INTERNATIONAL WORKERS FRONT ON MAY DAY . . . page 4.

THE INQUISITION IN AMERICA . . . by Will Herberg . . . page 3.

5 CENTS

Vol. 9, No. 18.

NEW YORK, N. Y., SATURDAY, MAY 4, 1940.

### War-time Program of **British Socialists**

(We publish below the program of wart-time demands, covering both civilians and those serving in the armed forces, adopted by the conference of the British Independent Labor Party, held recently at Nottingham .---

O political or industrial truce The formation of workshop committees, led by shop stewards, to secure maximum control of working conditions.

A campaign to be organized for the enrolment of all workers in trade unions; the retention and strengthening of democratic control

Workers Rights Committees to be set up in every locality, representing all sections of the labor movement, to fight against profiteering in rents, food prices, etc.

The pooling of the national income by the appropriation of all incomes above the standard of comfort so that all incomes may be raised to a living standard. The adoption of a national minimum wage, to be applied to civilians and members of the armed forces alike. Reduction of rents. Increase of old-age pensions at 60 to 20s. a week with cost-of-living bonus.

Varying rates of unemployment benefit, U.A.B., P.A.C. allowances to be merged into flat rate and increased. Suppression of profiteering by fixing prices of goods in all

Disablement pensions for all persons injured in industry, air raids or otherwise with allowances for

Appropriation of mansions of rich for use as evacuation centers, flats, etc. Confiscation of park land

Conscription of wealth-transfer of industry, land, transport and banking to workers ownership and

Abolition of conscription.

Equality of economic conditions and civil rights between armed forces and civil population. Pensions at national minimum to all in

### I.L.P. Congress Solid Behind Anti-War Stand

N.A.C. Policy Resolution Is Adopted By Overwhelming Vote, Two Opposed-

London, England THE main resolution of the an-**I** nual conference of the Independent Labor Party, held recently at Nottingham, may be summarized

"The I.L.P. reaffirms the manifesto issued by its National Council on the outbreak of war denouncing it as an imperialist conflict and declaring the duty of socialists to be to oppose the war by continuing the class struggle at home and by exerting the maximum pressure to end industrial pressure, to overthrow the it by a socialist peace.

"The I.L.P. condemns the Labor leadership for entering into a poli tical and industrial truce, but welcomes the growing opposition to this policy expressed by Labor Parties, trades councils, cooperative organizations, and a group within the Parliamentary Labor Party.

"Noting the present opposition of the Communist Party, the I.L.P. points out that this reflects the changed attitude of the Russian government to British and French imperialism and not a genuine revolu-

tionary policy. "As a peace concluded by capitalist governments can only be a truce, the I.L P. advocates working-class action to secure a socialist peace. To this end it will unite with all anti-

### Clark Urges **Court Martial** For Taussig

Hits Talk of "Inevitable" War With Japan As Jingo Propaganda for Big Navy

Washington, D. C. Senator Bennet Clark of Missouri last week demanded a court-martial for Rear Admiral Joseph K. Taussig for telling the Senate Naval Affairs Committee that war between the United States and Japan was "in-

"Taussig's statement is the type of militaristic sword-swinging that has brought Japan itself into its present deplorable situation," Clark said. "The fact that the Japanese allow naval officers to dictate domestic policies is partly what is responsible for all the troub.. in the

Taussig's remarks were a perfectly outrageous, indefensible exhibition of militarism for which he should be court-martialed."

Mr. Clark, a leader of the Senate isolationist block and an opponent of a super-navy, made his demand after the admiral's testimony before the Senate committee in support of a pending bill for an 11% increase in naval tonnage.

Senator Clark charged that "this bugaboo of Taussig's" of an "inevitable" war with Japan was designed to persuade the country to build

more battleships. "One year it is one thing and another year it is another," he said. "The navy men always need something. No matter how many ships they have, it is not enough. Give them warships and they want auxiliary ships. Give them auxiliary ships and they claim that the navy is unbalanced and they have to have more warships."

stages of production.

dependents.

for growing food-stuffs.

Opposition to emergency powers.

armed forces who are disabled. Abolition of class privileges and withdrawal of all restriction on promotion from the ranks. Ranks to elect own committees. Abolition of death penalty.

war sections in the labor movement "A socialist peace would embody the liberation of all peoples, in Europe as well as the colonies, from imperialist domination; the subordination of national sovereignty to international socialist unity; and the establishment of a socialist economic organization for distributing the world's resources according to the

needs of all peoples. "Working-class action should aim thru propaganda, by-elections and National government or any government opposing such a peace. This every aspect of the class struggle and should be broadened out until there is united working-class oppo-

sition to the capitalist state. "By such an agitation, encouragement will be given to the workers in Germany, France, the British and French empires, and the neutral countries to extend their similar efforts, leading to an international working-class conference to plan

concerted action. "Should the capitalist governments declare an armistice, the working-class movement should meet internationally and stimulate pressure among the masses thruout

the world for a socialist peace. "The last war resulted in the Rus sian revolution. The opportunity may come to end this war by overthrowing capitalist domination in

"To this task the I.L.P. pledges

Europe and the empires.

The main issue before the conference- that of the attitude of the party to the present imperialist war -was the first to be debated. The general agreement of the conference was immediately and strikingly ap-

During the whole course of the debate, not one person attempted to argue that the war should for any reason be supported—a magnificent indication of the complete solidarity of the party on the key issue of the

Whatever opposition there was came to certain sections of the resolution relating mainly to the attitude of the I.L.P. to other organiizations, particularly the Labor Partv and the Communist Party. After considerable discussion, the resolution submitted by the National Administrative Council was adopted with only two dissentients,

(Further material on the Nottingham Conference of the I.L.P. will appear in the next issue of this paper.—Editor.

> Beginning in Next Issue:

A Series of Articles

B. HERMAN commenting upon and

reviewing Ben Gitlow's Book

"I CONFESS"

# Allies Attempt to Woo Stalin from Hitler

## Internationalism and The War in Europe

MAY Day is a day dedicated by the tradition of decades to the ideal of international solidarity, and it is a day most fitting for us to bethink ourselves of the true meaning of internationalism, its duties and responsibilities, at this critical moment of history.

How often in recent months have we anti-war socialists been reproached—yes, denounced—in quarters as far apart as the social-democratic New Leader and the eminently bourgeois New York Times for the denial of internationalism allegedly involved in our "isolationism." How often have we been told that our constant stress on keeping America out of war was selfish, narrow and nationalistic, a repudiation of our international duties. With democracy and civilization at stake, we are asked indignantly, how can we be satisfied with simply standing aside, "minding our own business," "tilling our own garden"? In short, to these our critics, internationalism seems to imply the duty of agitating for America's ever-greater intervention in the present European war on the side of the Allies, ultimately to the point of military participation.

We unhesitatingly repudiate this conception of internationalism as a grotesque caricature. We do not see the war in Europe as a clash between the powers of Light and Darkness, with the Allies as the shining knights of Peace and Democracy. We see it for what it is, a desperate clash of imperialistic powers, locked in deadly battle to acquire or protect the spoils of aggression. And every bit of evidence available, down to Sir Nevile Henderson's recently published semiofficial memoirs, confirms our conviction.

We see Nazi Germany, aided by Russia, fighting to establish its hegemony in Europe and to force its bloody rule on its crushed and helpless neighbors. But we also millions in semi-slavery in the colonies of Asia and America Out of War! Africa, and already planning to force a super-Versailles on a prostrate and defeated Germany.

Germany and Russia. But we also see that very same politics out of which this war has grown. Naturally, cratic" France, and perhaps tomorrow in England as by our idealistic war-mongers, are just aching to get well. War means military dictatorship; totalitarian war, into the war; they have their reasons. To them, totalitarian dictatorship-on both sides,

small nations indeed at stake in this war, but we do people, who have nothing to gain and everything to not and cannot see salvation in the victory of either lose by having this country plunged into the bloody action should be linked up with armed camp, of either imperialistic combination. carnage, "isolationism" means at least the chance of Whichever wins, that victory will mean misery and enslavement to millions; that victory will bear within itself the seeds of new wars, fiercer nationalistic hates, means first of all throwing all our energies into the the entire imperialistic system-British, French and not want to see the American people again made into German alike; yes, and American as well-can bring a pawn of imperialist power-politics in order to pre-

> True internationalism consists not in siding with one or the other group of rival imperialisms; it consists in siding with those forces thruout the world that are fighting to wipe out the entire war-breeding system. True internationalism does not mean agitating for aid organized under the banner of the International Workto the Allies, the enslavers of India and North Africa, because we so detest Hitler, the enslaver of Czecho-Slovakia and Poland; it means giving all the aid in our power to the true internationalist socialists in England, in France, in Germany, who are fighting so courageously to put and end to the war and with it to the entire system of exploitation, oppression and militaristic in the far-flung colonial empires of Britain and France,

Furthermore, true internationalism begins at home. It begins with an honest and responsible attitude to of Stalinist Russia. your own people. True internationalism cannot and does not mean reckless agitation for a course that, in the name of saying democracy abroad, would bring war, military dictatorship, and all attendant disasters upon the American people. True internationalism does not and the genuine self-determination of peoples—the countenance the drumming up of another Wilsonian world order of socialism. crusade to "make the world safe for democracy" by making it safe for Wall Street, the Bank of England tradition-laden symbol of the international solidarity law under which Thornhill was conand the Paris Bourse. True internationalism for us and international aspirations of the oppressed millions victed of "loitering and picketing." American socialists means a true and sincere regard of the world!

Unfinished Symphony



-Fitzpatrick in St. Louis Post-Dispatch

for the interests and welfare of the American people see England and France, holding down hundreds of which today can be summed up in one phrase: Keep

Yes, for us American socialists true internationalism today means "isolation"-isolation from the war in We see a brutal totalitarianism raging unchecked in Europe and the bitter conflicts of imperialistic powertotalitarianism making giant strides forward in "demo- our own home-grown imperialists, aided and abetted "isolationism" is cowardice and folly, even treachery We see civilization, democracy and the rights of to civilization. But to the great mass of the American remaining at peace in the war-torn world.

True internationalism, for us American socialists more devastating rivalries. . . . Only the destruction of struggle to keep America out of war because we do a measure of hope of peace and security to the world! serve the British Empire or to extend Wall Street's sphere of exploitation.

> True internationalism means solidarity with and support to all genuinely anti-imperialist, anti-war forces thruout the world. In them, in those who are already ers Front Against War and those who are not vet associated with it but who share its principles, lies the hope of the world as we can see it today.

> True internationalism means uncompromising hostility to predatory aggression and imperialism wherever found -in the blood-drenched rapine of the fascist powers, in the "dollar diplomacy" of the United States, in the new outbreak of ruthless aggrandizement on the part

> True internationalism means the unceasing advocacy of a new world order free of wars and the nationalimperialist rivalries that breed them, free of exploitation and oppression-a world order of peace, freedom

> That is what May Day means to us-May Day, the

## |Foes of Wage Act Open |Saposs Made Way to Amend Measure Scapegoat in NLRB Fight

#### Win Three Parliamentary Victories in House in Drive to Cripple Vital Law

Washington, D. C. von three important parliamentary away from the nominal leadership victories last week in their fight to of the House control of the debate, cripple the statute by the process of then amended the procedural rule to amendment, shortly after President permit broader latitude in floor Roosevelt had urged that it be left unchanged for another year.

