By LEWIS COREY

Workers Age

Weekly Paper of the Independent Labor League of America

TEACHERS UNION CLIQUE IN "ANTI-RED" TRICK . . . page 2.

F. D. R. MAPS PLANS FOR NEW SES-SION OF CONGRESS . . . page 3.

Vol. 8, No. 50.

NEW YORK, N Y., SATURDAY, DECEMBER 16, 1939.

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## Lovestone Called Before The Dies Committee

OUR readers are aware from the daily press that last week Jay Lovestone appeared before the Dies Committee in Washington to answer a series of questions relating to the committee's investigation of "un-American activities." He came under subpoena and not as a voluntary witness in the fashion of Earl Browder, William Z Foster and other Stalinist leaders.

As soon as the transcript of Lovestone's testimony is available, the most important sections will be published in the columns Council of the New York State Fedof this paper.

# **Australia Labor Cool** To Empire Jingoism

Opposes Conscription, War Dictatorship

(Special to the Workers Age) Sydney, Australia October 25, 1939

broadcast announcement that Britain his repressive legislation had safely was at war with Germany, the passed thru Parliament, he an-Prime Minister of Australia, Mr. | nounced that a volunteer army would Menzies, announced that Australia be formed for services "at home and was also at war. The people were not consulted. Parliament itself was not consulted. Apparently, the Cabinet had secretly decided on war and timed the announcement to coincide with Chamberlain's statement

The government lost no time in enacting a so-called National Security Act, a measure that need not be detailed here because it contains all the clauses of similar measures enacted abroad. If put into effect in its entirety, it would make any organized opposition to war extremely difficult. This act was opposed by the Labor Party representatives in Parliament—in refreshing contrast to the last war when the Labor Party, then the government, enacted a similar measure itself, and promised Britain "the last man and the last shilling.'

LABOR PARTY ATTITUDE

the war. Indeed, it has expressed its cratic." It puts all of the burden on support of Britain and her allies, to willing shoulders, thus allowing seas, mainly on the plea that Aus- vice has suddenly been introduced hamper and destroy tralia needs all its man-power for for young men, as in England. This

its own defense. Labor Party has hitherto displayed as well. This will meet with imno enthusiasm for the war and that mense opposition from the masses, Labor Council, representing over its formal support of Britain is not who have not forgotten their suc- 600,000 A. F. of L. members in the backed up with anything concrete. cessful fight against conscription on city, adopted a resolution last week The jingoes have characterized the two occasions during the last war. declaring its support of the stand Labor Party as "benevolently neu- In fact, this very week-end the vari- taken by the Executive Council of tral"-a fairly correct description ous Labor Councils thruout Australia | the New York State Federation of which applies to the rank and file are holding mass demonstrations to Labor in condemnation of the State

By J. ANDREWS

for some of the lower-paid opera-

The Prime Minister pandered to this disinclination to participate as its policy that it has government-actively in the war by stating that A USTRALIA is at war. A few it was unlikely that soldiers would be required overseas. However, when unions of the A. F. of L. and em-

> paign, an appeal was launched for law and will receive no considera-20,000 recruits as a first instalment. tion from the S.L.R.B.; therefore be It was stated that those desiring to it resolved: enlist should waste no time in availing themselves of the privilege because the recruiting offices would be open for only two days. That was three weeks ago, and the stipulated

number has not enlisted yet! Great is the bewilderment of the authorities and many are the excuses concocted by the press scribes. Such a contrast to the response for volunteers in the early part of the last war is exceedingly disturbing to the imperialists. In a desperate attempt to end the embarrassing situation, the government has increased the family allowances for married attractions with added comforts.

Now we are deluged with propaganda to the effect that, after all, The Labor Party is not opposing the voluntary system is "undemois doubtless the precursor of a policy It can be said with truth that the of compulsory service for overseas

(Continued on Page 3)

Chrysler Workers Return to

of the 55-day old Chrysler strike silence opposition to the settlement the U.A.W.-C.I.O. and particularly

conducted by the C.I.O.'s United from the floor. Hecklers and object of Richard Frankensteen, in whose

Automobile Workers. Chief gains for tors were met with the question: hands the affairs of the Chrysler lo-

the union were improvements in the "Do you want to go back out on the cals rested. From its very beginning,

The settlement came just in time

to nip in the bud a number of back-

must go to Phillip Murray, C.I.O. ting under way. Had the strike the original order to Stalinist shop

gotiations forty-eight hours before ly that the U.A.W.-C.I.O. ranks production to 50%. Apparently, this

The terms of the settlement were G.L.K. Smith, the "small business pany before making formal demands

stormy sessions with the Chrysler doing their best to encourage back- beyond expectations since Dodge

interested in going back to work members gained by this method production standards, a 10% raise,

strike had strained the endurance work activities, which he undertook the shoulder of the U.A.W.-C.I.O.

of the workers to the breaking point on his own responsibility, aroused by firing 128 men, there was nothing

the small gains as compared with ranks of the U.A.W.-A.F.L. and were taken on the basis of the glit-

manded, very few wanted to prolong | American Federation of Labor,

would have broken. Father Coughlin, was to put "pressure" on the com-

situation.

Plants After 55-Day Strike

Murray and Frankensteen played on the back-to-work sentiment they

week as a result of the settlement knew predominated in order to

grievance procedure in the new con- picket line and keep workers away

tract and a blanket three-cent-an- from their jobs?" "Do you want an-

hour raise for all production work- other Little Steel strike with bayo-

Chief credit for the settlement to-work movements that were get-

vice-president, who entered the ne- lasted another week, it is very like-

which was attended by 18,000 work- speeches and newspaper publicity.

ers, Murray, Frankensteen and Besides damaging the strike, Mar-

Thomas were greeted with a roar of tin's activities in this line only help-

boos and catcalls when they appear- ed to provide a scapegoat on whom

ed on the platform. Only a portion the C.I.O. union could place the

of the terms of settlement had been blame for its own failures to obtain

read to the meeting when a cry of more gains. Altho groups of workers

"Vote! Vote!" went up from began to sign the petitions Martin

ment. The long duration of the enduring growth, Martin's back-to-

ers plus certain wage adjustments nets in your backs?"

## State A.F.L. Condemns Labor Board

Federation Warns That SLRB Is Trying To Impose Government Control

Albany, N. Y. Following up the attack by President George Meany on the State Labor Relations Board, the Executive eration of Labor adopted a resolution last week condemning the SL. RB. and warning every affiliated local A. F. of L. union in the state that it was "attempting to destroy free trade unions."

The preamble to the resolution stated that the S.L.R.B law, enacted in 1937, declared it to be the policy of the state to encourage collective bargaining as a means of reducing ndustrial strife and said:

"The S.L.R.B. has now set forth ployers despite their acknowledgement that these unions are bonafide collective-bargaining agencies.

"The S.L.R.B. now publicly proclaims that the established trade With a suitable propaganda cam- unions have no rights under said

> "That the Executive Council vigorously condemns the action of the New York State Labor Relations Board in interfering with the rights of bona-fide trade unions to maintain contractual relations with employers and in addition interfering with the right of these unions to maintain constitutional contractual relationships with their members,"

The resolution further stated that the Executive Council, on behalf of the Federation, "proclaims its resentment" at this unwarranted as- bill passed in the House. sumption of power by the S.L.R.B. volunteers and increased the camp as leading to the destruction of voluntary democratic control of trade unions in this state and substituting in its place a government-controlled system of trade unionism.

It also announced that legislation would be sought at the coming sesbut it objects to any soldiers being shirkers to evade their obligations. sion "to curb the arrogant, autosent from Australia to fight over-Compulsory training for home ser-cratic attempt of the S.L.R.B. to

> The New York Central Trades and Labor Relations Board.

which had remained aloof from the

The conduct of the strike revealed

the bankruptcy of the leadership of

the leaders perpetrated an amazing

series of tactical blunders which

served to endanger the possibilities

of gaining anything at all for the

It has been fairly well established

that "Big Dick" Frankensteen gave

stewards in Dodge to slow down

down the rest of their plants, these

being dependent on the key Dodge

plant. The company promptly fired

some 128 stewards and workers who

obeyed Frankensteen's orders and

Frankensteen hurriedly got out a

series of demands on Chrysler, in-

Chrysler had knocked the chip off

asked the workers to slow down.

## The "Fourth New Deal"

EFT-WING New Dealers are increasingly critical of the President, arguing that he is using the war abroad to divert attention from problems at home. New pump-priming and reform suggestions recently have been cold-shouldered by the White House with repercussions on the morale of the planners."—"Washington Whispers" column, United States News, Dec. 4, 1939.

## **Anti-Lynch** Bill Fight to Be Resumed

NAACP And Congressmen Confer On Pushing Measure In Session

Washington, D. C. The Gavagan-Fish anti-lynching bill (H. R. 801), which is on top of the Congress calendar, will be called up in the House of Representatives on Monday, January 8 1940, according to indications here

The announcement followed a conference held in Representative Gavagan's office on November 21. Those present at the conference included Representative Gavagan, Democrat of New York, who has piloted the measure thru several Congressional battles; Representative Hamilton Fish, Republican of New York; Walter White, executive secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People; Arthur B. Spingarn, chief of the NAAC.P.'s national legal committee; and Thurgood Marshali special legal counsel.

At the conference it was agreed that Gavagan and Fish would lead the two-party campaign to get the The N.A.A.C.P. has written to

each of the 218 Congressmen who signed the discharge petition which forced the bill out of committee and indirectly made possible its present preferred position on the House the floor of the House, and also to be present on each day thereafter to prevent opponents from attempting to kill the bill. A similar request was sent to all Congressmen who come from states where Negro citizens have the right to vote, but did not sign the discharge petition.

The bill is being brought up on January 8, because under the rules of the House of Representatives the second and fourth Mondays of the month are the legislative days on which action on discharge petitions may be taken. January 8 is the econd Monday of the month.

Opponents of the anti-lynch bill are certain to be on the floor at all times, as they have in past fights, seeking to take advantage of the smallest opportunity to kill the bill. They may (1) vote against the adoption of the rule calling the bill up for debate; (2) vote to recommit the bill, which would bury it for the Grave Blunders of UAW-CIO Leadership Take Their Toll rest of the session; (3) vote to strike out the enactment clause.

