By BERTRAM D. WOLFE

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ment of the desired end; the other

others, coming to the conclusion that

both Corey and traditional Marxism

tended to ignore the dilemmas of ac-

tion arising out of this ambivalence

Corey then took the floor to discuss

the objections to his views raised

by the preceding speakers. He was

followed by Jay Lovestone, chair-

man of the meeting, who briefly but

incisively commented on such prob-

lems as "violence" in the transition

and Marx's views on the middle

Then came a period of question.

were shot from the audience at the

(Continued on Page 2)

**Unemployed** 

Five specific suggestions for tack-

ing the unemployment problem were

presented to the Temporary Na-

tional Economic Committee last

week by William Green, president

Mr. Green added that the Federa-

tion was now giving careful consid-

eration to "a practical program for

reemployment," which he hoped soon to be able to present to the

country as a "realistic approach to

He echoed in general terms a pro-

to find a solution for the problem

which was originally put before the

dent of the C.I.O., and more re

ently submitted to the committee

by Philip Murray, C.I.O. vice-presi-

dent. Several industrialists before

the committee have generally en-

Mr. Lewis proposed that the Presi-

dent draft leaders in these three

fields to study the problem and

stick to it until they had found a

our immediate problem."

dorsed the same idea.

of the A. F. of L.

Washington, D. C.

### Behind the Headlines:

## Stalinism and the Present World Situation—III

By JAY LOVESTONE

DECENT days have witnessed a revival of talk about Russian neutrality N and its role in the present war. From Paris, there come rumors that Stalin has ordered his Communist parties in the Allied countries to make another turn—this time in the direction of supporting their respective government' war efforts. Some readers of this paper have therefore asked me to reexamine the question of Russia's present foreign policy. In response to this request, I limit my reply to a citation of representative, authoritative expressions of opinion emanating from Stalin and Hitler Rivera Hall to capacity, and it is means, he examined a number of

In presenting the following evidence, I must stress in preface that I give every benefit of the doubt to both Stalinist and Nazi proponents as far as sincerity goes. That is why I assume, in making my evaluation, that every sincere word is a potential deed. I stress this in the interest of objectivity and in the interest of a serious consideration of the material presented to our readers.

The identity of policy pursued by Nazi organs and by Moscow's Communist Party in Germany continues. This should serve to dispel all illusions or wishful thinking about any immediate cooling-off or separation between Russia and Germany. For example, we are told by the Deutsche matic prejudice or conventional pre-Allgemeine Zeitung of March 14th:

"We live in a time in which the living space of the peoples is being built anew, and it is this which THE REACTIONARIES LED BY ENG-LAND try to prevent" (our emphasis thruout).

And on March 16th, the personal mouthpiece of Hitler, the Voelkischer Beobachter, declared:

"The generous attitude of Germany stands in startling contrast to THE DIRTY EGOISM WITH WHICH ENGLAND AND FRANCE SEEK TO FORCE LITTLE PEOPLES into the service of their war strategy."

On the same day, March 16, 1940, the Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung significantly emphasized:

"The peoples of Scandinavia and of the Near East, who have since the beginning of the war received two separate lessons in the real significance of Franco-British assistance, have no desire to afford a field of military operations against THE GERMAN-RUSSIAN BLOCK. Moreover, the disappearance of Versailles-Poland and the Finnish-Russian peace have already proved that the great revision of the status-quo in 1919 in Eastern Europe does not involve a change or even a threat to all frontiers. The rapprochement between Germany and Russia will not bring the arbitrary disruption of nations and realignment of powers from the White Sea to the Black, BUT A NEW AND PERMANENT ORDER.

Now, compare the above with the following pro-Hitler declaration made by none other than Walter Ulbricht, an outstanding leader of the Communist Party of Germany and member of its Central Committee:

"The German government declared itself ready for friendly relations with the Soviet Union: The Anglo-French war block is determined on war with the Soviet Union. . . . To support the war is all the more criminal issue with Corey's views, maintain-since THAT POWER (GREAT BRITAIN) . . . IS THE MOST REACTION- ing that they implied the abandon-ARY FORCE IN THE WORLD.

"The oppression of nationalities . . . is grist to the mill of British imperialism, which tries to conceal its true war aims under the slogan of the liberation of the Austrian and Czech peoples. . . . BRITISH IM-PERIALISM AND ITS HELPERS IN CZECHO-SLOVAKIA ONLY WANT TO TURN THE COUNTRY INTO A BRITISH PROTECTORATE, A JUMPING-OFF GROUND AGAINST THE U.S.S.R. Without the oppression, the masses in Austria and Czecho-Slovakia would fight more keenly against the British plans."