The principal victory came when the House voted to make the proposed Barden amendments, which would exclude 1,000,000 agriculturalprocessing workers from the benefits of the law, the order of business.

President Roosevelt set forth his position in a letter to Chairman Mary L. Norton of the House Labor Committee, made public before the floor fight. Enactment of the Barden amendment, he said, "would be a great mistake."

Adoption, by a 233 to 141 vote, of the rule making the Barden Bill the hours of very sharp debate .

Led by Representative Cox, anti-House foes of the wage-hour law Administration forces first took consideration of the proposed revi-

Their initial victories were regarded as strong indication that the House would approve some form of amendments to the act. Most observers, however, felt that the changes probably would die in the Senate, particularly in view of the growing drive for Congressional adjournment by June 1.

Mr. Roosevelt said in his letter to Mrs. Norton:

"The Wages and Hours Act is in form definite conclusions except to lowest-paid workers.'

Stalinists Lead Efforts to Oust Outstanding Economist From Research Buro

By FRANK HOWARD

Washington, D. C. The Smith forces, which means the Garner faction, have upset the composure of the New Deal-Nortor crowd by precipitating consideration n the House of the Smith as well as the Norton amendments to the Wagner Act. Despite this Blitzcoup, it is confidently predicted by almost be altered at this session of Congress; the Senate won't act even if the House does. The Republicans are beginning to be happy about this possibility because they want to at

an evolutionary stage where we are note that on the whole the principle learning by practical experience in and objective are excellent and have the field as to whether and how it done much to stabilize wages and colleagues of a person entertaining order of business followed three should be amended. It is too early to hours and to bring wages up for the

#### British Launch "Appeasement" Drive At Russia, France at Italy, But Effort Not Likely to Meet With Much Success

Stalin and Mussolini away from Hitthat there was very little chance of Scandinavia and dominating the success for these moves.

Britain concentrated on Russia and France on Italy. London reports other government spokesmen made character. Trade talks between the sure Italy that there was no clash from Russian markets by outbidding Italy were, remained undisclosed. the Reich for Russian goods. Britain would also seek guarantees against campaign to break Stalin and Mus-

## Upholds Right Of Picketing

High Tribunal Decides

Washington, D. C. Anti-picketing laws enacted in Alabama and California were declared unconstitutional by the Supreme Court last week as violating the fundamental guarantees of free speech and free press.

Justice Murphy, newest member of the court, wrote the two opinions, from which Justice McReynolds clearly far from "satisfactory." alone dissented.

they think on matters vital and that falsehoods may be exposed thru the processes of education and discussion is essential to free government," said Mr. Murphy in discussing the appeal of Byron Thornhill from an Alabama state law.

In the opinion in the other case, one involving a protest of John Carlson against an ordinance of Shasta County, Cal., Justice Murphy stated:

"The sweeping and inexact terms of the ordinance disclose the threat to freedom of speech inherent in its existence.

Justice Murphy described peaceful picketing as a means of disseminaof free discussion that is guaranteed by the Constitution." The rights of labor on the picket line might be compared, he said to the property ights and business rights of emloyers and must be protected as

Thornhill, president of a local union creosoters affiliated with the A. F. of L., picketed the Brown Wood Preserving Company of Tuscaloosa County, Ala., and asked a non-union member not to return to work during a strike. It was agreed that the picketing was peaceful, but the Alabama Court of Appeals sustained the Carlson was convicetd after carryng a banner, "This Job Unfair to C.I.O.," while parading before a tun-

Superior Court of California. Appeals by the two men were supported by the two great labor organizations. Joseph A. Padway, general counsel of the A. F. of L., recently appeared for Thornhill, while Lee Pressman, general counsel of the C.I.O., spoke for Carlson. Both attorneys fought the contention that prohibition of picketing was a proper use of police power.

nel project. He appealed from the

tack the whole N.L.R.B. set-up during the Presidential campaign. This leaves the only controversial matter the person of David Saposs.

By the time you read these notes, it will probably have been decided whether David Saposs and the Economic Division of the Labor Board are to continue to function. At the present time, the new strategy of his opponents is to declare that the Economic Division may be important but everyone that the labor act will not that Saposs himself stands for a political philosophy which should disbar him from his job. Even the minority members of the Smith Committee, who have been working very closely with Messrs. Madden, Fahy and Witt, declare in their defense of the Board as now constituted (they are referring to Saposs): 'We disapprove as strongly as our views holding an important (Continued on Page 2)

Seriously disturbed at the conso-| "legitimate" Russian influence in the lidation of Nazi power in Scandina- Balkans, in earnest of which it took via and in the hope of balking plans immediate steps to bring Yugoslavia for a joint German-Russian-Italian and Russia together for the resumpassau't on the Balkans, the Allies last tion of diplomatic relations. In their week made strenuous efforts to woo approaches to Stalin, the British laid great stress on the danger to Russia ler, but as the week closed it seemed of a Germany in complete control of

Balkans. In France, Premier Reynaud and stressed conciliatory gestures to repeated public declarations, supple-Moscow, particularly of an economic menting secret overtures, to reastwo countries would soon be renew-between its "legitimate" interests ed, it was said, in which the attempt and those of England or France. would be made to shut Germany out | What the concessions offered to

The Allied press accompanied this transshipment of Russian imports to solini away from Hitler with a barrage of "reports" and "forecasts' These economic overtures the about growing rifts in the Moscow-British Foreign Office coupled with Berlin and Berlin-Rome Axes, an offer to recognize the Russian especially in the former. Many of grabs in Poland and Finland and the these inspired "reports" were virtual Russian protectorate over the featured in the American press as Baltic states. Britain also offered, it well. But all indications were that was understood, to help extend the Angle-French efforts at "appeasing" the dictators in Moscow and Rome were meeting with prac-Supreme Court tically no success whatever. The controlled Russian press continued its trolled Russian press continued its denunciation of the Allies and its support of the German invasion of Scandinavia. Following up the official Izvestia editorial endorsing the Nazi assault on Norway and Denmark, the Pravda of April 25 de-Falls Under Constitutional clared: "Having suffered failure in Guarantees of Free Speech, attempts to draw countries of Holdin Europe into the war, the Anglo-French imperialists are now trying to incite war in other parts of the world, especially the Near East." Russian negotiations for a trade pact with England, it was suggested. were being undertaken with German knowledge and consent. No one believed in Moscow that anything substantial would come out of the trade talks with Britain. On the other hand, Russo-Italian relations were

The French overtures to Italy ap-"The safeguarding of these rights parently met with an even more comto the end that men may speak as plete failure. Italian spokesmen, to them choed by the controlled press, continued thundering against the Allies and "forecasting" that Italy's entry nto the war, on the side of Germany was imminent.

All Europe was speculating last week as to the direction of the next German thrust—whether it would be at the Balkans, in cooperation with Russia and Italy, with whom the loot would be shared; or at Sweden, in coooperation with Russia. An arrangement had already been reached with Stalin, it was rumored in Berlin, for the partition of Scandinavia, with Russia getting some ports in Norway as well as a part ting information "within that area | of Sweden. Reported Nazi troop concentrations at German Baltic ports seemed to point to an imminent move against Sweden, and this impression was confirmed by the launching of a German radio and press campaign against that coun-

> Fighting in Norway last week appeared to be crystalizing around two fronts: one, in the neighborhood of Trondheim; the other, north of Oslo. The British suffered heavily in the fighting, being forced into retreat at several points. London admitted that the enemy has "taken the first trick' in Norway but announced preparations to strike back heavily and retrieve the situation,

The British Parliament, meanwhile, heard from Sir John Simon, Chancellor of the Exchequer, that in addition to the £667,000,000 of ordinary governmental costs, it would be necessary to raise £2,000,000,000 to pay for the war in the next fiscal year. A little more than half of the total would be borrowed and the rest would be raised by increasing old taxes and levying new ones.

With the entry of the war into a more active phase on the new northern front, resulting in serious setbacks for the Allies, indications multiplied of a tightening of the screws at home in the warring "democracies." In France, the military dictatorship continued its repressions, decreeing the most ruthless penalties, including the death sentence, for opposition to the war. Even in England, which had hitherto maintained much of its pre-war democracy, signs of a change were apparent. Official spokesmen announced that measures might soon be taken to outlaw anti-war propaganda and suppress organizations engaging in such activities. These repressions, it appeared, would be conducted under cover of rooting out foreign-controlled "Fifth Column" organizations, such as the Communist Party, but they would undoubtedly also extend to such genuine socialist anti-warmovements as the Independent Labor Party.

On the western front, there was little military activity last week, the thirty-fourth week of the war.

### Federal "Anti-Trust" **Drive Peril to Labor**

#### Unions Exempt from Sherman Act, Woll Says

By MATTHEW WOLL

(The first part of this article, embodying portions of an address recently delivered by Mr. Woll in New York City, appeared in the last issue of this eral police system with agents of his paper.—Editor.)

MR. ARNOLD next seeks to pre-on what he considers violations of the Sherman Act and to receive comseeking "to compel the hiring of plaints from those suffering annoyuseless and unnecessary labor." This ance or disturbance at the hands of injunction is fraught with dangerous potentialities. The employer may well claim that by working his employees a few extra hours a day he can dispense with the services of many of them formerly necessary to produce the same quantity of goods and that therefore the work of these employees is unnecessary And here again the introduction of some speed-up system may well make "useless' the employment of large numbers of workers. Other possible subterfuges are obvious. It is impossible for any tribunal to determine what labor is useless and unnecessary. The prohibition of the Assistant Attorney-General in this respect is so patently open to abuse that its very proposal must brand the proposition as viciously anti-union. Only an individual interested primarily in advancing the interests of the employers would even broach

If Mr. Arnold insists that it is not his intention to prosecute under such circumstances, he cannot deny that indictments had and threatened not the way has been opened for others only tend to weaken the morale of to attempt it, or at least to resist labor activities by the subterfuge plainly suggested in his interdiction.

#### JURISDICTIONAL DISPUTES

Finally, Mr. Arnold wishes to prohibit attempts by labor to "destroy an established and legitimate system of collective bargaining." this is an attempt to outlaw all jurisdictional disputes between bonafide labor organizations, then it can be said that the Assistant Attorney-General not only is invading a delicate and controversial field but he is proceeding in utter disregard of common-law principles having root in English law and affirmed only last month by the federal court in New Orleans, that jurisdictional disputes are lawful labor controver-

Jurisdictional disputes, while regrettable, often represent the sincere and desperate efforts of working people to retain their limited means of livelihood. Actual conflicts LABOR ASKS NO of this sort are inevitable in our in- SPECIAL PRIVILEGES dustrial system. It is far better to use the means of the council table should like to insist again that lathan the criminal law of the United bor is not asking special privileges; States to combat this difficulty.

unions in spite of the fact that Congress expressly recognized that the company union has been a fertile source of industrial strife. Further, there are many instances where employees become dissatisfied for any bona-fide representative they may even a minority exercise their demotative by resorting to peaceful means | bor.

of picketing and persuasion?

But Mr. Arnold goes even further. In his statement before the Temporary National Economic Committee, he proposed to set up a feddepartment in all of the principal cities of the United States to check labor organizations. By the use of such a Gestapo system labor would soon find itself tied hand and foot, if not by actual criminal prosecutions at least by threats of them. The plan proposed by the Assistant Attorney-General offers potentialities of abuses far greater than labor has ever before experienced.