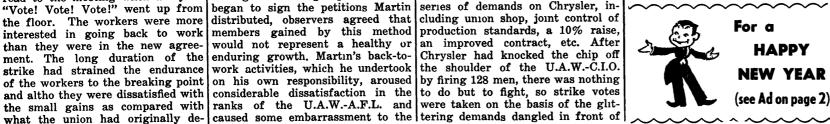
If the supporters of the antilynching bill are not present in sufficient force on January 8, the opponents of the bill may muster sufficient strength to vote against the adoption of a rule or to recommit and that would be the end of the bill for this session of Congress.

the workers plus the promise of re

turn of the discharged men. The Chrysler workers were caught escape. They were already out on were fired and to make it appear that they did not want the demands the leaders made on the company.

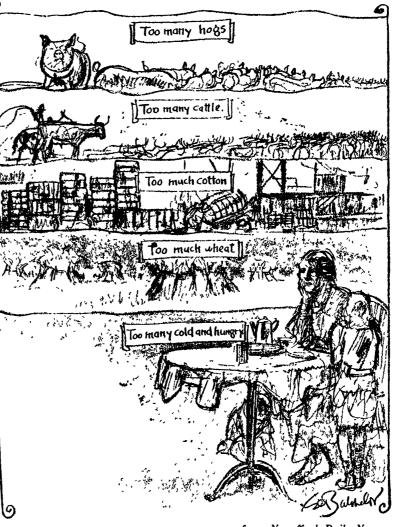
stacles which bar strikers from oboverwhelmingly accepted after men," and Homer Martin were all on it. The method succeeded far taining unemployment insurance, the nobody knows. workers. At the Dodge meeting, to-work sentiment thru radio was forced down and Chrysler shut but did not officially call the strike even the R. J. Thomas, still out of breath from his dash from the West Coast and not quite clear as to what was going on, proceeded to "authorize" what had been declared to be

a "lockout" by Frankensteen (Continued on page 3)



# Russia Hits at Rumania; **Attack on Finland Bogs**

## DOOMED BY THE PROFIT SYSTEM



-from New York Daily News

# Collapse of Ohio Relief calendar, urging them to be in Washington on January 8 and on System Due to Politics

People Starve As State Refuses Any Aid

After a conference between Mayor the malnutrition cases. Burton of Cleveland and Governor Bricker of Ohio held here last week, the State Board of Tax Appeals gave the city of Cleveland permission to issue \$1,200,000 of bonds against delinquent taxes in order to finance relief for the rest of this year and part of next.

(Special to the Workers Age) Cleveland, Ohio.

THE whole country is shocked at L the virtual breakdown of unom- further. Yet the very rock-bottom ployment relief in this city and the wide distress it has caused. What is least \$30,000,000. As soon as federal not so well known is that this situation is not new nor is it limited to sharply; families who had been re-Cleveland; it is rampant in Toledo, Dayton, Youngstown, Lima, Columbus and other large cities of the state. In fact, it would not be too much to say that the whole chate of Ohio finds itself in the grip of a crisis that is a most startling illustration of the paradox of want, stark, staring want, in the midst of plenty. For Ohio, you must understand is a "rich" state, rich in business profits, rich in per-capita

In Cleveland, 16,000 jobless men and women, consisting of the single in a vise from which they could not people and of couples without any dependents on the lists, have been the street when they were asked to thrown off relief altogether and left vote on the strike. To return to to starve. The 24,000 remaining on work would be to desert those who the rolls are now on "emergency rathe previous very meager standards. Hoping to get around legal ob- And even that will last only until the new year; what will happen the

The newspapers are full of pitiful authorities can or will do nothing. stations and social-welfare agencies tempted suicides are multiplying and panic is spreading everywhere. It is all too reminiscent of the hunger-march days nine or ten years

Some officials say that conditions n Toledo are even worse than here. Foledo has shut its poverty-stricken schools. In Dayton, the crisis came monopoly and of a 4-cent gasoline generous and better planned dissooner and the shortage of relief has tax. But there's no money for relief! tribution of surplus commodities. But

Columbus, Ohio. I now beginning to feel the brunt of

The present collapse of relief in this state is manifest for all to see But the trouble is not essentially economic; it is political. Before 1935, federal spending for

relief in Ohio amounted to \$80. 000,000 a year. In that year, Washngton turned relief over to the states. Thereupon, the State Legislature, dominated by rural and business interests, cut the figure to \$15,000,000 and later reduced it still minimum need of the state is at aid stopped, relief benefits dropped Italy. The Communist International ceiving \$35 a month from the U.S.A. Rome. Thereupon the German Fornow got as little as \$9, \$10 or \$12 from the state.

The relief bills passed at Colum-

bus with the support of the utility and business lobbies have always been inadequate and the distribution has been outrageously unfair based not on need but on political geography. To rural Monroe County, Republican, which never had much of a relief problem, the state gave \$44.43 per month per relief case; the county paid out only \$21.17 per case, actually making \$23,26 profit on each! But urban Cuyahoga County (Cleveland), Democratic, with the highest living costs in the state, got \$5.99 per case per month, spent \$24.40 per case, and so had a deficit tions," which means that food al- of \$18.41. In 1936, 30 counties in lowances will be cut to two-thirds of the state ended the year with a surplus from unnecessary relief money.

ty \$1,250,000. That's how the State Legislature for President. tales of the distress of the scores of distributes the funds. At the same thousands who are in dire need in time, the state government has made this city and for whom the public it virtually impossible for cities to raise the necessary relief funds even Desperate crowds mass before relief by taxing themselves. Thus, relief taxing power could solve the crisis lature is in the hands of the utility demanding something to eat. At- in Cleveland, at least for the time and business lobbies and the being, but the Legislature and busi-

while Lucas County (Toledo) had a

deficit of \$300,000, Cuyahoga Coun-

hands of the cities, denying them | politics with human misery! the right to levy relief taxes, but it of a savage sales tax, 3% on every-

# Italy Opposes USSR Thrust In Balkans

The the invasion of Finland was only a few days old and Russian roops had made but little headway, the Soviet government, thru the agency of the Communist International, indicated last week the direction in which it was planning another aggressive thrust in the near future. In a special article in the official publication of the C.I., Rumania was warned to accept a "mutual-assistance" pact with Russia similar to those recently forced upon Esthonia, Latvia and Lithuania, which converted these Baltic countries into Russian puppet states. The article denounced economic, social and political conditions in Rumania, with special stress on Bessarabia, the return of which to Russia is apparently going to be Moscow's enterng wedge in the Balkans. The article hinted broadly that Russia might be 'compelled" to go to the aid of the oppressed peoples of Rumania. Another article in the same issue of the C.I.'s paper directed virulent criticism at Turkey for its shift to the side of the Allies.

The next day the Russian Foreign Office issued a statement disavowing the article, declaring that it "did not represent the views" of the Soviet government. Within a few hours, Moscow made another announcement which put quite a different face to the disavowal of the article against Rumania. An official bulletin in the press stated that a special military district had been created along the Rumanian frontier, ranking with that of the Leningrad area which is directing the invasion of Finland. This district was fixed in the Odessa region, facing Bessarabia. The establishment of the new military district far outweighing the formal diplomatic "disavowal" of the Moscow Foreign Office.

The unprecedented action of the Soviet Foreign Office in "disavowing" what was undoubtedly an officially-inspired threat against Rumania was attributed in informed quarters to German pressure on Moscow to "appease" Italy. The Fascist Grand Council met in Rome towards the middle of the week and issued a statement reaffirming the Berlin-Rome Axis 'in all its strength and warned Russia, tho not by name, that anything that might occur in the Danube Basin or the Balkans was of direct vital interest to article came as a direct challenge to eign Office exerted pressure on Moscow to make a gesture of "appeasement" to Italy, and the official "disavowal" was the result. But any one acquainted with how these things are done by totalitarian states such as Russia and Germany, could see that the drive against Rumania was definitely initiated, despite all attempts at "disavowal," and that further moves would soon be forthcoming, depending largely on the diplomatic situation and on military developments in Finland. Indeed, there (Continued on Page 2)

by Governor John W. Bricker, a Republican reactionary, who has a \$6,000,000 surplus available right now but won't use it, and who even refuses to call a special session of the Legislature to deal with the crisis. They say that he wants to end the year with a surplus and thus become an "economy" candidate

So there you are! Schools are closed, scores of thousands of people are starving, the whole system thruout the state has collapsed—because the State Legisernor is out to establish an "econess interests simply won't allow it. nomy" record to improve his poli-Not only has the state tied the tical chances. Talk about playing

There is a rumor that the federal also collects and keeps the proceeds government may step in and give some assistance thru increasing the thing, the proceeds of a liquor number of W.P.A. jobs and a more lasted longer. Dayton hospitals are | The state government is headed so far, very little has happened.

## FRIDAY NIGHT

**December 15, 1939** 8:15 P. M.

WILL HERBERG speaks on: "The New Stalin Imperialism"



RIVERA HALL 131 West 33rd St.

25 Cents

sists in the interlocking director-

ship of one Archie Wright, president

of the Dairy Farmers Union and a

Stalinist. From piess and other re-

ports, Archie Wright appears to

have originated as a dairy farmer in

the C.I.O.'s National Maritime

the affairs of Local Union 30, Indus-

trial Insurance Agents Union, where

attempts were being made to divide

his office has given to crush anti-

labor unity.

THE CONVENTION

## Teacher Union Clique It Makes A Difference... In "Anti-Red" Trick

## Assails "Fascism, Socialism, Communism"

By D. BENJAMIN

New York City. THE December 1 Delegate Assembly meeting of the New York Teachers Union Local 5 showed that the union was in a deep crisis. For that situation, the Stalinistcontrolled administration bears complete and direct responsibility.

According to the minutes of the November 2 Executive Board meeting, 282 members were dropped for than the number of new members numerous letters of resignation were sent in as a protest against the political tie-up of the union as manifested in its failure to condemn the Stalin-Hitler pact. The fact is that the New York Teachers Union has reached a point where it has stopped growing, tho only one-sixth of the teachers of the city have thus far been organized.

## ISSUE OF

DIES COMMITTEE

The question of an attack from the Dies Committee came up for consideration. The administration, after pointing out the anti-labor and antiliberal attitude of that committee, contended that the union was under for the discontinuation of the Dies Committee, in contrast to its attitude at the last American Federation of Teachers convention, where it merely criticized the Dies Committee and called upon it to shift the emphasis of its investigation towards organizations such as the German-American Bund.