It is this sort of propaganda which is being distributed freely and legally by the Czech communists, under Stalin's orders, in Czecho-Slovakia. The same sort of stuff is being handed out with apparent immunity even in Germany-because it helps Hitler and Goebbels in maintaining war morale. In this propaganda, the Stalinites not only endorse the light of the relations of means

## Marxism Probed in Fine Symposium

### Corey, Wolfe, Zam, Lovestone, Herberg, Take Part in Stimulating Discussion

New York City | we make use of to achieve a goal, he The symposium on "Reconsidering | maintained, possess a double poten-Marxism," held here under the tial: one making for the achieveauspices of the Independent Labor Institute on April 26, was a tremen- usually unforeseen, hampering and dous success from every angle. It sometimes even frustrating its aroused wide enthusiasm among realization. From the point of view those who were present, crowding of this conception of ambivalence of still being talked about in socialist problems raised by Corey and and radical circles in this city.

Lewis Corev led off the discussion with an exposition of the viewpoints developed by him in his recent articles in the Nation and in this paper. He stressed the need, under present conditions of profound crisis in the socialist movement, of a

thorogoing reexamination of the fundamental ideas of Marxism in a thoroly critical spirit, free from dogconceptions. From this angle, he discussed the problems of democracy under socialism, of the role of the "new" middle class in relation to socialism, of the class character of speakers, who answered them in the socialist movement, and of the transition to the new social order. On all of these subjects and others, Corey maintained, the traditional Green Offers views of Marxism needed modification and revision in the light of Proposals on Marx, he said, was the greatest social philosopher of the nineteenth century, perhaps of any century, but naturally he could not foresee the

Corey was followed by Bertram D. Wolfe, who gave a vivid and effective summary of the enduring elements of Marxism. While agreeing to a large extent with the burden of Core's remarks, Wolfe made a series of criticism of some of his positions, largely for their one-sidedness and misplaced emphasis.

future, nor was he by any means in-

After Wolfe came Herbert Zam, editor of the Socialist Review, official theoretical journal of the Socialist Party. Zam took vigorous ment of the irreducible essentials of Marxism. He was especially critical of Corey's stress on the "new" middle class and its role in socialism both as a movement and a social industry, labor and the government order. Corey was performing a service to socialism, Zam said, only in the sense in which Bernstein's country by John L. Lewis, presirevisionism performed a service-

Marxists to a defense of Marxism. The next speaker was Will Herberg, editor of the Workers Age. He presented a paper in which the problems of socialism were considered in

that is, by arousing the "genuine"

Mr. Green said that organized that a satisfactory solution may be

reached. Mr. Green summarized his suggestion as follows:

Obtaining of more complete and detailed facts on employment wages, hours, labor costs and productivity.

Further shortening of the work Increasing the national income by

\$10,000,000,000. Development of methods to as-

sure productive workers their share of the returns from technological improvements.

The giving of "exhaustive consideration to employment opportunities on a national basis with participation of representative groups.' Mr. Green challenged the assertion of other witnesses that technological improvements, altho they may displace labor for a time, ultimately increase employment by lowering the price of the product and thus widening the market for it. "It is important to realize that

there is no magic in this formula wage-hour amendments. The New should be excluded from the 30and it is unlikely that it will hold Dealers have openly sought farm | cents-an-hour minimum wage and true in the future," said the A. F. L. head. The problem can be solved, he 000,000 in farm-parity payments, said, but only by increasing work- \$85,000,000 for surplus crop disposal

ers real wages in proportion to the and \$50,000,000 in farm-tenant loans. increase in the nation's productive

narrow, national frontiers, and is the motive force of terrific imperialist struggles, there can be no socialism that tries to ignore working-class internationalism. This principle is responsible for my opposi-Socialist Party, and it brought about mination to make its bid for the my expulsion from that organiza-

The course of events put within our reach, particularly in France in tendency, the Revolutionary Left of sideration, conceded that, in view sectarian distortions, and jesuitical lesson. It is this: At this time, as the French Socialist Party, saw very of the turn of events, her measure (Continued on Page 2)

### No Bouquets to Either Side

**\\** T isn't generally known that Norwegian diplomatic officials in Washington are wasting no love for their British associates. Their public statements about the war pointedly omit any bouquets cast in the direction of British Expeditionary Force. Privately, they appear to blame the British along with the Germans for making a battleground of their homeland. Extra twist for Britishers: Swedish attitude in general is said to be about the same."-United States News, May 3, 1940.