Considered as a whole, Mr. Arnold has set at work a program and activities that are bound to weaken if not destroy, the labor organizations of our land. If he intended to be impartial, fair and just, he would not have placed so many labor organizations in jeopardy on questions at issue which at best have not been definitely determined by the Supreme Court. Instead, he would have elected to proceed in a single case and thus test, in the first instance. the validity of his conception and judgment of what the Sherman and Clayton laws embrace.

The fact is that the multiplicity of workers in the trade unions, destroy the confidence in trade-union leadership, accord to hostile employers the opportunity to resist or discontinue collective labor relations. and in general cause such confusion, apprehension, disturbance and cost of administration by reason of expenses due to uncalled-for litigation of our trade unions. Indeed, it is said, that some of our local unions have found it advisable to enter 'consent decrees" rather than venture into costly litigation. It is likewise reported that other unions will be compelled to do likewise because of lack of funds with which to carry on the defense made necessary by litigation started against them by Mr. Arnold. Thus, Mr. Arnold is unions under restrictions and limitations largely defined by himself without any results to the union. and which are not the result of due deliberation, proper litigation and court review.

It should be understood and it does not seek to stand above the A more important defect in this law nor does it ask immunity from final prohibition prescribed by As- due process of law. It asserts that sistant Attorney-General is that by there are distinctions and that these so decreeing, he has thrown the distinctions are a part of the task of cloak of protection around company intelligent men to make and every judge to uphold. I refer specifically to the distinction between a man's possessions and a man's personality As Samuel Gompers used to assert "Capital is what a man has; labor is what a man is." This distinction of a variety of reasons with the between the person and the posses sion we believe is basic and we shall have chosen. May not a majority or continue to press for this point of view as growing directly out of our cratic right to change that represen- own experience in the field of la-

MAY DAY GREETINGS from the

Cloakmakers Branch (New York) of the I.L.L.A.

MAY DAY GREETINGS Manhattan Branch (New York)

BREZINER ARBEITER **VEREIN** greets the WORKERS AGE

MAY DAY Saul Steiglitz, Chairman I. Cohen. Secretary

MAY DAY GREETINGS from the WORKERS OF Samuel Chapman Dress Shop M. Klein, Shop Chairman

May Day Greetings

of the I.L.L.A.

BONNAZ, SINGER AND HAND EMBROIDERERS. TUCKERS, PLEATERS AND STITCHERS UNION, LOCAL 66, I.L.G.W.U.

Z. L. FREEDMAN, President and Secretary-Manager JACOB JAFFE, Vice-President

May Day Greetings

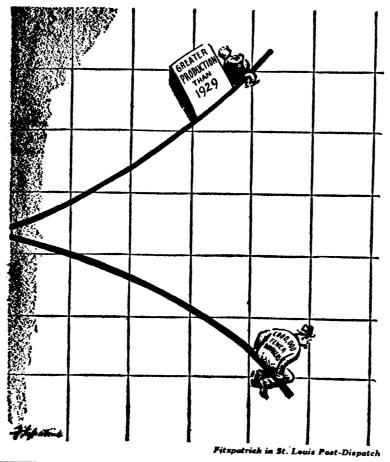
### WORKMEN'S BENEFIT FUND OF THE U.S.A.

America's Oldest Fraternal Organization 714 Seneca Avenue, Brooklyn, N. Y.

Demonstrate for International DEMOCRACY PEACE and

Assembly point for our Members on May 1st 39th Street between 8th and 11th Avenues

More Output - - Fewer Workers



### Progressives Win in Waiters Local 16 Vote

#### Stalinist Machine Cleaned Out in Poll

By JOHN COOK

New York City. O<sup>N</sup> Tuesday, April 16, elections took place in the Waiters and Bartenders Local 16. A. F. of L., one of the key locals of the Hotel and Restaurant Workers and Bartenders International Alliance. The Stalinist as to undermine and bankrupt many machine was smashed to smithereens in a revolt of the membership after two years of misrule' by the Stalinists. Dave Siegal, standard-bearer of the Progressive Non-Partisans, defeated William Albertson, leader of the leadership of Albertson, did their the Communist Party forces in Local damnedest to make the membership 16, by a lead of 500 votes. Alberston, of Local 16 submit to such an agreea "glamor" boy not from the ranks of labor, but one of the C.P.-trained "professional" trade unionists, had hitherto been considered invincible. succeeding in placing our trade But it seems that the workers had gotten fed up with empty phrases The main issue of the campaign

was non-political control of the union, Non-partisans hitherto working hand in hand with the Albertson machine had gotten wise that control the union for the Communist to oust the Stalinist commissars from Local 16.

This victory will affect elections in other locals of the International. Issue No. 2 was the mismanagement of finances by Albertson as | secretary-treasurer. When the proleft in the treasury of Local 16, \$43,-917.58. After two years of mismanagement by Albertson, we were faced with a deficit of \$636.16. The auditor advised the union either to cut the payroll or tax the membership, because the bottom had fallen very hard due to the lack of employ-

ment in the industry. ther-in-law, J. Rubin, had signed an sociation in New York City, giving the employers the right to hire their employees from whatever source they chose providing the employees hired became union members within ly in the elections.

fifteen days, and granting the employers also the right to fire any employee without the union having the right to protest or review the grounds for discharge. As compensation the dues were to be deducted result of this sell-out agreement, the bosses in the restaurant industry organized themselves into a Restaurateurs Guild and demanded the same treatment as the Hotel Men's

Association. The Stalinists, under ment. They prepared an agreement on the same basis with the Union News Co. that controls a chain of restaurants. Dave Siegal, president of our Local 16, the only officer in opposition to the machine, refused to sign the agreement and the Stalinists, knowing the sentiment of the membership, were afraid to come before them and dropped the whole Rail, Levine Bros., when they read Albertson was more interested to the hotel agreement, immediately takes of the Board. demanded the same terms. As a re-

of them. Not only did Dave Siegal defeat Albertson for president, but Joseph gressives vacated the office two Rodriguez defeated Henry Lee for years ago (March 31, 1938), they the office of secretary-treasurer and Leo M. Stenzler defeated Dennis Gitz for organizer. About 3,600 workers cast votes. Siegal received 1,800 and Joe Rodriguez 1,700.

welfare or security of the workers,

simply in order to get more dues out

The tactics of the Stalinists during the elections were most vicious. Knowing what they had to expect, out of the treasury. Albertson, true they resorted to all sorts of trickery to his Stalinist training, decided to and character assassination; but the keep the unnecessary burocratic of- vilest of all was the anti-Semitic ficials and to tax the membership. whispering campaign to the effect The membership felt the taxation that the progressive slate was a "Jewish" slate. One of the business agents on the Albertson slate actu-Issue No. 3 was the security of the ally called a meeting at the Metroworker on the job. The Hotel Trades | pole Club and charged that the pro Council, headed by Albertson's bro- gressive ticket was a "Jewish" af fair! Since Albertson has been in agreement with the Hotel Men's As- our union, he has organized various national elements into groups, trying to utilize their national prejudices in order to get votes for himself. This was brought out bold

### May Day Greetings

#### JOINT BOARD DRESS AND WAISTMAKERS UNION

JULIUS HOCHMAN, General Manager BEN EVRY, President PHILLIP KAPP, Secretary-Treasurer

AMALGAMATED LADIES GARMENT WORKERS UNION, LOCAL NO. 10 ISIDORE NAGLER, Manager

DRESS AND WAISTMAKERS UNION, LOCAL NO. 22 CHARLES S. ZIMMERMAN, Manager-Secretary

DRESS & WAIST PRESSERS UNION LOCAL NO. 60 MAX COHEN, Manager

ITALIAN DRESSMAKERS UNION. LOCAL NO. 89 LUIGI ANTONINI, General Secretary-Manager

### Harlan Miners Still In Jail on Frame-Up

Johnson of Kentucky for immediate and favorable action on the ed on a murder charge, but on conpardon appeals of the four Harlan spiracy charges. Governor Laffoon miners sentenced to life imprison- pardoned three of the miners in ment for alleged participation in the 1935. Governor Chandler refused to "Battle of Evarts", May 5, 1931, be- pardon the others, having concluded tween striking coal miners and Har- that there was no miscarriage of lan mine-guards, the Louisville, Ky., justice. Courier-Journal on Sunday, April 7,

make a decision in regard to pardon- another request for a pardon. ing the last four miners who are left in prison as a result of the convictions following the 1931 'Battle of Evarts.' We hope that the governor will find time to consider this troublesome case, for we believe there is convincing evidence of in

"Seven miners were sent to prison

### Saposs Made Scapegoat in NLRB Fight

(Continued from Page 1) position in the government."

This attack by Murdock and Healey cannot represent anyone else than Mr. Madden and his friends, and to this extent it is an inside Labor Board job, in my judgment. Many newspaper men here hold the, same opinion but they cannot say as much as the Workers Age allows me to say. It is important for the record from the wages of the workers, the to note that because of his homeso-called check-off system. As a made, thoroly American, progressive pro-labor viewpoint, which has made him anti-Stalinist, Saposs is being Harlan who prosecuted the cases, attacked by such diverse camps as have interceded in behalf of the pristhe A. F. of L., C.I.O., N.L.R.B., the oners. National convention of the A. National Manufacturers Association, Garner Democrats, Republicans; even some New Deal Democrats have of state and city federations, thousjoined the pack. In such a united ands of local unions, and numerous hampered by effective loan-shark front the Communist Party takes prominent citizens have repeatedly lobbies. However, some progress the lead, from behind the scenes, in urged executive elemency. the most vicious of all attacks on this outstanding labor economist. If Saposs wins, it will be because some of his friends in the universities and in the ranks of labor, such as David Dubinsky and Sidney Hillman, bring his excellent record to the attention of the country and expose the dark forces which have ganged up against matter. The owners of the Brass this man, hoping to make him an acceptable scapegoat for all the mis-

Four vice-presidents of the United Party than in the welfare of the sult, we have the Brass Rail strike Retail and Wholesale Employees workers in the industry. They unit- that has lasted for two years! The Union were in Washington recently ed with the progressives in order defeat of Albertson is a repudiation to raise hell with John Lewis about of the Stalinist practise of signing the inroads which Bridges is trying agreements without regard to the to make into their union. The now notorious resolution passed at the International Longshore Workers Union convention—calling for Bridges's leadership in organizing 2,000,-000 workers in the wholesaling and distribution fields-was denounced in three and four-letter words. Lewis was impressed with their protest and promised to call off Bridges, I am told. However, some others here, who have observed the hold Bridges and Co. seem to have on John L., are sceptical as to the outcome. This is the first major jurisdictional chalenge within the C.I.O. As my informant expressed it, "Bridges is mainly concerned wieh the tightness of C.P. control, not the legitimacy of the jurisdictional claims of his

Words comes to me from Baltinore that the C.I.O. campaign against the A. F. of L. auto union. n the N.L.R.B. General Motors elections, was one of the dirtiest that the boys could think up. Irving Brown, A. F. of L. organizer was attacked as a communist, grafter, crook, Jew, etc., etc. Considering this kind of slimy campaign, not on the issues, it was surprising that the A. F. of L. nade as good a record as it did. Some newspapermen here are pointing out that the seeming victorythruout the United States-of the C.I.O. was not such a great victory after all. This formerly was C.I.O. territory; now the C.I.O. gets less than 75% of the votes of the auto workers-many prefer the A. F. of

L. or no union at all to the C.I.O. The Japanese statement on the Dutch East Indies and the Hull reply are not being interpreted correctly in the newspapers, according to an expert on the Far East with whom I talked last night. He declares that Japan is probably fishing for the establishment of a tripartite trusteeship over the Indies during the war, if Holland disappears. Japan was worried lest she be left out in the cold. The three parties concerned would be Great Britain, the United States and Japan. It is expected by Abe Albert the State Department and commentators on foreign affairs that Holland will be invaded by Germany very soon. Many say that it is a matter of days.

