave dangers to all further and even already enacted social legislation. This tragic division must either be healed soon or else. . . . No good can come out of the continuation of two trade-union movements tearing at each other's throat. Only the worst of evil is in store for all labor organizations if this breach is not

healed very soon. Let us cite some facts. Embittered by the loss of ground and egged on by those inveterate dualists, the Stalinites, the C.I.O. has turned to the crassest dual unionism. In the anthracite region, C.I.O. organizers have been making desperate efforts to win over some runaway women's garment shops. Of course wage scales, hours, and working conditions of runaway employers are to be accepted here by the C.I.O. in exchange for the check-off system and so-called recognition of the Lewis firm. Incidentally, this is being hailed as smart strategy in circles closest to Lewis himself—on the ground that it will teach the I.L.G.W.U. a lesson or two about the "invincible power" of the C.I.O. and may even prevent Dubinsky's reaffiliation to the A. F. of L. Obviously, this is nothing but stupidity run

There is even rising talk of the C.I.O.'s tackling the printing trades. If perchance someone might think that we are exaggerating in the least, we hasten to present unchallengeable evidence typifying this disruptive spite policy as applied by the C.I.O. in its feverish campaign to disorganize the building-trades unions. A few weeks ago, the C.I.O.'s United Construction Workers Organizing Committee appeared before the New York Building Trades Employers Association and offered the latter standard contracts providing for lower wages and longer hours than those entorced by existing agreements with the A. F. of L. unions. The C.I.O. offered the bosses: a flat daily wage of \$9 for mechanics ("compared with the A.F. of L. scale of from \$11 to \$15, \$6 for helpers, and \$5 for common labor"), freedom from jurisdictional disputes and strikes ("by allowing employers to transfer workers from one skilled occupation to another"), a guarantee against all interference with the use of materials known until the meeting of the new on the ground that they are non-union made, and finally an eight-hour State Committee, which by law must st the A. F. of L.'s six-hour and seven-hour days.

The building-trades bosses told the Lewis spokesmen that they could the primaries. not do business with the C.I.O. until it had more members enrolled in the

# Regular ALP Slate **Carries in State**

Alex Rose Claims 150 Majority But Stalinist Forces Make Big Inroads; **State Committee to Meet Soon** 

The Stalinist-controlled "Progressive Committee" registered heavy inin the state primary elections on April 2 altho all indications were that the regular State Committee leadership headed by Alex Rose, of the state organization.

Final figures were not available last week but Alex Rose claimed that at least 450 of the 750 members of the A.L.P. State Committee elected in the primaries were supporters of the cld State Committee leader-

According to Rose's headquarters, "regular" State Committee slate carried Bronx and Brooklyn, electing 30 committee members to 10 for the "Progressive Committee" in the former and 62 to 53 in the latter. It lost two other boroughs, lowever, the line-up being 35 to 80 in Manhattan and 10 to 20 in Queens. In Richmond, there was a tie, 5 to 5.

These figures would mean that in New York City the Stalinist forces took 168 committee members as against 142 for the State Committee.

Up-state returns received at the end of last week indicated that at least 54 out of 88 Assembly districts to support the Rose ticket. Five members of the new State Committee were elected by each Assembly district. This would give the old! State Committee a clear tho as yet excuse children from school undetermined lead for the state as a

Headquarters of the Stalinist Progressive Committee" not only challenged these figures but also claimed that a number of uncontested delegates elect up-state as supporters of the old State Committee were really their men under cover. The exact state of affairs will not be

at the meeting of the State Comroads in the American Labor Party mittee. We have carried 90 districts the present to do this. This is an out of 150 in the state.

"In New York City, we carried the Bronx and Brooklyn, lost Manhattan and Queens and won one and lost one district in Richmond. The Bronx and Brooklyn contain 100,000 enrolled voters of our party out of a total of 135,000 in the city and we carried the largest districts in these two important boroughs. The popular vote in the city was in our favor.

"The large majority of our enrolled voters have expressed their approval of the policies of the Labor Party. It is somewhat unfortunate that a larger percentage of the enrolled voters did not participate in the primaries because the preprimary canvasses indicated overwhelming support for the party regulars. Many of our supporters which one would have to go to the totalitarian countries themselves. never participated in a primary fight and were not sufficiently exparienced to engage in this fight.

"Now that we have been given vote of confidence by the enrolled voters we shall eliminate those ele ments in the party who entered it under false pretenses and who stand for a philosophy foreign to the basic they were charged with distributing, or being responsible for the disoutside of New York City had voted principles and ideals of the American Labor Party."

> New York City The Coudert-McLaughlin bill attend religious classes was attacked as un-American and "thoroly vicious" last week by Johanna M. Lindloff,

The Teachers Guild, United same ruthlessness and savagery that distinguished its predecessor. What Parents Association, and the Teach- do the "socialists" in the cabinet have to say about it? Are they, who ers Union also assailed the measure in messages asking Covernor Leh- hatred of totalitarianism, ready to take responsibility for the military man to veto it. The bill has been despotism being consolidated right at home under their very eyes? passed by large majorities in the Legislature.

separation of church and state and make the world safe for democracy," is democracy and liberty at York State Labor Relations Act and judice in the schools, the teachers socialists in France. We must not rest until we have raised such a cry of

# Popular Issue

been forgotten by Congress, but not by the people, is the war referendum. Regardless of which party is successful in the coming elections, the people need to protect themselves from involvement in any foreign war by demanding that Congress begin legislating this protec-New York City. regular candidates of the party will tion by adopting the war-referendum have a clear majority of at least 150 resolution before it adjourns.

No opportunity affords itself like election year. Who will be the candidates of the major political parties and who will sit in the White House. no one can predict. No one can be (Continued on Page 2)

Bares Its Teeth!

The French Dictatorship

and francs fine, five years loss of all political, civil and family rights!

# War Referendum House Labor Group Popular Issue Washington, D. C. An issue which seems to have gen forgotten by Congress but the seems to have gen forgotten by th

Norton Bill Embodies A.F.L. Proposal On Craft Representation Unit; Green Calls for Support by Federation

Washington, D. C. The House Labor Committee last ure considered. week approved a bill to amend the National Labor Relations Act, offered by its chairman, Representative Mary T. Norton, and instructed her to use "all possible parliamen-

tary procedures" to have the meas-The Norton bill contains four important modifications of the Wagner Act:

1. The Labor Board shall be enlarged to five by adding two to the present three members.

2. The Board shall continue to determine the bargaining unit, provided that in any case where a majority of a particular craft so decide, the Board shall designate the craft as a unit for bargaining pur-

3. The employer may petition for an election when there is a dispute

NOTHING so completely exposes the fraud and hypocrisy of the of-ficial pretense of the French government that it is fighting for 4. Where contracts exist between 'freedom and democracy" as the barbarous treatment it is meting out to dissident elements within its own borders. The report from the Temps employers and a majority of their employees, such contracts shall conpublished in the last issue of this paper on the fate of the seven members of the P.S.O.P. (Socialist Workers and Peasants Party) at the hands of majority or affiliation may take of the Paris military tribunal points to a situation to find a parallel for place. This amendment states that the Board shall not have power to Seven P.S.O.P.ists, party leaders and militants, are taken into cus- certify the representatives with retoday, illegally kept in prison for several months without a hearing, then spect to the bargaining unit covered by the contract "until after such finally brought before the military court for trial. After a summary investigation, the sentences are handed down: five years in prison, a thous- has been in effect for one year, whichever occurs first."

And what dreadful crime against the majesty of the state did these These amendments were immedi-.S.O.P.ists commit that they received such crushing punishment? Why, ately endorsed by William Green, tribution of, certain anti-war leaflets issued by their party BEFORE THE launched the Federation's campaign WAR BEGAN! That was the sole offense charged against them—and for the early passage of the Norton for that they were sentenced to long terms in prison, heavy fines, and bill. Commenting on this bill, Mr. the loss of their rights as citizens! And the government that can commit Green said that, while it would be to such an outrage against elementary human rights and political decency has the brazen auadacity to proclaim itself the champion of freedom new members," the proposal to add two members "will change the com-In the new French cabinet headed by Reynaud, there are three plexion of the Board and inevitably member of the New York City Board | members of the Socialist Party of France, the party of Blum-Faure. This result in better and fairer adminisnew cabinet is continuing the persecution of dissident opinion with the tration."

"that 'in any case where the majorjustify their support of the war and the government by their profound ity of employees of a particular craft so decide, the Board shall designate such craft as a unit appropriate for the purpose of collective For us in this country, what is happening in France is both a warning bargaining.' This amendment emand a challenge. A warning that the first victim of war, even a war "to bodies the language of the New

# In Communication to S. P. Convention To Strengthen Blockade

dictatorship in the saddle in Paris will have to give heed!

### Attempt to Block Shipments of Ore From Norway, Sweden to Germany

With military operations on the Russian repitition in Finland of Nazi the Labor Party Conference, to meet western front continuing inactive tactics in swallowing Czecho-Slova- at Bournemouth from May 13-16, feel in this matter. We would like last week, the thirty-first week of kia. Russian economic aid to Gerparties have contributed by sins of and of the spread of such economic to see the Presidential elections the war, increasing attention was many loomed larger in Allied calcu-truce.

> and on diplomatic maneuvers to pro a series of drastic measures of economic warfare. Prime Minister newed effort would be made, thru from reaching the Reich. Chamberlain stressed that sea-power would be the big stick behind this program. Britain even took the unprecedented

step of mining Norwegian territorial

waters in order to prevent the pass-

age of German ships. The Allied program was directed against the Scandinavian countries Balkans and southeastern Europe in Third, there is the question of the second. Considerable alarm was labor unity. We are sure that you expressed in Norway and Sweden at agree with us on the urgent need the consequences of the intensified for a reunification of the divided economic warfare on the part of Britain. It was understood that the democratically run, powerful trade- Allies had protested to the governallowing German ships to use Scan- be considerably increased as nearly are against the truce. Laski prophdinavian territorial waters for car- 4.000,000 Rumanian youths were esied at the end of last year that rying raw materials, such as Swedish drafted to work on farms in order ore, to Germany. It was believed to provide a bigger grain supply months. that Britain was contemplating for export to the Reich. drastic measures to assure ore

> those to the Reich. Moscow that it would not brook a

lations last week than perhaps ever | In the thirty-nine years of the before since the war started.