The spokesman of the Independent Group stated unequivocally that the union must oppose in principle any interference on the part of the gov- tral Trades and Labor Council. ernment, or of any of its agencies such as the Dies Committee, in the affairs or functioning of the tradeunion movement. Whatever problems faced the union, he said, had to be solved by the membership itself. After emphasizing the right of all teachers, irrespective of political opinion or affiliation, to be members of the union, he showed that the administration bore a definite responsibility for the situation in which the union found itself. Thru the practise of affiliation with the Communist Party "front" organizations, thru failure to condemn the Stalin-Hitler alliance, by endorsing Quill in opposition to the A.L.P. with which the union is affiliated, the administration had put the union in a position where it was very vulnerable to

To cap the climax, the Indepenabout a condition making effective you say? Then why not be definite ership, suspension from the Central with the American Labor Party, and isolation from the bona-fide Nazi, fascist, militarist or Stalinist! to put a stop to the policies and teacher organizations of the city, took place. The substitute resolution, expressing the position of the Independent Group, called for the abolition of the Dies Committee and the denial of further appropriations to to save your own skins. You are it, but also for a fundamental ready to damage worthwhile causes change in the policies and methods of work of the union so as to ward off such attacks in the future.

The administration resolution carried. A good-sized vote, however, was cast for the Independent resolu-

### CHICKENS COME HOME TO ROOST

No sooner was this question dis-

the Independent Group's criticism It did this when it introduced for adoption and publication a "statement of Teachers Union Policy" in order to counteract the notions that had gained currency among the teachers of the city and to be in a position to say that the union was not politically controlled. In other words, the chickens-its policies, actions and methods of work during the past few years-were coming home to roost. Of course, the Indenon-payment of dues. This is greater pendent Group had been maligned and abused precisely for issuing a taken in the same period In addition word of warning in time, but what did that matter?

In the preamble to the statement the administration tried to evade its responsibility by saying "There is a great deal of conscious misrepresentation of the purposes and activities of the trade unions, including the Teachers Union." No, the only conscious misrepresentation in this case is being carried on by you, the administration of the Teachers Union! You deliberately misrepresent when you say there is misrepresentation. Your own actions and me thods of work speak louder than words; they have brought about an attitude of mistrust and hostilits towards the union on the part of the teachers. And why inject other attack for its anti-war stand, just trade unions into the discussion? as it had been in the days of Lin- Are you trying to hide the faults of ville back in 1918-1921—a trans- your administration by pretending parently false explanation are the lit's a situation common to all investigation was begun when the unions? The same problems may administration was rampantly pro- confront other unions, but they are war. The administration then called the unions under Stalinist control. That should be stated.

Point 2 of the statement declares. The Teachers Union is affiliated with organized labor because it recognizes in this group in our society the staunchest support for our free democratic schools." Yes, that is true, but isn't it too bad that this principle has been vitiated in action because of your misleadership? I refer, of course, to the suspension of the union from the New York Cen-

Point 3 states. "The Teachers Union believes in and supports the democratic form of government. . . . " But how can you support the democratic form when in practise you deny democracy in the union you control? And don't you think that in the "present period of social stress" with totalitarian trends on the upgrade, with Dies Committee investigations, with war hysteria and spy hunts, it is necessary to emphasize the need for extending and strengthening the democratic rights of the people?

### A RECORD LOW OF UNPRINCIPLEDNESS

Point 4 goes on: "The Teachers forms of government whether they be Nazi, communist, socialist or dent Group spokesman pointed out, fascist." You, leaders of the administhe administration had brought tration, do you really mean what defense very difficult. Under its lead- and specific and to the point? Why not speak out in a way in which all Trades and Labor Council, conflict teachers could understand? Condemn totalitarianism-whether it be Why bring in "socialist forms" as if actions that are causing havoc to socialism were incompatible with the growth and welfare of the union, democracy, which it most em- so of what use are all your statephatically is not? You are ready to ments? have everything condemned in order and ideas for the sake of spreading confusion as to the real sources of the trouble with which our union is

confronted. Point 4? Then why not condemn of the United States?" Were you the Stalin-Hitler pact and all that afraid that the teachers would conhas followed from it-the partition of Poland, the invasion of Finland? Then the teachers might believe you. Your actions belie your words, so of posed of when the administration what avail are your declarations? had to recognize the soundness of You know that you are not prepared

## Russia Thrusts at Rumania; Attack on Finns Bogs Down

(Continued from page 1) were indications that an attack on Rumania had been one of the point agreed upon in the Ribbentrop-Stalin

conversations in Moscow. Nevertheless, Russian irritation at German pressure in this and perhaps countries, under the inspiration of other cases was manifest in Moscow in a report, issued in question form, indicated that it would condemn Rusby Tass, the official news agency, via sia as an aggressor and urge all London via Stockholm, that Germany was shipping arms to Finland and was aiding Italy to do the same. This slight rift was not expected to have any serious consequences. The report was also made to serve as a partial explanation for the unexpectedly effective resistance of the Finns and the disappointingly meager results of the Russian invasion to-date.

For Stalin was having by no means easy sailing in Finland. The Russian armies had to fight desperately for every inch of ground along the four routes of invasion and very little headway was made during the week. Moscow attempted to supplement military operations by establishing a naval blockade of Finland but, since it persistently denied being | determination to safeguard its mariat war with that country, its notice of blockade received no recognition abroad. Informed military circles were of the opinion that the Russian | challenged Britain's move against campaign against Finland would be German exports and asked London both arduous and costly, following to refrain from applying it to Amerrather the pattern of a bear-hug ican ships and goods. Russia and than a Blitzkrieg. But, in the long | Japan also protested and threatened run, it would succeed unless other reprisals.

factors intervened. The only reasons it could fail would be a diversion on some other front or an economic or political breakdown at home.

In Geneva, as the result of a move initiated by the Latin American Washington, the League of Nations exists. One amendment, proclaiming League members to take what steps they could under the circumstances. Russia had already given notice that should any adverse action be taken, it would leave the League.

As for the larger war between Germany and the Anglo-French allies, of which the Russian assault on Finland has now become a part, there was very little doing last week, the fourteenth week of the war. Operations on the western front were at a standstill. The naval war continued with vigor on both sides. The British blockade of German exports met with some resistance from neutral governments. The Fascist Grand Council at its special meeting made a strong declaration of Italy's time traffic "in the most explicit manner" in the face of the Allied blockade. Secretary Hull in a note

TN his well-known work, "The Folklore of Capitalism," published in ■ 1937, Thurman Arnold quotes with approval Robert H. Jackson's protest against the perversion of the anti-trust laws into instruments against labor, for which presumably they were never intended:

"They [the anti-trust laws] were not only ignored; they were perverted. In 1908, the [Supreme] Court discovered that labor unions were monopolies in restraint of trade if they attempted to boycott the goods of any firm that was engaged in interstate commerce."

Today, this very same Thurman Arnold, now Assistant Attorney-General in charge of the Anti-Trust Division, has proclaimed his intention of using the anti-trust laws against labor unions in order to outlaw practises he does not approve of.

What a difference two years and elevation to office make!

# N. Y. C.I.O. Convention **Shows Deep Inner Crisis**

## Only Drastic Steps Can Avert Disaster

(We publish below a factual report on the recent convention of the CIO's New York State Industrial Council, prepared by one who is in close contact with the situation and thoroly acquainted with the forces, elements and personalities in the New York C.IO. We feel that the searchlight thus turned on he unhealthy situation in the CIO., in this state and nationally, should be of assistance to those who are striving to bring about a sounder and more wholesome condition in the labor movement.—Editor.)

### By DONALD

New York City. THE New York State C.I.O. convention was held Nov. 17 and not affiliated to the C.I.O., and 18. Its significance goes beyond that whose relationship to the C.I.O. conof the ordinary run of state conventions. The status of such an organızatıon is of especial importance when one realizes that by any method of calculation, whether on " basis of real or fictitious figures, it constitutes 25% of the national CI.O. The official claim of the con- Union. Allan Haywood denies Archie vention published in the press is Wright's connection with the N.M.U., 900,000 members in New York State, but on the other hand, he does not which is one quarter of the claimed state that he was ever a daily figure nationally. However, if we examine Allan S. Haywood's statement on the National Labor Rela tions Act, prepared in July 1939 and handed to all delegates, we see that | "in the internal affairs of the U.A. he says in his first sentence "I | W.A., a maximum degree of unity speak as the representative of 700,- prevails." Another section of the re-000 members of trade unions in the state of New York." Presumably, the membership of the State Industrial Union Council jumped by a mere 200,000 from July to Novem-

There were no figures on dues payments or real membership pre- of our cooperation, an understanding sented to the convention, no financial based upon sound trade-union prinreports of any kind. If we judge by ciples was reached, and the organrepresentation, there were 500 dele- ization permitted to go on with its gates, on the basis of one to 250 members present at the convention. Haywood describes the assistance This represents only 125,000, but this figure is too low. According to my Stalinist revolts in various unions. estimate of real membership, I judge that there are 300,000 real duespaying members in the New York State CI.O., of whom one third are as were many in the past, was writin the Amalgamated Clothing ten by Cooper, a Stalinist -Workers. Even on this basis, the of Haywood's real membership in the state is still about 25% of the real membership | SPEAKERS AT

### PRESIDENT HAYWOOD'S REPORT

of the C.I.O. nationally.

President Haywood's annual reunique document. It shows no it in the New York State C I.O. con-

Don't you think that the amendment submitted by the Independent Group to Points 3 and 4 was sound, positive and pertinent: "That the Teachers Union is opposed to totalitarianism of all kinds and stands for the strengthening and extension Are you really honest on this of democratic rights of the people sider that as applying to Stalinism as well as to Nazism and fascism, as indeed it would?

### HOW THE UNION CAN BE SAVED

One thing must be clear. The adoption of ten such resolutions as you have put thru will not do much good to the union, unless the policies and methods of the union are fundamentally changed. A broad, representative union will be achieved only when the membership sees thru the nature of your control and restores the union to a sound condition.

The fact that so many union members took the floor with one amendment after another is a sign of the great dissatisfaction that opposition to any "dictatorial form of government, whether Nazi, communist, fascist or socialist," almost passed in spite of administration resistance. Many supporters of the administration indicated their disgust by wanting Point 4 thrown out altogether. To them undoubtedly it smacked of dishonesty and lack of

On the basis of the administration action, the New York Sun of December 4 ran the following headline: 'Anti-Red Plank Voted by Union.' What would you, leaders of the union, have said if some other administration, for example, the former Linville-Lefkowitz administration, had acted in that manner when it was in control? Would you not have denounced it as "Red-baiters"? Can you name another union leadership in the country that has sunk to such a low point of unprincipledness?

Slowly but definitely, the membership of the union are beginning to see thru your type of leadership and your methods. When that process is completed, the union will again be in a position to grow and effectively defend the interests of the teachers.