This explanation fits nicely the riewpoint I have been advocating in these notes, namely, that the United States is following British policy in the Far East, with few deviations

Read—Spread

**WORKERS AGE** 

#### Kentucky Paper Urges Pardon by Governor

New York City. | for life as a result of the 'Battle of CTRONGLY urging Governor Keen Evarts', in which four men were killed. The miners were not convict-

"It is doubtful, however, whether 1940, in its leading editorial entitled, Chandler in reaching that decision "A Just Plea for Pardon," declared: had really reviewed all the new evi-"An Associated Press story from dence uncovered since the original Frankfort says that Governor John-trials. In our opinion, that evidence son has been asked once more to is of such a nature that it justifies "Most of the new evidence con-

cerns only one of the cases, that of Al Benson. We believe that it is now possible to prove that could not have been Benson guilty of the acts for which he was convicted. And we believe that the four cases are so similar that there is at least a strong presumption that careful study would reveal the other miners to be as innocent as Benson...

"Believing that injustice has been done, and confident that Keen Johnson is as averse to injustice as any citizen of Kentucky, we urge the governor to give attention to this The four union miners, Al Benson,

Chester Poore, Jim Reynolds and W. B. Jones, will complete their ninth year of imprisonment on May 5 1940. Their plea for pardon, based on newly-discovered evidence establishing innocence and confessions of perjury committed in their trials by important Commonwealth witnesses, has received wide support in all parts of America and abroad.

Two of the three trial judges and 46 of the 47 living jurors who convicted them, also former Commonwealth's Attorney W. A. Brock of F. of L. and the C.I.O., many international union conventions, hundreds

## Illegal Money Lenders Prey on Millions in U.S.

New York City LLEGAL money lenders prey on as many as a fourth of the families in states which lack adequate protective legislation, it is revealed in a pamphlet, "Loan Sharks and Their Victims," pubished recently by the Public Affairs Committee. This pamphlet is written by William Trufant Foster, director of the Pollak Foundation for Economic Research.

In Dallas, records obtained of 2.-554 loans from 72 illegal companies showed that the borrowers had paid \$85,000 interest on loans totalling \$55,757. The average interest rate on the first thousand cases was 271%, and the highest was 1,131%.

One case is cited in which an outlaw lender took in \$1,053 in nine years on a \$20 loan.

Another illegal lender thrived by charging his victims interest for the use of their own money. This lender did a contracting business on the side, and found that when his workmen had earned a week's wages he could make money by postponing payment of the wages and then lending money to the workmen at 10% interest a week.

In still another part of the country, an illegal lender ran a collection buro on the side and lent money at 240% to settle the accounts he was collecting, pocketing half of each collection.

Illegal lenders are shown to flourish chiefly where legal lenders are unable to operate because of faulty or inoperative laws. Recent investigations in Florida, Georgia, Missouri, Oklahoma, Tennessee, Texas and Washington have disclosed particularly bad conditions, altho at least a dozen other states lack effec-

tive regulation. In several states, the loan sharks escape regulation by means of the salary-buying dodge. Actually, they lend money; technically, they merely buy the right to collect a part of the victim's wages on the next pay-day.

Efforts on the part of bar associaions, social-work agencies, and public-spirited citizens to obtain adequate regulation have been has recently been made.

#### MAY DAY GREETINGS

Progressive Dressmakers Branch

No. 122 Workmen's Circle

Ben Gladstone, Financial Secy.

KITGOODS WORKERS

MAY DAY GREETINGS

UNION Local 155, I.L.G.W.U.

Louis Levinson, President Louis Nelson, Manager

#### Greetings from Dressmakers

David Gassner Jennie Silverman Ben Siegel 1. Bortnick Harry Sherman Max Fell Benny Barrow T. Axler H. Goldman Meyer Terry Max Goldfarb Nathan Feldheim Lillian Lanzetta . Steinberg Leon Galosso Yolanda Temerario B. Rivkin Anthony Barone Helen Siegal Harry Rosner D. Spicehandler Bernard Broder Nathan Cohen Jack Broder . Diamond Benjamin Lasker Max Bluestein Moley Lunn M. Slotnick Goldie Chibka Pearl Halpern Nathan Stelnick I. Horowitz Rose Cohen M. K. Schechte Joe Engelstein Minnie Lurve . Nussbaum A Friend Harry Koenig Edith Ransom Ben Evry M. Kuffchick Saby Nehama Morris Ruffer P. Morgenstern Abe Straussman Eva Schlachter D. Davidson M. B. Wishengrad Abe Schneider A Friend H. Spitalnick B. Katz Louis Goldfarb Saul Steiglitz Joe Rubin Abe Roshco Morris Zimmerman Louis Smilowitz Joseph Friedman B. Welstein Sam Slutzky B. Atlas Ben Weiser Clarissa Bostic Tillie Diliberti H. Bankel M. Pilchik Rose Brill Joe Kutzman A. Boyarsky Max Hyfler Irving Klein Nat Mardkafsky David Hollander Louis Gelow George Kasof J. Kaliner Abraham Zelnick Sam Bonder Sam Malkin Sam Pritzker Sidney Jonas Sam Friedberg Y. Yaselefsky Louis Ginsburg Jack Goldstein Jack Mandel T. Tushinsky Jacob Goldstein Joseph Lax Louis Rosenthal

E. Brietstein Erickson Sam Maron lda Merkin Bennie Knaue Max Madwin Max Lake Dave Fields Dave Binder N. Stopel Wm. Baum Eli Eisenberg Ben Hochman A. Friend Louis Dowrkin Ben Strauss B. Dmocher S. Holland Harry Slavin Celina Viera Julius Betcher Jack Simon Adolph Brooks Max Tushinsky Mildred Weile A Friend S. Joffe Joe Rosen Max Goldberg B. Luba Grossman Al Schawrtz J. Borowick L. Entin Sam Schwartz Bill Lurye Max Glands J. Blum Samuel Mayer Boris Sosnofsky Lou Geller Abe Kreitzer I. Copelson Adolph Hirsch

Serafin Vazquez Max Eisenberg Louis Boadanof Sam Grossman David Frumkin Paul Rutigliano Herman Spitzer Anthony Coniglio Rosita Naveira Harry Pomerantz Patsy Naturelli Charles Gerskig

May Ramos Julius Stall Harry Lasky George Blosle Frank Muscillo Mania Boobar Meyer Bailowitz Sol Wolfish Celia Orlansky Raymond Sheilly I. Breitstein Silverman P. Berg Jack Coher Louis Mechanic Hyman Fishthal J. B. Thomas A. Dautch Yaneniger Fannie Mozlin Rebecca Lapida John De Cindro Anna Schwartz Jennie Mandel David Maness Max Koplenberg Nellie Somma J. Ranberg Phil Rovner Phil Berkowitz Paul Heitman A. Glickenstein Isaac Cohn Frank Mactas Dave Marcus Joe Axler Bernard Allen Morris Schulman Ida Gluck Ralph Hollenberg Ida Bernstein I. Farbiash Max Pollack Charles Billis J. Morgenstern B. Achenbaum Harry Paul Jack Sperber Rose Cheskin Samuel Mack Rose Zorn Helen Shaffer Rebecca Thomas Anna Schachtman Max Lehman A Loyal Friend

#### Greetings from Individuals

Santiago Corrales

K. Sharp A Friend Victor Cibulsky Leon Newman George Hale

Joe Friedman

Arthur Skolnik

A Friend

Anne Laurier Beatrice Wolfe H. Kramer Will Herberg Jay Lovestone John Gissing

Ray Michael Norma Painter M. Friedman M. Chaplin Joe Goft Max Grackin

David Kriegstein Ralph Pesce Joe Fischstein Julius Kraus Julius Stone George Halpern

ADDITIONAL GREETINGS WILL APPEAR IN COMING ISSUES

### The Inquisition Lifts Its Head in America

By WILL HERBERG

ONE thing the Russell case has already done and that is to direct attention to the sinister role of the Catholic Church in promoting cultural reaction. For, make no mistake about it, behind the so-called "popular protest" raised against the Russell appointment, behind Justice McGeehan's decision and LaGuardia's subterfuge, there is the practised hand of the Catholic hierarchy. Bishop Manning and the assorted ministers and rabbis who have joined the chorus of hate and ignorance are at most only "fellow-travelers" of the hierarchy. When it comes to foment ing bigotry and intolerance among the backward sections of the population or to manipulating political influence in devious, hidden ways, the Catholic machine is still a power of the first magnitude, even in the United States, and especially in New York City.

In late years, a persistent, concerted effort has been made to present the Catholic Church in a new and more attractive light. Taking advantage of the world-wide demoralization of socialism and liberalism and of the prestige accruing from Nazi persecution, a number of skilled apologists here and abroad have striven to picture Catholicism as an eminently rational philosophy of disciplined freedom, a philosophy reconciling personal self-determination with social stability. The irrational elements of dogma and "mystery," so unacceptable to the modern mind, have been played down, and along with them, the dark and bloody history of the Church. On the other hand, the teachings of the Papal encyclicals on labor questions have been hailed as the last word of "true liberalism." Much has also been made of the allegedly irreconcilable opposition of the Church to racialism and totalitarianism—conveniently overlooking Italy and Spain. All in all, the picture presented has been that of an infinitely wise, benign and tolerant Mother ready to provide! spiritual security and hope in a world rapidly dissolving into chaos without asking too much in the way of intellectual sacrifice in return.

This campaign to sell the Catholic Church—which some one has very aptly called the mother of totalitarianism—as the champion of tolerance, enlightenment and democracy has made some headway in certain circles in this country. Heywood Broun's conversion to Catholicism will be remembered, and no one reading the columns of Walter Lippmann and Dorothy Thompson can fail to be struck with their worshipful attitude towards Rome. Other evidences of the same trend are not wanting.

The Russell case should be enough to puncture the fantastically inflated illusion of the Catholic Church as the protector of intellectual integrity and human liberty. For in the Russell case, the Catholic hierarchy has shown itself to be the same unregenerate, intolerant foe of intellectual freedom that it has always been. Thru the instrumentality of a bigoted, semi-literate judge, it has succeeded, for the time being at least, in voiding the appointment of one of the world's greatest thinkers to checking of corruption and bureaucratism, the combating of the faculty of C.C.N.Y. because his views on sex and family relations do not happen to square with the dogmas of the Church or the popular prejudices of unthinking people. What have the latter-day liberal admirers of the Catholic Church to say to this?

Wise with the experience of centuries, the Church knows how to adjust itself to changing circumstances. It knows how to adapt its methods, how to modify its language and approach. But its fundamental aim remains unchanged—to retain its totalitarian control over the ideas, habits and morals of the people. Every vestige of intellectual freedom and independent thinking must be crushed as a dangerous threat. Once the Church's agencies of repression could throw a Galileo into prison and burn a Giordano Bruno, as they can still do in some parts of the world today. In the United States, however, they have to operate surreptitiously and by indirection, thru some benighted judge, for example. But, Only unobstructed, effervescing life falls into a thousand modified and disguised, the Inquisition and the Index are still at work new forms and improvisations, brings to light creative force,

### World Imperialism in The Far East Crisis

**European Powers Maneuver for Position** 

By J. CORK

THE present relations of the Sino-Japanese war generally, and to decreasing, making it all the more present a rather contradictory picture. Narrow national interests cut ing needs. across the broader international relationships in such a way as to RAPROCHEMENT create a confused and shifting pattern. He would have to have more than his legitimate share of cocksuredness who would attempt to predict the exact outcome of the Far Eastern situation at this stage of the game. The most one can do is to indicate general trends, keeping in mind the possibility of sharp reversal of some of these trends due to the natural tendency of all imperialist powers to pursue several, even conflicting, lines of diplomatic intrigue at once. This generalization would include Russia.

BACKGROUND OF INTRIGUE

The following factors provide the background for a consideration of the shifting relationships in the Far East: (1) The relative military stalemate between Japan and China; (2) the critical condition of the Japanese economy; and (3) the war in Europe. These factors have more or less influenced the general line of conduct of the major powers

China plays a waiting game. It seeks to shift and build up industries in the West, to train its man-power, to harrass the Japanese by guerilla warfare in territory they | Far East. It refuses to accept control to keep the supply roads from the Northwest and Southeast open, to appeal for increased aid from other powers.

Japan, bogged down in China and facing a critical situation at home, seeks to keep what it has, and is interested in getting legal recognition of its conquest thru its dummy Wang Ching-wei regime. It cannot afford further military action against any other power, and its natural desire to completely oust Britain and America from China is limited by the fact that only these latter have the material and financial wherewithal to help Japan relieve the economic strain at home and exploit the Chinese preserves which it

hopes to have when it is all over. According to a report recently issued by the U.S. Department of Commerce, the signs of the weakening of Japan's economic structure are, briefly the definite trend toward debt. At the end of 1939, the ficially Lord Halifax, following

national debt was about five and a half billion, an increase of almost one and a half billion over 1938. major world powers to the Absorption of national bonds is again in order to meet the increas-

WITH RUSSIA?

Japan is also seeking a rapprochement with Russia, and has taken definite steps in an attempt to adjust relations amicably. These include the cessation of fighting on Manchukuo's border, the appointment of a commission to delimit the Momanhan frontier where last vear's fighting took place, the appointment of another commission to adjust the whole 3,000 mile frontier where Japanese and Russian interests meet, proposals to negotiate a long-term fishery treaty, efforts to settle Russian-Japanese disputes on Sakhalin Islands, and proposals for a trade

Most of these efforts have stalled with the obstructions coming chiefly from the Russian side. Stalin is olaying his own game, which I will discuss later. He granted a one-year extension to the old fisheries agreement, but that was all. No new treaty was framed: trade talks have been deadlocked for months in Moscow, and the frontier commissions have adjourned indefinitely, But Japan is still trying.

America continues to defend its present and future interests in the Japan's "new order" in China, denounces the invasion, refuses to recognize Wang's puppet regime, Hull's lead, has announced that the both sides by still furnishing Japan with most of its necessary heavy inthat with all powers engaged in economically exhausting wars it will be in a strategic position at the end to dictate terms and get its pound of flesh.

As for England and France. especially the former, with their energies absorbed in the European war, it is natural to expect that they will do everything in their power to appease Japan as far as possible within the limits of fundamental interests. After all, Japan's chief base is Northeast China, whereas Britain's are obvious and increasing. They domain, which it still hopes to keep intact is in the South. There has inflation, the mounting commodity been a strong pro-Japanese wing shortage, the rise in prices, the developing in the British ruling decline in labor efficiency, and the clique. Some even urged recognition substantial increase in the national of Wang's puppet regime, tho of-

On Rosa Luxemburg's Work

## "The Russian Revolution"

By BERTRAM D. WOLFE

(This is the second part of Bertram D. Wolfe's introduction to Rosa Luxemburg's work, "The Russian Revolution." This work ran serially in the columns of this paper and will soon appear in book form.—Editor.)

III. SOCIALISM INSEPARABLE FROM DEMOCRACY THE heart of this pamphlet, as of all Rosa's activities and teachings, lies in her unshakeable belief in the mass of mankind, in her conviction that it is capable, and that it alone is capable, of solving the problems facing our epochin short, her belief in the fundamental importance of democracy to the proletarian revolution and to socialism.

To her, the chief health-giving force of proletarian revolution-even at the moment that it must still exercise a dictatorship over its enraged opponents—is the extension of democracy, the strengthening of the pulse-beat of public life, the awakening of hitherto inert masses to activity, to ntense interest in the common weal, to initiative for the direct, popular solution of all problems, to the assumption of control over their own destiny.

She knew too much of the history of revolutions to reject the employment of revolutionary dictatorship in order to prevent the overthrow of the new order. But she knew, too that such unavoidable dictatorship employed to prevent counter-revolution has its own frightful dangers; and that the one hope of preventing the degeneration of the revolution even in its victory lay in the simultaneous enormous extension of democracy. She made no mysterious fetish of the phrase "democracy," but neither would she be put off with the mere ritual repetition of the phrase while its essence was being violated.

"Freedom only for the supporters of the government, only for the members of one party-however numerous they may be (even the proverbial '51%')—is no freedom at all. Freedom is always and exclusively freedom for the one who thinks differently. Not because of any fanatical concept of 'justice' but because all that is instructive, wholesome and purifying in political freedom depends on this essential characteristic, and its effectiveness vanishes when 'freedom' becomes a special privilege."

She did not shrink from recognizing that violence might have to be employed to prevent the violence of those who would drown the revolution in its own blood. But even there it was but a poor auxiliary weapon to the far mightier and more effective one of enlightening and stirring into activity the millions who could thus reduce the active counter-revolutionists to an impotent handful. All other problems-the ignorance and degeneracy, the improvisation of new economic, social and cultural forms--could only be solved by the broadest possible initiative, enlightenment and selfactivity of the masses. No party, she knew, had a monopoly of wisdom nor a filing cabinet full of ready-made solutions to the thousands of new problems to be presented each day in the course of building a new social order. At best, the socialist program had a few negative recipes-a little knowledge of what had to be eliminated in the old order, and a few general indications as to the direction in which to look for the solution of the first questions presenting themselves. The actual solutions were neither a matter of authority nor prescription but of endless experiment, of tentative trial and fruitful untrammelled suggestion and invention. "Socialism, by its very nature, cannot be introduced by ukase. . . . itself corrects all mistaken attempts."

Such is the core of Rosa Luxemburg's teachings, which her opponents so scornfully referred to as her "theory of spontancity" and "underestimation of the role of the party." She would have limited that role to stimulation of the masses into democratic self-activity, not domination and substitution of itself for the masses. How profoundly right she was in her democratic faith and in her fear of bureauby a handful of leaders, of the attempt to solve all problems by decree and universal terror—the intervening years in ssia have amply demonstrated. Today, her warning sounds

like the words of a gifted prophecy. "With the repression of political life in the land as a whole, life in the soviets must also become more and more crippled. Without general elections, without unrestricted freedom of press and assembly, without a free struggle of the individual combatants separately, necessary to raise the tax rates opinions, life dies out in every public institution, becomes a mere semblance of life, in which only the bureaucracy remains as the active element. Public life gradually falls asleep, a few dozen party leaders of inexhaustible energy and boundless experience direct and rule. Among them, in reality, only a dozen outstanding heads do the leading and an elite of the working class is invited from time to time to meetings where they are to applaud the speeches of the leaders, and to approve proposed resolutions unanimously at bottom then, a clique affair—a dictatorship, to be sure, not of the proletariat however, but only of a handful of politicians. . . . Such conditions must inevitably cause a brutalization of public life: attempted assassinations, shooting of hostages, etc."

Alas, her warning went unheeded and a quarter-century of uninterrupted error has made her worst fears more than justified. The initial deficiencies of Lenin were endlessly magnified by his successor, and his sporadic efforts at correction were abandoned. The result is the bloody monstrosity of the personal dictatorship of Stalin. If the test of a scientific theory is its ability to diagnose and predict. surely the soundness of Rosa Luxemburg's estimate of the it. It stands well the test of every great classic: it is as power. relation of democracy and dictatorship has been fully verified. How far she is superior to those critics of Stalinism who, I timely as long as men struggle for freedom. out of false pride or autocratic temperament, reject her April, 1940

had more than a decade in which to reexamine his own conceptions in deportation and exile, has not to this day attained to her clear and simple vision of the initial defects in the Russian Revolution and its political system.

IV. THE PEASANT QUESTION

WHERE Rosa Luxemburg was wrong—and events have inevitably proved her wrong in some matters as well as right in others-it was where she herself departed from her own principle of respect for revolutionary de-

On the land question, it was Lenin, who despite his previous doctrinaire misgivings, had recourse to the theory of stimulating the initiative of the oppressed peasant masses for the democratic solution of Russia's agrarian problem. Thereby he broke down at a single stroke the large-landownership system that oppressed Russia. Thereby he destroyed the power of gentry and Czarism. Thereby he bound the peasants to the revolutionary government, and even though other measures alienated them, yet in the moments of greatest peril they still defended the government that had helped them take the land against the danger of landowner restoration. She and Lenin were agreed in believing that ultimately large-scale mechanized agriculture was desirable and possible. But Lenin-despite occasional neglect of his own principles under pressure of events-understood what she, in doctrinaire fashion, sought to ignore: that such largescale socialist agriculture would be possible only after a material base had been created in the form of modern industry, tractor plants, chemical fertilizer plants, and plentiful consumer factory products, and then only by winning the peasants in democratic fashion and convincing them through their own observation and experience that the proposed methods were actually superior in technical and cultural advantages and offered a richer and more attractive life. In this field, neither Trotsky nor Stalin has been equal to the "discipleship" to which each of them has pretended. Rather have they departed here from the views of Lenin in the direction of those of Luxemburg. How wrong she was, has been demonstrated by the experience of the Hungarian Revolution, and how wrong they were in neglecting Lenin's admonition against the bureaucratic-terror-ukase solution of the agrarian question, has been proved by the bitter years of forced collectivization and the weakened state of morale in the peasant-composed Red Army.

#### V. THE RIGHT OF SELF-DETERMINATION

N the national question, too, Rosa Luxemburg permitted doctrinaire formulas to sway her from the principle of a free and democratic solution. She permitted herself to forget that Russia was a great prison-house of peoples, that a proletariat of a dominant country cannot itself be free f it is unwilling to give freedom to its subject peoples. As a Polish Socialist, she had quite properly agitated in favor of the unity of the Polish proletariat with the Russian in a free union, and it was altogether proper for the vanguard of every subject nation to try to convince its own masses of the desirability of such cooperation. But the dominant proletariat cannot "convince" by force in such cases; indeed, it is likely to convince only after the problem of national oppression has been removed by the establish ment of untrammelled freedom.