In Oslo, Foreign Minister Koht stressed that Norway would not perbelligerent powers. He said his country was ready to stop ore and other space on the agenda. shipments to all belligerents but Chamberlain announced that a re- | could not allow any "one-sided" arrangement. "If such hindrance of trade pacts limiting neutral exports shipping should be one-sided against rank and file, but it cannot be acone party and therefore in open conspread buying, to keep materials flict with the neutrality which we have pledged ourselves to maintain,' he concluded, "Norway will then at once be at war" This sharp declaration was an indication of the increasingly anti-Allied sentiment, in some cases definitely pro-German and pro-Russian, prevalent in government circles in Norway and Sweden

Stiffening of the blockade in the Southeast was also considered last week in London by the British and French ministers in charge of economic warfare. Here Rumania was recognized as of central importance Society of Locomotive Engineers because of the supplies of grain and and Firemen are likely to oppose. oil that Germany was drawing from that country. This economic assist-

(Continued on Page 4)

# home; a challenge to come to the aid of the hard-pressed militant protest in this country against the repressions in France that the military British Labor Revolt Against

Local Labor Parties Oppose Official Policy, Prepare to Fight at Coming Congress

London, England. No fewer than fifty Labor Parties have resolutions on the agenda for demanding an end to the electoral

Labor Party's existence, there have never been so many resolution introduced in opposition to the official policy of the party. The resolutions extend over eight pages and occupy more than one-fifth of the total

There is little doubt that these resolutions represent the overwhelming view of the Labor Party cepted that this view will therefore necessarily carry in the conference.

The decision at the conference will be determined by the block vote of the large trade unions, which means in many cases the vote of the Executives. These can be counted on generally to support the official attitude.

On the other hand, it is not certain that all the large trade unions will support the truce. The South Wales miners, for example, have voted against it, and the National Union of Railwaymen and the Associated

It is known that there is a minority in the Labour Party's Exments at Oslo and Stockholm against ance to the Reich seemed about to ecutive, led by Harold Laski, who the truce would not last another six

This strong expression of opinion The intensified interest of the Al- inside the Labor Party condemning deliveries to itself while blocking lies in the Balkans aroused growing the policy of the leadership will be concern in Italy, particularly over welcomed by those who want to see Thru communications to Norway the possibility of naval action in the the political stage cleared for an ism and peace.

### Commenting on the results of the is likely to intensify religious preindustry. That this is an open bid by the employers to go out and recruit | elections, Mr. Rose said: (Continued on page 4) "The reports indicate that the and parents organizations charged. ILLA Makes Appeal for Socialist Unity Allies Turn to Measures "Truce" Grows

Letter of Greetings Urges Cooperation on Many Vital Issues Facing Labor

(We publish below the communication addressed by the Independent Labor League of America to the recent convention of the Socialist Party of America at country into war lies the chief our desire to try to influence your Washington, D. C. It places the position of the I.L.L.A. very clearly on the problem of socialist unity and related issues.—Editor.)

New York City. Socialist Party Convention

Washington, D. C. Dear Comrades:

we take the occasion of your own ington, D. C., to send you greetings a new capacity to resume the interand good wishes for the fruitfulness rupted forward march toward socialof your deliberations.

difficult and burning problems press tion to this urgent task. upon the all too weak socialist Russia which aroused hope every-World War to a close, the past necessities of the time. quarter of a century has witnessed a series of defeats for the working- Cooperation class movement in land after land—sometimes after gallant struggles, Against War as in Austria and Spain; sometimes movement. All of the tendencies and that in the possible entrance of this the Presidential elections. It is not

ism. We hope and trust that your You meet at a time when the most convention will make its contribu-

There are pressing problems forces of this country and of other facing you that will not wait until lands. After an initial success in this necessary reexamination has been completed but must be met where and helped to bring the first now in accordance with the urgent

First of these is the question of without even a struggle, as in Ger- war. In this field, your organization many. The gravest blow of all has and ours have been in close agreebeen delivered to us from within, ment and fighting shoulder to by the betrayal of our hopes for shoulder. We have had every occasocialism and freedom in Soviet sion to welcome such collaboration Russia. The errors, defeats, divisions in movements like the Keep America and betrayals leave our movements Out of War Congress where your divided, weakened in morale, and spokesmen and ours have had com dceply in need of honest and search- mon agreement on all problems and ing reexamination of our funda- we have been able to strengthen mental premises and assumptions. the anti-war forces both in pro We know that you will agree with gram and in organization as a result us that neither the errors nor the of that agreement. We look forward sound views that have met the test to that cooperation being continued of these difficult and stormy years and reinforced as a result of the are the monopoly of any section decisions of your convention. We of the international revolutionary feel, and believe that you do too,

danger to such freedoms as we have. tarian military dictatorship at home groups as: America: Independent Labor Lea-

gue of America (I.L.L.A.). Great Britain: Independent Labor

Party of Great Britain (I.L.P.). France: Socialist Workers and Peasants Party (P.S.O.P.). Germany: Communist Party Opposition (C.P.O.). Greece: Communist Archio-Marx-

ist Party. Holland: Socialist Revolutionary Party (R.S.A.P.), N.A.S. Trade

Italy: Italian Socialist Party (Maximalists). Spain: Workers Party of Marxist

Unity (P.O.U.M.). Sweden: Socialist Party (P.S.S.) Groups in Norway and Czecho-

International Buro of Revolutionary Socialist Youth African Colonial Buro (London). Anti-Imperialst Buro (Paris). Second, there is the question of

decisions, but we believe it may be the chief source of potential totali- of interest to you to know what we omission and commission to the and political ruin as may weaken utilized for a broad campaign for a concentrated by both sides on ecoacfeats and difficulties of the past the very foundations on which a socialist solution of the problems of nomic measures against the enemy quarter-century, and all healthful better order can be built. Keeping the depression which the "New elements can and should take up America out of war is the first Deal" methods have been manifestly mote these measures. BEARING in mind your comradely action in sending a with each other the task of fraternal prerequisite for solving the economic inadequate to solve. We would like to see that campaign center around blockade of Germany, hitherto far in territorial waters" by any of the representative to greet our last na- struction of a sound international taining and expanding our demo- armament economics, the M-Day from successful, the Allies initiated tional convention in September 1939, movement. Out of that should come cracy, political and economic, and dictatorship plans, and the efforts, a new clarity and a new unity on a for giving impartial and comradely open and secret, to involve this convention now in session in Wash- national and international scale, and aid to the European masses in all country in war. And we would like warring countries. To this latter to see such a campaign waged in a task we can both give considerable spirit to further working-class impulse by strengthening the work unity, working-class consciousness to Germany as well as thru wideof the International Workers Front and independent political action of Against War to which you are labor. We hope, for your sake as fraternally and we directly affiliated much as for ours, and above all, for and which includes such parties and the sake of the needs of the mass of the American reople, that your platform and action on candidates will be of such nature as to make possible such a broad campaign against war, for independent labor action, for labor unity and socialism. To a campaign waged in such a spirit we will be glad to give our in the first place and against the fraternal support.

trade-union movement into a single,

#### Problem of Socialist Unity

Fourth, there is the question of socialist unity. For some time now, we have held to the belief that the pressing needs of the present difficult hour, and the experiences and

lessons of recent years, make it and Sweden, London also warned Adriatic. In some quarters, it was uncompromising struggle for social-(Continued on page 4)

# SPRING FROLIC AND DANCE Saturday Evening, April 13 LABOR STAGE STUDIO — 106 West 106 Street — A Swell Time — See Ad. on Page 4

# Progressives Win Knitgood Is There No One Who Elections By Huge Majority Will Call a Halt? THE reckless, unscrupulous efforts of the C.I.O. to break into the control of the C.I.O. to break into the control of the C.I.O. to break into the control of the control of the C.I.O. to break into the control of the control of

ROGRESSIVE forces in Knitgood Union Local 155, I.L.G.W.U.,

scored a smashing triumph in the local elections on Thursday, April 4, carrying to victory by huge majorities every one of the six candidates for delegates to the I.L.G.W.U. convention on their slate.

Over 2,700 members took part in the elections. The highest vote among the progressives was obtained by Louis Nelson, manager of the union, who polled 2,159. The other progressive candidates received votes somewhere betwen this high point and 1,896, which was the lowest obtained by anyone running on the progressive slate.

The highest opposition candi date, L. Rappaport, received only 529 votes, while the low man on the opposition ticket got no more than

In percentages, these figures mean that Louis Nelson, the leading proof confidence of the membership in Helen Taublieb. the progressive administration of



LOUIS NELSON

ver three times as many votes as the latter, 1,896 to 529.

The delegates elected were: Louis gressive, received over 80% of the Nelson, William Schaffer, Louis Levalid votes cast, a magnificent vote vinson, Daniel Ielardi, Paul Tauber,

The opposition in Local 155 was a 1,300 votes, the former receiving bership but the April 4 elections of their full confidence in the lead- ration of Labor."

ing how utterly discredited it was among the knitgoods workers.

The progressives forces in Local 155 carried on a vigorous, construcive campaign, stressing the issues that the delegates to the I.L.G.W.U. convention, which is to take place in May, would have to face. Great stress was laid by the progressives on the issue of labor unity. The progressive program (published in 'ull in the last issue of this paper .--Editor) called for the reaffiliation of the I.L.G.W.U. to the A. F. of L. upon adjournment of the convention should all efforts at labor peace have proved unavailing in the meantime. The Stalinists proposed the reaffiliation of the I.L.G.W.U. to the C.I.O. The overwhelming vote received by the progressives is therefore to be regarded as strengthening the hand ership of the International Ladies of President Dubinsky of the I.L.G. W.U. in the policy he has pursued on the question of labor unity. Louis Nelson, as progressive

statement on the elections: "This tremendous vote of our Local 155. Between the lowest pro- Stalinist group, generally known as constructive role of the progressive gressive and highest opposition the "Rank and File Group." It was administration. The knitgoods workcandidate there was a gap of over never very popular with the mem- ers, members of Local 155, express-

## Stalinists Wiped Out in I.L.G.W.U.

New York City. THE recent elections in the locals of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union resulted in an annihilating defeat for the Stalinists, David Dubinsky, president of the I.L.G.W.U., reported in a statement issued last week. Out of 1,147 posts filled thru the votes of over 100,000 members of the I.L.G.W.U. in this city, Mr. Dubinsky announced. Stalinists or their "camp-followers" won only 8.