## **Allies Yield Norway To German Control**

Suddenly Withdraw from All Points but Narvik; F.D.R. Reported in New 'Peace' Move; Tension Rises in Mediterranean

to "come out and fight," virtually

### FEAR OVER EUROPE-AND THE WORLD



--from the New York Daily News

### Barden Bill to Destroy posal for joint action by leaders of Wage-Hour Law Beaten

### Curious New Deal-Republican Coalition range objective was to sound out the Stops "Modification" Drive in House

public for a "joint and representative Dealers and Republicans. This was then defeated by a vote of 205 to consideration" of the problem, so after the Barden bill itself had been 175. loaded with drastic amendments by

the combined forces. The House also refused to consider the so-called Ramspeck amendments, and instead voted to reopen the whole question by taking up the Norton amendments, which are considered the mildest and least damaging of all.

The Republicans unofficially explained their vote as a means of escaping the trap set for them by the Democratic leaders. The latter, they said, having been assured that all such legislation would receive a "proper burial" for this session in the Senate, were concerned only with making a showing for the "labor vote." Not to be outdone, the Republicans accepted the challenge and their votes on several amendments went further toward courting labor than perhaps any proposals ever offered by the New Deal.

Another consideration was the situation affecting farm-benefit payments, to be voted upon as soon as votes to defeat the Barden bill, offering their votes in turn for \$212,

President Roosevelt strengthened the hand of New Dealers in the House by sending to Speaker Bankhead a letter saying he has no objections to the Senate provision for \$50,000,000 in farm-tenant loans.

There seems little likelihood that there will be any wage-hour legislation this session, in view of the logtion to the class-collaboration and rolling over farm appropriations, "national-unity" policy of the French and the apparent Republican deterlabor vote on the record to be written on the Norton bill.

Representative Mary T. Norton of New Jersey, chairman of the House 1936, the possibility of opening up Labor Committee and author of the road to socialism in Europe. Our the amendments coming up for conprobably would be "loaded" with

Washington, D. C. Jamendments and become much the The Barden bill to emasculate the same "hodge-podge" as the Barden wage-hour law by the process of bill. At the end of the week, it was amendment was defeated in the apparent that such was indeed to House of Representatives last week be the fate of the Norton bill, which by a standing vote of 156 to 66 as a was saddled with enough amendlabor called on industry and the result of a curious coalition of New ments to make it unrecognizable and ity to the Chamberlain government

> The amendment which made the Barden measure too repugnant to the majority was sponsored by Representative Brown, Republican of Ohio. It put an absolute floor under wages, and allowed no exemp-

> Mr. Brown's amendment was adopted by a voice vote, with a thunder of "ayes" from the Republican side and a smattering "aye" vote on the Democratic side. A few murmured "no."

> The Ohio Republican started consideration of his amendment by taunting the Democratic side.

> "My proposal is a simple one," "We all have heard a lot of talk here that no member of Congress wants to reduce wages below 30 cents an hour. This is an excellent chance for all members to prove that they are sincere."

Originally, the Barden bill to amend the wage-hour law provided that a score of operations connected with the processing of farm products while this has held true in the past the House completes action on the (such as the canning of vegetables) the forty-two-hour maximum workweek.

> Mr. Barden tried to pass off his plan as an aid to the farmer, but it was pointed out that the "exemption" amendment would actually be a blow to 1,000000 or 2,000,000 low-pay workers, without benefiting the Balkans. The relations between the farmer at all.

### Stalwarts of the Third Term

AST February, the big-city Democratic bosses moved in on the third-term movement-Mayor Kelly of Chicago, Mayor Hague of Jersey City, Mr. Handsome Jack Kelley of Philadelphia. They took control of it, and control it today."-T. R. B. in the New Republic of April 29, 1940.

The new "northern front," the crumpled last week when Britain formation of which Allied spokes- and France suddenly withdrew their men had hailed as forcing Germany troops from all points in Norway except Narvik, far up above the Arctic Circle. Germany was thus left in undisputed control of all southern and central Norway, for the resistance of the Norwegian forces alone, even should it continue, is hardly expected to offer a serious obstacle

to German plans of conquest. The withdrawal of the Allied forces from Norway, so precipitous as to take on the aspect of a rout, went unexplained. Slowness and gross incompetence on the part of the British, linked with Germany's undoubted superiority in the air, were believed to be the main factors.