Rosa was wrong to ridicule the Ukrainian independence novement. She actually ignored an essential fact: while in the cities of the Ukraine, Jewish and Great-Russian workers and intellectuals predominated, on the land, in the smaller towns and villages, the peasant and the village intellegentsia alike were overwhelmingly Ukrainian and moved by a muted hatred of Czarist oppression. When Rosa wrote this pamphlet, various forces were contending for mastery in the Ukraine, and the outcome was still very much in doubt. But the succeeding years proved her prognosis wrong, and justified Lenin's faith in self-determination as a means of laying the basis for a revolutionary solution of the problem. Subsequently, Stalin was to act in his own characteristically tor of Marxian principles, somecracy, of one-party dictatorship, clique rule and domination the basis for a revolutionary solution of the problem. Subbrutal fashion on the doctrinaire theory here advanced by Rosa Luxemburg, and today the fruit of his methods is to be found in the blood-purge in all the border republics, and cult problem in first trying to find change. But development and change the growing tendency of the Soviet Union to fly apart. We out what Stalinism is as a body of in theory can only take place thru have another bloody test of the theory of "socialism and thought. There is no consistent or freedom of thought and thru discusunion" by brute force today in the prostrate body of vio-coherent theory in Stalinism. This sion, thru democracy. Stalinism, by

lated Finland. This pamphlet, then, is not a work of perfection, nor a sacred text for a new cult and Talmudical exegesis. Indeed, there are no works of perfection produced by living men and women who dare to attempt to understand and influence history in the making. Rosa was not the kind to make a good church member, nor to tolerate an attempt to build a new church around her. But the core of this work is sound, and the errors can actually be tested and demonstrated by using the very principles that constitute the heart is above principle and above all STALINISM AS

This pamphlet is expressive of the woman who wrote it: a work of penetrating and lively intelligence, of fearless experimental analysis, aglow with love of freedom, revolutionary energy and passionate love of her fellows. Today, with the Communist International in ruins and the Socialist International still the "stinking corpse" she pronounced it, when all that is healthful in either the "socialist" or "communist" movements is engaged in a searching activity of reexamination as a preliminary to reconstruction and a new forward march towards socialism, this pamphlet can richly help to serve the purpose for which she originally intended timely now as the day it was written. And it will remain

### "War for Democracy" Is A Mockery to the Negro

By EDWARD WELSH

(We publish below the address delvered by Edward Welsh at the symposium, "The Negro and the Present War," held recently in Harlem. The contributions of Frank Crosswaith and Jay Lovestone will appear in early is- tlefields of France, would those sues of this paper .- Editor.)

THE Second World War is now I under way. Altho the United States is not directly involved today, it may become so tomorrow. It is therefore high time that we Negroes began thinking about this question in order to decide what our attitude should be in the event of such a war. If we don't begin to think about it now, we face the danger of being swept away by the hysteria and propaganda that precedes and accompanies war.

EXPERIENCE OF

LAST WAR Before we can decide what our attitude should be towards our government in the event of a war, we should first consider the attitude of our government towards us. In considering this, together with the the present war, my thoughts go back to the same question with respect to the last war. I was too young then to participate in the war, either voluntarily or thru conscription, but was old enough to be somebeset our group before, during and after the war.

the future of the Negro, just as today the Indian National Congress 1917 and 1918. in India is demanding guarantees of freedom from British rule and op- the world made safe for democracy, pression. They wanted to know if

Negroes were to share in this democracy that was being fought for. They wanted to know if lynching was to be stopped, if racial persecution was to end. They wanted to know that if they gave their last full measure of devotion on the batwhom they left behind be able to enjoy the same rights and privileges accorded to all American citizens whose skins don't happen to be

A few easy promises, a few pats on the back from those in high places, and Negroes were called upon to close ranks-close ranks not to fight for the just demands of the Negroes, not to exact real guarantees for the future of the Negro people, but close ranks with the war profiteers, the lynchers in the South, in order to make the world safe for more profits and more lynchings, and for the perpetuation of a rule of tyranny and oppression.

DEMOCRACY ABROAD-LYNCHING AT HOME

Prior to the United States entering the war, 3,000 Negroes had been lynched in the South. In the years question of whither the Negro in 1917 and 1918 alone, while American black soliders were fighting and dying for democracy, and while medals for deeds of valor and bravery in the face of the enemy were swinging from their breasts, their black brothers were swinging from sycawhat aware of the problems which more trees in the South, tasting of a strange and bitter fruit.

In the years 1917 and 1918, when It was no easy task to whip up the United States was actively enenthusiasm amongst Negroes or en- gaged in the war and black men in list them for the war. Negroes ar- uniform were dying on the battlegued that the Germans had done fields of France, black men in overnothing to them. Certain spokesmen alls were dying in the South. Acof our group wanted guarantees for cording to official records, 115 Negroes were lynched in the years

After the war had been won and

### Is Stalinism a Form Of Marxist Theory?

In the Discussion on "Marxism Reexamined"

By B. HERMAN

y B. Herman in our discussion, 'So-Fundamentals Reexamined.' Since complete freedom of opinion prevails in this discussion, the views expressed in this and similar articles are not necessarily those of anyone but the author.-Editor.)

is easily understood when one realits elevation of the Leader to the lizes that Stalin operates on one rank of absolutist ruler, is the negabasic premise, that the Fuehrer or tion of all thought, of all science, of Leader is the sole determinant of all democracy. In this, it is identiwhat is correct and what must be cal with the method and practise one purpose, the maintenance of his Stalinism with Marxism cannot even monopoly of power. Therefore, it | be considered a bad joke. can be readily seen that the Leader teachings-Marxist or otherwise. He NATIONAL CHAUVINISM is the supreme "pragmatist". Everything useful to him, no matter how many millions it may harm at home, no matter how much damage it may do to the international working class, and regardless of how contradictory it may be to the policy proclaimed as the acme of perfection the day before, is now the de-

essential feature of Stalinism, without which its lack of theory and

turns in policy are incomprehensible, is the cult of the Leader, the infalli-This is the fourth article of the series bility and omnipotence of the great and only Ruler. In this we have the diametrically opposite pole to Marxism, in which scientific principle takes precedence over any Leader, regardless of how many policemen that Leader may have at his disposal. Marxism is the reflection of the experience of the international workng class in a century of struggle. It is not fixed and absolute, but done. Everything that he does has of Hitlerism. The identification of

As a corollary to the Leader cult, Stalinism has another essential feature-national chauvinism. For, if the supreme Leader knows no other principle than the extension or maintenance of his regime and power, then it becomes a "truth" that the interests of the international working class must be subordinated creed and authoritative Truth. And to that regime. It becomes a matthis Truth is enforced by the police ter of everyday routine to sell out the working class in various coun-I would therefore say that the tries to their respective ruling classes, if in return the capitalists in these countries can give Stalin some aid or support, whether political, economic or military.

This is again the diametrically opposite pole to Marxism. Marxism is essentially international and revolutionary. There can be no subordination of the interests of the international working class to any Leader or burocratic, nationalistic interest. Marxism advocates the international solidarity of the working class against their capitalist exploiters thruout the world. And yet there are so-called "brilliant" critics of Marxism who see in Stalin the expression of the Marxian theory of class struggle!

Lenin was one of the first to understand the significance of the Stalinist menace, one of the first to see its essential features, at a time when these were only incipient. On December 31, 1922, Lenin protested: 'One must naturally hold Stalin and Dzerzhinsky (then the head of the Cheka) responsible for this really Great Russian nationalistic policy.' In his last Testament to the Central Committee of the Communist Party, Lenin demanded Stalin's removal. He denounced Stalin's rudeness and disloyalty to his party comrades, and warned that Stalin had concentrated too much power into his hands. I do not refer to Lenin because I believe that he was infallible, but because subsequent developments have demonstrated a thousand times and enlarged to grotesque proportions the utterly anti-working class features of Stalinism, which cy: the concentration of power into the hands of one Leader, the ruth-(Continued on Page 4)

## cial Editor, News Chronicle.

Now Here's

Something!

INTHIS war is, in one of its minor objectives, a war to make the world safe for the gold standard"-Oscar T. Hobson, Finan-Now there's something really worth dying for!

but continues to make profit from British government will continue to recognize the Chinese government at Chungking. Ambassador Craigie's dustrial imports and at the same recent statement that "Britain and time, making loans to China (\$20,- Japan are ultimately striving for the 000,000, the latest). America is same objective," is an indication of calmly waiting for the future, sure the "appeasement" tendency. What

is less widely known is that England recently sold Japan a million barrels of oil from Iran. In addition, the pro-Japanese clique always points to the danger constituted by the increasing Soviet influence in

On the other hand, the exigencies of the European war forced England to extend the blockade to the Pacific, thus bringing it into inevitable collision with Japan. In addition, England has most recently announced that it still regarded the principles underlying the Nine-Power Treaty as the basis of its policy in regard to China. After all, it can't afford to neglect the important card of Anglo-American pressure upon Japan. As to the totalitarian trio, Ger-

(Continued on bage 4)

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### Their Master's Voice

IN the Daily Worker of April 17, there appears the manifesto issued by the Norwegian Communist Party on the occasion of the Nazi nvasion. The opening paragraphs are worth noting:

"German troops have occupied several important points in our country, including Oslo. The German military authorities declare that the aim of the occupation is defense of the country and to prevent the possibility of its becoming transformed into a theater of military ope-

"The situation created in this connection depends on the strivings of the Anglo-French military block to extend the imperialist war and also to disarm Scandinavia."

The meaning of these words is perfectly clear: Not the German assault on Norway constitutes an extension of the war to Scandinaviathat was undertaken merely in order to "defend the country"—but exclusively the 'strivings" of the Allies. This is identically the official Nazi position, proclaimed by von Ribbentrop and then spread by the German and Russian press. Now the Stalinist parties—even the Stalinist party in Norway!-have been assigned, as agencies of the Moscow Foreign Office, to peddle the same propaganda!

Is it any wonder that the Communist Party and its press remains quite legal in Nazi-controlled Norway?

THE Jewish Telegraphic Agency reports that Germany and Russia are now negotiating an agreement to "repatriate" some 60,000 Jews and Poles who fled from German-held Poland to Soviet territory during the days of the invasion. In other words, scores of thousands of miserable refugee Jews are to be handed over by Stalin to the tender mercies of Lenin could only see in their infanthe Hitlerite bandits.

In truth there is no atrocity of which Stalin is not capable!

### Workers Age

Organ of the National Council, Independent Labor League of America, 131 West 33rd St., New York City. Published every Saturday by the Workers Age Publishing Association. Subscription Rates: \$1.50 per year; \$.85 for six month; 5c a copy. Foreign

Rates: \$2.50; Canada \$1.75 per year Entered as second class matter Nov. 5, 1934, at the Post Office New York, N. Y.

under the act of March 3, 1879. Phone: LAckawanna 4-5282. WILL HERBERG, Editor

Vol. 9. SATURDAY, MAY 4, 1940.

#### THE CIRCLE IS COMPLETED

THE New Statesman and Nation, well-known liberal London weekly, quotes in its issue of April 6 the following remarkable declaration of Walter Ulbricht, Moscow-controlled spokesman of the Communist Party of Germany:

"The German government declared itself ready for friendly relations with the Soviet Union; the Anglo-French war block is determined on war with the Soviet Union. . . . To support the war is all the more criminal since THAT POWER (GREAT BRITAIN) ... IS THE MOST REACTION-ARY FORCE IN THE WORLD." (emphasis ours.)