Garment Workers Union, headed by President David Dubinsky, and in the leadership of their own local union. Our members have clearly respokesman, made the following pudiated the attempts of the Stalinsts to dominate the Knitgoods Workers Union. The election further membership is a recognition of the demonstrates that the workers want labor unity now, and that they want it in the quickest way possible—thru reaffiliation with the American Fed- anization.

THE reckless, unscrupulous efforts of the C.I.O. to break into the building-trades field with its dual union, the United Construction Workers Organizing Committee, are fast developing into one of the worst scandals T ABOR organizations all over the in recent labor history. There seems to be nothing, absolutely nothing, no matter how low or despicable, now matter how flagrantly in violation concern over the new activities asof the basic standards and traditions of organized labor, to which the sumed by the revived General In-Lewis outfit will not resort in its mad attempt to invade a field already Buro of Investigation providing organized, a field that John L. Lewis himself more than once explicitly for "protection" of industrial plants recognized as lying altogether outside the scope of the C.I.O. as an which have army and navy orders. industrial-union movement.

We have had occasion more than once in past weeks to call attention to the indecent proposals made by the C.I.O. dualist outfit to the tee in January that there were then employers in the building and construction field in order to gain their 540 such plants and that "in a time favor. Anything to win the employers and their support against the A. F. of greater emergency there will be of L.—offer them lower wages, longer hours, worsened working conditions, approximately 12,000." anything! Such seem to be the accepted C.I.O. tactics.

Recently, A. D. Lewis, John L.'s brother, appeared with a committee to Mr. Hoover, is ostensibly designbefore the New York Building Trades Employers Association and tried to ed to protect plants from sabotage sell his dualist outfit to the organized building-trades employers of this and theft of documents, labor orcity. What did he offer? The New York Times reports:

"It was learned from the employers that among the inducements bias would use their positions and offered by Mr. Lewis was a standing \$9 wage for mechanics, compared their close contact with the managewith the [A. F. of L.] scale ranging from \$11 to \$14; freedom from strikes | ment to persecute union members and jurisdictional disputes; wider latitude to the continued mechanization and hamper union organization. of the industry; arbitration of disputes; and no interference with the use of materials, regardless of whether they were union made.

We call our readers particular attention to the first and last items in this list: open and unashamed undercutting in wages and a blanket been dropped in automobile factories pledge to disregard long-recognized obligations of solidarity by permitting the use of scab materials! We have to look far and wide to match such despicable conduct on the part of a "progressive" labor org-

Fortunately, the C.I.O. dualist organization has not succeeded and apparently will not succeed in making any impression on the workers. miliar in the past as to what con-Indeed, it seems to realize this for it makes no real appeal to the workers; stitutes "radicals" or "radical tenit stakes everything on selling itself to the employers. Certainly, no dencies.' decent, self-respecting worker would want to have anything to do with such an ill-smelling outfit.

But while the C.I.O. dual-union group in the building-trades field is incapable of doing itself any good, it may prove capable of doing a lot of damage to others, C.I.O. as well as A. F. of L. Unquestionably, its unsavory tactics have tended to discredit in the eyes of organized labor and the public at large many perfectly legitimate and responsible Attorney General Daugherty broke C.I.O. affiliates merely because they happen to be associated with the same parent body. Even more serious is the demoralizing effect that the that hamstrung labor. In this strike, constant sapping and undermining activities of the Lewis building-trades the F.B.I., under William J. Burns, outfit is bound to have on union standards in the construction field. Scores of thousands of building-trades workers may ultimately have to pay dearly in wage-cuts and longer hours for Lewis's insane venture in dual

# Administration's Navy Bills Menace Seamen's Conditions

## Government Schools Would Aggravate Unemployment

San Francisco, Cal. CERTAIN bills are now pending in Congress which vitally affect the welfare of American seamen. These bills will affect the economic

militarization of civilian life. These bills are being vigorously opposed by the Sailors Union of the Pacific, an organization of seamen shipping from West Coast ports. They deserve attention and action on the part of the anti-war movement and of all those who are concerned

status of seamen and increase the

with the problems of labor and war. The bills in question are H.R. 7094, H.R. 7870, H.R. 8612, H.R. 6136. They are now before the House Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries.

The general purpose of all of them is construction or acquisition of vessels by the United States Maritime Commission to be placed at the disposal of state nautical schools in New York, Massachusetts, Penn-tary buros, such as the navy. The provided for the construction of the government for military purthese last two paragraphs. for an appropriation of \$50,000 for the upkeep of each school and the maintenance of each ship.

However, H.R. 7870 provides that the navy shall furnish suitable vessels for state nautical school training and other purposes in the seaports of Boston, Philadelphia, New York, Seattle, San Francisco, Baltimore, Norfolk, Corpus Christi, and Astoria and at Detroit and Saginaw, Michigan. H.R. 6125 provides for a \$50,000 subsidy for each of these

H.R. 8612 stipulates that: "The navy shall own these ships, keep them up and they shall be restored to the U.S. navy on demand."

The bills finally provide as a condition for receiving such appropriations as are contemplated "that each school or branch thereof shall agree to conform to such standards regarding courses of and vessels for training and the admission of students resident in other states, as the Maritime Commission and the Navy Department shall prescribe or regulate." In other words, the navy shall take over the training of civilians for civilian jobs.

The reasons for the opposition of the Sailors Union of the Pacific to these bills are chiefly the following: There are thousands of welltrained, able-bodied American seamen ready and willing to man every vessel in the American merchant marine. All have years of experience. All are certified by the United States this country an income in goods lation has changed greatly in the government and thousands are today and services about equal to that of last ten years, because of changing unemployed. There is sufficient supply of trained seamen in every port words, our 1939 production equaled children under 15 than in 1930, but in the U. S. A. to fill the needs of the previous all-time peak, if we we have 12,000,000 more people who the American merchant marine as it count only in terms of goods and are over 15 years old. Out of this

tion reads, "are today facing the in 1929 to about 131,180,000 in 1939. question of not knowing whether In other words, our 1939 income had they will ever again be able to get to feed, clothe, house and serve a job aboard a vessel of the Ameri- nearly 10,000,000 more people. Be-

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chosen profession..."
"An outlay of government

money" the resolution continues, "at further training of green seamen, in the face of the unemployed thousands of well-trained American seais an outright waste of the taxpayers

"These school-ships cater to a privileged class; in other words, to affluence, and not to the American youths of modest means, or boys who. . . must work their way from the bottom up.

"It is against the American concept of democracy to establish training ships or schools for civilians supervised by and regulated by miliposes only, and they have their own the military branches of the govregulations affecting the civilian

The American merchant marine these dangerous bills.

can merchant marine—thru no fault is distinctly manned by civilians and of their own—and find themselves any attempt to inject supervision beached in American ports, with no over them from the navy or Marichance of being able to follow their time Commission in a supervisory

capacity thru establishment of training ships, etc., is an infringement on civil rights, and will foster dictathis time to subsidize schools for torship methods such as are now prevalent in Germany, Russia and

To the excellent case of the men, is a travesty of justice. . . and Sailors Union of the Pacific can be added another comment on these bill's. A vast number of young men would be trained under military supervision for a profession in which the sons of persons of financial they cannot get jobs. They will exist, then, as a potential body of scab labor trained with the approval of the government and with federal. funds.

The labor and anti-war movements on American workers and with the In no way do they weaken or imlast two conclusions of the Sailors pair the fundamental principles of sylvania and California. An outlay of at least \$10,000,000 is to be der our democracy, as a branch of the construction of the country to register their sun-

To-date, the Sailors Union has port of this measure." methods of training soldiers and carried on the opposition to these sailors, but it is certainly not the bills almost single-handed. The Keep intent of the American people to use America Out of War Congress has pledged its support. The support of ernment to lay down rules and all labor and anti-war forces in the country should be readily forthcoming to the S.U.P. in opposing

# Living Standards Are Below 1929, Green Says

# Rise in U.S. Population Outstrips Income

THE United States is now producservices about equal to that of 1929, ten years ago in 1929. That means but since its population is some that our national living standard is 10,000,000 greater, its standard of lower by just this amount. living has been lowered 71/2%, William Green declared in an article in decrease in our national living the April issue of the American standard is a new departure in the Federationist. This decrease in nathing for the United States, the A. from 1919 to 1929, we increased our F. of L. president stressed.

"Commerce Department figures show that in 1939 we produced in 1929," Mr. Green stated. "In other birth rates. We have in 1940 fewer is situated today and for years to services produced. We must re- 12,000,000, after making a generous member, however, that our popula-'These seamen," a S.U.P. resolu- tion has increased from 121,526,000 tendance and earlier retirement, we

Washington, D. C. | cause of this population increase, the United States is now producing an income in goods and than the same income in goods and the same income in goods than the same income had provided

"Another important point: This United States. In the past, we have increased our living standards by tional living standards is a new leaps and bounds. In the ten years per-capita 'real' income—that is our living standard—by 32%.

> "Confusion also exists on the question of employment. Our popuallowance for increased school atestimate that 5,300,000 want work. We cannot escape the fact that there are 5,300,000 more people in the United States today who want to earn an independent living than there were in 1930, and this figure does not include any mothers, sons or daughters who are seeking work only because heads of families are

"We have not increased produc tion above the 1929 level and consequently we have no jobs for these new workers. The American Federation of Labor was among the first to acclaim the production gains of last Fall. We cannot, however, permit recent newspaper statements to cloud the real issue, namely that, with 23,000,000 families-nearly four fifths of all American families -living at income levels below \$2,-000 a year, which is minimum for health and efficiency, we cannot accept a production level too low to lift these millions out of their

unemployed.

\$2.50

# House Group Urges Change In Wagner Act

(Continued from Page 1) have operated successfully.

wishes of the workers in many cases and trampled roughshod on their rights.

"The amendment permits the workers to choose their own collective-bargaining representatives, instead of having such representatives imposed upon them by a federal board. That is why this amendment is vitally necessary.