This sudden turn in the situation, learing the way for the complete German conquest of Scandinavia, spread consternation among the Norwegians. Colonel O. B. Getz, the commander of the Norse forces at the Steinkjer line, which it had been hoped would be turned into a "North Wall" against a further advance of the Germans, issued an order of the day bitterly upbraiding the Allies and charging that they had withdrawn their support "without warning, for reasons unknown to us.' Colonel Getz announced that he was appealing to the Germans for an armistice and peace negotiations for the region in which he was opera-

The government of King Haakon, lowever, withdrawn to an unknown point, proclaimed that it would fight on, altho no attempt was made to disguise the bitterness and disappointment felt at having been thus suddenly left in the lurch by Britain

and France. These events had an immediate effect in Washington. There were strong indications that a new White House "peace" effort was being whipped into shape by President Roosevelt with the intent of launching it before the German army, flushed with its victory over the British in Scandinavia, struck on a

new front against the Allies. The immediate effort, it was said was to stop the war from spreading to the Mediterranean. A longer-European neutrals, especially Italy and the Vatican, on the prospects of a "negotiated peace." These efforts on the part of the United States, it was understood, had the full approval of the Allies and were undertaken after informal consultations with them.

In England, the smoldering hostilbroke loose and the cabinet found tself under heavy fire from all sides. Even large groups of Conservatives joined in the attack, and this time Winston Churchill was one of the objects of criticism. Labor Party leaders demanded the resignation of Prime Minister Chamberlain, while others called for a "general shakeup" and the "placing of responsibility." It was clear that the government was facing its gravest crisis of the war. A showdown was expected in the debate scheduled in Parliament for the coming week.

While these fateful developments were taking place in the North, tension increased in the Mediterranean, the Balkans and the Near East, where the crisis was accentuated by the further loss of Allied prestige among the neutrals. Apparently anticipating Italy's early entry into the war, London ordered British merchant shipping in the Mediterranean to leave that sea and forbade other British vessels to enter it. Henceforth, the round-Africa route, despite its strain on British economy, would be used. At the same time, a heavy naval concentration at Alexandria, near the entrance of the Suez Canal, was ordered by London.

In Italy, anti-Allied agitation continued but it was thought that Mussolini would not take any decisive action for a few days at least. Apparently, no definite agreement had yet been reached between Russia, Germany and Italy on the fate of Moscow and Rome continued strained, despite the efforts of Berlin to bring about a rapprochement and understanding on the division of plunder. There seemed little doubt that the Balkans and the Mediterranean would be the next theater of

From Moscow came the official announcement last week that Russia and Germany had reached an agreement on the "neutrality" of Sweden after consultations in accord with the provisions of the Hitler-Stalin pact. This was taken as indicating that an understanding on the partition of the spoils had been reached (Continued on Page 4)

## Socialism Needs Renewal in Spirit of Internationalism

P.S.O.P. Leader Stresses Lessons of Post-War Experiences

By MARCEAU PIVERT

(We publish below the address o Marceau Pivert, an outstanding leader of the French Socialist Workers and Peasants Party and of the International Workers Front Against War, delivered at the banquet held in connection with the recent convention of the Socialist Party in Washington, D. C .- Editor.)

AT this moment, as I extend my thanks to you for having invited me to this inspiring gathering of American socialists, I cannot conceal my emotions. I understand the significance of my presence among you. Chance brought me into your great country a few days before the war started. Yet, I hardly I am anxious to get to know you better. I would like to do my utmost to cooperate with you in the difficult problem of interpretation of the events in Europe. But I am also conscious of my obligations and of my restrictions in this free country. I do not want to intervene in the ex- strength returned, I decided to conamination of your internal problems or in the activities of your party in its dealings with the American people. Doubtless other visitors do not its aspects, political, trade-union, bourgeois," more or less 'gangrened. bother to observe this same discre- cooperative and cultural. I have tion: How many more-or-less official to influence your public opinion to induce it to accept entry into the war? I have nothing in common with them, either with the friends of Dr. Goebbels, or with Mr. Duff Cooper, or with Mr. Stalin, and his emissaries. I am but a member of the socialist movement who fought in the first world war, and who came back wounded, and I have sworn to fight this barbarism to my last breath. And I know of no better method of fighting war than to fight for social- repugnance to all fanaticism, all ism. I am deeply convinced of the community of interests of the work- methods.

ers of all races and of all colors,

nineteen years old when the last war the Teachers School in Paris. It was then that I came to know perit is due to an almost miraculous the age of 20, three were killed and from the very moment that my secrate it to socialism. For twenty years, I have been active in the

capable of raising the political level of our class. Perhaps, also, as a NO SOCIALISM WITHOUT member of an anti-clerical family, INTERNATIONALISM I have always felt an instinctive