### opposition slate, endorsed by the Association of Catholic Trade Unionists and progressive elements. more than a third of the total vote cast altho this was the first time that any opposition ticket had ever been put up in that local. Local 100, made up of the city's subway employees, has been under the control of the Stalinist-dominated Quill-

Hogan administration. The results of the elections are regarded as very promising for the opposition which made a strong campaign against the Hogan administration's tie-up with the Communist Party and its general incompetence as a union leadership.

Vote Reveals

**To Quill Rule** 

ELECTIONS in Local 100 of the Transport Workers Union

(C.I.O.), held last week, gave the

New York City.

**Opposition** 

who saw a campaign on foot in the CIO. against the Stalinists.

Elmer Brown, president of Typographical Union Local 6, also received an ovation Brown praised the great leadership of John L. Lewis, violently attacked the A. F. of L., the British Empire and the Dies growth of the state C.I.O. since the Committee, and "warned" against last convention a year ago. The main Roosevelt switching to the Torror section deals with the activities of in fact, the entire Stalinist line. the Dairy Farmers Union, which is

Ovations were also given to Archie Wright and Len De Caux. No speaker of the American Labor Party was invited or was pre sent.

No non-Stalinist speaker ceived anything better than lukewarm toleration, usually with a frigid chill.

The only pro-labor unity speeches were made by visiting political figures, such as LaGuardia, Wagner Lehman and Mead.

### The second section of the report RESOLUTIONS deals with the United Automobile OF THE CONVENTION

Workers of America and states that With one exception, that dealing with a third term for Roosevelt, the resolutions could have been adopted by any Stalinist convention of today. port boasts of "assistance granted to No resolution attacking fascism the United Office and Professional was presented, in shaip contrast to Workers of America, particularly in one year ago, when fascism was the major menace facing the workers of this country.

A resolution was adopted attackand destroy the union. As a result ng the main bugaboo of today, the Dies Committee, which has replaced fascism as "Workers Enemy No. 1." A resolution was adopted in support of Harry Bridges. constructive work." It is thus that

On labor unity, the resolution simply expressed confidence in the position of Lewis, Murray and Hill-

The report avoids the question of On the war question, in order to avoid conflict between the Hillman From all indications, this report, forces, who are opposed to the Hit-

for word. The main conflict in the convention occurred on the Amalgamated If there was any intention of resolution endorsing Roosevelt for a John L. Lewis to break with the third term. This resolution was un-Stalinists, as implied in his speeches animously submitted by the resolutions committee; apparently, a deal at the San Francisco convention of port submitted to all delegates is a the C.I.O., there was no evidence of had been made. Only two weeks previously, the New York Joint Board of the Amalgamated Clothing Work-The biggest ovation in the coners had adopted a resolution convention was given to Michael Quill, demning the Hitler-Stalin pact. They whose speeches consisted in attacks refrained from introducing this resoon the American Labor Party, as a lution or bringing this matter on the 'union-busting outfit," in a presenta- floor of the convention. In return, tion of Stalin's position on the war the Stalinists, who are opposed to question, and in attacks on David Roosevelt, agreed to vote for the Dubinsky. The next big ovation was Amalgamated resolution for a third to be for "collective security" on one given to John Brophy, who warned term. A debate then took place on day and for keeping America out of against "witch-hunting" and "Red- the floor of the convention, Stalinist | w'r on the next. baiting" and attacked liberal writers speakers such as Quill, Potash, San-

# Labor and the Law

by Joseph Elwood =

WATCH THE JUSTICE DEPARTMENT!

THE recent statement of Thurman Arnold, Assistant Attorney-General of the United States, regarding the types of "restraint" on interstate commerce by unions which the Justice Department considers unlawful brings to the fore a controversy which is half a century old.

Mr. Arnold's statement related specifically to a drive against "monopolistic practises" in the building industry.

The larger aspects of the controversy go back to 1890, when the Sherman Anti-Trust Act was passed. The question is whether that of Justice claims that it does not inof 1914 exempts labor unions striking for lawful purposes thru lawful means. This act shifted the discussion to the limits of lawful means and lawful ends of labor unions.

the years, taken the position that bor must now renew its battle of the Sherman Act was never intended to apply to unions, in support of unions from the effect of the antiwhich position they appeal to the trust laws. egislative history of the act.

The result is that while the Department of Justice, under the labor unions appeal to the more anti-trust acts were never intended to apply to them.

The current anti-trust drive, as measured by its effects and by the the CI.O. were as prompt and as precedents which may arise in the vigorous in challenging the latest course of decisions handed down strikes at the heart of the labor

Cities in which grand-jury investigations of so-called labor "re-straint-of-trade" practises have been under way for quite some time include San Francisco, Cleveland, Los Angeles, Seattle, Detroit and Washington. Indictments have already been handed down in Washington, St. Louis, Pittsburgh and Cleveland Two of these indictments are based on jurisdictional disputes.

These indictments, brought about by the Department of Justice, called forth the following appropriate statement from Joseph A. Padway general counsel of the A. F. of L.

"It is the most reactionary, vicious, outrageous attempt in the last dozen years on the part of any department of the government to bring abor unions under the provisions of the anti-trust laws. Labor stands aghast and horrified at this bold at-

establishing the philosophy of those decisions in the United States Supreme Court so vigorously condemned in the dissenting opinions of Justices Holmes, Branders, Clark and Stone.

"On the one hand, the Department

ler-Stalin pact, and the Stalinists, tos of the Transport Workers who favor the Nazi-Soviet block, the speakers from the National Mari-San Francisco C.IO. resolution on time Union and the Shipbuilders pendent manufacturers and provarned that Roosevelt wa towards war, that he was deserting to the Tories and that a lot of things could happen between now and 1940. Hollander, Hershkovitz and Hardman defended Roosevelt as the greatest President since Lincoln, said that Roosevelt would make a better President than a lot of tradeunion leaders they know, but in a defensive manner denied that they were giving Roosevelt a blank check Hollander was the only one in the entire convention to take a dig at the Stalinists, reminding the delegates that he was not like those who take orders from an outside agency

(Concluded in next issue)

# **NEW YEAR'S EVE** Dance and

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act applies to labor unions and, if tend to deprive labor unions of the so, to what extent. The Clayton Act right to exercise their legitimate functions; and on the other hand, it proceeds to indict them for exercising such functions.

These indictments will have the effect of undemining organized la-Labor spokesmen have, thruout bor by indirect means. Organized latwenty-five years ago to exempt

"Organized labor hardly dreamed, in view of the public policy declared in the Norris-LaGuardia Act and 'liberal" supervision of Frank Mur- the National Labor Relations Act, phy, directs its arguments to the that any department of government, lawful objects" of labor unions, the conservative or claiming to be otherwise, would stoop to this pernicious fundamental consideration that the policy of throttling organized labor," Mr. Padway continued.

There is nothing left for us to add to this statement. We only wish that big-stick" drive of the Roosevelt Administration!

Watch the Justice Department!

## Knitgoods **Union Fights** Home-Work

Brooklyn, N. Y. well-attended meeting of shop A chairmen last week cheered the report of Louis Nelson, manager of the Knitgoods Workers Union, Local 155, I.L.G.W.U., on the successful campaign of the union to obtain justice for the thousands of homeworkers in the knitted-outerwear industry. The union's charges that manufacturers were taking advantempt. If the government succeeds tage of the poverty of home-workers in this case, it succeeds only in to force them to accept wages of less than eight cents an hour man corroborated by the Wage and Hour Administration and the federal court, which awarded \$250,000 in back-pay to home-workers. The employers had resorted to the subterfuge that the home-workers, starved into accepting anything that was offered, were not workers but "inde-

> The entire family of the homeworker, including children of school age, were forced to work on the garments. Louis Nelson told the shop chairmen that the union would vigorously press its organization drive and its campaign to improve the conditions of all workers, including home-workers in the knitgoods industry.

> One of the companies found guilty by the federal court, the May Knitting Company of New York City, is being struck by the union, along with two manufacturers pro-ducing for it. The company, which has so scandalously underpaid homeworkers, is also underpaying its

The shop chairmen's meeting also addressed by M. Epstein, former editor of the Freiheit, a Jewish communist daily, who had resigned from the Communist Party in protest against the Nazi-Soviet pact. Mr. Epstein scored the duplicity of the communist movement in agitating for years for a "democratic" war against Hitler and then concluding a pact with Hitler. He pointed out that this pact was concluded without consulting the Russian people or the communist movement. The decision to cooperate with Hitler was a measure of the moral decay of presentday communism, he said.

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# FDR Maps Plans for **Session of Congress**

Heavy Arms Spending but Cuts in Relief

By ARTHUR GREEN

day since the special session ad- is an election year. chief subject of discussion.

conservative Democrats backing him and does not seem much concerned of the Democratic chiefs, listened at the loss of liberal support that to sympathetically in the White this has entailed. At any rate, he House is: seems determined to maintain good relations with the Garner wing; Here there will be no risk coming that is apparently the reason for from the people that "count" even if the continuous consultations.

budget. Everybody around Roosevelt, the war-minded New Dealers as well as the equally war-minded ment health program and the extenconservative Democrats, are fully sion of federal housing activities. agreed that armament spending must | Both of these major plans will very be increased, some say to beat the likely be put on the shelf in the depression and maintain the boom, name of "economy." others to be prepared for another crusade for "democracy." The Pres-sible, even another slash. The exident has already indicated that the cuse will be that "better times" will arms budget will be boosted at least | bring an increase in employment and | crease in employment. Official figures | words, the rich will pay less and the half a billion next year, reaching thus permit a cut in W.P A. funds. \$2,225,000,000. In well-informed Of course, this is a piece of fakery. the excuse will do. quarters, this is regarded as too low Even school children these days an estimate; a 1941 arms budget of know that an improvement in the taxes, with possible broadening of reign! three billions is spoken of as a practical certainty.

Where will all this money come from? There is no definite agreement as yet. The tendency is to rely on further borrowing, but there is a strong sentiment, especially among Mr. Roosevelt's conservative allies to increase revenues by raising the income tax on the lower brackets, as Representative Vinson recently sug-

What will a three-billion dollar arms budget mean for other expenditures? Everybody in and around the White House agrees that it will mean a ruthless slash of appropriations for relief, housing and everything else that is socially useful. The remarks made by Senator Jimmy Byrnes, a key man in Congress, are particularly significant, for what Senator Jimmy Byrnes says generally goes on such matters. Here is how one Washington dispatch (New York Times, November 6) reports

legislative strategists, said he Imported as slaves, treated indivithought there would be a popular dually as chattels and collectively demand for a reduction in all expenditures except those for defense. . . . | Most legislators believe that any new family associations even with major cuts in spending will have to their own race or to maintain those be made on such items as relief and achieved despite their servitude.

farm subsidies." It is therefore no wonder that the principal advice of practically every Congressional leader Mr. Roosevelt has consulted—he has not consulted the "wrong" ones—is to cut the bud-

(Continued from page 1)

under way, the union promptly drop-

and joint control of production. Ne-

gotiations were marked by much

bitterness and often were near the

six weeks of negotiations that a set-

tlement was near. Then the C.I.O.

made a serious blunder by permit-

ting the Foremen's Union in one of

the Chrysler plants to inject a de-

mand for bargaining rights. While

nominally an autonomous C.I.O. or-

ganization, the Foremen's Union

was an illegitimate child of the

which had been that of a faction

weapon in the hands of the U.A.W .-

C.I.O. against U.A.W.-A.F.L. mem-

this blunder to the Chrysler produc-

bers in various plants. The cost of

tional week's work caused by the

few days later in Dodge. To work-

ers who were pawning their furni-

ture to get food and sending their

children out as shoeblacks instead of

to school, news of the calling of the

of immediate settlement. Altho the

strike in Dodge was called to block

back-to-work movements, such action

at that time could only have the ef-

fect of stimulating back-to-work

Finally, Lewis and the C.I.O., who

had so far not even issued a state-

ment in support of the strike, were

prevailed upon to send in Murray to

settle it. Once more, the leadership

of the U.A.W.-C.I.O. demonstrated

their inability to stand on their own

feet and solve their own problems.

The agreement contains a clause

which outlaws use of the slow-down,

sit-down and other such methods by

the union. The clause in the previous

contract which bars strikes during

the life of the contract has been eli-

minated and strikes are permitted after all the steps in the grievance

Rumors began to get around after

breaking point.

Chrysler.

sentiment.

Work After Long Strike

After negotiations had gotten another clause has been added which

ped its demands for a union shop or stoppage by the union called be-

U.A.W.-C.I.O., the chief function of "reactionary" and other choice

delay in settling the issue with G.L.K. Smith, Frank Norris, the

As a follow-up to the foremen the demoralization of thousands of

epithets.

| get (except for the army and navy) and to lay off "experiments," that Washington, D. C. 18, progressive social legislation THE Administration is already The "country," they say, is "tired L busy at work preparing for the of experiments." Furthermore, they next session of Congress in January stress, unless Roosevelt can show -with an eye to the 1940 elections, some substantial "economies." the of course. Democratic leaders have Republicans are likely to make this been calling on the President every issue their stock in trade—and 1940

journed and the issues coming up at | It looks very much as if the Garthe regular session have been the ner-Woodrum "economy" philosophy has moved into the •White Roosevelt is very much pleased House. Of course, it's an election with the party unity that was estab- year and it isn't good politics to lished in the fight to break down the close the money bags suddenly bearms embargo. He is said to regard fore election day. But the President it as a necessary first step to "na- and his advisers seem to be counttional unity" in support of the Ad- ing a whole lot on the arms boom ministration. He relishes having and "national unity" (war hysteria) As things stand now, the advice

1. Go heavy on "national defense."

an over-all appropriation of three Of course, the big question is the billion dollars is voted.

2. No "innovations." That goes especially for the pending govern-

3. No increase in "relief." If pos-

British See Goering As "Angel of Peace"

(These paragraphs are from Drew Pearson and Robert S Allen's "Washngton Merry-Go-Round" column of November 30, 1939 -- Editor)

OWERFUL influences in the British government are working right now for the end of the war thru some internal Nazi explosion which would get rid of Hitler.

And the man they place confidence in is Field Marshall Her- the debate on India in the House of feudal rule. mann Goering, head of the air force, economic boss of Germany, and No. Lords on November 2: 2 Nazi. Goering had a lot of contacts with the British before war broke.

Sir Nevile Henderson, British Ambassador, used to go boar-hunting Gandhi would not alarm the British at Goering's country estate. British bankers were in contact with Goering government, as Mr. Gandhi had exregarding the billion-pound loan proposal to rehabilitate Germany. And plained to him and others that he Sir Horace Wilson, right hand of Prime Minister Chamberlain, took did not necessarily mean separation several trips to Berlin to talk with Goering,

So the British are figuring that if Goering were running Germany, the Indian people should have the they could work out a peace which would stick. The Field Marshall, they know, has the confidence of his army. He is an aristocrat, a professional soldier, had a great record as an aviator during the World War; and the army, not keen about many of the Nazis around Hitler, would welcome Goering as chief.

The British know that any peace in Germany must take into consideration the German army, for it can be, and some diplomats believe already is, more powerful than Hitler.

Weighing all factors, the British Cabinet clique would negotiate a peace with Goering which would give Germany most of what she wants. She could keep the Polish Corridor and Danzig. Poland would be recreated only as a very small state on the order of Luxemburg. The British would even aid Germany with colonies and loans. Such a peace, British to say: Tories believe, would be far better than German communism, which might spread to Britain.

But-this would take place only if Hitler were out of the way and Goering, a man they can trust, in power. So Goering-unless he is bumped off by his rivals around Hitler—is the man to watch in Germany status as the self-governing domin-

economic situation today does not income-tax base under cover of a necessarily mean any substantial in- "national-defense" tax. In other show that as plainly as possible. But

poor will pay more. 4. Downward revision of business

That's what the New Deal has come to in the eighth year of its

THE NEGRO FAMILY IN THE UNITED STATES, by E. Franklin Frazier. University of Chicago Press, Chicago, Ill., 1939.

Books

=by Jim Cork ==

FASCINATING and compelling material concerning the evolution of the Negro family is presented here in such a way as to challenge many concepts and dogmas concerning the role of the Negroes in American life It challenges with equal force traditional theories about family relations and the role

of the family in society. Professor Frazier presents a moving story of the kidnapping of Negroes in Africa for the slave trade with its resulting disruption of fam-"Senator Byrnes of South Caro- ily and cultural life and the manone of the Administration's acled transportation to this world. as members of an inferior race, they were deprived of freedom to create Traders and slave-owners are reported to have found it easier to deal with slaves if they were separated from their kinsmen.

The destruction of tribal and fam-(Continued on page 4)

procedure have been exhausted, but

specifies that any strike, slow-down

fore the bargaining procedure has

been complied with automatically

It is interesting to note that the

'responsibility" clauses above men-

tioned were accepted without a mur-

stooges in the UA.W.-C.IO., while

when the Martin administration was

forced to write the same kind of

clause into the GM. contract in

1937 the Stalinists and their "unity"

group friends pretended to be hor-

ror-stricken and screamed "sell-out",

Unfortunate aftermaths of the

strike are the "Committees for In-

K.K.K. and other anti-union forces:

fest itself as an opposition to all

unions; and a reaction among union

workers in other shops against strik-

terminates the agreement.

Members Attack C.P. Trickery on Pact

Group Continues Exposure of New "Line"

(Concluded from Last Issue)

the Second International in 1914. Consider the record of the last few FRANCE The Daily Worker of

Thorez, general secretary of the great French Communist Party, has presented himself for military service with the Army of France... Thorez suddenly disappears—without explanation! The line, we pre-French Communist Party supposed to think or supposed to do?

ENGLAND. The party's representative in the British Parliament, Gallagher, voted for the infamous Emergency Powers Bill, whereby dictatorial powers were granted to Chamberlain. After the war was de-Chrysler Men to Return to clared, the British Communist Party announced its determination to work more actively than ever to help win the war against fascist aggression" (Daily Worker, Septem-

> MEXICO: The Mexican Commuthe Polish war a "just war" and U. S. as well! called for aid to France and England (Daily Worker, September 12). POLAND: What position has the Polish Communist Party taken? None. The Polish Communist Party was officially dissolved some time ago, when the Soviet Union was atmur by the Stalinists and their tempting to win (fascist) Poland to its side Today, the so-called liberation of Poland occurs without even the existence of a Polish Communist

> > Party! As real revolutionists, we feel ashamed of the role of the Communist International in the first weeks of the present imperialist war!

In the back of the minds of many comrades who seek justification for the strange policies of the Soviet dustrial Cooperation" and other em- government, and the flip-flop of our ployer-sponsored outfits making a political position, is the feeling that tion workers was loss of an addi- bid to workers and their wives; the all this is necessary for the preservation of the Soviet Union. They increasing activity of Coughlin, reason: Since the Soviet Union was not able to secure satisfactory terms from England and France, it was blunder, Thomas called a strike a Chrysler workers tending to mani- forced to swing over to the other side and strike a bargain with Hit-

We are not opposed to the So-

of more durable material?

ing even where necessary because of fear that Chrysler may be a symbol strike dashed once more their hopes of a general employers offensive. The rank and file of the U.A.W. C.I.O. have been given a hard blow only a secondary importance. The Minister in this respect. from which they will be groggy for chief defense, the only real guarana long time. Whatever progressive tee of the preservation of the Soviet forces there are have the duty to work for ridding the union of the irresponsible adventurists now in the saddle and to bring all pressure possible in the direction of unity of the C.I.O. and the A. F. of L.

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|piogram of revolutionary Marxism VES, it certainly looks to us as and Leninism, and to make the if the Third International is Communist Party an effective inrepeating the shameful collapse of strument of the class struggle. If this is not done soon, our party will tion." unquestionably disintegrate under the double blows of capitalist repression and the loss of support of the genuine revolutionary wer' September 6 informs us. "Maurice this country.

Let us stop acting like hypocrites! We cannot honestly howl against the imperialist war in Europe (and it is now that Munich has led to war. an imperialist war), and still act as loved of the French people, offers winning the war. We must be for ity of France." And the Daily Work- | powers and all of the capitalists in er runs an editorial praising this this second imperialist war. We canchauvinistic action of Thorez! Now | not become,, and we will not be considered, a genuine anti-war party in America if at the same time we keep sume, has been changed again, over- whooping it up for Roosevelt, Amernight. What are the workers of the lica's War Monger No. 1, the genuine spokesman for American capitalism and American imperialism. The

Daily Worker writes a lot against English imperialism and French imperialism. How about U.S. im-Dollar Diplomacy of Uncle Sam? How about Nicaragua, and Cuba, and Panama, and the oil fight Mexico?

The great German socialist, Liebmecht, said: "The main enemy is in your own country!" Let the Communist Party of the U.S. start fighting capitalism and imperialism, not only nist Party issued a manifesto calling in England and France, but in the

(These paragraphs conclude an appeal issued recently by a group of CP members Our comment on this appeal was prefixed as an editorial note to the first instalment -Editor)

# Gandhi Nationalists, **Princes Back Empire**

M. N. Roy Declares for Stalin-Hitler Pact

By I. CORK

TN my last article on India, I

"He hoped that the use of the word independence by Mohandas K from the British Empire, but that right to determine their own future status. Many of us think that if they were allowed that right, they would unquestionably continue membership in the British Common-

Lord Samuel must have known whereof he was talking, for evidence s at hand corroborating the existence of such an attitude in influential Hindu quarters. In the correspondence columns of a recent issue of the Manchester Guardian, a certain Pitt Bonarjee has the following

"But freedom for India does not necessarily mean separation from the British Commonwealth. It means that India should be given the same ions of Canada, Australia, New Zealand and South Africa. I have no doubt that a declaration at once made that India will be given dominion status at the earliest suitable time will lead to an overwhelming vote to remain within the Commonwealth... Most thoughtful people in India recognize in the British Commonwealth the nucleus and model of a world federation. India would be loath to hurt by any act of hers a British brotherhood of free

Mr. Benarjee offers credentials thy informant,

"My cousin was the first president of the Indian National Congress. I is the creation of the weakness and came into personal contact with hypocrisy of British diplomacy. Even many of its original founders and during the Moscow negotiations, have kept in touch with the movement ever since I can write therefore with knowledge of the situa-

Such attitudes are no doubt widespread among the right-wing leadership of the Indian National Congress. They constitute an obstacle in the way of the movement for Indian independence and separation from the British Empire. It is quite conceivable that Britain might be forced by events to accede to domin-Thorez, the communist leader, be if we are tacitly in favor of Hitler on status for India, especially if the war lasts for a long time and India's the defeat of all of the capitalist rebellious mood gathers momentum cally, dominion status would probably mean less than for any other part of the Empire. For the Indian masses, it would be but a snare and

> INDIAN PRINCES BACK EMPIRE

The Indian princes are, of course, ining up solidly behind the Empire. One maharajah after another has experialism? What about the notorious | pressed his satisfaction at Viceroy Linlithgow's statement turning thumbs down on the Congress's demand for independence. Their exploitative rule of their feudal principalities depends upon Britain maintaining its hold over India. They are helping the Empire with men, money and even elephants. The Nizam of Hyderabad and Berar, one of the richest of the potentates, made a cash contribution of half a million dollars outright for air warfare, and in addition has offered the Viceroy about \$50,000 every month to help defray expenses for the Hyderabad forces employed in the war. Tho not as strong as in the rest of India, the movement for independence is

# Australian Labor and War

(Continued from page 1) celebrate the twenty-third anniversarv of the defeat of conscription for overseas service.

SOMERSAULT

With the outbreak of war, the joy of the Stalinists was unbounded. Here was the great opportunity for which they had agitated to deal a smashing blow at Hitlerism. Their papers outdid the most imperialistic journals and their speakers put the war orators in the shade in their colorful war propaganda. Alone among labor organizations and viet Union making temporary al- against the declared policy of labor, liances with capitalist powers. But both industrial and political, thru such alliances, whether made with Australia, the Communist Party ad-England, France or Germany, or vocated the dispatch of troops overany other capitalist power, have seas, even anticipating the Prime

The C.P. leaders seemed to lose their heads completely. One stated Union, the only real hope for so- at a trade-union conference at Sydcialism, is to extend the workers ney: "Britain should have declared revolution to the other capitalist war last September. We would have countries. If workers revolutions do been half-way to Berlin by now.' not occur in any other of the major J B. Miles, general secretary of the not a ship, not a gun for impossible countries, then the Soviet Union will C.P., sent a circular letter to all sooner or later be crushed by the daily papers declaring that his party the war," have been outstanding on capitalist powers regardless of any supported the dispatch of an expeditemporary alliances. How much tionary force to Europe and urged Park"). It speaks volumes "-- the value has the Franco-Soviet pact to- all party members and sympathizers day? It is gone with the snows of to enlist.

yesteryear. Does anyone imagine Then all of a sudden, the C.P. realthat the Hitler-Stalin pact is made ized, or was instructed, that Hitler and Stalin were acting in concert. "Why don't the Trotskyites be The job for us in the Communist Overnight, the policy was changed Party of the U.S. is to bring our from war at all costs to peace at their own? We discarded those years party back to the principles and any price. Hitler's "peace" offensive ago!"

portunity to effect a "lasting and durable peace"! Naturally, well-merited contempt and scorn have been poured upon the

was welcomed as a heaven-sent op-

C.P. by labor and trade-union leaders. Unfortunately, some of the right-wing labor leaders have complicated the complete exposure of the Stalinists by calling upon the government to suppress them for acting as the agents of a foreign power in alliance with a country at war with Australia It is to be hoped that the government will take no such action. If it does, the C.P. will gain a lot of sympathy and support that otherwise would not be forth-

TROTSKYITES FIGHT WAR

The small group of Trotskyites, calling themselves the Comm League, are carrying on, to the best of their ability, a courageous campaign against the war. Their banners, containing such slogans as "The enemy is at home," "Down with imperialist war," "Not a man, war," "Demand a referendum a the Sydney Domain (Sydney's "Hyde ideological level of C.P. members that one of them sneeringly commented on the banners in these words (this is true, not a joke): original and dig up some slogans of

active also in the principalities. The All-India State People's Conference recently issued a public manifesto quoted Lord Samuel's remarks in on the situation in these centers of survey by Dr. Gallup's American In-

> "The regimes in the Indian states are even more reactionary and more autocratic in many cases than is Nazi Germany. The British government even more than the rulers perpetuation of this reaction and

"The people of the Indian states were not consulted by the rulers when they made various declarations and commitments and the people are unable to accept these commitments.

"The war has been made the excuse for even greater repression in the states than hitherto and for stopping all moves towards any constitutional advance

M. N. ROY FOR STALIN PACT

M. N. Roy has come out in favor of the Nazi-Soviet pact. In the Aug- the Institute stressed. "In surveys ust 27 issue of his paper, Indepen-

dent India, he says: "The pact is a triumph for Soviet diplomacy over the anti-Comintern pact. The Nazis have been compelled to eat their words, their declared policy having been war to the death against Bolshevism. The Soviet pol cy of supporting the peace front succeeded in terrifying the Nazi war-mongers who now realize the danger of driving the capitalist denocracies into the arms of the Red

"On the other hand, Russia wants to force England to make a decision regarding the formation of the peace front. The Nazı policy of eastward aggression must stop, temporarily at least, if the pact materializes That price must be paid by the Nazis which seem to make him a trustwor- for extricating themselves from the danger of war against a formidable combination. The present situation there was a secret deal for huge financial support by London bankers of Nazi Germany. The latest Russian move is to force all parties to lay their cards on the table."

This statement of Roy's is a logcal culmination of his uncritical acceptance of everything Russia and the rest of the world; and (3) that Stalin have done in the past few years, including Russia's atrocities in Spain, the Moscow trials, etc. from immediate attack or from isters a loss on Roy's part of independent critical revolutionary thinkng, it would be easy but hardly necessary to point out how history has played false with his prophecies. The Stalin-Hitler pact did not stop the Nazı push eastward; it did not save peace And finally, Russia, too placed its cards on the table in the game of imperialist power-politics. It is interesting to examine Roy's statement from another angle. As ndicated in a previous article, Roy

nas been reported praising and supporting England in its "anti-fascist war against Germany. This I have

## Peace, Relief Main Issue in America Today

THE problems of keeping Amer-L ica out of war and giving jobs to the unemployed are the two issues which tower above all others in the public mind today, a nation-wide stitute of Public Opinion indicated last week.

Altho more than sixty specific problems were referred to, the lems of peace and increased employment together accounted for nearly themselves are responsible for the three-fourths of all opinions The ten problems receiving the greatest mention, with the percentage naming them, are as follows:

Keeping out of war Solving unemployment 24% Recovery for business Adjustment of labor problems 3% Threats to democratic insti-

Adequate relief 3% 2% Balancing the budget Farm aid 100 Old-age pensions 1% Spiritual needs 1% All others

"The American desire to keep out conducted on the same question in the past four years, we found a large group of voters naming it the No. 1 problem in United States life. But the question has become increasing urgent to the public since the actual outbreak of 'the second war.' In 1935, 'keeping out of war' was ranked as the third most vital issue: in 1937, it was second: and in May of this year, it was tied with 'unemployment' for first place'

Thirty-four percent of Americans asked by the Institute why the United States entered the last war replied that the country "was the victim of propaganda and selfish interests," the results of another Gallup survey showed.

To find out the prevailing public explanations of America's course in 1917, a nation-wide study was made of men and women in all sections of the country and in all walks of life. Voters in a representative crosssection were asked: "Why do you think we entered the last war?" No 'causes" were suggested.

Three principal types of answers were made to the questions: (1) that America was the victim of propaganda and selfish interests; (2) that the United States recognized a we entered the war primarily for our own national safety-either eventual dangers of Germany had

The percentages of replies under each of these categories were as follows:

America was the victim of propaganda and selfish interests America had a just and unselfish cause America entered the war for its own safety Other reasons No opinion or undecided 14%

another. It would require quite a not yet been able to verify from his "flexible" mind to make it possible own paper. But it seems quite ob- at one and the same time to praise vious that such an attitude on Eng- England for its war with Germany and's role in the war and such an and Russia for its alliance with and attitude on the Hitler-Stalin pact, assistance to the same Germany. both false from a revolutionary Perhaps additional facts will soon standpoint, hardly jibe with one enable us to clear up this mystery.

## Harlem Spanish Aid Group Rebels Against C.P. Rule

I for Spanish Refugees, a Com- chairman, and Pauli Murray, execumunist Party "front" organization tive secretary, of the Negro People's among the Negroes, was rocked to Committee. Mr. Granger, who held its depths last week by an internal his resignation in abeyance, said he explosion and now faces a very un- would resign definitely if the comcertain future—and all because of mittee failed to make itself clear on the Stalin-Hitler pact

Dissolution of this group, which includes some prominent Negro intellectuals, was threatened when members were told by a representative of the parent body that the broken up before it would be allowed to condemn the Russo-German alliance.

secretary of the Spanish Refugee Relief Committee, which controls the Harlem organization, issued the order to the Negro membership to lay off expressing any adverse opinion on what Stalin and Hitler are doing in Europe on the penalty | \$8 in contributions. It was clear that of being automatically expelled from the main body.

Herman F. Reissig, executive

In protest against this ultimatum committee's effectiveness.

New York City. | by Mr. Reissing came the resignations of Lester B. Granger, national the Soviet-Nazi issue.

Incidentally, Miss Murray's report showed that the organization had succeeded in arousing little or no interest in its work among Negroes as a whole. She said that only one out of Harlem organization would be 32 national Negro conventions that took place last Summer had allowed the committee to present a speaker and all of them had refused to make any contribution

She said as little response had come from appeals to 40 Negro college groups and a nation-wide appeal to more than 200 Negro "sponsors" brought about five responses and but the well-founded suspicion of communist control served to cripple the

Mass Meeting "Russia and the World Crisis"

Thursday, Dec. 21—8:15 P. M.

MANHATTAN CENTER

Speakers: Will Herberg — Minnie Lurye

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

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

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## STALIN ABSOLVES HITLER

THE sheer brazenness of Joseph Stalin's recent public statement on the European war is fairly calculated to take one's breath away. Even in the world of big-power diplomacy, which is not noted for its modesty or devotion to truth, such impudence marks virtually an all-time high-or low, if you prefer. Even Goebbels has something to learn from his counterpart in Moscow, whoever it was that framed the Stalin statement.

Contemptuously, the Russian dictator brushes aside the sophistical phrases with which Stalinist spokesmen have hitherto tried to cloak their support of Nazi imperialism. Gone in Stalin's statement are the fine-spun, meaningless distinctions between Germany's responsibility for the outbreak of the war and Britain's responsibility for the continuation of the conflict. Gone is all the talk about "checking" German expansion by the curious device of aiding it. Gone are all the other pretenses employed by the Stalinist press in a half-hearted attempt to maintain appearances. Stalin the dictator apparently feels he has no need of them. He comes right out justifying Nazi Germany in this war and hailing Adolf Hitler as a true "little angel of peace."

"It was not Germany who attacked France and England," he tells the world, "but France and England who attacked Germany, assuming responsibility for the present war.

"After the outbreak of hostilities, Germany addressed France and England with peace proposals, while the Soviet Union openly supported Germany's peace proposals, because it believed and continues to believe that the earliest termination of the war would fundamentally alleviate the position of all countries and nations.

"The ruling circles of England and France rudely declined both Germany's peace proposals and the attempts of the Soviet Union to attain the earliest termination of the war.

"Such are the facts."

But not all the facts. . . .

Naturally enough, Poland is not mentioned. After all, Poland is "exclusively the affair of Germany and Russia," as Molotov informed us some weeks ago. Nor is there a word about Finland.

Naturally enough, too, nothing is said of the Stalin-Hitler pact having served to precipitate the outbreak of the carnage in Europe. After all, the Stalin-Hitler pact was a "powerful influence for the preservation of peace," as the Stalinist press told us towards the end of August.

Now we have the official Moscow position, coming from the very fountain-head of authority, from the Leader, the "Father of the Peoples" himself: "Britain and France are the aggressors; Germany is the aggrieved party. We stand with Germany."

And, by the totalitarian logic of Stalinism, this position automatically becomes the position of the official Communist Parties and their stooges and auxiliaries everywhere. From now on, it is the "line" of the Daily Worker, of Michael Quill and the horde Fascism and the whole network of "innocents fronts." In one form of "fellow-travelers," of the American League for Peace and Democracy and the whole network of "innocents fronts." In one form or another, each will contribute to the hymn of absolution and praise addressed to Adolf Hitler, the good friend-for the time being and for the purposes of power-politics-of Joseph Stalin.

We are neither surprised nor particularly indignant. We are not surprised because we foresaw exactly this outcome many months ago, well over a year ago, when we forecast the coming Russo-German rapprochement. We are not particularly indignant because we realize that the bloody totalitarian regime in Moscow is capable of nothing better.

Joseph Stalin's statement ought to go a long way in clearing

## PRO-WAR "LIBERALISM" IN ACTION

66 NIO French government waging a war," writes the Nation editorially in its October 14 issue, "can permit defeatist propaganda to be carried on behind front lines, even if disguised as a desire for 'peace' . . . The purge of communist-dominated municipal councils thruout the country and the investigation into the judgment on the part of the masses, which capacity peace appeal of the forty-three communist deputies are not difficult to justify. But the question is why no similar action has been taken by the government against Flandin's undemocratic 'Democratic Alliance' group, which has been notoriously pro-Hitler and is now conducting a 'peace' campaign thruout France."

There you have it, the repressive, authoritarian spirit that dominates the war-mongering "liberalism" of the type of the Nation and that everywhere breaks thru the thin veneer of liberal and democratic phrases!

In England at war, Lloyd George can carry on an organized campaign for peace inside of Parliament and out, and men like George Bernard Shaw can publish virtual vindications of Stalin and its beginning in March to the October Revolution. demand the immediate opening of negotiations with Hitler. And all corresponds exactly in its general outlines to the this Chamberlain's Tory government, which certainly makes little pretence to any particular liberalism, seems able to stand. But in Revolution and the Great French Revolution. It is the United States, the "liberal" Nation, only yesterday the ally of and front for the Stalinists, finds Daladier's repression of peace propaganda "not difficult to justify" and only asks why there isn't more of such repression!

Heaven help us if we ever become involved in war and "liberals" of the stripe of the Nation are put in charge of our civil liberties and our democratic rights!

## **Another Trotskyist Fantasy**

TN his column "The World of Labor," in the December 1, 1939 issue of the ■ Trotskyist Socialist Appeal, Paul G. Stevens carries some fantastic "information" about the French Socialist Workers and Peasant Party (P.S.O.P.). If the Socialist Appeal ever had any reputation at all, that piece of "information" would be enough to destroy it forever.

In short, the Socialist Appeal announces the "expulsion" from the P.S.O.P. . . . of the party leader, Marceau Pivert.

In the November 25 issue of the Workers Age, we reproduced part inherited racial or individual charof the front page of a recent number of June 36, the official paper of the P.S.O.P. Any one could see Marceau Pivert's name on the masthead as

The P.S.O.P. continues to function actively in spite of Daladier's ruthless war dictatorship. It continues to function on the basis of the decisions arrived at in a most democratic fashion after wide discussions which lasted several months and which concluded with the adoption by a nearly 90% majority of the standpoint which the Trotskyites in the P.S.O.P. opposed.

What does this palpable Trotskyist fraud mean? Does it mean that the Trotskyites, having failed in their attempt to capture the P.S.O.P. by "boring from within," have now determined to set up shop for themchildren of the master race. selves again, with a little fakery into the bargain?

DROBABLY it isn't so important these days, but it's worth noting anyway: Some weeks ago Soviet Russia recognized the German seizure of Slovakia and last week it recognized the Italian conquest of Ethiopia by accrediting its minister to Victor Emmanuel as King-EM-PEROR. Do you recall the virtuous indignation with which the Daily lished attitudes and behavior. It Worker denounced similar action on the part of Chamberlain last year?

## Internationella Socialistiska Zimmerwaldkonferensens i Stockholm fredsmanifest till världens arbetare.



N September 5, 1917, socialist delegates from every belligerent country, despite all difficulties and risks that such a journey entailed, met in Stockholm. English, French, Russian, German, Italian and Scandinavian socialists set to work to bring about the end of the war thru the proletarian revolution.

This famous conference followed other equally famous reunions in Zimmerwald and Kienthal, Switzerland, one in 1915 and the other in 1916. The Stockholm conference ended on September 12, with the ed that they alone follow the "true adoption of a manifesto published in French, English, Italian, German, Rumanian, Russian, Spanish, Dutch, Yiddish, Norwegian and Swedish. This manifesto was distributed illegally in all countries. Above are reproduced some of the original texts of this manifesto.

At the beginning of this second world war, this historic example proves to us, better than any theore tical analysis could possibly do, that war sets into motion not merely armies and guns but ideas and revolutions as well. The manifesto of the Zimmerwaldians played a decisive role in the march of events of the first world

Its tradition has not been forgotten, for today there are socialists everywhere loyal to it, united under the banner of the International Workers Front Against War.

## By Rosa Luxemburg:

# The Russian Revolution

(Continued from the last issue)

There is no doubt either that the wise heads at the radical party. helm of the Russian Revolution, that Lenin and Trotsky on their thorny path beset by traps of all kinds have taken many a decisive step only with the greatest inner hesitation and with most violent inner opposition. And surely nothing can be farther from their thoughts than to believe that all the things they have done or left undone under the conditions of bitter compilsion and necessity in the midst of the roaring whirp sol of events, should be regarded by the International as a shining example of socialist policy towards which only uncritical admiration and zealous imitation are in order.

It would be no less wrong to fear that a critical examination of the road so far taken by the Russian Revolution would serve to undermine respect for and the attractive power of the example of the Russian Revolution, which alone can overcome the fatal inertia of the German masses. Nothing is farther from the truth. An awakening of the revolutionary energy of the working class in Germany can never again be called forth in the spirit of the guardianship methods of the German Social-Democracy of late-lamented memory. It can never again be conjured forth by any spotless authority, be it that of our own "higher committees" or that of "the Russian example." Not by the creation of a revolutionary hurrah-spirit, but quite the contrary: only by an insight into all the fearful seriousness, all the complexity of the tasks involved only as a result of political maturity and independence of spirit, only as a result of a capacity for critical was systematically killed by the Social-Democracy for decades under various pretexts, only thus can the genuine capacity for historical action be born in the German proletariat. To concern one's self with a critical analysis of the Russian Revolution in all its historical connections is the best training for the German and the international working class for the tasks which confront them as an outgrowth of the present

The first period of the Russian Revolution, from course of development of both the Great English the typical course of every first general reckoning of the revolutionary forces begotten within the womb of bourgeois society.

Its development moves naturally in an ascending line: from moderate beginnings to ever-greater rad-

coalition of classes and parties to the sole rule of the

At the outset in March 1917, the "Cadets," that is the liberal bourgeoisie, stood at the head of the revolution.2 The first general rising of the revolutionary tide swept every one and everything along with it. The Fourth Duma, ultra-reactionary product of the ultra-reactionary four-class right of suffrage and arismg out of the coup d'état, was suddenly converted into an organ of the revolution. All bourgeois parties, even those of the nationalistic right, suddenly formed a phalanx against absolutism. The latter fell at the the minds of socialists everywhere of the term We would suggest that our first attack almost without a struggle, like an organ that capitalism must be replaced by correspondent read the resolution on that had died and needed only to be touched to drop socialism. Indeed, this belief is off. The brief effort, too, of the liberal bourgeoisie to save at least the throne and the dynasty collapsed flower into a genuine homespun sowithin a few hours. The sweeping march of events cialist movement in America if the leaped in days and hours over distances that formerly, in France, took decades to traverse. In this, it became out of its present dilemma. I know articles appearing in the Workers Age clear that Russia was realizing the result of a century of European development, and above all, that dark night. And maybe the night is the revolution of 1917 was a direct continuation of not so dark! Don't the capitalists course, of articles that in their original that of 1905-07, and not a gift of the German "lib- find themselves in a mess too? On erator." The movement of March 1917 linked itself them also the pitiless searchlight directly onto the point where, ten years earlier, its watch, they stand threatening one work had broken off. The democratic republic was another with fists raised, muttering the complete, internally ripened product of the very threats, but doing nothing, while first onset of the revolution.

Now, however, began the second and more difficult task. From the very first moment, the driving force of the revolution was the mass of the urban proletariat. However, its demands did not limit themselves to the realization of political democracy but were concerned with the burning question of international policy-immediate peace. At the same time, the revolution embraced the mass of the army, which raised the same demand for immediate peace, and the mass of the peasants, who pushed the agrarian question into the foreground, that agrarian question which since 1905 had been the very axis of the revolution. Immediate peace and land-from these two aims the internal split in the revolutionary phalanx followed inevitably. The demand for immediate peace was in most irreconcilable opposition to the imperialist tendencies of the liberal bourgeoisie for whom Milyukov was the spokesman. On the other hand, the land question was a terrifying spectre for the other wing of the bourgeoisie, the rural landowners. And, in addition, it represented an attack on the sacred principle of private property in general, a touchy

point for the entire propertied class. (Continued in the next issue)

2 Cadets, an abbreviation derived from the Russian iniicalization of aims and, parallel with that, from a tials of the party calling itself the Constitutional Democrats

# patterns had been badly shattered

Books of the Age (Continued from Page 3) to which the depredations organized ily mores under the lash of cruelty by society against individuals within the group may so damage the fiber and oppression with its resulting of the individuals and their capacity

still unborn acteristics so prevalent these days.

and dramatized in such a way as to

throw light on the capacity to mold

and modify time-honored and estab-

SIGNIFICANCE OF Whether as a defense against fu-**EMANCIPATION** ture suffering or submission to pow-Professor Frazier traces with ers beyond her control or compresympathy and clear insight the hension, or as a reaction to children overwhelming effect of the liberated. who became a symbol of her own landless and impoverished race from captivity, the passionately devoted the date of its emancipation. Emancipation is here recognized as a mother who offered herself as sacripromise and a crisis. Human beings fice to defend her children in Africa, long deprived of freedom must learn became in some instances a mother to use it. Where that freedom is acwho transferred her allegiance to companied by the removal of every modicum of economic security, and Forced pregnancy for breeding the imposition of legal, social and economic burdens, a period of seripurposes, deprivation of affectional ties, forced labor during pregnancy ous dislocation must follow. New mobility was followed by disorder and after child-birth are described

And the economic struggle combined with loose and casual relations forced upon Negroes thruout slav ery, left a vast proportion without any stabilizing influence. An army of foot-loose, vagrant men and women had to make a place for themmodification of human behavior does | for human relations, as ultimately to selves in a hostile or at best indiffer ent civilization. much to undermine theories about threaten the welfare of generations

The adjustment or transition was easiest for those who had previously achieved some stability in family re lations despite slavery. Likewise economic security when achieved brought with it almost inevitably an increase in family stability. During this period, the Negro mother, as in the period of slavery, assumed the responsibility for holding the family together. As men achieved some se curity and capacity to provide, their role again became more important, and the family unit became reestablished. Significantly, opportunities for employment involving skill, the extent to which the father provided, and home-ownership, are the factors that preceded and accompanied the reestablishment of the family. Conand personal demoralization. The versely, a high percentage of illiterimmediate problems for the freedacy, illegitimacy, desertion and delinquency accompanied the trek of men were food and shelter. Efforts to place land within their reach the poor Negroes to slum areas. New with the white race and who re-

Letters to the Editor:

# On Socialist Unity

Detroit, Mich.

Editor, Workers Age:

ONE of the best features of the Workers Age recently, in my opinion, is the amount of attention given to the question of socialist unity. As one who recently visited a number of the large midwestern cities, may I make a few comments on what I observed during my travels?

When the second world war broke out, there was quite a fatalistic ittitude apparent in a number of socialist groups and even more so amongst the unattached radicals. This, of course, was true elsewhere It was as the some superhuman photographer with the aid of pitiless arc lights of unbelievable brilhance was engaged in snapping our movement with the object of recording our hopeless weaknesses. Robert Burns's fond wish, "Ah, would some power the giftie gie us, to see oursel's as ithers see us," had come to pass with a vengeance. However, if our pride can survive this blow we can gain much and lose little. If small groups (and they are all small) who have claim-Messiah" can realize that no one in America as yet has the key which unlocks the pearly gates of the Socialist Heaven, then a major advance may be possible.

I also noticed that the Russo-German pact, cruel betrayal of world socialism that it was, nevertheless had the positive effect of exposing the error of socialists in non-Russian countries in using the October Revolution as a blue print for activities and methods elsewhere. This was true even in anti-Stalinist groups. Now the barriers are down. Despite the confusion today, thought is again unfettered, presaging piomise of action in the first course, it is but human that the tendency for the moment is to the

other extreme. In some circles which formerly worshipped Holy Karl and his glorious band of apostles, you are suspect if you timidly suggest 

C's remarks may apply to Scott

Nearing's conception of socialism,

movement is the failure of events to eradicate the burning conviction in cratic socialism in the full meaning actually being strengthened in spite by the recent convention of the ILLA. of the growth of reaction, and will and published in the September 23 present movement can sweat itself it can! It means that all genuine do not necessarily express the editorial socialists must hang on thru the shines. As the peoples of the world the crowd gets evermore contemptu ous, and in that watching crowd are the working class and the middle class, seeing the fear on the faces of their self-styled champions and rulers. This medicine is good for them. And the amazing resistance of the American people to war propaganda to-date makes it much harder for Europe to go thru with it. If the poker players across the ocean have to throw down then

everywhere. The socialist movement has yet chance if it can take advantage of that embarrassment. The time is

hands and confess they don't even

have openers, it's going to be very

embarrassing for the ruling class

ripe to build a movement in this country different from any socialist group of the past. Something with blood and life of the nation within it To this, all socialist groups can contribute something.

This to me, is the real meaning to be found behind the opinions and wishes on the subject of socialist unity which have been expressed in the columns of the Workers Age. None of us today, I hope, still thinks that any group is all wise. And conversely, none of us should feel that all the sweat and toil of the past is in vain. If it has led us to the point where principled socialist unity is in the near future, it may also set off the spark to fire a real, live and powerful socialist movement. So, comrades, wake up, and get behind the unity move!

S. MEFFAN

### Scores Scott Nearing's Views

Detroit, Mich. Editor, Workers Age:

SCOTT NEARING'S paper sure is confusing! I would like to know the difference between collectivism and socialism. Are they both totalitarian, anti-democratic?

How can you have a cooperative economy in a highly centralized, rigid, disciplined society?

How can you have such a coordinated economic plan and not exclude initiative and freedom of minorities to differ in opinion and in experimentation?

My impression is that Nearing and you stand for "compulsive, coercive cooperation" like the prison regimentation of fascism and Nazısm wherein individual voluntary cooperation and liberty are mere nuisances obstructing the ruling clique in power.

E. C.

that Marx and Lenin were right on and we intend to discuss this question a number of things and are still in an early issue, but it certainly does worthy of considerable respect. I not apply to our views We do not agree hope these people read Scott Nea- with the remarks of Scott Nearing ring's sensible and sane article in under criticism and we do not stand the Workers Age of November 18. | for "compulsive, coercive cooperation" However, the greatest positive in any form or under any pretext We reason for optimism in the whole stand for "individual voluntary cooperation and liberty"; we stand for demo-"Socialism and Democracy" adopted

It would not be out of place here to make clear once again that signed policy of the paper or the stand of the form were papers or addresses presented at a symposium In general, we do not believe that we possess the last word of wisdom on any problem and we welcome serious discussion and the free exchange of ideas—Editor.

Praises the Workers Age

Brooklyn, N. Y.

Editor, Workers Age:

THANKS for the reminder. Your I original card was misplaced. I am enclosing \$1.00 to cover the sub. The Workers Age is gotten up in a very attractive way, especially for

left-wing organ, and I find it very readable, too. When the Daily Worker collapses, let's hope the comrades exercise enough intelligence to turn to the Age and support it.

traders and continued by an emancipation that was left unimplemented by economic or social conditions into which the free Negro was thrust. Torn from their roots, with a minimum of group control or effective social traditions, there were few restraints and little stimulus to stability.

The destruction of the culture and family relations of the Negro, the RISE OF CLASS disorganization of personal relations, and the slow reemergence of a new type of social pattern, have taken place in one hundred and fifty years. As Frazier traces this process, the social and economic conditions underlying it gradually appear and are at the same time seen in relation to the social and economic life of this country as a

### DIFFERENTIATION WITHIN THE RACE

Within the Negro race, differentiation of individual groups began even in the days of slavery. The slave who became a house servant tended to assimilate and imitate the customs of his white master in matters of religion, sex and marriage, as well as in speech and manners. Identification with the master life, as well as social attitudes led to servility to the white race and and economic alignment, have rea sense of superiority, even hostility towards the less privileged Negro of the field. As the races intermingled, Negroes of lighter color again became a special group. Often the recipients of greater opportunities, they became a special class, who sought to identify themselves dramatically illustrates the extent were defeated. Family and tribal complications without family stabil- garded themselves as separate and Reviewed by JOHN CUNNINGHAM

ity or economic security continued apart from the great mass of Neand intensified the disorganization groes. With the economic success of of the family begun by the slave individual Negroes after emancipation, the middle-class Negro was added to these earlier groups. Imtation of well-to-do whites, the ideals of middle-class respectability, selfisolation from the poor Negro and his problems caused an alignment with the conservative forces in the community—even tho these forces were antagonistic to the progress of the Negro race as a whole.

CONSCIOUSNESS

It was not until the World War that the Negro secured a foothold in northern industries, and became an important element of the industrial proletariat. Isolation was broken down for a new and broader group of Negroes. The depression, with its toll of unemployment and destitution for large numbers of Negroes, and the modification of trade-union policies excluding Negroes have also contributed to a growing consciousness on the part of nore and more Negro workers that their problem is not solely racial. Professor Frazier's volume is in-

deed a valuable contribution to sociology, to race relations, and to the labor movement. In the history of the Negroes, he reveals the extent to which personal and family flected the economic conditions under which they were forced to live. The growing participation of the Negro in American life, like his development as an individual, will continue to depend upon the extent to which the workers of America recognize and make clear the community of interests of workers regardless of race.