"The American Federation of Labor firmly believes these amendbill will provide a cure for the malshould be concerned both with the administration of the act from economic effect of such legislation which the entire nation has suffered. out the country to register their sup-

> nounced the Norton bill, which it claimed, would permit the "carving up" of industrial unions and otherwise work to its disadvantage. In a joint statement, the C.I.O. and La-

"Under the proposed amendment every established industrial union would be in constant danger of division and destruction thru the slicing off of craft splinter groups, even in the face of existing industrialunion contracts.

and it would be compelled to split up industrial unions wherever a handful of craftsmen could be persuaded to disrupt the industrial and to efficient performance of the unity desired by most of the work-

matter how long established as the member of the staff of the Division, vorkers representative, would be inquiring into the work they were safe from this form of invasion, doing, and reading reports they leading to serious disturbance of submitted. existing peaceful labor relations in many industries.

designed to pack the Labor Board for reorganization of the Adso that it may become an instru- ministrative Division of the Board, cy, and they are further designed to with lawyers would be desirable. To forcement of labor's collective bargaining rights."

ers of the next fortnight.



the substance of the Federal Railway Labor Act. Both of these laws

"The amendment will not bar in dustrial unions. It merely gives the workers the right to decide whether they want a craft, plant or industrywide unit. This is in accordance with the letter and the spirit of the act. The present Board has ignored the

ments incorporated in the Norton

The C.I.O., on the other hand, debor's Non-Partisan League declared:

While Mrs. Norton prepared to seek quick action by asking for suspension of the rules, the majority of the Smith Committee, which is investigating the Labor Board, made plans to forward consideration of their amendments by the petition method. The Smith amendments would virtually nullify the effectiveness of the Wagner Act. House consideration of either

measure, or both, will await the outcome of the parliamentary maneuv-

# Is there no one in the C.I.O. to call a halt before it is too late?

Leiserson Backs NLRB

Research Division

# Stresses Need and Efficiency of Buro

(We publish below a letter from Dr. William M. Leiserson, member of the National Labor Relations Board, to Representative Murdock giving his reasons for opposing the abolition of the Research Division of the N.L.R.B. and stressing he valuable work done by this agency, of which David J. Saposs is head.—

N response to your request for my opinion on the proposal to abolish the Division of Economic Research, I submit the following:

1. The work of the Board would Division. The notion that no need Research seems to me quite erroinadequate information of the funcwas appointed to the Board. I "Under this amendment no discretion even would be left to the Board tions of the Division, and I was conmade a special study of the operavinced that the Division and the research it carries on are essential to proper functioning of the Board and to efficient performance of the duties imposed on the Board by Remains Vital Congress. I came to this conclusion "No existing industrial union, no after questioning practically every

2. If I may say so, I think that those who are attempting to kill off 'The other amendments are also the research division are shooting the outcome of the elections the objectionable to the C.I.O. They are in the wrong direction. There is need ment of partisan or anti-labor poli- and a staff less heavily weighted session of Congress consider the weaken the Wagner Act in its en- provide a better balanced personnel, to give the people the right to vote the proportion of men trained or experienced in administration, economics and labor relations needs to be increased and the proportion of all party platforms. lawyers decreased. The proposal to eliminate that part of the staff which is trained in economics and labor research, therefore, seems to me particularly unwise at this time.

3. The work of the economics division is not decreasing. Altho the number of complaint cases is slowly falling off, the problems involved in the complaints are becoming increasingly complex. Representation cases at the same time are becoming more numerous. Moreover, I do not find any other branch of the government equipped to supply the Board with the particular type of economic information which the administration of the act requires.

4. The notion that the Board is primarily a prosecuting agency may be responsible for the proposal to eliminate the research division. This is an erroneous notion. The National Labor Relations Act is a remedial and not a penal statute; it empowers the Board only to find facts and to order appropriate remedies. For investigating and fact-finding, essential. For prosecuting, it may not be needed. The effect of eliminating the Division would be to make agency and less an investigating the one and only most important issue in the elections.

Washington, D. C. | body. This, I think, would be very unfortunate.

5. The proposed drastic cut in the appropriation for trial examiners is likely to have the same effect of emphasizing prosecution rather than careful investigation and fact-finding. The need is for be very seriously handicapped if it better trained trial examiners and were deprived of the services of the for more thoro and careful preparation of intermediate reports by the exists for a Division of Economic trial examiners. Much improvement in this direction has been made neous and can only be based on during the last year. The proposed cut for the Trial Examiners Division tions which that Division performs will hamper this development and in connection with the work of the will be a backward step in the direc-Labor Relations Board. Shortly after tion of less careful investigation and fact-finding.

WM. M. LEISERSON

# War Referendum Popular Issue

(Continued from Page 1) sure whether the next four years will bring peace or war' for the United States. Therefore, whatever people of the United States, determined as they are to keep out of foreign wars, should insist that this proposed constitutional amendment on foreign wars and at the same time press for inclusion of the war referendum as an important plank in

Public opinion polls have indicated not once, but many times, that a substantial majority of the American

# **Labor Fears** FBI Used as Spy Agency

Washington, D. C. country are showing increasing

J. Edgar Hoover, F.B.I. chief, told

While this supervision, according ganizations fear that F.B.I. agents who notoriously have an anti-labor

Already, according to reports from Detroit, employees who can't establish that they are Americans have which have war orders.

The F.B.I. supervision presumably envisages a rather intimate knowledge of the plant personnel and in the mind of labor this is connected with the broad "interpretation" fa-

Veteran labor leaders recall how. as an aftermath of the "Red raids' of 1919-20, when 5,000 persons were arrested in sudden forays, the F.B.I. was used in the 1919 steel strike, the subsequent coal strikes and the railby getting a sweeping injunction "investigated" 2,000 individuals. The old General Intelligence Division, significantly enough under the supervision of Mr. Hoover, then a special assistant to the Attorney General, played a notorious role in these events, especially in the 1919-20

It was under Mr. Burns that the F.B.I. also investigated Senators and rifled their offices during the investigation of the Justice Department by a special committee, including Senator Wheeler.

When Harlan Fiske Stone, now a Supreme Court Justice, was appointed Attorney General in 1924 by President Coolidge he stopped such activities and drastically reduced the buro's functions.

people want the war referendum. A very recent poll by the American Institute of Public Opinion gives conclusive evidence of nation of the American people to stay right here at home. Despite the sentiment in this country for England and France, 77% of those polled recently say they would not go to the aid of the Allies should it even appear that they were being defeated.

The bloodshed and suffering now going on thruout Europe and Asia have opened America's eyes to the futility and senselessness of war. America wants no part in the degradation of civilization now going on but welcomes, instead, all moves by governments for peace.

In view of these facts, is it unreasonable for the people to ask their legislators, Congressmen and Senators alike, to show their sincerity and give credence to their cries that America will not become involved in war, and to let the people protect themselves by giving them the privilege of voting against participation in foreign wars?

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# There's A Difference....

(These very significant comments on the type of campaign waged in Local 22 and in certain other locals of the I.L.G.W.U. are from an article by S. Weiss in the March 29, 1940 issue of the Freie Arbeiter Stimme, a well-known Jewish labor papper .-- Editor.)

As a matter of fact, there are plenty of economic problems in the cloak and dress trades, and they are very urgent problems too. But with one single exception, the old administrations (of the I.L.G.W.U. locals) were not much interested in discussing these problems. This single exception was Dressmakers Local 22. The administration of this local published a fine factual pamphlet dealing with the most important organizational and industrial problems and indicating the manner in which the administration had handled them. The basic approach of the campaign literature of the Local 22 administration was: Elect us for what we have accomplished and give us the opportunity to continue our work in order to achieve bigger and better results.

In most locals, however, the administrations turned their heavy artillery on the communists. Industrial problems were hardly touched on. a research division is, of course, The cry was: Elect us so that the communists may be driven out of the union leadership. That was an entirely negative campaign. Either these administrations didn't have very much to boast about or they really the Board more of a prosecuting believed that to drive out the communists was at the present moment

#### Socialist Fundamentals Reexamined:

# Why It Happened In Russia Trotskyist Dogmatics

By B. HERMAN

(This is the third in a series of discussion articles by B. Herman .--

Lenin's conception of the transition period to socialism was based on of Lenin pointing out that this was the views of Marx and Engels. As such, his views envisioned such a degree of expansion of democracy for the masses of the people, such equalitarianism, and such immediacy of the process of the withering away of the state, that if he was criticized for anything, it was for too democratic an approach, for "utopianism," for "anarchism." In the "State and Revolution," written in July 1917, Lenin advocates neither the limitation of the franchise, nor the oneparty dictatorship nor the monolithic party nor even soviets as such.

The innovations of Lenin in the theory of the state, came, in the main, after the Russian Revolution (except for the idea of the Soviet Power, advocated first in April Even Max Eastman, in his articles peculiarities of Russian development-extreme economic and cul- Revolution" is concerned, Lenin's tural backwardness.

Lenin was prepared to admit as much, especially insofar as the limitation of the franchise is concerned. In the "Proletarian Revolution and Kautsky the Renegade," Lenin

"We all know the example of the Commune, we all know what the founders of Marxism said in connection with it. On the strength of their pronouncements, I examined this question of democracy and dictatorship in my book, 'The State and Revolution', which I wrote before the November Revolution. The restriction of the franchise was not touched by me at all. At present, it might be added that the question of the franchise is a specific national question, and not one relating to dictatorship in general. One must study the question of restriction of the franchise in the light of the specific conditions of Russian Revolution and the specific course of its development. But it would be rash to guarantee in advance that the impending proletarian revolution in Europe will, all or for the most part, be accompanied by a restriction of the franchise in the case of the

While Lenin was willing to concede the limitation of suffrage as a specific Russian development, he was only too ready to generalize upon soviets as a universal state form for the transition to socialism and to transfer mechanically the oneparty system and the monolithic party structure to other countries. These equally were products of Russian development.

These theoretical innovations an pear as improvisations after and justifying the fact, rather than the application of previous Marxist

#### MAKING A VIRTUE OF NECESSITY

Soviets were a spontaneous development of the Russian masses in 1905 and 1917. They are a unique Russian phenomenon. In twenty-two years of development since 1917, they have usually arisen only under Comintern instructions and where they did arise, acquired no permanent hold. If the fortunes of Russian politics had been different, if the Mensheviks and Social-Revolutionaries had retained their majority in the soviets, and the Bolsheviks had secured (together with their allies, the left Social-Revolutionaries) the majority in the Constituent Assembly, it is not impossible that the Bolsheviks would have been as enthusiastic for the democratic assembly as the state form of proletarian rule for all countries as they were for the soviets. The Bolsheviks secured no more than 25% of the vote for think are dangerously unsound the Constituent Assembly, and in should be suppressed. When radicals November 1917, secured a bare 51% majority in the soviets. If the opposite had been the case. Lenin was too practical a revolutionist not to have acted accordingly. Soviets, with men who work for wages? But their class limitations of franchise. dilution of the peasant vote, and the weeding out of opposition thru a pyramidal system of elections, were necessary for the Bolsheviks to hold power in a country of overwhelmingly peasant composition. But to reason mechanically from Russia to England or to America is fantastic. If Marxism teaches anything, it is that the road to socialism and the forms of rule are different in all countries. In their theorization, the Bolsheviks made a universal virtue out of national necessity.

When the Bolsheviks took power, they had no theory of one-party dictatorship. They envisioned the possibility of different parties being voted in and out of office in the soviets. They took power in 1917 and dangerous views is by represjointly with the Left Social-Revolu- sion and coercion. Certainly fascism, tionary party. The Leninist innova- which as a movement is essentially tion of a one-party system of proletarian dictatorship followed after thrives on arbitrary governmental the break with the Left Social-repression. Revolutionaries in 1918.

Similarly, the outlawing of groups in the Communist Party, and the theory of a party as monolithic as a tombstone, did not arise until the tenth congress of the Russian Communist Party in March 1921. In the given circumstances in Russia at that time, with the rapid growth of formal equality of the law hides a the Workers Opposition group, the real inequality due to the social and what we mean by the term. This is strikes of the working class in economic inequalities of capitalism. what I mean by examining our Petrograd, and the revolt of the But this real inequality must be fundamentals. Much loose and use-

munist Party leadership feared that | coercion in human relations will beany freedom of expression would result in their being swept out before the hoped-for world revolu-PRIOR to the Russian Revolution, of totalitarian rule were then well on the way to completion. Instead not what he had looked for or desired in July 1917, but unfortunately its very opposite, he incorporated these ideas into his entire system of propaganda as that which all workers should strive for and desire.

#### TOTALITARIANISM RESULT OF MATERIAL CONDITIONS

How, then, did these undesirable features arise? Were they the result of the teachings of Marx and Engels, during this period were something or of the theories of Rosa Luxemburg? Nothing of the sort, for any never experienced such undernourishexamination of their writings fails to show any theoretical advocacy of the undemocratic features to be found in the Russian Revolution. and were based on the on "Socialism Revalued," is forced to admit that as far as "State and predictions are "approximately the opposite" of what we have today. On the contrary, Russian totalitarianism arose out of the peculiar and difficult conditions facing the Russian Revolution, and as such, the theory attached to Russian totalitarianism is a rejection of Marxist thought. In its completed form, Stalinist totalitarianism has nothing in common with Marxist teachings. Stalinism is a coarse apology for the degeneration of the Russian Revolu-

An expansion of democracy, of free expression of thought and political organization, is possible only on the basis of a growth of social wellbeing and a high level of culture. The prolonged crises of capitalism in decay must result either in totalitarian rule or in socialism as a free, planned and democratic order, as nasses increasingly demand a change from things as they are. World in the factories and mills, has not socialism, the world planning of colcrises, abolish class exploitation, immensely increase the productivity of society, and permit such universal well-being and culture, that all

socialism. But, it is argued, the opposite took place in Soviet Russia. This cannot be understood until one realizes that the desired improvement in the conditions of the masses never took place there. The Russian Revolution actually resulted in a huge fall in production and in a for a short-lived interval, but over many years. Speaking of this postrevolutionary period, Lenin admitted:

"The sacrifices which the working class and the peasants had to make superhuman. The working class had ment, such starvation, as in the first years of its dictatorship."

Lenin says on another occasion: 'Both capitals and tens of districts in agricultural Russia are living thru a painful famine." He writes again: "In Petrograd, Moscow and tens of districts, tens of thousands of Russian peasants and workers are starving and dying of typhus brought on by starvation."

#### DISCONTENT, REVOLT WIDESPREAD

On the basis of such frighful conditions, discontent and revolt were constantly seething. This Lenin himself admits. At the end of 1922, Lenin says: "Peasant risings, which up to 1921 gave, so to say, a general picture of Russia, have almost entirely disappeared."

That the workers were hardly better satisfied with their lot is shown by the pamphlet of the "Workers Opposition in Russia," published in 1921 as the platform of the Workers Opposition group:

"During these three years of the revolution, the economic situation of the working class, of those who work only not been improved, but has beectively owned industry, will end come unbearable. This nobody dares to deny. The suppressed and widely spread dissatisfaction among the workers has a real justification.'

(Concluded in next issue)

### Letters from Our Readers:

# Again the Question Of Civil Liberties

Editor, Workers Age:

■ ward Sagarin's article on civil eventually, socialism. liberties in the March 9 issue of the Workers Age. The problem is a think it is, does not solve all prob-That conclusion is:

authoritarianism and the destruction of even the modicum of freedom we possess. Socialists and liberals, all those who prize freedom and democracy, should never condone any violation of civil liberty no matter against whom directed.

It seems to me that any attempt to establish class privileges in regard to civil liberties always ends up with the proposition that the views you think are sound should have full freedom but those that you say that we should be concerned only with the "rights of the working class," exactly what do they mean? Do they mean the rights of many of the fascists, whom they would have no objection to depriving of all rights, are workers in this sense. Apparently what they really mean by this formulation is that "sound working-class views" (that is, their own and related views) should have full freedom, but that "false anti-proletarian views" should not. In my opinion, such an attitude is unacceptable and smacks of totalitarianism.

Such a standpoint is anti-democratic and arbitrary (the views you happen to regard as "genuinely furthermore, less peculiarities than working-class" are taken as the standard of legislation). It is also futile and self-defeating, for experience surely teaches that the worst possible way of fighting false a perverted protest movement,

But, above all, I want to stress that any such "exclusive" or "monopoly" theory of civil rights is suicidal, for it leads with the most iron-clad logic to the complete destruction of civil rights for everybody but the all-powerful clique in power. I am fully aware that the sailors in Krondstadt, the Com- ironed out not by making the law less thinking results when this prin-

Yet this conclusion, sound as I complicated one, as he points out, lems of civil liberty, freedom of but I think there is no way of getting the press, speech, etc. Consider, for to promptly and effectively mobilize around one conclusion if you are example, the old puzzler. Does free- all of the nation's resources to the going to take a straight-forward, dom of speech entitle you to stand end that the war may be won. consistent and democratic attitude. up in a crowded theater and cry "Fire"? Or, to take a less fantastic BACKGROUND OF Civil liberties must be the equal example, does Mr. Ford's freedom possession of all sections of the of speech entitle him to coerce his people and of all individuals without employees to shun unions? In the discrimination on any ground what- | first case, everybody will obviously soever. Once you begin excluding answer no; in the second case, most certain groups (fascists, capitalists) of us would answer the same way. as such from the full enjoyment of But why, on what grounds, is free civil liberty, you open the door to dom of speech to be restricted? It is not enough to speak of the "public safety" or of the "equal rights of others." The former phrase is the traditional resort of authoritarian governments in undermining and destroying civil liberties; the latter is rather too vague and uncertain. Some clearer and less flexible formulation of permissible-indeed inescapable-restrictions is necessary, but whatever it is, it cannot. it seems to me, be on the basis of any "class monopoly" theory.

## Another Opinion on The Same Problem

Brooklyn, N. Y. Editor, Workers Age:

A LTHO you invite readers to com-ment on the problems raised in Sagarin's article concerning civil iberties (Workers Age, March 9, 1940), it is with some measure of hesitancy and restraint that I undertake to express my views. The necessary initiative on my part arises not from the overcoming of an inhibition but from the fact that the peculiarities of this problem are to be generally found in all matters of a controversial nature, and are, matters of oversight. When glaring inconsistencies manifest themselves, whatever be the problem, it is high time that we examine our fundamentals.

The clue to the puzzling aspects of civil liberties may be found in the sentence from Sagarin's article reading: "Yet even among the most par-

tisan advocates of what this term is supposed to imply, few are consistent in wishing it to apply to everyone.' Here is the crux of the situation, for altho much has been said concerning civil liberties, no one is entirely clear, nor agreed as to what precisely is meant by the term. Before we can intelligently discuss civil liberties, we must first define

# By WILL HERBERG coercion in human relations will become increasingly superfluous. An SOME of the most revealing material for a clinical study of "Bolshevik" dogmatics of the Stalin-Trotsky variety to appear in recent years

A Clinical Specimen of

immense expansion of freedom and is to be found in the articles by Leon Trotsky in the March 1940 issue of initiative of the individual is thus the New International. I earnestly recommend a serious examination of Front Against War.—Editor.) tion could save them. The essentials integral to the Marxian theory of these documents from the standpoint of political psychopathology.

The doctrinal disputations that fill the closely-printed pages of this nagazine are of little interest to any one but the specialist. Questions, big and little, are treated in a spirit quite as remote from present-ray reality as the no doubt momentous conflicts over the nature of the Godhead that rocked the early Church councils, and some are almost as other-worldly in their substance. Yet, as specimens of "Marxist" polemical theology, they are not to be matched by anything since the days when Trotsky, on state of virtual famine, and this not the one side, and Stalin's theoreticians and "Red Professors," on the other, tary accord: parity between the were battling over "socialism in one country" with mountains of quotations from the Leninist Scriptures. Only in those days it was an epic struggle for gigantic stakes; now it is merely a tempest in a tea-pot.

Trotsky's methods of "political" argument have apparently not changed a whit thru the years; if anything, they have grown more aridly scholastic at one extreme and more irresponsibly demagogic at the other. But most of the old fire and verve have undeniably gone.

Every essential element of the old "Russian" method of "ideological" controversy is here: pontifical pronouncements delivered with the final authority of a priest of the Dialectic; petty political conclusions drawn in all seriousness from crude, rather childish philosophical concepts; manipulation of well-worn, threadbare phrases, long since drained of all sense and meaning, as wonder-working incantations; conversion of every difference of opinion into a "reflection of the class struggle," with the deviating opinion conceived as a product of the pressure of the "class enemy" and those who hold it, even "party comrades," forming a "typical petty bourgeois tendency"; all ending up, of course, in thunderous anathemas and bulls of excommunication-enforced, if there is power, by the G.P.U and the army. You can almost hear the machine-guns crackle! No wonder that Trotskyism has been described as being in essence Stalinist totalitarianism frustrated and impotent!

In these latest articles Trotsky adds an irritable, peevish, utterly intolerant tone that, while not altogether new to him, makes a decidedly painful impression. Evidently the utter theoretical and political bankruptcy suffered by Trotsky in the face of the new Stalin imperialism has

What a relief to turn from these depressing manifestations of politico- | centimes to get along with?" The pathology to the real problems of socialism and the labor movement!

# War Costs Weigh **Heavily on French**

Liberals Dread Increase in State Power

Paris, France. THE cost of the war is taking on . terrific proportions, Caillaux considers that, unless extreme measures are taken, there is a risk of "total financial collapse." These financial difficulties are probably the basis for the Franco-British monepound and the franc stabilized at and somebody is no doubt making a 176, no more shipments of gold be- fortune. There was a very good tween Paris and London, and the grape harvest, but the big capitalist expenses of the war to be shared buyers, altho the July contracts between the two countries. A ruling were for 13 francs the measure, will settle matters at the end of the have been giving 6 or 7 francs to war. For each 100 pounds spent in the poor peasants. The war, you common. Great Britain is to spend know. . . . 60 and France 40. This is considered very favorable for France.

Naturally, these burdens weigh | BOURGEOISIE |heaviest on the working classes of both countries, which are now being While wages are reduced, taxes are making more and more demands for female labor. Dautry, Minister of Armament, has declared 280,000 women are employed in the munitions industry. They are dressfully three-quarters of them, housetwo people get only 80 francs, 50

(These paragraphs are from a letter | conditions to which the workers are an active French socialist, an subjected: "If the cost of living adherent of the International Workers goes up to any extent, with wages maintained at an immutable level, the moral consequences will be very grave" (Le Temps, November 17, 1939).

The peasants are also affected. One writes that he had to sell his horses to the army for 7,000 francs each, but that it will cost him 28,-

000 francs to replace one of them. The secondary cereals are undergoing a speculative rise in prices,

## SENTIMENT OF

Liberal capitalism here is literally panic-stricken by the increase of asked to reduce their consumption. the powers of the state. The editorials of the Temps express this being increased. War industries are growing anxiety. "The danger is that the interference of the state with our liberties will be extended excessively. . . . A barracks and kitchen, this National-Socialist formula is not French. . . . Parliament makers, embroidery workers, and, must hold back the administration before it plunges down the path of wives. Boys of 14 are working in statism." On the other hand, the certain factories. The Socialist Party | fascist wing of the bourgeoisie is paper Populaire of December 27th making great progress. It holds that comments on the situation in this the dismemberment of Germany is manner: "How can morale be good the real solution of the international when the body is underfed, when problem. For example, Gringoire is carrying on a systematic campaign for the left bank of the Rhine, basing its arguments on Foch, Richelieu, Colbert, Proudhon, Barbes Blanqui, Louis Blanc and of Karl Marx himself! As for the political solution, take this commentary of the Temps on the occasion of the seventieth anniversary of Victor Emmanuel III of Italy: "By a remarkable policy, knowing how to each an understanding with London and Paris on one side, and with Berlin and Vienna on the other, the King of Italy has given his country a new and very important role. After the world war, he resisted all subversive pressure and encouraged the parties of law and order. When fascism came on the scene, the king realized the important consequences of this profound anti-communist, constructive revolutionary movement. During the March on Rome, he prevented the declaration of the state of siege, and welcomed the representative of

> has he saved the monarchy from the dangers that menaced it, but he has reinforced it.' At the same time, all factions of the bourgeoisie are agreed on strengthening the Catholic Church. Special measures have been taken so that priests should not have to handle guns. They are sent to sanitary sections or put at the disposal of regiments for their services. The paper of the teachers union is following with anxiety this progress of clericalism and remarks that no school teachers have demanded special privileges to remain behind the lines in order to function in non-clerical education. We also point out that an issue of the Free Idea, the freethinkers journal, has been suppressed on the ground that "it might lead to

> divisions among citizens." The

censorship encourages the appeals

of the clerical teachers but forbids

the new Italy - Mussolini. We

know the result. Today, Victor

Emmanuel III is not only King of

Italy, but King of Albania and

Emperor of Ethiopia. . . . Not only

### ANTI-LABOR REPRESSIONS

All the gains of July 1936 have been abolished by one stroke of the pen in a decree. All workers delegates and shop stewards in factories are appointed by the leaders of the C.G.T. conditional on the agreement of the Minister of Labor, On November 23. Mr. Dautry made this remark to the correspondent of the Oslo Aftenpost: "A recent decree decided how long the work-week should be. But if is necessary, we will double the hours of work. There are always means of forcing the increase of production." And when the correspondent inquired what would be the reaction of the men, the minister answered: "You can never ask a man to work too much. Real work is not tiring."

In spite of the repression against the Stalinists, the fact that the embassy of the U.S.S.R. is being watched, and that Soviet trading offices have been searched, the governement maintains an ambiguous attitude towards Stalin. They have not entirely given up hope that he may some day return to the axis of the "democratic" powers. The Socialist Workers and Pea-

sants Party (P.S.O.P.), whose top leadership was arrested at the beginning of December, has again suffered a series of arrests at Boulogne-Bilancourt, industrial center of the Renault factories. Henry Jeanson, author and movie producer, has been condemned by the Second Military Council of Paris for an article entitled, "For a Free Life Without Dying," published way back in August 1939.

Read — Spread **WORKERS AGE** 

# War Will Bring Dictatorship And Crush Cultural Freedom

# M-Day Plans Involve Totalitarian Control Over Nation

By ROSE M. STEIN

and the latest compilation is expected to appear shortly.

This Industrial Mobilization Plan is in many respects an amazing New York City.

New York City.

unequal but by striving to bring about more real equality thru tradech interested in Edunion action, social legislation and,

new York City.

unequal but by striving to bring document. It is frank, thoro and inbuts or doubts. It assumes that war is on the world agenda and it prois on the world agenda. ordinarily few and plain words what it aims to do. In the event that the United States should become involved in a major war, the plan aims

## M-DAY PLANS

Inauguration of the plan dates back to June 1920 when Congress amended the National Defense Act of 1916 in this manner: "Hereafter, in addition to such

ciple is ignored, I shall not attempt to set up the criteria for defining civil liberties, but rather point out how we may obtain a better unlerstanding of this problem and in reneral all problems of a similar nature.

If one means by civil liberties, and lefines as such, freedom of speech ress and radio for all people, then o be consistent one could not deny hese rights to the fascists. This I ssume is the definition tacitly exressed in the words and actions of loger Baldwin, Such being the case on the other hand, has conveniently roups opposed to it. In this respect, 'ieir actions exhibit a remarkable legree of consistency—consistency national regimentation. ith respect to their definition.

One therefore can have no argusubject to the caprices and whims ation on short notice. of a single group or individual, but America's mobilization plan inhas an historical objectivity of its cludes a rather complete survey of own. Not a little knowledge of his- the country's major industrial tory is necessary for its formula- plants, classified according to their

class concept rather than a concept applied to individuals, as Baldwin would assume. As a characteristic of the class struggle, civil liberties is much more significant than an problem would become one of biology rather than of history.

(Continued on Page 4)

these stark facts:

a creditor nation and were by virtue of that fact destined to play an increasingly prominent role in the competitive world market for goods the information of the President of and capital.

2. That such a role makes war involvement a constant possibility. 3. That if war is a constant possibility, constant readiness for war is a prime necessity.

Such readiness is no easy order. locations in the whole social-economic fabric unless facile conversion from a peace to war-time economy is carefully and painstakingly planbilization Plan emerged thus out of this necessity.

It frankly recognizes that modern he A.C.L.U. is entirely consistent warfare is fought by the nation as n its policy. The Communist Party, a whole, and that the nation as a and service thruout the nation. whole must, therefore, be subjected efined civil liberties, tho not ex- to a discipline as nearly as possible licitly, to their own advantage, approximating that which is exerhereby denying civil liberties to all cised over the fighting forces. In other words, complete national participation in war requires complete

The mechanized character of modern warfare makes very heavy nent with either the A.C.L.U. or demands upon industry. Most of he C.P. The confusion arises be- these demands cannot be filled in cause no group has defined civil advance. Instruments of war underiberties to the satisfaction of all go many and frequent modificaroups; in fact, no group has ever tions, and unless the time for war explicitly defined the term. One engagement is fairly definitely scale war cannot be carried on withother thing is clear, that as a known—a luxury available only to oncept civil liberties has not always totalitarian aggressor states—the and the same meaning. The concept cost of heavy material preparations has undergone change as society has in advance of war is prohibitive even hanged, making thereby the definito to the wealthiest of nations. The tion inextricably bound up with its most effective alternative is to have historical development. Thus, the a thorogoing mobilization plan definition of civil liberties can not be which can be put into effective oper-

usefulness in the event of war. If In the light of the history of the and when war becomes imminent, concept, civil liberties will, I am many of these plants can be mobilsure, betray the characteristics of a zeed for war production with a minimum of effort and dislocation.

## UNIVERSAL

**FGIMENTATION** 

Even so, industry will undoubtedindividual concept, in which case the ly have to submit to a goodly measure of regimentation. It will bow to it, however, because after ten lean This shift from the individual to years, capacity production at even a moderate profit will be welcome. In-

other duties as mas be assigned | dustry can accede to the need for in-THERE is nothing mysterious or him by the Secretary of War, the creased production and to corresconspiratorial about the M- Assistant Secretary of War, under pondingly increased regimentation Day plans. They are clearly stated the direction of the Secretary of on one condition: that it be assured in a brief pamphlet, put out by the War, shall be charged with super- an ample and docile labor supply. Government Printing Office, and vision of the procurement of all Such assurance is impossible under known as the Industrial Mobiliza- military supplies and other business circumstances which cause the suption Plan. The first edition appeared of the War Department pertaining ply of labor to shrink because of in 1933, another followed in 1936, thereto and the assurance of ade- the withdrawal of man-power for quate provision for the mobilization war service and at the same time of material and industrial organiza- increase the demand for it because tions essential to war-time needs." of increased production. Therefore There is nothing Quixotic about labor, in turn, will have to be regithis provision. It contains no ifs or mented. This is taken care of by

mediately after the close of the adequate labor supply, both in num-"war to end war." This is an accurate bers and by occupational qualificareflection of how a number of gov-tions, will require the organization ernmental and business leaders, es- of a labor administration with an pecially those who were intimately administrator of labor appointed by involved in prosecuting the war, and directly responsible to the felt about the matter. They learned President. Among the more importfrom their World War experience ant problems to be considered are the minimizing, by an equitable dis-1. That we emerged from the war tribution of war orders. of excessive migrations of labor; the prevention of unethical competition for labor

by war industries; compilation for lists of industrial deferments required for efficient operation of war industries; the avoidance and settlement of labor problems; and the coordination of employment services." Regimentation of industry on the

one hand and labor on the other is bound to give rise to numerous com-It involves tremendously serious dis- plaints from both camps. In time of praise of Voltaire. war, complaints cannot be tolerated. They give aid and comfort to the enemy. They undermine public morale, which must be kept at its highned in advance. The Industrial Mo- est peak. Hence it follows that the instruments of public information and communication must likewise be regimented so as "to inspire a feeling of confidence, enthusiasm,

Under these circumstances the question: What will happen to cultural freedom? is a purely rhetorical one. There will be no cultural freedom. There can be none, if fredom in any manner whatsoever interferes with the efficiency and effectiveness of the war machine.

To condemn the plan as such is both futile and irrational. If we permit ourselves to get into a war, the plan is entirely logical. For this is the inescapable fact: Modern large in the framework of democracy. If we want to maintain cultural freedom, if we really want to escape the regimentation provided by M-Day plans, it can be done only by avoiding war itself.

(This article is from the February 1940 issue of the Bulletin of the Committee for Cultural Freedom.—Editor.)

#### KEEP AMERICA OUT OF WAR By Norman Thomas

Bertram D. Wolfe **\$1.50** 

WORKERS AGE BOOKSHOP 131 W. 33rd St., N. Y. C.

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SATURDAY, April 13, 1940. Vol. 9.

No. 15

#### A SHAMEFUL BETRAYAL

THE abrupt "closing" of the Russell case by Mayor LaGuardia's elimination of the salary for the position from the city budget, following the socialist elements in Nationalhard upon the rumor that the Board of Higher Education will not appeal | Socialism are asserting themselves, Justice McGeehan's decision, is one of the most shameful betrayals of and that Germany is moving leftintellectual decency and cultural freedom on record in recent times in ward. Others, again, regard Russia

Let us review the course of events. Despite a savage hue and cry against Bertrand Russell whipped up by certain entrenched reactionary elements, led by the Catholic hierarchy, the Board of Higher Education confirmed his appointment. Then Justice McGeehan, by virtue of that nor in Hitlerism, nor in Stalinism. mystical omnipotence that judges seem to possess under our system, Clearly, it is high time for socialists simply voided the appointment, because, in his consummate wisdom, he to get down to the job of definition, did not approve of Russell or his views. The only recourse is an appeal and make quite clear to themselves to the higher courts to overrule Justice McGeehan. By refusing to make what they mean by the term. this appeal, by tamely acquiescing in LaGuardia's subterfuge and evasion of the issue, the Board of Higher Education would not only repudiate of the issue, the Board of Higher Education would not only repudiate to speak merely of the socialization itself and by implication endorse the filthy slander on which Justice of the means of production. Desirable McGeehan's ruling is based; it would deal a virtual death-blow to tho this be, it is a means, not an academic freedom in New York City. For, by silence and inaction, it end in itself. It is a necessary but would concede the vicious principle that a man's views on religious and not a sufficient condition of socialsocial questions may properly disqualify him as a teacher of mathematics; ism. Socialism could not exist witheven more, by silence and inaction, it would acknowledge that any State Supreme Court justice, if he so desires, may arbitrarily arrogate to himself the powers and functions of a super-Board of Higher Education and thus set himself up as the supreme censor of qualifications and appointments. What that would mean for education in this city, it is hardly neces-

Mayor LaGuardia says the case is "closed"; the Board of Higher Education refuses to speak up. If there are any responsible, liberty-loving men and women left in New York City, on the Board of Higher Education or outside of it, they will not rest until the case is "reopened" again and an appeal against Justice McGeehan's verdict is brought before the higher courts. Too much depends upon the issue to let it go by default.

#### OUT OF THEIR OWN MOUTHS

 $oldsymbol{ au}$ O those who still believe the fairy-tale that the Allies are fighting to destroy Hitlerism and "make the world safe for democracy" we recommend a careful reading of Sir Nevile Henderson's memoirs, "Failure of A Mission," now running serially in Life magazine.

These memoirs are so self-revealing that we are embarrased for words of commentary. Sir Nevile, our readers will remember, was British ambassador at Berlin in the period before the outbreak of war last September. It was Sir Nevile who conducted the negotiations with Hitler, von Ribbentrop and Goering looking towards a "settlement" of the European crisis. When these negotiations failed, the war came. If anyone should know the issues at stake, it is Sir Nevile, and what he says and syndicalists, from the spectacle is utterly without meaning. Who is Dimitri Horbaychuk, we certainly coming together of all forces that cliquism. We recognize that the about these issues, both directly and indirectly, is a liberal education in of the rise and destruction of the to deny the rights, and what rights, should have included a few words of the realities of international politics.

England fighting to lift the yoke of dictatorship from the neck of Soviets. But "Liberty, Equality, Frafascist-ridden Europe? Read these words of Sir Nevile's:

"Nor are all dictatorships, even if prolonged, reprehensible. Ataturk built up a new Turkey on the ruins of the old; and his expulsion of the Greeks, which perhaps suggested to Hitler that he should do the same in Germany with the Jews, has already been forgiven and forgotten.'

"One cannot, just because he is a dictator, refuse to admit the great services which Signor Mussolini has rendered to Italy."

England fighting to destroy Hitlerism and free the German people from oppression? England fighting to bring relief to the Jews? Read be determined by majority decision struggle against the ruling class,

"NOR WOULD THE WORLD HAVE FAILED TO ACCLAIM HIT-LER AS A GREAT GERMAN, IF HE HAD KNOWN WHERE TO STOP; EVEN, FOR INSTANCE, AFTER MUNICH AND THE NUREM-BERG DECREES AGAINST THE JEWS."

After all of Hitler's dreadful atrocities, after the destruction of German democracy and the establishment of a fascist dictatorship, after the suppression of the trade unions and the labor movement, after the outlawing of every free and independent thought, after terror and murder without limit, after the concentration camps and their incredible horrors, after the pogroms against the Jews, "after Munich and the Nuremberg decrees"—Hitler might still have been acclaimed a "great Geraccording to the British ambassador, had he "known where to stop," had he not gone "too far"! What was the point beyond which Britain could no longer bless Hitler's noble efforts? Why, the point at which he began to challenge the hegemony of Anglo-French imperialism on the European continent and to endanger the British and French empires! Then of course, the bland tolerance of Sir Nevile and his colleagues in London suddenly ran out, and war came.

Sir Nevile Henderson's memoirs are recognized as a semi-official presentation of Britain's case; else they would never have been published so soon after the event and in war time. Apparently official Britain wants about. to have its role in the war and its war aims judged by them. Nothing could suit us better. We are willing, nay, eager, to have every American read this statement of the British case and make up his mind accordingly. Sir Nevile's memoirs are easily the best anti-war propaganda to receive wide circulation among the American people so far. More power to them!

# UNITY - OR ELSE . . . .

(Continued from page 1)

(by disrupting the A. F. of L. unions) is clearly confirmed by the following significant comment about this whole sordid business by an important employing-class sheet: "But they (the employers) left the door wide open for business later by indicating that as soon as the C.I.O. is strong enough, they'll listen with an eye to agreements." (Business Week, March

We are at a loss to find words with which to express adequate condemnation of such anti-union activities. Such tactics deserve only the most vehement denunciation and can arouse only the most painful abhorrence no matter by whom they are applied. Some years ago, we branded precisely such ventures by the Communist Party and its Trade Union Unity League as devastating dual unionism. When such moves are made by Lewis today, they are infinitely more harmful to labor's effectiveness and its very existence.

It is this self-created chaos that plays right into the hands of all reaction. Had there been a united trade-union movement to stop him, Roosevelt would not have dared to appoint at least fifteen military men to key social-service posts and to boost skyward the armament expenditures at the expense of the jobless and needy. Encouraged by this pernicious division, Thurman Arnold is seeking to "coordinate" labor unions by proceeding recklessly with his campaign to uproot unionism thru invoking the anti-trust laws against the strongest trade unions. Here we have the gravest menace to trade unionism in fifty years—a menace growing directly out of the fatal labor feud. And when the various state legislatures reconvene after the Presidential elections, we may expect them to follow in these footsteps.

It is for these reasons—especially in the light of the flames of the world conflagration—that we again say to the workers of the C.I.O. and the A. F. of L.: "Force the reopening of the unity negotiations interrupted a year ago at the request of Lewis and upon his promise that he would reconvene the negotiating committees. There lies the road to labor's greatest gain-stop fighting, resume negotiations, make concessions, all in order to close ranks and preserve and effectively defend them against the intensifying onslaughts of labor's outright enemies and the maneuvers of its false friends. More need not and cannot be said. Either we move towards a unified trade-union movement, or else. . . .

Socialist Fundamentals Reexamined:

# Is Socialism?

By C. A. SMITH

(C. A. Smith is chairman of the Independent Labor Party of Great Britain. We publish this article as part of our discussion, "Socialist Fundamentals Reexamined."-Editor.)

London, England. many of our war-time economic measures-rationing, for instanceas "socialistic." Others declare that as a socialist country.

Many of us, however, who have all our lives striven for socialism, recognize this long-sought blessing neither in 4 ozs, of butter per head.

Now socialism cannot be defined in purely economic terms. It is useless out it, but it could certainly exist without socialism.

Socialist society must be not only one based on the willing cooperation of free men, not on that of galleyslaves chained to the bench. It must be a society organized as a friendship or alliance of all its members.

#### THE GREAT TRINITY

Friendship, freedom, equalitywhere have we met this trinity? Why, in the great slogan of the French revolutionaries-"Liberty-Equality—Fraternity!" And it is time to get back to this imperishable

True, we may read into it economic implications which most Jacobins would have resisted. Experience in the last hundred and fifty years has taught us some Our ideas of the political basis of ternity" remains an unsurpassable ideal—our task is to realize it.

First, liberty. Liberty of the individual both from coercion by other individuals and also, as far a possible, from control by the state. The exigencies of economic planning and of other forms of social

life make some state control ineviit; democracy is a less obnoxious form of unfreedom, and not always even that-for the rule of the majority may be as withering a tyranny as the rule of a minority. Liberty

# Allies Turn to Measures For Strong Blockade

(Continued from page 1) felt that this turn of events might tend to facilitate the rapprochement beween Berlin, Moscow and Rome, which Germany was understood to be greatly interested in bringing

The long-expected reshuffling of the British cabinet took place last week in a shift of posts that brought | Editor, Workers Age: Winston Churchill to the top as virtual director of all the armed ser vices. In Paris, the Reynaud cabinet continued to maintain its existence but there were reports of wide dissension within it that was expected to lead to its fall or reconstruction in the near future.

There was considerable talk las

week of a possible intensification of military operations in the coming weeks. In Germany, Marshall Goering again "forecast" what the press called a "decisive blow in the West.' The same tone was adopted in the controlled press thruout the Reich which also stressed the "firm bonds uniting the three great totalitarian powers, Germany, Italy and Russia." In Allied military circles, it was believed that these "forecasts" in the German press might take the form of a massed attack from the ir. Heavy fighting along the Maginot-Seigfried Lines was not ex-

then, includes the maximum of in- | ration. dividual freedom plus political demo-

It includes also the freedom of groups which have a sense of special call nations must enjoy freedom by brotherliness-even the family somemeans of autonomy within a free times fails, not all blood-brothers federation of socialist republics. Im-COME people profess to regard perialism of every species is anathema to freedom, and Stalin's the Finns.

Second, equality. Not that men be brothers, or I'll cut your throat"! will be equal, nor that they must be treated as tho they were. "To each formula of equalitarianism. The assertion of Stalin that socialism

enormous disparity between the incomes of skilled and unskilled, between the incomes of the masses and of the burocracy, is not socialism whether encountered in Britain or in Russia

But political equality is also necessary, however difficult even to imagine; and no war-time rationing if there is unfreedom, inequality or could ever bring socialism to the workers of a capitalist countrynot even if Goering and Winston Churchill, the Earl of Derby and the its state-owned industry, or the a cooperative commonwealth, but Archbishop of Canterbury, never had magnitude of its totalitarian policy

Finally, fraternity. There are n nstitutional forms which can of themselves ensure fraternity-even the orders of monks in the Middle unity. Those ethnic groups which we Ages failed as guarantors of

being brotherly. Fraternity is essentially spontaneous and non-compulsory. This role of "liberator" of the Finnish truth was recognized by the satirist people has not been recognized by who depicted the French exponent of "fraternity" as saying: "Let us

But there are certain institutions which are organized denials of according to his needs, from each fraternity, and render it impossible according to his ability" is the true | -slavery and capitalism, for instance. And there are others which are sure proofs that a society is not means "to each according to his able to rely on fraternity for its inwork" is a lie-socialism has never ternal security. Such are vast concentration camps, a powerful secret Piece-rates and Stakhanovism, the police, a muzzled press, frequent sanguinary "purges" and judicial

#### THREE ESSENTIAL

QUALITIES

Socialism, then, demands of any society all three of these qualities. And if any one of them is absentfratricide-then that society is not socialist, no matter what the form of its land-ownership, the extent of an ounce of butter in excess of their or collectivized economy.

# Again the Question Of Civil Liberties

#### Readers Present Various Views on Issue

(Continued from Page 3) the class, should produce a profound ideal, for we can never go beyond it. change in attitude and line of action. For, on the basis of the foregoing, we might define, within the limits of our historical background, civil linerties as the rights of a class, which class is other than the ruling things about the institutional forms class. Under such circumstances the of its realization hidden from them. rights of the individual become subordinate to, and dependent upon freedom and equality have gained the rights of the class; and to speak from the teaching of the anarchists of "denying rights" to the fascists as saying that we shall deny civil which class we depend for our own not within our province.

after full and free discussion. But which would wrest from the workers democracy is not a substitute for the last vestige of freedom. Thus freedom-nor even a guarantee of the ruling class expresses itself negatively while the working class should express itself positively.

Our task becomes one of exposing the fascists all along the line, while at the same time a fight is carried forward to maintain the rights of the proletariat, which task will become increasingly difficult as time goes on. On the other hand, programs of liberal groups invariably display a point of view which is based on the individual rather than the class. Civil liberties is one of the many instances where inconsistencies arise in the ranks of the

#### Protests Slur on Rosa Luxemburg New York City.

I should like to call your attention to the enclosed article (Dimitri Horbaychuk's letter to the editor and the editor's reply), which greatly surprised me. Whatever Rosa Luxemburg may have said on the Ukrainian problem and whatever the disagreement of the editor of

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the paper may be, how could letter in which "Miss" Rosa Luxemburg is treated as she is by a Mr. Horbaychuk have been published without a due comment and a good lesson for the author of the letter? Rosa Luxemburg and "ignorance," "asinine attacks!" I had to reread both the letter and the editor's note to believe my eyes!

(We plead guilty. In our reply to French Commune and the Russian to the fascists? Is it not the same reproof for his improper language. It gram. That would serve as enwas thoroly impermissible for Mr. "asinine attacks" in any connection with civil liberties? Denial of rights is Rosa Luxemburg-no matter how taken part in the socialist and commuch he may have disagreed with her munist movements, and have dropped

### Batista As Stalinist "Fellow-Traveler"

Editor, Workers Age:

T do not know how many readers Samuel Grafton's column in the New and inspired to work for our com-York Post dealing with his visit to Cuba. Grafton brings to light a number of facts that are interesting and significant. He points out, for example, that the only papers in Cuba that are hostile to Finland are the Stalinist publications and the Diario de la Marina, an ultra-reactionary paper which is often accused of fascist tendencies, and one of whose high executives sports a medal from Hitler. Apparently, birds of a feather flock together in Havana as well as in New York or Moscow.

Grafton brings out further the reactionary totalitarian character of the Batista regime. This regime today depends for its support in the coming elections on two parties: the Communist Party and Machado's old party, the so-called Liberals, "a party filled with corrupt old Machadistas, who grew rich during the dictatorship." He comments: "As a result, the communists hold hands with some of the richest and most hated men on the island."

This outrageous, ultra-reactionary part played by the Cuban Stalinists has an important lesson for the workers in the United States. It indicates that our home-grown variety of Stalinists, in turning away from support of Roosevelt, are now faced with the embarrassing question as to whom to give their support. Where is the American Batista or Machado? Can a united front be made with the miserable Nazi Bund, whose leader, Fritz Kuhn, is in jail as a crook? It's too sad! However, while there's life, there's hope. Sooner or later, an American Batista will come along, and you will find Browder right there, arm in arm with extreme reaction, happy at last in having completed the "turn."

# **'STALIN**

By Boris Souvarine Critical Survey of Bolshevism)

WORKERS AGE BOOKSHOP 131 W. 33 St., New York City

# They're Mighty Poor Props, Mr. Lewis!

OHN L. Lewis says he's going to form a "third party" when and if.... If the candidates and the platform of the Democratic party are not going to be "satisfactory," he will call a convention of labor, youth, Negro, old-age and farmers groups "to meet in some central city" (the true Lewis touch; it's a wonder he didn't specify the hall!) "to formulate a program that each and every American can support."

And among the organizations that are to form the backbone of his new departure the C.I.O. leader proudly names the American Youth Congress and the National Negro Congress!

It's hard to tell whether Mr. Lewis is kidding himself or merely kidding the public. Does he really think he's going to form an independent party of labor with a couple of communist stooge organizations, mere paper instruments of Stalinist "capture-control" tactics? Or is Mr. Lewis the one and only literate person in the United States—aside from Mrs. Roosevelt, of course—who still does not know what the American Youth Congress and National Negro Congress really are?

In any case, we would not advise our readers to stake very much on Mr. Lewis's threats or promises. There is still at least an equal chance that he will end up supporting Mr. Roosevelt, or his nominee, and the murders following farcical "trials." Democratic party.

# I.L.L.A. Appeals for **Socialist Unity**

#### Letter Urges Cooperation on Vital Issues

(Continued from page 1) from the division on war in 1914, labor. on the Russian Revolution in 1917, and on a number of other matters in the succeeding years of bitter and your information the resolutions of unfruitful internecine strife. We have from the past quarter-century.

and calling upon kindred movements committe, on which it can inform to enter in a body, or dissolve and you closely. enter as individuals. Adding such relatively small forces together would accomplish little to attract the unaffiliated radicals, to remoralize the demoralized, to sound a needed in our opinion is a public agree on a simple common procouragement and inspiration to tens at one time or another supported or people who are unwilling to join dential election campaign. either your organization or ours, or any other organization as at present and statement of our position on constituted, but would find fresh the matters which we think might and public step towards socialist

mon cause. gram of such a unification would include the following:

1. Socialism is inseparable from freedom and democracy.

2. Opposition to involvement of America in war and support to the anti-war movements of the warring countries.

3. Work for a united and demopossible to undertake to heal the cratically organized labor movement breach in socialist ranks resulting and independent political action of

To give our further opinions on these matters, we are enclosing for our last convention "On Socialist have learned much, and know you Unity" and on "Socialism and Democracy." We then set up a standing We do not feel that such need committee for negotiation with all would be well served by considering other forces in the direction ineven the best or strongest of the dicated, and a committee of yours existing organizations as adequate has had several meetings with our

#### Joint Socialist Action

The conditions for radical reconpowerful note of unity, and to serve struction are really not many or as a ringing call to the great mass | complicated. The chief obstacles are of American workers. What is old prejudices, organizational conservatism, factional narrowness and scars are many and the suspicions deep, and are prepared to do our part to overcome them by comradely liberties to the ruling class, upon Horbaychuk to refer to "ignorance" and and hundreds of thousands who have discussion and cooperation on all fields of agreement, as a preliminary process to completer unification. Our cooperation with your represen-This is, furthermore, a negative views. We regret our failure to point out because of errors, defeats, tatives in the anti-war work is an interpretation, which, when inverted this out. But let it be remembered that divisions, factional warfare, and in- indication of the possibilities short to its proper position, should mean it is not our general practise to censor ternecine quarrels. They would take of unity. We would appreciate it if to its proper position, should mean a shot our general places to tensor the maintenance and extension of letters with which we disagree or to pass fresh hope if they saw that the long your convention publicly set up a the rights of a class—which can be judgment on the tone. We prefer to let process of division and confusion committee to explore the possibilities was coming to an end, and that the of further joint socialist action, or forces of socialism were attaining authorized such activity by your to a new clarity and a new unity incoming executive committee. Such preparatory to a new forward march | public action would sound a much toward socialism. We ourselves are needed note of hope, and would aid in contact with thousands of such as well in preparing a broad Presi-

In closing this letter of greetings hope and courage in any dramatic be of some interest to you, permit of the Workers Age have noticed unity, and could then be recruited the fact that there has been a measure of cooperation between us to further the interest of the labor In our opinion, the common pro- movement, of peace and socialism. We hope for an ever more ample extension of that cooperation and we wish you success in your labors on behalf of a cause which is common to us both.

INDEPENDENT LABOR LEAGUE OF AMERICA JAY LOVESTONE, Secretary

The calendar says

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