Thus Ulbricht, speaking for his master, Stalin, officially closes the circle of transformation of the Stalinist "party line" from the Popular Frontism of yesterday to the Communazism of today.

Less than a year ago, fascism—and above all, German Nazism— was denounced by the Kremlin and its spokesmen as the very height of savage, warlike reaction, while the plutocratic democracies-England, France and the United States-were hailed as the lily-white champions of peace and freedom. That was when the Russian Foreign Office was engaged in a heavy diplomatic flirtation with the "great democracies" in the hope of cementing a "collective-security" front against the Berlin-Rome-Tokyo Axis.

Then, towards the end of August 1939, came the Stalin-Hitler pact, signalizing a drastic shift in Russian foreign policy. In place of the latelyglorified "collective-security" alliance with England and France, there emerged a war block with Nazi Germany. Obviously, that called for an equally drastic shift in the "line" of the various foreign outposts of the Kremlin, the Communist parties thruout the world.

This overnight change of "line" came, but it came in stages. In the days immediately following the signing of the Stalin-Hitler pact, the Stalinist press adopted a mock-"revolutionary" attitude. The war, it assured us, was an "imperialist war on both sides." The communists were therefore "uncompromisingly" opposed to both German and Anglo-French imperialism which they now regarded as equally vicious and equally reactionary because equally imperialistic. And on this string they harped for some weeks.

At that very time, we pointed out in these columns that this "un compromisingly revolutionary" attitude was nothing but a fraud, a dodge with which to cover up the sudden right-about face in "party line" following the Stalin-Hitler pact. In the September 30, 1939 issue of this paper,

"How long will it be, then, before the Daily Worker tells us that Germany is conducting a 'war of defense' against the 'imperialist aggression' of the Allies? Thus the 'imperialist war on both sides' may soon quite conceivably become in Stalinist eyes an 'imperialist war' only on the side of the Állies and a 'war of defense' on the side of Hitler . . Stranger things have happened!

In fact, this very thing has happened! In the Stalinist press, Nazi Germany is now paraded as a "peace-loving" power: why, it wants to stop the war, doesn't it, but the Allies won't let it! Even the Nazi invasion of Denmark and Norway is defended in terms coined in Berlin and relayed thru Moscow. But the finishing touches to this hastily erected structure of Communazi theory are put by Ulbricht: "Great Britain is the most reactionary force in the world." What is this but a faithful echo of the cynical demagogy of Goebbels and Ley: "Workers of all lands, unite nationalist content of Stalinism. against Britain, the imperialistic oppressor of the world?"

In the most literal sense of the word, Stalinism is today a direct agency of Hitler fascism, tho it operates at one remove, receiving its instructions from Hitler's ally in Moscow rather than from Berlin direct. And wherever Stalinism has succeeded in gaining a point of vantage, above all in the labor movement, it functions as a professional carrier of the deadly poison of totalitarianism brewed in Moscow and Berlin.

#### DUFF COOPER LIFTS THE CURTAIN

COME weeks ago, we called the attention of all those who still believe I that the Allies are fighting a war for democracy—a war to save the world, the German people included, from the horrors of Hitlerism—to Nevile Henderson's memoirs, now published under the title, "The Failure of a Mission." The frank words of this last pre-war British ambassador to Berlin make it quite clear that Hitler's crime in the eyes of the British ruling class was not his despotism, his murderous suppression of every independent voice and every liberal element in Germany, his barbarous racial laws and infamous persecutions—all that could easily have been forgiven, and in fact was forgiven, Henderson tells us. Hitler's real crime, in the eves of official Britain, was his "going too far"—that is, his encroachment on the vital interests of the British and French empires. That's why Europe

Now comes Alfred Duff Cooper, former First Lord of the Admiralty and Chamberlain's chosen propagandist for America. In an address in London last week, Duff Cooper, substituting for Winston Churchill, lifted the revolution and retained some soanother corner of the curtain and displayed exactly what the British cialist consciousness and ideals, and crusade for democracy really looks like at close range. "The crimes of which could not accept the counter-Hitler," shouted Duff Cooper, "are the crimes of the whole German people. Never again shall one nation be allowed to plunge the whole world into war. Never again shall one people be allowed to build up great armaments who have given many proofs that they are not to be trusted

No one, said Duff Cooper, could drive a wedge between the German people and the Hitler government. They must be treated alike.

"We must accept no soft words or specious promises as we did es, a dictatorship in permanence unwhen they came whining and grovelling to Versailles. We must defeat til the "revolution" is triumphant the German people.'

Here you have more light on what the Allied war aims really are cept of the "withering away" of the than in bushels of diplomatic documents, official speeches and White state in domain after domain, which Papers. In short, a super-Versailles—back-breaking reparations, partition process begins immediately after the of Germany, one-sided disarmament, enslavement of the German people —in the hope, or rather the illusion, that Germany will stay crushed and will not arise again as a dangerous rival to Anglo-French imperialism. This is what the war is about, on Duff Cooper's own showing.

And out of this super-Versailles will inevitably come new bitterness, new hatreds, new pent-up nationalisms clamoring for release, new imperialistic rivalries and antagonisms, new wars. . . .

One has to be blind indeed not to see that salvation for mankind cannot come from the victory of one or the other of the rival imperialisms locked in deadly battle in Europe today, but from the destruction of the whole monstrous war-breeding, death-dealing system of impolialism.

OHN L. LEWIS threatens to form a third party to carry out the will of the J people against the bosses. We assume that we will be told at the prope time what our will is."—Howard Brubaker, in the New Yorker.

THEY that can give up liberty to obtain a little temporary safety deserve neither liberty nor safety."—Benjamin Franklin.

NE thing alone is certain: The victorious proletariat can force no blessings of any kind upon any foreign nation without undermining its own victory by so doing."-Friedrich Engels.

International Workers Front on May Day:

## Unite to Stop the War!

AY DAY 1916: Right in the face of the class Workers of the fascist countries! courageously raises the banner of socialism and proletarian solidarity as a call to the workers of the whole world. And Zimmerwald prepares the way for October 1917—the ending of the war by revolution! British and French workers!

MAY DAY 1940: The unfinished task must be taken up again. Another imperialist war, born of the preceding one, is raging, is forcing the workers, because they have been unable to free themselves in time from the capitalist system, to slaughter each other for the profit of their exploiters. . . .

Hitle:, the butcher of the German people, has answered the injustices of Versailles with other and new injustices, with the oppression of the Austrian, Czecho-Slovakian and Polish peoples.

British imperialism and its French satellite claim to be the defenders of democracy, but they oppress 500,000,000 subjects in their empires and are now extending an iron dictatorship over their own people.

Murderer of the friends and co-workers of Leninesponsible for the counter-revolution in China, in Germany, in France and in Spain-Stalin has now allied himself with Hitler. It was he who precipitated Working people of all countries, workers the outbreak of the conflict, who shared the spoils in and peasants, soldiers and sailors! Poland, who invaded and mutilated Finland. The last vestiges of the Russian Revolution have been imperilled thru his crimes, and left at the mercy either of fascist penetration or of the greed of the "democratic" plutocracies.

And finally, in keeping with their betrayal of 1914-1918, the "social-patriots" and the trade-union burocrats find themselves once more in the service of the at the heart of broken-down capitalism in its deathimperialist brigands in recruiting cannon-fodder and agony. It will finish off the tottering system of the destroying working-class liberties.

MAY DAY 1940: The international proletariat will turn away with disgust from the reformist and Stalinist traitors in order the better to fight its class enemies fascist demagogues or profit-mad plutocrats.

MAY DAY 1940: Whether in uniform or in the factories, the exploited will revive the glorious tradition of the anti-war fighters, of Karl Liebknecht, of Merrheim, of Rosa Luxemburg, of Keir Hardie, of Debs and Lenin.

Arise against the clique of adventurers who aim to educe the whole world to slavery!

Arise against your exploiting bankers who are dooming you to poverty and dictatorship!

Workers of the Soviet Union!

Arise against your burocratic oppressors who are crushing you and bringing dishonor to communism!

American workers!

living from your own employing class.

Workers of the colonial countries!

Arise to take advantage of the present opportunity to establish your social and political freedom.

You have no reason to hate or to kill each other. Your main enemy is at home. Stretch out your hands to each other and bring peace. Seize power. . . . In spite of prisons and executions, in spite of betrayals and assassinations, FRATERNIZE!

Your movement will be a veritable blow aimed right totalitarian burocracies.

MAY DAY 1940: Workers of all lands! Demonstrate against war! Unite in the struggle! FOR THE IN-TERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVOLUTION!

> International Workers Front Against War International Revolutionary Marxist Center International Buro of Revolutionary Socialist Youth

### Is Stalinism a Form Of Marxist Theory?

#### In the Discussion on "Marxism Reexamined"

(Continued from Page 3) ess exercise of that power, and the Stalinism. This does not gainsay the fact that Lenin, in concentrating all 1934 purge. power in the hands of one party, and then in the Central Committee of that party, created the machinery power for himself in Bonapartist fashion. But the content of Lenin's work and teachings remained socialist and internationalist as contrasted to the counter-revolutionary and

OTHER FEATURES OF STALINESS DERIVATIVE

All the related policies and practices of Stalinism arise on the basis a necessary consequence and accompaniment of the Leader cult and national chauvinism. First, there is pression of the Russian masses, the way out from the impasse of economic backwardness and inefficien- them. cy, especially the use of force in colectivization of agriculture, All agencies of government and indusry, and all organizations, economic, political and cooperative, become to the Stalinist police—the G.P.U. fear-fear of prison, fear of con-

entration camp, fear of execution. Second, the physical extermination or degradation of all rivals, active of the exploiting Stalinist burocracy. or potential, the wiping out of the entire generation which went thru revolutionary course of Stalinismthis was accomplished in Hitler fashion thru periodic purges.

Third, the crystallization into theory of Stalinist practise in Staln's concept of "strengthening of the dictatorship of the proletariat" after the "official" abolition of classplete opposite of the Marxian conrictory of the proletariat.

Fourth, the extension and growth of a burocratic, exploiting caste which lives off the surplus value of the great mass of helpless and oppressed toilers. The burocracy becomes the mainstay and the only peneficiary of the regime. Trotsky has calculated that some 6% or 7% of the population in Russia enjoy cult of the Leader, did not become 51% of the income, an inequality dominant until 1929 with the dehardly be matched in any capitalist country in the world. Apparently, there are no limits or obstacles to the process of squeezing out sur- to support openly the bourgeoisie plus value from the toiling popula-

Fifth, the imitation of the Hitler technique of totalitarian rule under universal suffrage and 100% plebisitsky is correct in what he says of

upon Hitler's 1934 purge. The Stalin constitution is based on Hitler's "denational chauvinism permeating mocracy" just as Stalin's purges beginning in 1935 owe much to Hitler's

Sixth, Stalin has done away with most progressive and social legislation remaining from the Russian whereby Stalin could later seize that Revolution. He has established the death penalty for 12-year-old children has wiped out the enlightened laws in regard to abortion and birth control, has destroyed progressive methods of education, and has abolished prison reforms. Seventh there is the

nationalistic and patriotic feeling, of glorification of the Czars (Peter the First, in particular) and the stimulation of jingoistic pride in the miliof these essential features. They are taristic achievements of the Czarist ruling class of the past.

Eighth, the embarking upon imthe extreme ruthlessness in the sup- Hitler technique of freeing "bloodbrothers" and the technique of the ise of force and terror to secure a invasion of small nations under the

Ninth, Stalin conducts an increasingly ruthless counter-revolutionary war against all socialist elements thruout the world. He regards, and rightfully so, every sincere socialist coordinated" with and subordinated as his greatest enemy. The worst menace to him and to his burocracy In the absence of general well-being is victory for the proletariat anythe regime operates thru instilling where else in the world. For any victory of the working class in any other country would go far to free the Russian masses from the yoke

> To critics of Stalin who reject Marxism and dialectical materialism, it is naturally an utter mystery how the development of Stalinism could arise from anything else but a false idea, from false Marxian principles. Proof that Marx's ideas were the very opposite seems to have little effect on them. Because, given a static, idealistic method, one cannot arrive at any understanding of a beginning, a development and a decline arising from and determined by the economic and social conlitions of a country. Therefore, Staltheories of Marx, Engels, Lenin and always been the same and always equally counter-revolutionary. By that sort of logic, the Russian Revolution must have been a counterrevolution.

STAGES OF DEVELOPMENT

A critical examination of Stalinism, however, shows that of its two essential features, the first, the and open communist oppositions in Russia. Not until 1935-1936 did Stalin dare to order his puppet parties in those countries with whom he are significant dates in the decay the fight in 1929 against the Stalinserting that Stalin looked fendly of our struggle for party democracy the working class.

## The Crisis in The Far East

(Continued from Page 3)

nany. Russia and Italy, working

consists of optical equipment, preciguise of defending yourself against factory equipment -- material, furthermore, which was requested by and denied to Japan by Germany? How explain, finally and most im-Russia, which was recently testified to by Chiang Kai-shek at the meeting of the People's Political Council. Communist Party and the Kuomintang is being patched up thru the direct intervention of Russia. No; Stalin is playing his own game of power-politics as usual, for he will no doubt have a price to exact. In ad-(Sinking), indications are that he has eyes on Manchukuo also.

Such is the rather confused. changing and contradictory maze of thing is that whatever combination manages to win out, the masses of the Chinese people will be as far away from emancipation as ever.

tionalism." It is worthy of note that the Trotskyites so little comprehendinism is but the application of the ed the nature of the struggle against Luxemburg, Therefore Stalinism has they hailed Stalin's fight against "exceptionalism" and accused the "Lovestoneites" of "national social-

The open counter-revolutionary

# Imperialism and

together in Europe, it would seem quite natural to expect their purpose in the Far East to be the complete five southern states. How many swer with a categorical no! Ameriousting of England and France from China. It would furthermore seem logical to expect them to cooperate with Japan for this purpose. Indeed, ords. In certain industrial centers, some experts are of the opinion that bloody race riots occurred, taking whatever we have of them-will be there is definitely in existence a secret four-power plan whose chief aim is the expulsion of England and America from China and the division of China into spheres of influence by the four powers. If there is such a pact in existence, then the only hing I can say is that it is working | Department was to spend enough out in a curiously contradictory fashion, for facts are at hand which hardly seem to bear out such a plan. How would one explain the rebuff given to Japan's efforts at rapprochement by Russia, which I mentioned above? How explain the same government for which their today. We will be told that regiperialist ventures, the use of the further the fact of German aid to China, which is increasing and sion instruments, truck motors and portant, the growing aid to China by The rift between the Chinese dition to another slice of China

events in China today. The one sure political problems.

and for what was then called "excep-

development of Stalinism during the Spanish civil war led to an entire reorientation and revaluation by the I.L.L.A. of the Stalinist regime in Russia as a counter-revolutionary movement. To those with a static approach, such changes and revaluations are meaningless and without foundation. For reality has been reof distribution of income which can struction of the last of the organized placed by eternal truths which were never realized before, but have now been revealed. Out of Marxism came counter-revolutionary Stalinism; the international working-class struggle leads to totalitarian reaction; diawas seeking a military pact. These | lectical materialism is religion. My warning to such critics is that if and degeneration of the Stalinist they would avoid the pitfalls of Stala "democratic" constitution, with movement. Gitlow and Eastman not- inism, in which national chauvinism nunciation of Nazi barbarism, but it withstanding, 1929 represents a sig- is an essential element, they must cites. The "great democratic consti- nificant turning point, and the Span- present a superior brand of internatution" of Stalinism is essentially ish civil war another. It is to the tionalism. The opposite of Stalinism an imitation of Hitler methods Kriv- credit of the I.L.L.A. that it made is not any national-socialist scheme, no matter how democratic and peace-Stalin's admiration for other Fueh- ist totalitarianization of the Com- ful it may sound, but the internarers, especially Hitler, and in as- munist parties. This was the essence tional revolutionary movement of

### Internationalism—the Common Sense of May Day

By MARK STARR

(Educational Director, International Ladies Garment Workers Union)

IN the American trade-union movement as elsewhere, there has been too I often a tendency to regard the internationalist as the fool with his eyes on the ends of the earth. The whole spirit of May Day has been scoffed at as utopian and hopelessly idealistic with no appeal to the hard-headed workers of the United States, Even many participants in May Day do not know fully how many facts and how much commonsense is on their side. The patrioteer, on the contrary, dare not face facts, or his myths of nationalist superiority would quickly be dissolved like morning mists by the May Day sunshine.

Just now with egotistical nationalism running riot and menacing us with the disease, death and darkness of the Middle Ages, we must (to paraphrase Kipling) fill the unforgiving minute with sixty seconds worth of distance run toward the goal of international cooperation away from Arise to keep your country out of war, to support the madness of nationalism. Patriotism in its modern perversion too often your brothers in Europe, to win better standards of signifies a hatred of other countries. Such a sentiment is as dangerous as it is outworn. Let us remember the red blood that flows in the veins of us all. We ought not to wait until the rats have bared the skeletons of American, German, French, Japanese and British workers in the war-time trenches to realize the biological unity of the human race. Already in art and science and medicine, national frontiers have been ignored. Chaplin in the movies is not regarded as a more Englishman; his appeal is universal. Admiration of men like Einstein, Marx and Gompers is not confined to those who share their race.

Until now, cooperation among various sections of the human race has been haphazard. Henceforth, if mankind is to survive, we must recognize that civilization is the result of collective action and its perpetuation a communal responsibility of human beings who have risen above tribal rivalries. It is this common-sense which must find place in the school. It corresponds to the facts and needs of modern life. It transcends the barriers of race, clime and creed to lead the way to conscious cooperation between every nation of men and women of good will in every corner of

### "War for Democracy" Mockery to Negro

#### Lynching, Jim-Crow Reward of Last War

(Continued from Page 3) Armistice was signed, many Ne- United States. groes who had served in the army dom given them in the armed ser-Europe. When they returned to their colonial people. homes in the South, they sought to preserve their new freedom, and, as AGAINST ENTRY a result, within the first year of IN THE WAR peace, ten Negro veterans, some still other Negro heroes were killed, how ca's entry into the war will not benemany were beaten or barely escaped fit the Negro. It will hurt the Newith their lives, is not in the rec- gro, and every other section of the

their toll of Negro lives. France at the expense of the gov- of press and speech is important. ernment, in government-owned vessels with a military escort. The War prosecution of the war, we will be money to allow each mother first- matter how pressing or just they class accomodations. The white mo thers received these first-class trans- thoughts-will be regimented in the portation accomodations, but the Negro mothers were segregated in inferior places in the same boats, by Germany and Russia are regimented sons fought and died.

"CLOSE RANKS"-FOR WHAT?

On this the threshold of a new world war, again the cry should go and flowered into a bloody dictatorup, "Close ranks!" but this time let us ship. Let us not make the same misclose our own ranks first and say to the war-mongers and the lynchers that before a drop of Negro blood is shed for your imperialistic designs, disguised under the cloak of democracy, we must taste of that democracy of which you speak, not some time after the war, but right

We were told that we were fightng in the last war for democracy fighting a war to end war-yet that war failed to solve any of the problems for which it was fought. Instead it intensified bitterness, left an overwhelming burden of debt, and created even greater economic and DIFFERENT WAR

Democracy—there is less of it today than ever before. The Mussolini regime in Italy, Hitler's regime in Germany, Franco's regime in Spain, the South, a war against discrimi-Stalin's regime in Russia, have drowned democracy in a sea of blood. Here in America, after twenty

years since the war ended, it is not yet possible to enact a piece of leg-Russian nationalist domination, that islation against the barbarous crime of lynching.

> wave of protests from every nook peace and plenty, a war for a hapand corner of the earth against the py and abundant life for all, rebarbarous treatment of the Jews gardless of race, creed or color! has been raised, and against the whole racial theory of Nazism, Much guarantee against fascist dictatorof this protest comes from so-called ship in the United States and the 'democratic" countries, including our own. Much has been written about democracy, about the rights of minorities, against racial persecution, and so on-but not for racial minorities within or under the domination of these "democracies."

RARBARISM AT HOME

Here in the United States, massmeetings have been held, where clergymen, liberals, labor leaders and even government officials have shouted to high heaven in their deis interesting to note that in all of their protests, very few of these spokesmen uttered one word concerning the plight of the racial minority that constitutes one-tenth of the population of the United States. The very week that President

Roosevelt made the statement to the

'effect that he was shocked at what 79 Negroes were lynched in 1919, 57, was happening to Jews in Germany. in 1920 and 53 in 1921. After the two Negroes were lynched in the

Britain and France—now claiming and navy came home. They had to be engaged in a "holy crusade" learned something of the limited free-against persecution and repression -hold in their shackles of slavery vices of the country in war time in and oppression five hundred million

Should the United States enter n their uniforms, were lynched in the present European war? I an-American people. Civil liberticsdestroyed. Freedom of speech and Several years later, Congress of the press will be curtailed. Meetpassed a bill to allow war mothers ings of this kind will be outlawed. to visit the graves of their sons in And for a minority group, freedom

In the interests of the successful

obliged to shelve our grievances, no may be. Our lives—our very United States, just as the lives and the thoughts of the people in Italy, mentation will end with the war, but that will be mere talk. We must remember that regimentation as a seed was planted in Germany during the last war, and that later it flowered, take in believing that it can't hap-

pen here. I am sure that most of us. all of us, would like to see the dictatorships in Europe destroyed, but the notion that these dictatorships can be wiped out by war and that therefore the "democracies" should be backed in this war must be decisively rejected. The fascist regime in Germany or anywhere else can be wiped out only by the determined action of the people of those countries themselves. War will only breed more dictatorship.

LET'S ENLIST IN A

Should the United States enter a war? Yes, but a certain kind of war -a war against lynching, a war against disfranchising the Negro in nation and segregation, a war against unemployment, a war against poverty and misery of onethird of the nation, which includes a large portion of Negroes, a war for jobs, a war for better housing, a war for more schools and better Since the rise of Hitler to power, educational facilities, a war for

> This in my opinion is the best only kind of a war that the masses of Negroes should support.

KEEP AMERICA OUT OF WAR

By Norman Thomas and Bertram D. Wolfe

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