These details do not lack interest who all of them and from the bottom at a time when the working-class of their hearts are hoping for peace, movement is faced with a general well-being and liberty. This is why revaluation and revision. In any I hope that my words to you here case, this is my conclusion: There will be heard and understood by the can be no socialism without liberty, outside world as the testimony of without respect for the individual, one who has lived thru the ex- and there can be no stable thoroperience of war itself, and that these going lasting social revolution if it same words will be understood in does not lead to the flowering of your ranks as a faithful interpreta- the human personality. Finally, tion of your own socialist aspira- there can be no emancipation of the proletariat which is not the work of I speak with particular feeling to the proletariat itself. You will then those young comrades who have just understand why I have always come into the movement. I was disagreed with the Trotskyites. For them, the individual worker it too dragged me from the classroom of often a soldier blindly obeying the leader's orders, and I disagree with such methods of procedure, even if find myself out of place here, and sonally the horrors of men in their this leader has the prestige of the death agony and of fields full of head of the Red Army. I would decaying corpses. If I have survived, rather keep my right to be mistaken, which leaves me free to correct luck, for out of every ten men of myself honestly when events force me to change my mind. It is perhaps six wounded. I was wounded, but this need to personal autonomy of thought and this desire for my own independent determination of my opinion which gives me the label of "centrist" in the eyes of Trotsky. I labor movement of my country in all am, I suppose, an incorrigible "petty You will understand also how I never belonged to the Communist have stood up against Stalinism, envoys are working at this moment Party, not because I did not agree which in France was planning to with its revolutionary approach at make me undergo the same fate as one time; I felt on the contrary that they reserved for Nin in Spain. 1 it did not then differ materially from I am proud to say that I was the first that of genuine socialism. I did not to sound the warning against their join it because of the methods and totalitarianism and counter-revolu-

tendencies; it seemed to me in- powerful.

the structure of that party and its tionary methods, at the time when,

violence against other working-class as good patriots, they were all-

But during this last quarter of a century, I have learned yet another capitalism is bursting the bonds of

## After the GM Elections: the What Labor Contributes Next Move is Up to the CIO

### United Organization Needed for Acceptable Pact

union more calmly and accurately than has been possible for quite

mobile Workers has been proved to they hung on some of our boys factions have begun to make some be the choice of the workers in two during the split." Whether these offers to A. F. of L. key-men in ganized, has tended to obscure a facts which were brought to light next move is up to the C.1.O. the moment the election results were made public.

### WHAT THE VOTE. SHOWED

auto situation, was the absence of face the corporation at the tail-end men have refused. the "Blitzkrieg" atmosphere so ap- of a production season, with a set of parent in the Briggs and Chrysler demands drawn up on a factional AGAINST votes. In spite of the "sweep" of basis, and impossible of achievement the C.I.O. with regard to the num- in the immediate future. The major that out of 136,000 eligible voters. is in order. In one shop of 3,100 surface in the U.A.W.-C.I.O. workers, the C.I.O. beat the A. F. of L. four to one. (The ratio nationally was three to one.) Yet one way or the other, there are 1,300 people in that shop who don't want the C.I.O. And the actual duespaying membership which produced since the election the first thing which becomes obvious is that the U.A.W.-C.I.O. must gain the support of some group at present opposed to it in order really to organize that plant. And that means that the U.A.W.-C.I.O. must get the support of the A. F. of L. group, since the other groups are anti-union

RALLYING to the call issued by Square College are quite representative of the opinion of the youth in and unorganized. This example is War over a million high-school and not an exception; indeed, in plants college students participated in the like Chevorlet (Flint) and Olds- annual student strike against war mobile (Lansing), the situation is on Friday, April 19, at 11 A. M. even more difficult for the C.I.O.; Led by the Y.C.A.W. and its afin one case, they have a bare filiates on the campus, the youth of majority of the eligible voters, and the nation once more voiced the 18% express no opinion." However, in the other, not even a complete conviction that "America must keep a grim strain of fatalism appears

that this is not an easy problem is they shouted and captured the attenbecoming apparent. While isolated instances of strong-arming the workers into the U.A.W.-C.I.O. have been noticed, some reasonable feelers have been put out in some localities However the attitude of l the average defeated A. F. of L.

### Socialism Needs Its Renewal in Internationalism

(Continued from Page 1) clearly that the socialist conquest of

power was the only possible way of preventing the fascist threat and the danger of war-and, at that time, the conquest of power was possible. But we came up against a party leadership that sought to fight against fascism with the weapon of war. The results of this policy are today to be seen not only by our expulsion from the party, and in the temporary weakening of the labor movement, but in the fact that today we are at war.

We are at war and the pressure of imperialist needs on the country are now bringing an increasingly fascist aspect to the regime. Paul Reynaud has just taken over the direction of this systematic fascization. His real weakness is revealed by the extraordinary measures that he is obliged to take: the death penalty for so-called "Red propaganda." Such measures can only result in organized counter-demonstratious. the aggravation of the division be- but these were perfunctory and tween the popular masses and the dictatorship. This is indeed a clique which is subjecting them to queer fate for a democracy. In 1936, Paul Reynaud was considered as the extreme right, the man of the fascist Thomas spoke to 1,500 students, as putsch of February 1934. He was only able to get back into power Stadium meeting of the A.S.U. with the help of the well-known policy of "national unity" carried out by his friend, Leon Blum. It is INSTITUTION quite in keeping that Paul Revnaud and George Mandel, always known established and recognized vehicle as determined reactionaries, were represented as good democratic the amazing fact that classes were friends by Leon Blum to that same convention of the Socialist Party in sities to permit the students to Royan in 1938, which by a vote of 5,000 to 3,000 approved our burocratic expulsion from the party. But we did not hesitate to denounce this pro-war, pseudo-socialism which stood for "national unity" with the capitalist ruling class and openly supported its colonial system and its imperialist policies. At the same time, we denounced the infamous crimes of the Stalinists in Russia, with the Y.C.A.W. program more in France and in Spain. This many- than compensates for the danger of sided struggle was a hard task that temporary support of reactionary demanded of us the most profound conviction in our socialist principles. (Continued in the next issue)

The obvious and now undisputed did for the Chrysler boys. And right on the spot. fact that the C.I.O.'s United Auto- they'd better revoke the suspensions of the "Big Three" companies or | sentiments are right or wrong, it is order to have the latter "front" for certain that A. F. of L. men are them as a price for reinstatement. number of other very important far from demoralized, and that the The Communist Party, for instance,

In relation to General Motors, the C.I.O also is in a very tough spot. twice as tough a spot as they were in when facing Chrysler. And their results on that occasion were First, and very significant in the certainly not inspiring. Now they

key-man is something like this: "The; a direct clash with G.M. at this C.I.O. has honestly won sole bargain- season of the year is problematical. NOW that the tumult and the ing rights, and I will not hinder Undoubtedly, a successful tool-and-the exercise of those rights. How shouting surrounding the Gen- the exercise of those rights. How- die strike could be called with ease examine the situation in the auto C.I.O. as a punishment for my past production workers in the C.I.O. actions, which include voting as I would stand for this is debatable, to "create" a job for him. please. In fact, I may not even join and if such were threatened, an the outfit unless they get a better offer of the same contract as contract for G.M. workers than they Chrysler has would put the C.I.O.

It is also interesting to note that in an effort to find support to break up Reuther's Amalgamated Local 174 into separate plant locals, which they feel they could control, offered several A. F. of L. men reinstatement and positions of honor in the new set-up. Wisely, the A. F. of L.

**DUALISM** It is this writer's opinion that no ber of plants won, the fact remains demand, 30 hours a week with 40 dualism should exist in the plants hours pay, is fine, but would need a now that the vote has been taken, 50,000 have shown by one method or unified labor movement, if not a and that eventually, all good union another that they do not desire the revolution, to obtain. Of course, men will find themselves in the C.I. C.I.O. as their bargaining agent—Reuther and his boys will drop this O. in those plants where it has the 26,000 by voting for the A. F. of L., like a hot potato, in spite of promajority. However, the C.I.O. is now 14,000, by voting for neither, and mises to the auto workers. How-definitely charged with a responsiabout 10,000 still working in the ever, make no mistake, all these bility. It has the bargaining rights. plants who did not trouble to vote maneuvers will be used for factional It alone can make or mar the unity at all. Perhaps better to illustrate advantage in the struggle which is of the G.M. workers. A unified what this actually means an example always going on just beneath the powerful union is the only thing that can wring a contract worthy of the Whether the leaders will be able name from G.M. The first step is up to steer a skillful course and avoid to the U.A.W.-C.I.O. leaders.

## **YCAW Comes to Fore in** the C.I.O. vote was about 200! While it has probably increased a little Student Peace Strikes

### **Stalinist ASU Rapidly Losing Influence**

By LEO BUDD

New York City out of war!

### Y.C.A.W. LEADS MOVEMENT

The Y.C.A.W., long a leading factor, was firmly established as the continue to offer a program and a only bona-fide youth anti-war movement in America as its program was adopted by student councils, peace organizations and sundry campus POOR JOE groups thruout the country who had LASH! no definite peace program of their own. In the short history of the Y. various campus strikes this year.

Surely the youth, if not Mrs. Stalinist "peace" committees and to toe the mark and swing along "Yanks Are Not Coming" com- with the new line—Lash took the mittees. The clear, consistent program of the Y.C.A.W., as adopted caught the imagination of the of Stalinist "peace rallies," "peace assemblies," "collective - sec u r i t y meetings" one year, and "peace strikes" the next. College students are wary of Stalinist line-twisting -thus the A. S. U. is waning as a national organization while the Y. C.A.W. shows tremendous growth, especially in the Midwest and in

rural districts. On the few remaining campuses where the A.S.U. still holds forth,-New York City, California, etc.—it

poorly attended. One of the best demonstrations held in recent years was the Y.C. A.W. rally at the Great Hall in City College of New York, where Norman compared with the tiny Lewisohn

### AN ESTABLISHED

That the strike has become an of student protest is evidenced by officially suspended in major univerattend the strike. I still recall the time that missing the 11 o'clock class was a sure way of getting a "C

or a "D" in the course. The obvious future danger of having the support of the school administrations, the deans and the newspapers is well recognized by the Y.C.A.W. leaders. But the fact that thousands of students were reached

administrations. The youth of the nation is conscious of the vital role it will play if America enters the war and reports of a poll conducted by the Gallup group at N.Y.U. Washington our colleges.

The poll reports that "64% of our students would desire to remain aloof even the England and France might be defeated; 18% would go to war under those circumstances, and to run parallel to the desire for "Starve the war-Feed America!", peace, inasmuch as 70% of the stution of the country by colorful and regardless of what they desired the United States would go to war with Germany if it looked as if England and France might be defeated.

> This fatalism must be dispelled and the Y.C.A.W. pledges itself to basis of activity for youth to keep America out of war.

An interesting sidelight of this year's strike was the presence of C.A.W., never had there been such a lonely figure saddened by the eager reception of its program for events of last year-Joe Lash, erstyouth's role of keeping America out while leader of the A.S.U. and chief of war as in the programs of the Stalinist stooge. Joe was one of the many spectators at the Washington Square demonstration held by the Roosevelt, recognize the bankruptcy Y.C.A.W. and Student Council. Lash and outside control of the American was broken last Christmas at the Student Union and the myriads of A.S.U. convention because he refused "collective-security" line of the invasions as "shameful" and "crimi-Stalinists too seriously. One day, a at its last convention in Chicago, has leader of a youth movement; the aid and support the Red Army on next day, just another guy named campus. Students are obviously tired Joe-such is the brief history of the Soviet Union against imperialist Joe Lash, Stalinist "front-man,"

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## By CHARLES STELZLE

EFORE business can absorb the jobless, employers must have the money to 'create' new jobs," it is said by employers of labor, and just now it is being repeated by certain politicians. But it should not be forgotten that workers themselves would be making a most valuable financial contribution in such a transaction.

We are informed that for each worker employed, the steel industry must furnish \$11,000; the manufacturing industries must furnish \$8,000; and the ordinary business must put up \$4,000. But each worker as he enters industry represents an approximate outlay of \$10,000 by the parents eral Motors elections has died down ever, I will not pay an exorbitant this Summer (there is a shortage of of the worker, the state, and other public institutions. Thus, the average somewhat, it should be possible to initiation fee for reentry into the skilled labor), but whether the worker comes into the plant as the equivalent of a \$10,000 machine, and he usually more than matches what the investor is asked to spend in order

> Furthermore, the worker must spend most of his wages to pay for his personal "upkeep" and "repairs." He provides his own food, clothing, and housing, and he is responsible for keeping up his health, so that he may continue to be a good producer. A very small percentage of his wages is spent for his cultural life and for his "leisure activities," altho, it should be said, these also add to his value as a worker. If he should drop out of this neighborhood for talking peace. the plant for any reason, another worker, of equal or even greater value, may be secured upon the same terms. Upon this basis, the approximately 40,000,000 wage-earners in the United States to whom this would apply, have a value of \$400,000,000,000. According to latest reports, this equals the wealth of the United States as ordinarily calculated.

> Whatever may be said regarding what others have paid to help sup- NEGROES SHOULD port the public institutions which had a part in the preparation of the OPPOSE WAR American worker, all of the arguments fail when they are applied to the If I were called upon to answer millions of foreign-born workers in industry who came to this country the question, "What should be the full-fledged, ready for a job. They were prepared at the expense of the attitude of the Negro in the present countries from which they came. This is particularly true of the so-called war," I would answer without a mo-"refugees," large numbers of whom are technically trained men and

It is reported with great concern that the fifteen largest banks in New York City are "waging a losing fight" because 42% of their cash assets, amounting to something over \$7,000,000,000 are "idle." If 10,000,-000 workers in this country are unemployed they represent an "idle" cash value of \$100,000,000,000, and many of these, too, are "waging a losing fight." The biggest problem facing America today is how to put the "idle workers" and the "idle money" to work, so that they may both win their fight. But don't let us forget that all real wealth is simply stored-up labor.

## After Split of Trotskyist SWP

New York City THE formation of the Workers ■ Party, with headquarters in New York, was announced last week by Max Shachtman, an outstanding eader of the new organization.

The new party is the result of a of the top leaders of the party, almost half the membership, and an overwhelming majority of the youth group, Shachtman charged. Along with Shachtman, the leaders

of the new party are Martin Abern, James Burnham, B. J. Widick. dents expressed the belief that Nathan Gould and J. R. Robinson. "We have been expelled by the Cannon faction, burocratically and without trial," Shachtman stated, because we fought against a theory of 'defense of the Soviet Union' which meant in practise giving support to one of the two imperialist war camps. We want it clearly understood that we continue to hold Leon Trotsky in the highest personal regard as a great world revolutionist. But we cannot follow him in his tragically mistaken policy of supporting the Berlin-Moscow

Axis in the present war." The formation of the Workers Party came as the climax of a sharp political struggle inside the Social ist Workers Party over the question of the Red Army invasions of Poland and Finland, and in general of Russia's participation in one of the warring camps.

The group supporting the Red Army was led by Leon Trotsky himself, who, altho he condemned the nal," called on American workers to the grounds that it was defending attack.

The opposition group, now the Workers Party, insisted that Trotsky's position of condemning the invasion and supporting the Red Army was contradictory. It also contended that it was not a question of an imperialist attack on the Soviet Union, but of a joint Hitler-Stalin campaign of imperialist aggression. "In actual practice," commented Max Shachtman, "Trotsky and his followers in the Socialist Workers Party, despite their well-known and genuine opposition to Stalinism, are supporting one imperialist camp, that of the Rome-Berlin-Moscow Axis, against the other imperialist methods in our own party has made camp in this war, the camp of the us realize that many in our move-

so-called 'democracies'.' Despite the great prestige of Trotsky, his supporters retained trials. We of the Workers Party control of the Socialist Workers intend most earnestly to do so in Party only by a slim majority, Shachtman stated. The opposition group numbers 40% of the party proper and 80% of the youth organization, and it has a majority of the active members of the Executive Committee of the Fourth International, he added.

The Workers Party is continuing the publication of the New International and it will begin publication shortly of a new weekly paper called Labor Action. Shachtman described these papers as "the only serious revolutionary anti-war press in the country."

"For our part," Shachtman stated, "we were willing to remain in the Socialist Workers Party on condition that we received certain minimum guarantees that we could reach the American working class with our views. We were denied these guarantees and subjected to a campaign of slander and falsification. When

## Form New Party Dressmakers Local 89 Holds Installation

By ALBERT EASTON

New York City Lelected administration of Local in the United States. 89. Italian Dressmakers Union I.L. split in the Socialist Workers Party should set an example for other It wasn't won by the Jewish people (Trotskyists), which took place labor organizations. A colorful, im- who were domiciled in Jerusalem. recently, resulting in a series of ex- pressive and joyous program of It was won largely by the resources pulsions. The Cannon faction of the music and dramatic sketches and and the pressure of the Jewish peo-Socialist Workers Party, which is brief speeches was presented at the ple in Britain and elsewhere. supported by Trotsky, expelled many Windsor Theatre by members of Local 89 and the I.L.G.W.U. generally.

In the absence of President David illness in his family, the newlyelected officers were inducted by Julius Hochman, general manager of we are a hopeless minority. No Nethe Dressmakers Joint Board and a gro outside of an insane asylum participate in the Joint Board with vice-president of the I.L.G.W.U. In would say that the Negro, even if we Negro workers. his brief remarks, he emphasized the international character of the I.L.G.

A long telegram of greetings from labor legislation already in force and defending them. The telegram was very warmly received by the audience. Among the other telegrams of greetings were those from various locals of the I.L.G.W.U. and from Jay Lovestone, secretary of the Independent Labor League of America. Luigi Antonini, who received a tremendous ovation, delivered a fiery speech in which he severely attacked the Stalinists and made a strong plea for the New Deal.

The installation showed the accomplishments of Local 89 and the I.L.G.W.U. in their educational activities. The entertainment was provided by Local 89 chorus and the cast of "Pins and Needles," which improves with age. Part of the program was broadcast over Station WEVD.

After the theatrical program, members and guests of Local 89 were treated to a luncheon at Hotel McAlpin. There was general praise of the fine type of installation arranged by the union.

we refused to submit to a 'loyalty oath,' we were expelled from the party without trial and without being allowed to speak in our own defense.

"This appearance of Stalinist ment have not taken sufficiently to heart the lessons of the Moscow the future. Our expulsion does not signify a break from the Fourth International, to whose program we remain as firmly attached as ever.' The new party, