

Behind the Headlines:

More Todesraum

By JAY LOVESTONE

THERE is no static in the international situation today. It changes with every fraction of a split second. Hence it is extremely difficult to offer air-tight conclusions in regard to strategy or objectives. Likewise, there has never been a moment when it was so hard to view the situation entirely free from sentiment and illusions. Nevertheless, recent days have seen some events which demand definite evaluation. For this reason, I am taking the liberty of reproducing on this occasion some excerpts from letters I have written to a friend. They follow:

Wednesday, May 8, 1940.

"I consider the firing of Voroshilov infinitely more important than even the debate in the House of Commons. Why? Apparently some very important issue came up in the Russian Politburo. Apparently, Voroshilov was in a minority on this issue. Apparently, he defended his position so vigorously and considered the issue so important that Stalin couldn't allow him to continue in his post as Defense Commissar for executing a policy to which he is so violently opposed. Apparently, this point at issue involves Russia's doing something, launching something important and extensive. It would appear that Voroshilov was against it. Certainly, he would not put himself in a position of resigning if he were in the minority for doing something when he would actually have to do nothing. His fighting so hard as to cause his removal can only mean that he was in a minority, resisting something being done, resisting some activist policy.

"This leads me to the conclusion that Russia is about to get into something big and doing very soon. This leads me to the further conclusion that it is impossible for Italy to go into the war alone. Once Italy goes in, Russia must follow sooner rather than later. Why? If Italy goes in, she gets involved either in the Balkans or in the Near East. If she gets involved in the Balkans, Russia has her own interests there. The Balkans present enough loot not only for Italy and Russia but also for Germany; hence Russia will get in, not fighting against Italy, but against those who don't want her to have more loot. In the Near East, you have a parallel situation. Russia will not allow Italy to go in and get too strong. The situation there also affords enough loot for the three brigands—common loot, common cause, common crime, and of course, common enemy.

"When hell overflowed on May 10th via the Nazi invasion of Holland and Belgium, the Moscow newspaper Red Fleet could say nothing else but that the British cabinet changes signified a British desire to "create new theaters of war in various parts of the world," and that Laborite participation in the Cabinet "signifies inevitable intensification of reaction and persecution of the working class." The bewildering events which matured on May 10th led me to make some supplementary remarks which follow:

Friday, May 10, 1940.

"1. The apparently sudden decision of Hitler not only to extend the war front, but to tackle real opposition means that there were compelling circumstances forcing his hand. I can see the following as the compelling factors:

"a. The statistically his home economic position isn't bad, yet, in a fundamental sense, it must be so weak as to deny him the luxury of waiting and drive him to attack sooner than was necessary for him from a strictly military point of view.

"b. Obviously, the Italians must have refused to go in immediately unless Hitler guaranteed them to deploy sufficient Allied armed and naval forces so as to make it possible for Italian military and naval ranks to stand a good chance.

"2. On this basis, I am convinced that the war will break out in the Balkans or/and the Near East pretty soon.

"3. I repeat, Russia will not wait while Italy picks up pieces. She will want her own swag. It is with the probable events of this sort that the Voroshilov dismissal and the regime of generals just set up by Stalin must be tied up. In other words, Russia will be engaged in action also.

"4. This means complete engulfment without even a Luxembourgian oasis. Under such circumstances, we are apparently skipping a few chapters and approaching the last, or the next to the final, chapter of the all-totalitarian war.

"5. I assume that it is because of the government's expecting these developments that the Pacific Fleet is to stay in what is to become the Non-Pacific Ocean."

At this writing, it would appear that American pressure thru the Vatican and King Victor Emanuel have momentarily delayed Italy's entrance. The course of the battle in the Netherlands and Belgium, as well as the aftermath of this gigantic struggle, will likewise go a long way towards deciding the moment of Italy's military entry. Mussolini is well aware of the fact that, unless his opponent is considerably weakened in advance and unless his partners can take over a good deal of his burdens, the Italian army can't be counted on for waging a long war. With Russia it is different. Therefore, Hitler's primary aim in all his maneuvering is to get Russia heavily involved in a military sense so that its potential resources and actual supplies can be fully available for him immediately.

F.D.R. Launches Vast Armament Drive Under Cover of Panic at Allied Reverses

ACW Meet Strong For Third Term

Lewis Demands 'Voice' in Preparations For War; Hillman Stresses Unity Issue

New York City.

The first few days of the twenty-fifth anniversary convention of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, outstanding C.I.O. affiliate, meeting here in sessions to continue for two weeks, were turned into a continuous Roosevelt rally, with addresses and appeals following one another all urging President Roosevelt to run for another term and pledging labor's full support. Practically every guest speaker, including Mayor LaGuardia and Senator Wagner, and every union keynoter, from President Hillman down, stressed the same theme. Only John L. Lewis, speaking on the fifth day in his capacity of president of the C.I.O., remained silent on the question.

Lewis's address to the nearly 900 delegates representing about 260,000 members of the men's clothing workers union dealt with issues raised by the war and the Administration's armament program. While still voicing opposition to American participation in the European war, the C.I.O. leader devoted his remarks mostly to demanding a "voice for labor in the plans for national defense." If labor was given such a voice, together with pledges that its rights, liberties and standards would be preserved, then full cooperation might be expected in preparation for war and in war itself, Mr. Lewis declared.

Mr. Lewis said a few words in passing about labor unity, for the failure to achieve which he blamed the A. F. of L., although he did not go into any details. The issue of unity was stressed by Mr. Hillman and Mayor LaGuardia, as well as in the telegram of greetings from David Dubinsky, president of the I.L.G. W.U. At the same time, union spokesmen made repeated assertions of their loyalty to the C.I.O. Reports of an impending break with the C.I.O. continued to circulate in informed quarters, however.

Severe criticism of the A. F. of L. was voiced for its support of the Walsh amendments to the Wagner Act. The convention adopted a legislative program for the defense and extension of labor and social-welfare laws.

A number of drastic constitutional changes were proposed. A resolution by the general membership relating to the establishment of a firmer financial control of the local unions by the Amalgamated general office. These new constitutional provisions, high officers said, were necessary in order to help keep the union clear of racketeering and corruption.

Resolutions for extensive organ-

ization campaigns in the glove and cotton-garment fields, especially in the South, were placed before the convention. It was said that these organizing drives would require the expenditure of nearly a million dollars.

Sessions will continue this week, when most of the important work of the convention will be done.

C.I.O. Steel Union Holds Convention

Delegates for Third Term But Defer Action; Issue of Autonomy Postponed

Chicago, Ill.

About 8000 delegates met last week in the four-day convention of the Steel Workers Organizing Committee of the C.I.O. and dealt with a series of important problems presented to them by their officers.

How many paid-up or registered members of the C.I.O. steel-workers organization these delegates represented was not disclosed since no report was made either on membership or finances. It was merely said that the S.W.O.C. had 454 contracts with steel companies covering over 550,000 workers employed.

Pro-Roosevelt and pro-third term sentiment was very strong among officers and delegates at the convention. Resolutions voiced high praise for the Roosevelt Administration, and Philip Murray, head of the S.W.O.C. and close associate of John L. Lewis, told the press that he had no doubt that at least 90% of the steel workers were for a third term. These expressions of sentiment were obviously out of line with John L. Lewis's recent attacks on the Administration and the third term. Probably out of deference to Lewis, the S.W.O.C. convention contented itself with referring the many resolutions urging a third term to the executive officers "for appropriate action at the proper time" on the excuse that "Mr. Roosevelt had not yet declared his candidacy."

The officers report, endorsed by the convention, urged that America keep out of the European war thru a policy of strict neutrality, stating that "it seems incredible that this country should again be drawn into the conflict since American participation would not settle any issues."

The question of permanent organization and self-government for the S.W.O.C., which still remains merely an appointed organizing committee of the C.I.O., was dealt with in a

Roosevelt Hit for Trying to Whip Up War Panic

Anti-War Congress States President Trying to Frighten People Into Involvement

New York City

Denouncing "those who call themselves pacifists in order to disarm suspicion, while, by every act and speech and more, they attempt to frighten our people into joining this war," John T. Flynn, national chairman of the Keep America Out of War Congress, declared last week that "nothing has changed in the character of the war that would justify any change in our determination to guard our own democracy and civilization by keeping out."

Mr. Flynn's statement, issued from the national headquarters of the Keep America Out of War Congress in New York, follows:

"The sad events which are taking place in Europe are, of course, precisely what every thinking person knew would happen when the war started. Americans knew that Germany would go into Holland or Belgium whenever that suited her purpose and that she would bomb Dutch, Belgian, French and British cities.

"We knew that when we decided, in the calm light of reason, that we would stay out of this war. The President knew all these things would happen when he solemnly promised the American people that he would keep America out of the war. Terrible as are the deeds that are being done in Europe, nothing has changed in the character of the war that would justify any change in our determination to guard our own democracy and civilization by keeping out.

"But despite his promises, the President uses the events in Europe to inflame the American people and to frighten them, seeking to make them believe that because Germany can invade Holland and Belgium, right across her borders, she can invade America 3,000 miles away. I urge every American who wishes to keep this country out of this war to beware of those who call themselves pacifists in order to disarm suspicion, while by every act and speech and more they attempt to frighten our people into joining this war."

The convention called upon the officers to use their "best judgment" in dealing with questions of wages and hours during the coming two years, but refrained from adopting any definite resolutions on such matters because of the "indeterminate industrial picture."

I.L.P. Makes Fine Election Showing

London, England.

ANNIE Maxton, Independent Labor Party leader who ran as anti-war candidate in the by-election to fill the House of Commons seat left vacant when its incumbent, the Marquess of Clydesdale, went into the House of Lords, received 8,206 votes to her opponent's 34,316. She was running against Major E.G.R. Lloyd, National government candidate, who was elected.

Under the difficult conditions of the contest, Annie Maxton's vote is regarded a very good showing for the I.L.P. and the anti-war movement.

Nazis Overrun Holland, Push in Belgium, France

But Allies Still Have Big Margin for Victory; Hitler Thrust at Balkans Feared

After ten days of "lightning warfare," following the launching of their assault on Holland and Belgium, the German forces at the end of last week could register very considerable headway not merely in their attack on the Low Countries but even in their invasion of France—the not nearly enough to promise definite success in the latter operation not to speak of the war as a whole.

In the Low Countries, Nazi arms were triumphant. Holland was completely overrun, except for parts of Zeeland Province in the southwest. In Belgium, Hitler's armies advanced beyond Brussels and Antwerp, and were still advancing. At the same time, the Reich war machine, in the course of a terrific "Battle of the Meuse," which was still raging at the end of the week, succeeded in bulging out a part of the Maginot Line between Sedan and Maubeuge and penetrating to a point a hundred miles from Paris. The German advance was fiercely contested, and towards the end of the week, a definite slowing up was reported.

Despite the sensational headway made by the Germans, informed observers were by no means ready to grant them victory over the Allies. The latter, it was pointed out, still possessed decisive elements of superiority—economic resources, man-power and sea-power. Within a short time, their present inferiority in air-power would be overcome by American production, at present turned over almost entirely to the service of Britain and France. On the other hand, Hitler's economic difficulties and straining of resources would be increased rather than alleviated by the newest conquests, however valuable they might be from a strictly military or morale standpoint. If Germany's rapid advance could be halted soon enough, these observers declared, and the war turned more into a test of endurance, the Allied chances of ultimate victory would become very considerable once again.

At the very moment that all forces were being thrown into the terrific fighting in Belgium and France, in which more than 1,500,000 men were said to be involved over a wide front, there were indications that Germany was already preparing a new thrust in another direction. Rumor pointed to Switzerland, for it was said that the Reich High Command intended to turn the Maginot Line from the southeast, thru Switzerland and Italy. Other reports were that Germany, in great need of oil because of the huge consumption on the western front, would turn on the Balkans, especially against Ru-

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Urges Congress To Add Billion To War Spending

Three Billion Annual Arms Budget for Foreign Wars, Not For National Defense

Washington, D. C.

Taking advantage of the widespread panic produced by Germany's lightning attacks on neutrals in Europe, President Roosevelt last week called upon Congress in a special message delivered in person to enact a \$1,182,000,000 "emergency national-defense" program over and above the two billion dollar "defense" appropriations already included in the 1941 budget. The most spectacular item in the President's program was a request for 50,000 military and naval airplanes, nearly nine times as many as the army and navy have now. Fifty thousand airplanes would require an active air force of over 400,000 men.

The Presidential message asked: 1. Immediate appropriation of \$896,000,000 for armament. Of these funds, \$546,000,000 would go to the army and \$250,000,000 to the navy. The President asked for a free hand in the expenditure of \$100,000,000 to provide for "emergencies affecting the national security" and also for another \$100,000,000 to cover contract obligations for the authorizations he proposed. The total, it was noted, was \$50,000,000 more than the augmented military budget on America's entrance into the World War in 1917.

2. Authorization for the making of future expenditures aggregating \$26,000,000.

Together with the \$2,000,000,000 already asked from this Congress for the army and navy, this would make a total of \$3,182,000,000. And still more requests are likely to reach Congress this session or in a special session later in the year.

Mr. Roosevelt made no recommendations to how the money was to be raised.

3. An army-navy air force of 50,000 planes, more than possessed by all belligerents in the European war combined. In addition, the President called for the immediate stepping up of the productive capacity of the aviation industry to 50,000 planes a year.

Congressional reaction appeared favorable to the President's program and it was expected that committees would get down to work next week enacting the Presidential requests into law.

Mr. Roosevelt built up the "atmosphere" for his sky-high program of super-armaments by dramatically confronting Congress with a timetable description of flying times in order to create the impression that the United States was wide open to attack and in real danger of invasion. Because Germany could overrun Holland and Belgium, right on its borders, presumably it could

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Murphy's Double Game In Detroit Case Bared

Howard Tells of Intrigue With Bishops

By FRANK HOWARD

Washington, D. C.

AT a time when the F.B.I. is being encouraged by some New Dealers to curtail civil liberties (I refer to Senator Josh Lee's amazing speech of May 9), it is interesting to preserve for the record the story of what happened behind the scenes in the indictment of the Spanish Loyalist sympathizers in Detroit. J. Edgar Hoover's actions were undoubtedly too rough on this occasion but it was Frank Murphy who initiated the activities and should take the blame. But why did Murphy do it a few days before taking his seat on the Supreme Court bench? Washington has been asking this question. This is the story, according to ordinarily highly reliable sources.

Murphy was having plenty of trouble with his colleagues in the Department of Justice. He wanted to become Secretary of War or a member of the Supreme Court. He persuaded about six leading functionaries (some were bishops) of the Roman Catholic Church to put pressure on F.D.R. for such a promotion. In good old Roman Catholic way, these church leaders made clear to the Michigan Frank that they wanted some payment for

services rendered. They wanted indictments against men and women who had recruited Americans for service with the Loyalists in Spain. It was a gentlemen's agreement. The appointment went thru but Murphy wavered. He saw what a senseless and reactionary step such indictments would be. He probably suspected he would eventually be overruled. But Murphy is a devout Catholic and the bishops insisted an agreement had been made. So Murphy acted at the eleventh hour; Hoover took his orders and carried them out; the progressives yelled murder, and Jackson rescinded Murphy's action.

The moral of this story is that the Catholic Church is the kind of organization that does such things and that Frank Murphy is not above playing a thorny reactionary role if thereby F.M. is boosted a few notches higher up the ladder. But why should Edgar Hoover have to take all the blame for this action? Who is shielding Murphy?

Howard University professors who had something good to say, in the past, for the National Negro Congress are now agreeing it has become unquestionably Stalinist. It is generally known that Max Yergan is one of "the boys." As some said

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Vienna Masses Oppose War

(We publish below a very interesting letter from an Austrian socialist still active in Vienna.—Editor.)

Vienna, Austria
THE state of mind of the great majority of the people here can be expressed in a few words: opposition to the war.

The difficulties in getting food, intensified exploitation in the large factories, and the closing of the small factories and shops have increased the discontent of the working class and the lower middle class. At one of the "information" meetings of the Nazi party in the workers district of Ottakring, the women interrupted the speech of the Nazi leader, Krebs, with loud protests against the difficulties they had in procuring their food rations. The Nazi orator was forced to break off his speech several times because he could not make himself heard. Many women were arrested.

DRAMA OF WOUNDED

At the markets of Nasch and the Carmelites, housewives demonstrated because they could get neither eggs nor vegetables. The women formed a procession and cried, waving their empty shopping bags: "We thank our Fuehrer."
While a large number of soldiers were marching from the barracks of Rossau to the Franz-Joseph sta-

tion, members of the Hitler Youth and the League of German Girls were cheering them as they left for the front, shouting "Heil Hitler" and "Sieg-Heil."

Suddenly, a crowd of men mutilated in the last war appeared and ironically cheered with the same words. This crowd, made up entirely of men severely wounded between 1914 and 1918, made a big impression. The effect on the young soldiers of the sight of all these wounded ex-service men was deep and startling.

In an armament factory of the 20th district of Vienna, the workers adopted a protest against the non-payment of overtime work. This was forwarded to the German Labor Front. The result was that the members of the old shop committee (in the time of the free trade unions) and some other workers were arrested.

During black-outs, we distribute pamphlets, both printed and mimeographed, by slipping them into the pockets of passers-by. The Nazis have responded by searches and there have been many arrests, including old-time trade-union officials. The monarchists and members of the Czech colony in Vienna

have now adopted the same methods and many of them have been arrested.

Resistance to the war and to the regime is particularly strong among the women and the most outspoken opposition is heard on the markets and in the food stores.

YOUTH MISLED

Enthusiasm for the war and for the regime exists only among the youth, including unfortunately many working-class youth. In the factories, there are many arguments between young workers who are in favor of the war and older workers who fought in the last war.

The events in Bohemia are discussed here with great interest. We are always hearing of new demonstrations and of new acts of sabotage on the part of the Czechs. The majority of the population sympathize with them. Older Nazis say: "It was very silly of us to annex the Czechs. We will not be able to change these people."

In the country districts, the situation is more favorable towards the regime. At Kaernsten, Styria, Salzburg, Vorarlberg, Upper Austria and the Burgenland, the Nazis still have a fairly large mass basis and there is a certain war psychology. On the other hand, resistance is

much stronger in the Tyrol and in Lower Austria, tho not always from a socialist point of view. At Innsbruck (Tyrol), there have been many arrests of Catholics and monarchists. At Tulln (Lower Austria), there were fights between Catholics and members of the Hitler Youth. A few were wounded and many Catholics were arrested.

At Klosterneuber (Lower Austria), members of the local Hitler Youth broke into a convent and beat up the inmates. The following day, when peasants from the surrounding regions stood guard before the convent, they were dispersed by the police and many were arrested. After these incidents, the police took over permanent occupation of the convent.

We report these incidents not as reflecting socialist opposition, but because it is important that you should realize that there is opposition to the regime in other sections.

One of our friends has just returned from Germany, where he was put in contact mainly with medical circles. He tells us that among the professional classes discontent against the regime is very widespread. They do not seem to mind expressing their criticism aloud. Everybody is asking: "Where are they leading us?" and declaring: "This cannot last!"

Tom Dewey—Racket-Buster Or Union-Buster?

DISTRICT Attorney or rather Presidential Aspirant, Thomas Dewey's sudden descent—thru agents of his office—upon the convention of the Building Service Employees International Union in Atlantic City in order to serve subpoenas on three officers of the union is an example of the kind of tactics that are obviously designed not so much to root out racketeering as to discredit unionism and to promote political ambitions. They deserve unqualified condemnation on the part of every friend of labor and common decency.

The three officials in question, Mr. Dewey's agents graciously admit, are not charged with or even suspected of any crime. They were simply wanted as witnesses in the Scalise case. And in order to subpoena his witnesses, Mr. Dewey just had to swoop down on the harried delegates at Atlantic City, invade the convention hall, create a public scandal and throw the whole convention into confusion. He just had to because he just had to make the headlines!

Despite the notorious Mr. Scalise, the Building Service Employees International Union is not a racket; it is a bona-fide labor union that has done much to enhance the welfare of its membership and the building-service workers generally. It is now in a very difficult, even critical condition, owing first to the activities of Mr. Scalise and his friends, and then to the shock of his sudden arrest and the consequent demoralization and loss of prestige. The union is now trying to recover from these heavy blows, to clean house, consolidate its forces and rehabilitate itself with the public. Mr. Dewey's spectacular descent on the convention was certainly not calculated to make this task any easier. It rather had the effect of intensifying the crisis and confusion in the organization and of making its recovery very much more difficult.

But Mr. Dewey needs his headlines as a "racket-buster," and apparently is not very much averse to having the headlines picture him as a union-buster as well.

A.F.L. Executive Council to Demand Neutrality Pledge

Party Convention to Be Canvassed Also on Anti-Trust Law

Washington, D. C. THE American Federation of Labor will call upon both major political parties to pledge themselves to keep America out of war, it was indicated last week by the proceedings of the Federation's Executive Council, which opened its regular quarterly two-week sessions here.

A pledge to halt federal prosecution of unions under the anti-trust laws will also be required.

Leading officials of the Federation said that labor resentment against the New Deal was mounting because of Justice Department prosecutions of trade unions for alleged violation of the Sherman Act.

This growth of anti-administration sentiment formed an important subject of discussion at the Executive Council sessions. One Federation spokesman said that Assistant Attorney-General Thurman Arnold, head of the anti-trust division, had originally been blamed for the attacks on the unions, but that many Federation leaders were now inclined to criticize the entire Roosevelt Administration because, they point out, Mr. Arnold must have received definite support to go on with his anti-labor campaign.

The chief task for the Council at this session will be the drafting of proposed labor planks for inclusion in the Republican and Demo-

A.F.L. Launches Drive For 30-Hour Week

N. Y. Conference Debates Wage Question

New York City THE New York labor movement will push a drive for the thirty-hour week, a conference sponsored by the Central Trades and Labor Council, the Allied Printing Trades Council and other labor organizations held here last week decided.

George L. Meany, secretary-treasurer of the A. F. of L., representatives of many unions and labor organizations, a spokesman for employers, and labor experts all stressed that the thirty-hour week would help to relieve unemployment by spreading work among the unemployed. A number of the speakers also pointed out that production would remain the same under the six-hour day as under the eight-hour day, except for a period of readjustment.

Thurman Arnold, assistant attorney general in charge of anti-trust prosecutions, was assailed for his anti-labor attitude in bringing indictments against labor unions, including the New York local of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, for alleged violation of the Sherman Anti-Trust Act. Mr. Meany in an address declared

the A. F. of L. held the shorter work-week program to be most important as "an effective method to reduce unemployment," and also that it would give workers increased leisure and be beneficial to their health. No substantial gain in employment can be made without a shorter work-week, he said.

In discussion later he pointed out that all surveys of the effect of shortening working hours showed that at first there was a let-down in production but that, when adjustment had been made, production returned to its former level under the same number of workmen. Workers wanted a shorter work-day, he emphasized, but not with decreased pay.

Thomas J. Lyons, president of the State Federation of Labor, however, insisted that organized labor must work for the thirty-hour week as a way to relieve unemployment, even if it means reducing the income of some workers.

While Mr. Lyons got some support, most speakers, including William Collins, eastern representative of the A. F. of L., maintained that objective of the A. F. of L. was the six-hour day at the same rate of pay as the present eight-hour day.

William Cross of the photo engravers union was the first to question the implications of Mr. Lyons's remarks. He said he represented an organization that had reduced hours and raised wages and asked why a labor leader should recommend reduction of hours at the expense of labor and not recommend that the employer take the major burden.

His question was referred by Spencer Miller Jr., director of the Workers Education Bureau of America and leader of the discussion, to Professor Walter Peabody of Rutgers University, who said he had assumed that wages would remain the same under shorter hours.

Mr. Collins, speaking with some feeling, said it was a question that should be answered and declared the A. F. of L. position very clearly was that with reduced hours standards of living should not be reduced. "We want eight hours pay and six hours work," he said.

William Green, A. F. of L. president, sent the conference a telegram declaring that "the management of industry must face the facts and join with labor in the inauguration of the shorter work-week. A choice must be made between this economic reform and maintenance of a permanent army of unemployed."

cratic national platforms. The keep-America-out-of-war and anti-trust issues will probably figure prominently among these planks.

Both of these issues will be in the fore in the Presidential campaign this year. If the Supreme Court passes on the anti-trust cases before it involving unions prior to its summer recess and sustains the government, the A. F. of L. will probably seek additional legislation to protect unions. Labor spokesmen contend that a 1914 amendment to the Sherman Act, the Clayton Act, exempted unions from prosecution under the anti-trust law, and, should the court not agree with this interpretation, they probably will seek new and broader exemptions specified by law.

In pursuance of its traditional "non-partisan" policy, the A. F. of L. will present the same demands to both parties and will not officially endorse either party.

Laidler Hits Religion-in-Schools Bill

New York City. HARRY W. LAIDLER one of the A.L.P. members of the City Council, issued a statement last week strongly condemning the proposed excusing of children from schools for religious education during school hours.

A resolution, sponsored by Vice-Chairman Joseph T. Sharkey and calling upon the State Commissioner of Education to promulgate rules effecting such an arrangement, is now before the Council.

"While I heartily believe in education for sound character in our school system and clearly recognize the constructive value of religious instruction outside of school hours," Laidler said, "I feel that there are a number of vital objections to providing for a system of wholesale absences from public schools for instruction in religious education during school hours."

Among these objections, he listed the following: That such a system would have an almost inevitable tendency to cause bitter and acrimonious divisions among our public-school pupils along religious lines.

That it would provide an opening wedge for religious denominations to ask increasing privileges of the public-school system and would tend to break down the traditional separation between church and state.

That it would have a tendency to disrupt school curricula, particularly in schools operating on the stagger system.

That it would probably lead to demands by religious organizations for means of transportation from schools to religious institutions.

That it would decrease the time devoted to educational instruction.

That it would be likely to place students who participated in religious instruction in a disadvantageous position as compared with those who stayed at school.

More May Day Greetings

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|-----------------|---------------|
| A. Tittle | A. Puglisi |
| Joseph Gullotta | Rose Lepida |
| John Graziano | F. Shapiro |
| Sylvia Weiner | Hilda Kofflet |
| Sal Gullotta | Philip Flit |
| Anna Adelman | B. Krulic |
| Ida Ross | C. Rothberg |
| May Onofrietti | Sue Stern |
| Tillie Marimoro | |

Labor Must Unite and Clean House Before It's Too Late!

HERE are some facts for every responsible trade unionist to study and ponder:

The National Labor Relations Board reported last week that for the quarter ending March 31, employee elections conducted under its auspices showed a new record high of votes cast against all unions (33%), as well as a new record high of votes cast for "independent" unions. (Incidentally, the C.I.O. won the smallest percentage of votes it had ever polled.) Some of these "independent" unions were undoubtedly bona-fide labor organizations unaffiliated with either A. F. of L. or C.I.O., but it is safe to presume that a good proportion of them were merely camouflaged company unions.

A survey conducted by the magazine Fortune, completed recently, showed that 58.9% of people polled answered "yes" to the question whether the government should regulate labor unions, 20.8% answered "no," and 20.3% said they didn't know. The "yes" vote was: among business executives, 62.3%; among factory workers, 66.7%!

The meaning of these figures is plain on their very face, and it is a meaning full of grave warning for the labor movement.

These figures mean that hostility to and suspicion of labor organization, and the C.I.O. and A. F. of L. in particular, are making definite headway not only among the middle classes, not only among the general public—and that would be bad enough—but even among the workers of this country as well. What else does a record high in votes against all unions mean? What else does it mean when two-thirds of factory workers polled, a higher percentage than of business executives, want the government to regulate unions?

Why this decline of faith in unionism, why this turning against both A. F. of L. and C.I.O.? Why this readiness to have the government step in and take over control of the unions?

Because the great masses of the workers, the unorganized perhaps more than the organized, are sick and tired beyond the point of endurance of the civil war raging in labor's ranks. They sense that there are no real and fundamental issues at stake any longer. They know that it is the selfishness, the pig-headed obstinacy of certain leaders, primarily in the C.I.O. but also in the A. F. of L., that is responsible for the continuation of labor's self-destructive split, and they want to have none of such leaders.

Because they are repelled by the authoritarianism, the one-man dictatorship, the tolerance and protection given to Stalinists, in the C.I.O., as they are repelled by the hide-bound conservatism, the stodginess, the lack of vision and initiative, on the part of so many of the top leaders of the A. F. of L.

Because they are both alarmed and disgusted at the revelations of corruption, racketeering and crime in so many important unions. Bioff, Scalise and their like are no advertisement for unionism, to say the least.

The facts are there before the eyes of all to read. The handwriting on the wall could not be any plainer. Labor must unite and clean house or it will perish!

Progressive Furriers Appeal to CIO Leaders

Ask Protection for Rights in the Union

(We publish below a letter addressed by a group of progressive furriers to a number of leaders of the C.I.O.—Editor.)

New York City WE, the undersigned, six members of the International Fur Workers Union, are addressing this letter to you personally. We have now reached a stage where it becomes necessary for us to fight for our rights to live and to work, either by openly warring against totalitarian rule in our union, or alternatively, by avoiding such a situation through the enlistment of the aid of those who are responsible for the functioning of the trade-union movement.

We, as well as others, have for a number of years been trying within the fold of our union to obtain for ourselves and our fellow-members a semblance of justice. We have been denied the most fundamental rights: We have been subjected to every kind of slander and calumny. Yet we did not see fit to open the issue for the public to see and to know about. During past years, we appealed again and again to the chairman of the C.I.O., Brother John L. Lewis, and to the former regional director of New York, Brother Allan S. Haywood. Our appeals were predicated upon demands that every trade unionist has a right to hold sacred. When we protested to these leaders of the C.I.O. that our elections were being stolen, we received nothing more than an indifferent response, if that much. As time went on, the communist-controlled dictatorship of our union became more brazen and arrogant.

One bill of complaint is a long and truthful one. It would take a volume to give you details. This we do not intend to do. Our purpose is to make a last-ditch stand in our fight for our rights. We do not want to feed the anti-labor fires with more facts about corruption and injustice. We ask you and the other

leaders of the C.I.O. to give us an opportunity to be heard before an impartial tribunal.

Our last complaint pertains to alleged charges preferred against us. We were charged with issuing a certain piece of literature. We have never been faced by the persons who are supposed to have made the charge. We have never had an opportunity to cross-examine anyone. We have been told that the burden is upon us to prove that we are innocent. Before we are even tried, we are ordered to appear before the Joint Council, which is supposed to be an appellate body. The Joint Council proceeds to demand of us that we establish our innocence. They to whom we must appeal now sit in judgement on our case. Subsequent to this appearance before the Joint Council, we are ordered to appear before a Grievance Committee where we get what can humorously be called a trial. Part of the procedure of the trial consists of cataloguing different defendants according to their supposed political beliefs. At the conclusion of the trial, we are found guilty. After years of union membership, we are suspended for two years and fined \$25.00.

In exactly the same manner that individuals find themselves before the Russian O.G.P.U., we find ourselves before the brutal communist clique in our union. But we are not weak; we are determined to fight for our cause to the bitter end. The bitter end may unfortunately open to the world a situation that it will take years for the stench to be removed from the nostrils of those who are labor's friends, let alone its enemies. We have suffered and we are still suffering much for our determination to fight for our principles.

We are herewith petitioning you, as well as other leaders of the C.I.O., to help in the appointment of a committee that will thoroughly investigate the situation at hand.

We shall wait a reasonable time. If aid is not forthcoming, then we will have to help ourselves. It is our feeling that a union is organized for the purpose of protecting and defending the rights of its members. When a group which is in control of the union becomes so oppressive that it begins to crush the members for whom the union was organized, then it is our feeling that as free citizens we are called upon to fight that group which would destroy us.

We appeal to you to give this matter your immediate attention. We do not want to cause any more trouble for labor than it now has. Time is of essence with us. We hope that you will look upon our petition favorably, and assure you of our loyalty to the organized labor movement.

BEN ANTONOFF
NATHAN KRAMER
SAM GLASSMAN
MICHAEL INTRATOR
SIMON KASS
BENJAMIN BARAZ

Red Caps Get Pay-Pooling Agreement

Chicago, Ill. RESULTING from a new agreement with the United Transport Service Employees of America, Red-Caps of the Chicago and North Western Railroad last week instituted a pooling and distribution of all income received under the 10-cents bag charge placed upon passengers by the railroads.

Under the new agreement with the union, the minimum of 30 cents an hour will be paid from the general fund, and the remainder will be distributed equally among all Red-Cap employees on the basis of hours worked. Captains and mailmen were increased to a 40 cents hourly minimum, which additional 10 cents is to be paid out of other company reserve. Also under the new agreement, these preferred jobs were bulletined and will be filled on the basis of seniority.

The pooling-distribution plan, union spokesmen stated, removed the immediate danger of the railroad company using the 10-cents bag charge and the 30-cents minimum to lower income standards. Intensive competition and favoritism, a traditional evil among Red-Caps, has been greatly minimized by the new agreement, union officials added.

The agreement, covering stations at Chicago, Evanston, Milwaukee and Sioux City, was signed by President Willard S. Townsend, Secretary-Treasurer John L. Yancey, and District Chairman T. W. Winchester, for the union, and M. E. Pangle, Vice-President and Director of Personnel for the company.

Murphy Game In Detroit Arrests Bared

(Continued from Page 1) to me: "Randolph had a base in the labor movement but Yergan doesn't even have a Y.M.C.A. base any more." Yergan was once a Y.M.C.A. worker in South Africa.

That John L. Lewis and the C.I.O. should get behind this fake organization is the final straw. A labor expert here says: "The C.I.O. is becoming more like the Knights of Labor every day. It is confusing unionism with politics and it is also backing all kind of crackpot organizations. This way was the way of decline for the K. of L. and it may well be for the C.I.O." I was reminded of my friend's statement when I read in the new C.I.O. pamphlet appealing to the Negro the declaration that the "C.I.O. is a people's movement." What can this be but ideological Knights-of-Laboritis?

Bill Green has made a statement defending David J. Saposs but Lewis is still silent. In public, Lee Pressman shows no concern whether this outstanding labor economist loses his job or is retained. Privately, he knifes him as much as he can.

Nazis Overrun Holland, Push in Belgium, France

(Continued from Page 1) mania. Such a move by Germany would imply a general agreement with Russia and Italy on the division of the spoils, and it was said last week that this agreement was somewhat nearer completion. Bitter demonstrations against the Allies, especially England, were rampant throughout Italy, but there was relatively little of the old anti-Soviet feeling displayed.

Allied diplomacy last week continued to press efforts to woo Stalin and break him away from Hitler, but with little apparent success, the Russia was undoubtedly alarmed at the unexpected speed and success of the Nazi drive.

The events in Europe during this thirty-seventh week of the war had immediate deep repercussions in America, where they aroused intense excitement, in which burning hatred of the dictators, fear of an invasion of America and deep concern over the fate of the Allies were mixed. The Administration promptly took advantage of this tense panic atmosphere to push its plans for war involvement with great vigor. President Roosevelt called a joint session of Congress at a short notice and presented it with a special "national-defense" message calling for further arms outlays of more than a billion dollars over and above the two billion dollar regular arms budget for the coming year. (See full report elsewhere in this issue.—Editor.) On the diplomatic front, Foreign Minister Cantilo of Argentina, obviously inspired by Washington, proposed that the Americas drop their neutrality for a position of "non-belligerency" similar to Italy's, only in favor of the Allies, of course. Officially, Secretary of State Hull was "cautious" and "non-committal" on this proposal, but actually it seemed as if American foreign policy was already operating on that basis.

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British Troops Kill 17 Rhodesia Strikers

How Democracy' Is Defended in the Empire

By GEORGE PADMORE

London, England
 THE killing of 17 African miners and the wounding of 29 other strikers in the Copper Belt of Northern Rhodesia has served once more to unmask the ruthless character of British imperialism. This massacre of defenseless natives has blown sky-high all the official propaganda about happy, prosperous natives subscribing to buy warships and airplanes "to fight Hitler."

The Negroes asked for bread, but their masters gave them hot lead! No doubt, official apologists will soon be telling us that these blacks were the dupes of Nazi agents. For whenever colonial peoples revolt against the intolerable conditions imposed upon them by their so-called "democratic," peace-loving British "trustees," the blame is never placed where it should be, but is attributed to the machinations of the wicked dictators—Hitler, Mussolini or Stalin, according to which one happens to be the chief villain at the time.

BACKGROUND OF UNREST

Even many so-called British socialists subscribe to this nonsense. It is, therefore, necessary to examine the background of the present unrest in this part of Africa.

Despite the drastic censorship and the hush-hush policy of the Colonial Office, as revealed by the suppression of the West Indies Royal Commission report, the truth, like murder, will out!

During recent years, the mining companies of Northern Rhodesia have been speeding up production to meet the increased demand for copper by the armament industry. But while output and profits have gone up considerably, the wages of the native miners have remained stationary. On the other hand, the taxation and the cost of living have increased.

On March 17th, the miners employed at the Mufulira concession demanded 25% increase in wages to meet the rise in the cost of living occasioned by the war. The local management refused to negotiate and the men declared a strike, which spread to the Nkana mines. More than 3,000 miners were involved.

Trouble started when the company officials tried to carry on operations with the aid of blackleggers (scabs). Clashes occurred between the men and the strike-breakers. Police reinforcement was brought to the mines and tear-gas bombs turned on the strikers. But even this form of intimidation failed to have the desired effect.

Determined to break the strike, but unable to rely upon the local forces, the governor appealed to the prime minister of Southern Rhodesia for military aid.

European troops were rushed from Bulawayo, in Southern Rhodesia, to Nkana, where the shooting took place. Martial law was proclaimed and the strikers driven back to work at the point of the bayonet.

This is the second time within five years that native miners in Northern Rhodesia have been killed by British troops. In May 1935, widespread labor disturbances occurred throughout the Copper Belt. On this occasion, the government attempted to increase the rate of poll tax upon the miners from 12s. 6d. to 15s., while the mining companies refused to make a corresponding increase in wages.

To appreciate the hardship of this measure, it must be realized that, while the Rhodesian miners are considered among the best paid workers in Africa, they only receive 18s. to 20s. per month for surface work and 32s. to 40s. for underground. White workers, on the other hand, receive an average wage of £60 per month!

Incidentally, this tremendous difference in the scale of wages between white and black explains the reason why European workers in the colonies do not admit natives into their trade unions.

The 1935 strike was crushed with the aid of the Royal Air Force. Commenting upon this action, the Report of the Commission of Enquiry (C.M.D. 5009, page 10) states: "Mr. Pirow, Minister for Defence in the Union, who was staying at Government House, offered to telephone instructions to Pretoria that a Hercules airplane should be sent up before dawn with a supply of tear-gas bombs, in case it was necessary to use it. The offer of assistance by the Minister was accepted."

"Thereafter the situation quieted and the troops were withdrawn." They left behind six dead workers and twenty-two wounded!

HOW "LAW AND ORDER" IS MAINTAINED

Defending the action of the government, Lord Swinton, the then Colonial Secretary, told the House of Commons that: "It is the duty of the government to preserve law and order, and that they acted as any government would have been bound to act."

Rhodesia, annexed by and named after the imperialist Cecil Rhodes, is one of the greatest copper-producing countries in the world. The British South African Company, founded by Rhodes and used

as the chief instrument of his imperialist policies, has a monopoly over the mineral rights in Northern Rhodesia. The minerals, however, are exploited by Anglo-American financial interests.

In return for the right of mining copper, the three operating companies—the Roan Antelope, the Rhokana and the Mufulira—pay to the directors of the South African Company about £500,000 annually. Hence, without lifting a finger, the shareholders of this Rhodes concern get a substantial rake-off every year.

LIVING OFF NEGRO LABOR

This shows the parasitic character of imperialism. Completely divorced from active production, all that the British rentiers associated with the South Africa Company have to do is to clip their coupons.

The mining companies have been making tremendous profits out of the sweated labor of the natives.

In 1937, the Roan Antelope made £2,078,207 and paid 80% dividend, together with a bonus of 200%; the Rhokana corporation, of which Sir Auckland Geddes is chairman, made during the same year £2,319,883 profits and paid a dividend of 62½%; while the Mufulira, the smallest company, of which Sir Auckland is also a director, netted £775,401 profits and paid 150% dividend!

Gitlow Descends to Sheer Falsification

Third Article in the Review of "I Confess"

By B. HERMAN

(This is the last of a series of three articles by B. Herman reviewing Benjamin Gitlow's book, "I Confess." The other articles appeared in the last two issues of this paper.—Editor.)

BENJAMIN Gitlow's book, "I Confess," reveals that deep within him there has smoldered for two decades a consuming ambition for leadership together with a burning resentment against all other leaders of the movement who have displayed greater ability, intellectual capacity and energy. This was never so evident as in his "confession." His book reveals that he was always obsessed with fantastic notions of conspiracies afoot to keep him from his rightful place of leadership. For example, when he came out of prison in 1922, he saw a conspiracy to keep him out of the post of party secretary. Leaders in the communist movement at that time tell me that they were totally unaware of any such conspiracy for the simple reason that no one then has the slightest idea that Gitlow was a fit, capable or appropriate candidate for the post as against Charles E. Ruthenberg.

Gitlow's estimates of other people are generally lacking in the most elementary honesty. I do not have the space here in which to follow him thru every one of his falsifications, but I will deal briefly with three examples.

EXAMPLES OF FALSIFICATION

Gitlow's estimates of other people are generally lacking in the most elementary honesty. I do not have the space here in which to follow him thru every one of his falsifications, but I will deal briefly with three examples.

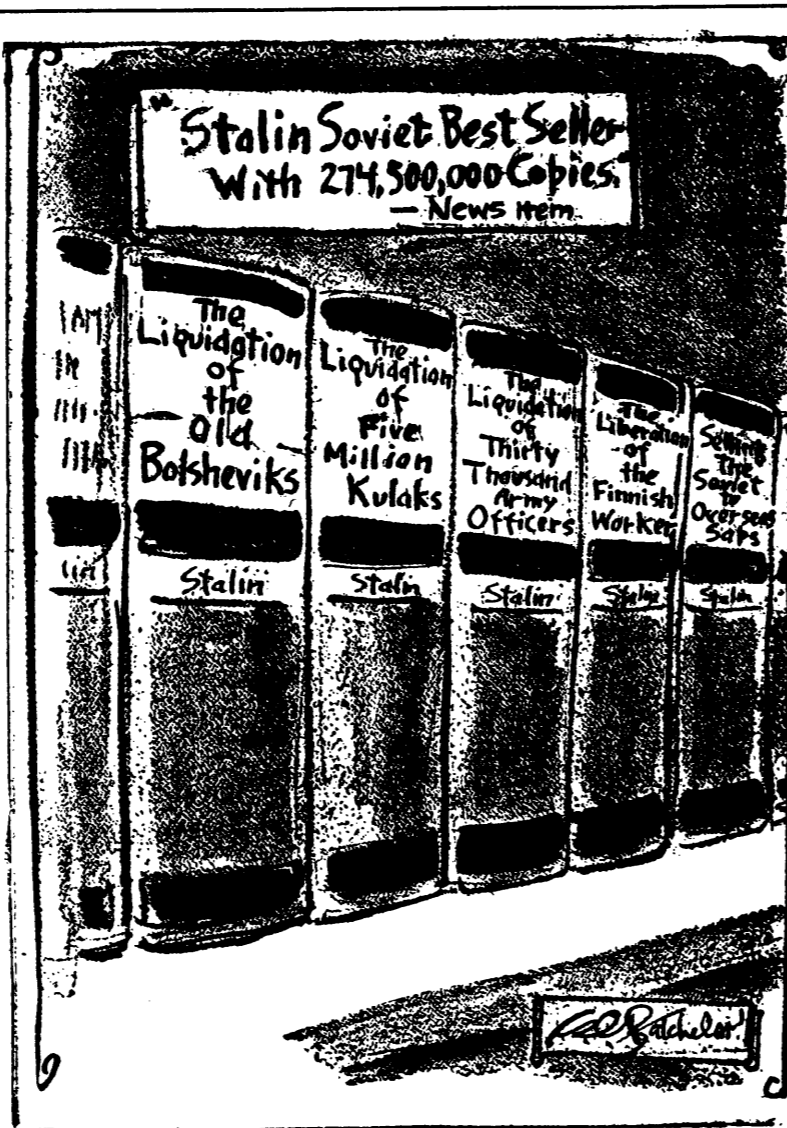
Jay Lovestone, leader of the "Majority" group in the Communist Party, secretary of the party, and now secretary of the I.L.L.A., naturally appears as Gitlow's chief target. In the entire book, he devotes only one favorable line to Lovestone—that in 1929, Lovestone alone among the American party leaders (Bertram D. Wolfe was then out of the country) opposed the pushing thru of a shameful resolution condemning Bukharin, at a time when the real issues dividing Bukharin and Stalin were quite unknown in this country. Otherwise, Gitlow misses no opportunity to libel Lovestone. Having no basis of fact for his attack, he simply invents. Lacking any great capacity for invention, he is compelled to turn to Stalin's Daily Worker for the inspiration of his major "revelations."

In 1924, Lovestone sent Gitlow a letter in which he referred to "John" and "Zinn." Gitlow explains: "John" is John Pepper and "Zinn" is affectionate New York City College style for Zinoviev." The level of this comment is an accurate indication of the Gitlow calibre. Does one have to be a college graduate to abbreviate names? How infinitely petty! Apparently, Gitlow has never forgiven Lovestone for having had a college education!

WHAT GITLOW HAS "FORGOTTEN"

But even Gitlow realizes that a case cannot be built up on abbreviations of Russian names, or on a rather imaginative description of Lovestone's facial characteristics. So he "confesses" the 1920 "defection" of Lovestone "who came to an understanding regarding his freedom from prosecution by appearing as a witness for the state against Harry Wintsky." What he fails to mention is that this revelation is simply a carbon copy of the slanderous attack made on Lovestone by Earl Browder in Stalin's Daily Worker, December 23, 1929.

STALIN'S WORKS



—from the New York Daily News

F.D.R. Ready To Involve U.S. in War

"American White Paper" Describes President Willing To Give Allies Military Aid

By ERNEST LINDLEY

IF THE NEED arises, what further aid is the Roosevelt Administration willing to give the Allies?

The quick answer, I believe, is:

1. Loans, or perhaps preferably outright gifts, of American raw materials and manufactured products.
2. Possibly the active participation of our navy and air force.

This belief is not mine alone. It is shared by other close observers, including Joseph Alsop and Robert Kintner, who have just reviewed succinctly and most interestingly American diplomacy from Munich to the present ("American White Paper," published by Simon and Schuster). Their account is not only as accurate as to fact as it can be made by two extremely competent journalists, whose work has been facilitated by important officials; it is also sympathetically accurate in its interpretation of the President's hopes and purposes.

Messrs. Alsop and Kintner cite English and French estimates, conveyed to officials of our government, that their buying power in this country will be exhausted in two or two and one-half years. The campaign for loans, or even gifts is, in fact, already under way. It is being conducted informally by British and French representatives, and more openly by friendly journalists. Farm leaders are being told that if we would only lend the money the Allies would buy more of our farm products.

Eventually, if the war lasts long enough and the Allies buy heavily enough in this country, their assets convertible into dollars will be exhausted. But that day is still far distant. In the World War, the Allies professed to have used up their dollar assets before we joined them as a belligerent. But, at the end of the war, they took home several hundred million dollars in blue-chip American securities which they had deposited here as collateral on private loans, and which American investors probably would have been delighted to buy.

At the beginning of this war, the dollar assets of the Allies were very much larger than at the beginning of the World War. In addition, they still have ample bond, stock and direct property holdings in other neutral countries outside Europe and the continent of Asia, which probably could be sold here.

If by doing so, they could break down the present legal ban on loans and credits, the Allies undoubtedly would take more of our farm products. But if they really need them, they will buy them anyway.

Already we are drifting along the path of 1915-17 by relying on a boom in war exports to keep our economic system going. If and when the Allied dollar assets are exhausted, the pressure to preserve our war export business by granting loans by advancing loans and credits, we will have still less freedom of choice about our future course. . . .

As to direct military aid, Messrs. Alsop and Kintner emphasize that the President has specifically declared only that an American army would not be sent to Europe. He has not closed the door to the use of our navy and air force in behalf of the Allies. Of course, we are already aiding the Allies with our air force. We are letting them have planes ordered for our army, including our most advanced designs. . . .

The essential fact remains that the Roosevelt Administration seems disposed, if the need arises, to go farther than it already has gone in aiding the Allies—even to the length of becoming a belligerent in the air and on the water. If we go that far, we might as well count ourselves all the way in. Some of us can remember the early April of 1917, when it was said, and widely believed, that our entry into the World War meant only that we would lend money, send our navy, and dispatch, at most, a "token" army, just to show that our heart was in the right place.

(These paragraphs are from an article by Ernest Lindley in the Washington Post of April 26, 1940.—Editor.)

Spanish Loyalist Families Settle In Ecuador

New York City

THE first contingent of Spanish refugees to be admitted to Ecuador will be on their way from France within the next month. Oswald Garrison Villard, chairman of the New World Resettlement Fund, announced last week.

News of the signing of the contract with the government of Ecuador was received yesterday from John Dos Passos, national secretary of the Fund, who has been in Quito conducting the negotiations.

"The machinery for the selection of the emigrants is already set up in Paris," said Mr. Villard, "It is heartening indeed," he added, "that where larger and richer countries have closed their doors, little Ecuador has extended a welcoming hand to these destitute Spanish families who have been for so long without homes, and almost without hope."

"Mr. Dos Passos has been treated with the most distinguished courtesy by the authorities of Ecuador. It would seem that the agricultural experts of the Ministry of Colonization are as determined to make a success of the project, as is the Fund."

"The Fund's permanent representative in Ecuador is Arthur Fried, a qualified agronomist, who has conducted a number of successful agricultural enterprises in Ecuador. "The settlers will not be dumped in the middle of the jungle but will go directly to an improved farm where adequate housing is now being prepared for them. After a period of rehabilitation on this farm, they will be moved to the permanent colony."

According to estimates prepared by the New World Resettlement Fund and approved by the Ecuadorian authorities, refugees can be resettled and maintained for six months for as little as \$250 per adult person.

The officers of the New World Resettlement Fund are: Mr. Villard, as national chairman; John Dos Passos, national secretary; Margaret De Silver, treasurer; and America Gonzalez, executive secretary. On the Advisory Committee are: William E. Bohn, Anita Brenner, Dorothy Dunbar Bromley, John Dewey, Abraham Epstein, Morris Ernst, Morris Feinstein, Paul Hays, Louis Hacker, Suzanne LaFollette, Ferdinand Lundberg, James Rorty, Norman Thomas, Carlo Tresca, Mary Abell Watson, Theresa Wolfson.

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Max Eastman Says He Didn't Do It

Croton-on-Hudson, N. Y.

Editor, Workers Age:

THANKS to B. Herman for the compliment of attributing the good writing in "I Confess" to my ghost! It is a compliment, for where it is good, Gitlow's writing really is good. I attribute its spasmodic character to the fact that he is an orator, rather than a writer, and eloquent only when "roused up."

Anyway, I had nothing to do, whether as "translator," writer, ghost-writer, rewrite-man or reviser, with any sentence of Ben Gitlow's book.

MAX EASTMAN

Ben Gitlow, as editor of the Revolutionary Age, answered the Browder slander in two issues of the paper, Vol. I, Nos. 6 and 8, January 15 and February 15, 1930. Gitlow published the Decision of the International Control Commission of the Communist International exonerating Lovestone after Foster and Cannon had pressed charges in 1925. He published a letter of Charles E. Ruthenberg written March 14, 1922, stating that he (Ruthenberg) had instructed Lovestone to appear at the trial on the basis of a previous ruling of the Executive Committee of the party; that the Executive Committee had later freed Lovestone from all responsibility in appearing. He also wrote that Ferguson, then an outstanding party leader and a prominent attorney, had stated "that he was present during the proceedings and Lovestone followed the instructions given him by the attorney representing Wintsky, and further, that he has read and studied the proceedings and that there is nothing that Comrade Lovestone said that was not already a part of the proceedings, and that nothing he said could have been of any material effect in influencing the outcome."

Gitlow also published a full-page article by Harry Wintsky, himself entitled "The Facts Speak For Themselves." I cannot reproduce here Wintsky's long article. Suffice it to point out that Wintsky insisted that "Browder lies when he states that Lovestone agreed to testify against me when he was offered immunity from prosecution." He stressed that Lovestone had simply carried out party instructions, and that his appearance in court was legally mandatory. Wintsky told how, from 1921 to 1925, he was under continuous pressure from the Foster-Lore-Cannon caucus, of which he was a member, to press charges against Lovestone. He described how, at a caucus meeting he attended, at which Lore, Poyntz, Krumbein, Grecht, London and Cannon were present, plans were discussed to frame up Lovestone. After Lovestone's complete exoneration by the Communist International commission in 1925, Wintsky, while yet a member of the Foster-Cannon Group, sent Lovestone a letter of apology for the methods used against him, a letter that puts the finishing touches on exposing the Browder-Gitlow slander.

GITLOW DISHES UP THE OLD SLANDER

"The facts speak for themselves." Gitlow is well acquainted with these facts. For twelve years after the Wintsky trial, he continued to

(Continued on page 4)

"Ten Commandments" of Hitler-Stalin Block

(The following "ten commandments" were published in a recent issue of the Bezbozhnik, official Russian anti-religious paper in Moscow. We take them from the May 8, 1940 issue of the Day, New York Jewish daily.—Editor.)

1. Whoever is against Soviet-German cooperation is an enemy of the Soviet government and of communism.
2. Germany and the Soviet Union are fighting unitedly against capitalism, against religion and for a new social order.
3. The German and the Soviet peoples are against religion and for socialism.
4. The Soviet-German pact has scotched the war campaign conducted by the Church.
5. Stalin and Hitler are against religion and capitalism.
6. The pact with Germany has given the Soviet Union new political positions in eastern and western Europe.
7. The political and economic structures of the Soviet Union and Germany are not yet the same.
8. But it is already clear that after the war Germany will have to proceed along the road to genuine socialism.
9. Because of cooperation with Germany, it has become possible for communism to penetrate other countries.
10. Stalin demands loyalty to communism, to world revolution, and to atheism.

Negroes Must Unite To Fight for Freedom

And Take Advantage of Imperialist Crisis

By JAY LOVESTONE

(We publish below the address delivered by Jay Lovestone at the symposium, "The Negro and the Present War," held recently in Harlem. The speeches of Edward Welsh and Frank Crosswaith at this symposium were published in recent issues of this paper.—Editor.)

I CAN THINK of no more important labor problem at the present time than the subject, the Negro and the war. That is the most important labor problem that we can discuss today, because I know of no section of labor that is more oppressed than the Negro, I know of no section of the population that gets war treatment in peace time so regularly in every part of the world as does the Negro.

SIGNIFICANCE FOR NEGROES

For the Negroes in particular this war assumes certain new types of significance because of a number of factors. First of all, there is the very technical progress which society has made. For example, the airplane lends a new importance to the Negro. Thru the airplane as an instrument of war, distances have been contracted and places like Africa have become infinitely more important and more integral parts of the world market. A little more than that. The fact that the war is so much economic in character—it is being fought today in the economic field—lends still greater import to the war as a problem for the Negro masses thruout the world. Why? Because if anybody faces an economic problem, it is the Negro masses, much more so than any other section of the exploited population.

Thirdly, there is the totalitarian character of the war. Just look at the totally reactionary regime that must be set up the moment war is declared by even the cradle of democracy—France! I saw the announcement the other day that the French government has enacted either the death penalty or deportation to Africa for criticizing and opposing the war plans of the regime. Of course, they call them "communists." I know of no more super-patriotic or chauvinistic group in France than the communists—until August 25th of last year. Since then, there has been a little change, of course. Today, everyone who opposes war in France will be branded as a "communist," however hostile he may really be to Stalin and the Communist Party.

However, let us turn to America, the key to the situation of tomorrow as well as today.

We all understand that the Negro is the first and greatest victim of reaction. And certainly, we must see that war is the greatest breeder of reaction. From that follows my conclusion that the Negro should be in the forefront of opposition to American intervention, to American participation in the war.

IMPERIALISM'S DIFFICULTIES

My experience would lead me to the following unchallengeable conclusion—it is the first commandment: The difficulties of the oppressors are the opportunities of the oppressed! If France is in trouble, when France is fighting with its back to the wall, that is the time for those oppressed by French imperialism to act. The same rule applies to this country, to Germany, to England and every oppressing nation.

The second rule, a sort of subsidiary commandment is: What you don't take today, you won't be given tomorrow! I have in mind, for example, the situation in India. If this jewel of the British empire doesn't begin to sparkle for itself and blind British imperialism a bit instead of enriching it, if it doesn't do that now, while Britain is fighting with its back to the wall against the challenge of Nazi imperialism, tomorrow, if England is victorious, good-

bye to freedom for India! And the same goes for the French colonial peoples.

Now, you might ask, are there differences between the different imperialist powers? Yes, there are differences. No two imperialisms are alike; even when they fight on the same side, they have differences. I grant you there are differences, but then I pick up the New York Times and read the story the other day: "British troops kill ten African strikers in Rhodesia." In Rhodesia, Negroes are digging copper for the British ammunition industry. They ask for wage increases. They are determined. They strike. Troops are mobilized against them. They throw stones at the scabs. The soldiers run to protect the scabs. A stone hits a soldier. Ten strikers are shot and

(Continued on Page 4)

Trinidad Labor Faced with War-Time Repression

By QUINTIN O'CONNOR

(Quintin O'Connor is general secretary of the Trinidad and Tobago Union of Shop Assistants and Clerks.—Editor.)

Port of Spain, Trinidad
 AT the outbreak of the war, the government, thru the commissioner of police, called up a number of us and warned us about our speeches. He told us that the government would not allow in war time what it had allowed in peace time.

Our union was in the habit of holding meetings in one of the principal squares of the Port of Spain.

As soon as war was declared the mayor of the city, the Hon. Arthur Andrew Cipriani, refused to give us permission to use the square. Despite appeals to the Council, we were refused freedom of speech, the war being made the excuse.

On Saturday, February 3, 1940, we had a strike of transport workers employed by the Trinidad Electricity Board. On the following Monday, we took advantage of a carnival to stage a demonstration. Two comrades and I were arrested.

The case came before the magistrates on Friday, February 17, and we were convicted of "being in an assembly of more than ten persons contrary to the new Emergency Defence Measures Act."

We were fined 15 dollars each or 21 days in jail and were each put on a bond of 50 dollars for good behavior for six months.

The evidence against us was to the effect that we were in a crowd of about 100 to 150 people and that conductors and drivers were carrying placards with slogans.

Our legal representatives put the case that the Carnival Proclamation superseded the provisions of the Emergency Act. Thousand attended the Carnival and they were not arrested for "being in an assembly of more than ten persons."

The magistrate ruled that the emergency legislation prohibiting a gathering of more than ten persons was paramount. We have appealed against the sentences.

The Trades Union Council has been refused permission to hold an unemployed demonstration on March 16. We have appealed to the governor.

We have also addressed an appeal to the governor asking for a restoration of freedom of speech, assembly and tolerance in Trinidad.

We have pointed out that the British government has emphasized its determination to maintain freedom of speech and we have given the activity of the I.L.P. as one instance of the freedom allowed. But it has not done us much good.

Workers Age

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WILL HERBERG, Editor

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SMOKE THEM OUT NOW!

SOME high officials are suggesting that American reaction to entering war may be comparable to the reaction to Prohibition. Few public officials dared to take a stand favorable to its repeal. Then overnight the tide turned and Prohibition was gone."

So writes the well-informed United States News in its issue of May 10, 1940. These words are well worth pondering for they point to a situation the full peril of which is not realized by the American people.

The Administration policy is orientated towards American involvement in war on the side of the Allies—economic involvement, financial involvement, diplomatic involvement, and, ultimately, military involvement. Convincing indications of this trend of Administration policy are to be found on every side. But the Administration dares not be frank with the American people; it dares not, as Arthur Krock has recently pointed out, take the American people "directly into its confidence." For the American people, however it may be divided on everything else, is single on one thing—on the need for keeping this country out of war. "A determination to keep out of the current war," reports Turner Catledge in the New York Times of May 5, "apparently has become a fixation with the populace."

This being an election year, the politicians, from President Roosevelt down, feel that they had better be careful and not buck up against this universal popular sentiment. So they are all talking peace; in fact, they all pose as "pacifists" of a sort. But they anxiously evade every effort to pin them down to practical commitments on foreign policy. This is especially true of President Roosevelt, whose own pro-war, interventionist views are notorious, but it is true of practically every other Presidential aspirant of the major parties as well.

After the elections, they figure, will come the pay-off. By that time, they hope, the insidious effects of economic involvement, allowed a measure of free play thru the modification of the neutrality law, will begin to tell. By that time, they hope, too, public opinion, outraged beyond endurance by the aggressions of Hitler and Stalin, will permit itself to be swung around in one of those sensational shifts of sentiment that brought Prohibition to a sudden end.

Already, pressure is growing for a "liberalization" of the Neutrality Act to permit credit to the Allies for the purchase of American farm products. Then credits for arms, then loans, then military assistance. Of course, not at this session of Congress. But, after the elections. . .

In short, the politicians of both parties, Republican as well as Democratic, Dewey and Taft as well as Roosevelt and Hull, are engaged in a deliberate conspiracy of confusion and deception on the war issue. "Foreign Policy Issues Evaded by Both Parties" is the headline over an article by Arthur Krock in the New York Times of April 28, 1940. While the politicians refuse to commit themselves on the most vital issue facing the American people, they allow talk of the "inevitability" of our involvement in war to revive in Washington and to circulate thruout the country.

It is up to the anti-war movement to spoil their little game for them, to smoke them out and force them to show color and thus expose themselves. The critical period is approaching.

THE ADMINISTRATION HEADS FOR WAR

(These paragraphs are from an article by Ludwell Denny in the New York World-Telegram of May 13, 1940.—Editor.)

THE Administration trend is away from neutrality and toward diplomatic, financial and if necessary, naval aid to the Allies. . .

In preparation for a virtual financial alliance with the Allies, feelers now are being put out for elimination of the cash requirement of the neutrality law and for modification of the Johnson Act banning credits to defaulting war-debt nations. The question is whether to attempt this before Congress adjourns, or in a short special session before the fall political campaign is in full swing, or to wait for the January regular session.

On the naval side, the United States is now cooperating with the Allies much more closely than is generally understood by the public. That is why the fleet is being kept in the Hawaii-Guam area rather than spread also along the Panama-Caribbean lifeline.

The presence of the United States fleet in the far Pacific is of much greater value to the Allies today than an American expeditionary force in France. . .

The Allies do not need American troops in France, but the Allies desperately need the tin and rubber of the Dutch East Indies. . .

Thus while American opinion, remembering 1917, has been watching the front door for signs of American involvement, the far greater danger is at our back door—the Pacific. . .

While the American people in popular polls vote overwhelmingly and hopefully against involvement. . . , the United States is already involved in war danger in the Pacific.

EMMA GOLDMAN

EMMA Goldman, whose death last week after a prolonged illness shocked radicals and liberals thruout the world, was one of the best-known and most significant figures in American radicalism in the last half-century. A glamorous personality, a distinguished writer, a fiery agitator, a sincere and devoted libertarian, she will be long remembered with profound respect by all who knew her, either directly or thru her writings and work.

We have had our differences with Emma Goldman, with her anarchistic philosophy and with some of her activities, altho we are free to say that we no longer believe her to have been entirely in the wrong and ourselves entirely in the right. However that may be, no one could ever have questioned her deep sincerity, her undying devotion to the cause of the disinherited of the earth, her flaming zeal for freedom and socialism.

We lay the wreath of our homage on her grave.

TO the American Mercury we are indebted for the following examples of "true socialist culture" in Stalin's "Fatherland of the Workers":

L. Proskuriakov reports to the Communist Academy at Moscow: "Beethoven mobilizes, Beethoven furnishes weapons, Beethoven represents an accompaniment to the incomparable melodies which we find in the books of Marx, of Engels, of Lenin, of Stalin."

D. Bleiman in a recent Soviet novel: "The lark is exclusively a Soviet bird. The lark does not like the other countries, and lets its harmonious song be heard only over the fields made fertile by the collective labor of the citizens of the happy land of the Soviets."

The leading Soviet literary publication, Literaturnaya Gazeta, reports a lecture on Shakespeare:

"Hamlet could be a riddle for the bourgeoisie, but we have solved this riddle easily and completely. . . I asked one of the principal actors of the Dramatic Theatre about Shakespeare, and he told me that he is just learning German, so that he may soon be able to read Shakespeare in the original."

Doesn't It Make a Real Difference Who Wins?

Some Questions on Our Position on the World War

(We publish below a very interesting series of questions dealing with our attitude to the war addressed to us by a long-time reader of the Workers Age and devoted friend of our movement. These questions will be discussed in the next issue of this paper.—Editor.)

New York City.

Editor, Workers Age:

WHO I have for years agreed with your position on war, I find that the growth of totalitarianism raises new doubts in my mind. I could accept your thesis when the world was composed of bourgeois states in which there was approximately the same amount of economic and political control over the workers. But today, with the rise of totalitarian states where the rights of the workers are absolutely crushed and the control is in the hands of a ruthless clique, the question assumes new aspects. The old position seems to become unrealistic.

If your arguments could be addressed to the workers in the totalitarian states as effectively as they are addressed to the workers in the non-totalitarian states, there might be some practical result. But the fact is that the workers in totalitarian states are relatively shut off from such propaganda while it is far more accessible to the workers in the more democratic states. Assuming that the propaganda takes effect, these latter states will be weakened in their fight against the totalitarian states and the totalitarian states, insulated against the propaganda, will more certainly prevail.

I could see this: If the German workers could be influenced not to fight their fellow-workers in France and England, then the workers of the latter countries might readily follow suit—but I cannot see the remotest chance of the process working in reverse. If the French and English workers sabotage their country's struggles against Hitler—just what he wants—it seems to me, that this would constitute an invitation for the Nazis to take over.

In other words, I do not think it is realistic to equate totalitarian states and bourgeois-democratic states even tho both are imperialistic.

I would therefore appreciate it if you would consider and answer the following questions which have been troubling me profoundly. I know I can count on your independent thinking and your willingness to re-evaluate positions previously assumed without question.

Granted that this is a war between rival imperialisms:

1. Does it not make a vast difference which one wins?

a. If the Nazis win and the Allies lose, all freedom is destroyed. (1) Within the conquered countries: Labor, the press, political parties, intellectual freedom, etc., all will be Nazified. The chances for any liberating movement to raise its head will be infinitesimal. (2) Within the colonies: These will not gain independence but will pass into the hands of more brutal exploiters.

b. If the Allies win and the Nazis lose: (1) Granted that all liberties will suffer in the process of war, the workers within the Allied countries will come out of the war with democratic traditions at least a fresh memory, strong enough to engender a demand for the reestablishment of democratic rights. It is obvious that the workers would have far more chance of winning rights for themselves than if the Allied countries were defeated by Hitler. (2) As to the colonies: The British and French empires appear to be in a stage of gradual disintegration, which can be expected to continue. At the end of the last war, won by the Allies, many movements for colonial independence flourished. Ireland gained her freedom; the dominion status was extended, etc. If the Allies win this war and are further weakened in the struggle, the outlook for a further loosening of colonial ties is promising.

CIVIL LIBERTIES AND THE WAR

2. Civil Liberties: Agreeing that during a war period there is an increasing similarity between all belligerents in the curtailment of civil rights, still, in all truth, there is a substantial difference. For example, the persecution of refugees in France today is not a systematic government policy as in Germany, but it is rather a matter of inefficiency, hysteria, individual excesses by petty officials—an excessiveness of the war attitude in a country on edge in an emergency situation. The French situation is certainly different in kind from the glorification of systematized sadism as a government policy such as we have in Germany—and have had for seven years.

As to England—where it was

predicted that civil liberties would immediately be blacked out with the declaration of war—it is worth pointing out that: (1) within the last few days resolutions against war in the midst of war have been passed by some of the cooperatives and trade unions; (2) a by-election saw an anti-war candidate in the running; (3) publication is permitted of pacifist, Nazi and communist papers.

These are a few phenomena which make me feel there is more chance of return to civil freedom if there is a British rather than a German victory.

3. Peace: As to peace now, this would give the Nazis the advantage—a second Munich in which Germany has a breathing spell to exploit all her conquered territories, to fatten herself up for a new onslaught. It's just what Hitler wants.

4. When is it right to resist? Why is it proper for colonial people to fight their imperial oppressors under the leadership of their own colonial bourgeoisie and wrong for a country which is threatened with the fate of being turned into a colony to fight with its bourgeoisie against the would-be conqueror?

5. Nothing succeeds like success: The psychology of success does not breed a spirit of defeatism within the German army. The weaker the opponents and the stronger the Nazis, the more sincere the Heils. It is no use to shut our eyes to such facts as: Hitler is using crack Austrian troops at Narvik according to the papers, where they are resisting heroically for Hitler's greater glory—instead of utilizing this opportunity to strike a blow at him by refusing to fight!

6. W.P.A. and Social Services instead of Military Preparedness: How did these help Norway and Denmark—fairly socialist countries—to withstand the fascist assault from without? In order to fight for a socialist world, it is necessary first to stay alive.

I believe the proper strategy is to keep alive the ideals of socialism and plans for building a new socialist society free from wars—but not to play into the hands of the very forces which will destroy every possibility of your accomplishing your purposes.

Please answer these questions in the Age fully as I know many people are asking them out of troubled hearts.

E. B.

Gitlow Descends to Sheer Falsification

Third Article in the Review of "I Confess"

(Continued from Page 3) associate very closely with Lovestone, and during most of that period, he fought bitterly in the party to establish Lovestone's leadership. Thru all these years, Gitlow was aware that for almost a decade, those elements in the communist movement whom he now denounces as most corrupt and unprincipled were attempting to use the Wintsky trial to frame up Lovestone. Yet, without so much as mentioning one word of this in his book, after even the Stalinists had let the matter rest after Wintsky's devastating reply to Browder, Gitlow dishes out the old libel. It is that Gitlow and Browder meet after a separation of ten years.

Gitlow's "confession" for Bert Wolfe is on no higher level. He writes that after the Red raids of 1919, "Wolfe shirked all party activities, disappeared from his post. . . After many months, news began to trickle in that Wolfe had left the country and made his residence in Mexico. The rank-and-file comrades did not relish what seemed to them cowardice in a leader." Gitlow has, as usual, completely garbled his facts in order to get in his typical innuendo. The facts are that Wolfe, for many months, edited a paper for the Central Committee of the party subsequent to the Red raids.

He then became leader of the party in California, and represented the California organization at the Bridgman underground convention in 1922, at which Gitlow was present. He never dropped his party activities, and did not leave for Mexico until after the Bridgman convention. There, he helped organize and lead the Communist Party of Mexico until 1925. It was none other than Ben Gitlow who was insistent that Wolfe come to work with him in the New York party district in 1925. If Gitlow's memory is so poor, it would not have required much trouble to verify these easily ascertainable facts. If Gitlow doesn't even know that Wolfe was not in Mexico from 1919 to 1922, it is obvious that his remarks about "shirking party duties" and "cowardice" are as worthless as his other "facts."

ANOTHER FRAME-UP

Gitlow's treatment of the spy charges against Louis C. Fraina in the early days of the movement is

another example of his type of "confession." He states that Fraina was cleared by the investigating committee, but adds that several members of the committee voted "no," giving the implication that at least some impartial judges considered Fraina guilty. He forgets to mention that those who voted against Fraina were those who had cooked up the charges, that subsequently the Central Committee of the party unanimously cleared Fraina, that later an investigation was made in Moscow, with the well-known French communist Rosmer as chairman of a committee including two members of Gitlow's own Communist Labor Party, and that this committee unanimously exonerated Fraina. Nor does he see fit to mention that John Reed, one of the few communist leaders whose errors Gitlow doesn't "confess," appeared before the committee and testified in Fraina's behalf or that Lenin subsequently endorsed the decision of the committee exonerating Fraina. All this Gitlow fails to mention in order to stir up suspicion about a matter long since completely cleared up. There is an ugly word for this type of Gitlow "confession." We leave it to our readers to fill in.

Gitlow's treatment of Ruthenberg, Pepper and other people is equally malicious. Gitlow's book indicates that his own degeneration has kept pace with Stalin's. He, the intransigent opponent of Stalin, has adopted the Stalinist methods of frame-up, vilification and downright slander. The mud-throwing and character-assassination of neither a Stalin nor a Gitlow can destroy leaders who have maintained firmly their devotion to the cause of labor. Basically, the working-class movement judges leaders by the principles they uphold and by what they do, not by the factional slanders levelled against them by unscrupulous enemies. By such a standard Stalin and Gitlow will be judged in their turn by their principles and their deeds. And Gitlow's book of "confessions" will hardly stand as evidence in his favor!

MAY DAY GREETINGS from Wilkes Barre (Pa.) Branch I.L.L.A.

Depression and War in Presidential Politics

By JOHN T. FLYNN

THE Republican convention is less than seven weeks distant—the Democratic a little further away. Everybody is talking about candidates. Those who talk about issues wonder what the war will do to the coming battle. No one seems very much concerned about what the domestic economic situation may do to it.

As 1932 dawned and the conventions of that year approached, the curve of business activity was moving down. It was 77 in January, it was 67 in June when the conventions met.

This year, since January, the curve of business activity has actually descended lower and faster than it did in 1932. There is a difference, of course, in this—that then it went from 77 to 67, while now it has gone from 107 to 93. It is a 14-point drop now, against a 10-point drop then; but, on the other hand, the rate from which it dropped this year was much higher.

But what if it continues to go down? It has never continued down so long or so far in any other year. It may taper off now a bit, but even if it does, the drop will be a record one for the first half of the year.

Now, if you take these two periods—the first half of 1932 and the first half of 1940—and either add to the 1932 picture 300 million dollars a month of federal spending, or take this federal spending away from the situation now, you have no other important difference.

Then the business cycle was going down without any government spending: now, in the face of huge government spending, it is going down faster and further.

If the decline continues until the

conventions meet, it is difficult to see how the consideration of this important fact can be kept out of our reckoning. And if it continues after the conventions meet, nothing can prevent it from overshadowing the war.

This fact will make it quite plain why the Administration is so anxious to keep the war issue to the front, to keep the war on people's minds. The President himself is, of course, fascinated by the war. He told a caller not so long ago that it was difficult for him to think about domestic issues in the present situation.

It becomes imperative, therefore, to keep other people from thinking of domestic issues. So all the propaganda and publicity power of the federal government is turned loose on the war subject.

Would it not be an excellent thing if the President and his Cabinet and his opponents would stir themselves to thinking about a domestic issue which may be stated thus: After seven years of spending of borrowed funds amounting to over 25 billion dollars, we still have 10 million unemployed and the business index of the first four months of the year has gone down further and faster than in any year in the last fifteen. What can we do to change this?

Staying out of war is not so difficult. The people do not want to get in. The only way they can get in is by being led in. All we need for that is a leader who will not lead us in by "meddlin' in." But this other problem is more difficult. What are we going to do about it?

(This article is from the New York World-Telegram of May 9, 1940.—Editor.)

Negroes Must Unite To Fight for Freedom

And Take Advantage of Imperialist Crisis

(Continued from Page 3) killed. This illustrates the foundations of British "democracy."

WHAT HAPPENED TO RUSSIA

I speak on Russia with as much emotion and experience as anyone in this country can. I saw the Russian Revolution born. I went thru it. I experienced from it the greatest joy, and defended it in its most difficult and its darkest moments. I didn't lose hope—and, by the way, I have more hope for what the revolution has made than many others who don't know that it is being unmade. There is no doubt in my mind that the revolution of October 1917 inspired humanity to great heights. It gave us the hope, the inspiration, for socialism.

However, we must face facts. Some time, facts are painful, particularly when a situation is painful, but if you don't face facts, it doesn't remove the pain from the situation. And what has happened to the Russian Revolution is only too obvious, too painfully obvious.

Not until Russia frees herself from within, not until Russia becomes incapable of another Finland, not until Russia is able to restore her own liberty, can Russia again become worthy of the confidence of the oppressed masses, particularly the Negro masses and the colored masses thruout the world!

KEEP CLEAR OF DEARS

I want to conclude by offering a few suggestions. First of all, the Negro masses should not make any deal with any power. No deals with any power! I think a little scepticism will be very much in place. Whether you deal with Nazi, British, French, German imperialism, with anyone that oppresses anyone else, no matter who it is, don't trust them. Rely on yourself.

Which leads me to the second proposal: independent action of the Negro masses, self-reliance and self-confidence in their own people. I am not proposing here any racial chauvinism, but I am proposing, precisely because the Negro masses have been oppressed for so long, that they cultivate that spirit of drawn pictures of our "defenselessness," so as to make it easier for him to put over his policies of war involvement and super-armament construction. The President's special message was thus at bottom a dangerous piece of war-mongering demagoguery.

The armaments Mr. Roosevelt wants are not for protection of the United States from attack or invasion, the danger of which is most remote and improbable. Mr. Roosevelt wants the armaments because he is planning to lead America into the war. He doesn't dare to say so openly, in view of popular sentiment which is still overwhelmingly against war involvement. So he tries to put over his program under the popular slogan of "national defense" and behind a smokescreen of an invasion scare, which he himself well knows to be pure panic-mongering.

Not national defense against invasion or attack but complete involvement in the European war is President Roosevelt's real consideration in his super-armaments program.

liberation which is necessary in order to be able to fight their way out to freedom.

Next, cooperate with and become an integral part of all movements which fight for better social conditions and for peace. In this country, you should, be particularly careful to cooperate only with those movements whose policies are rooted in the soil of the country, and are not manipulated artificially by cable or telegram because of the foreign relations of some other power. I speak plainly. The same Stalinist people who today tell us this is an imperialist war because their master has lined up with somebody and grabbed sufficient loot for the present, told us only six or seven months ago, that this was a war for humanity, that you couldn't speak of freedom for the colonial people until you destroyed the Nazi monster. Just keep that in mind when you are called upon to give your trust.

I don't want anybody to think I am a pacifist. If I have to, I fight. But I want to say this to you, that bad as capitalism and imperialism are, they are much better when they are at peace than when they are at war. Let us keep war away from this country as long as we possibly can, and let us urge those countries who are not yet in the war to do the same. And to those peoples already at war, let us say: It is time you declared war on those who led you into the slaughter.

Next, I think the Negro people must tell the white masses: "You can't be free while we are in slavery." When they step on the Negroes, they reduce the standards of the whole population. Educate your white brothers that they cannot be free while anyone remains oppressed or exploited because of the color of his skin.

In my judgment, the United States is the most decisive country in the world today, and the American Negroes a very important section of our population, who owe it not only to the country, the entire country, but owe it to all oppressed peoples thruout the world to play a decisive role in keeping America out of the war, in keeping America at peace, so that we can fight for a better country as part of the struggle for a better world. Let us reach these conditions thru the road of peace, rather than that of war, so that we can save whatever progress we have made, whatever gains we have achieved thru many years of struggle. Let us keep our heads on our shoulders, and, by keeping this country out of the war and fighting to make this country the very much better country that it can be and should be, in this way play our part in making this world the very much better world that it can be and must be.

"STALIN"

By Boris Souvarine (A Critical Survey of Bolshevism)

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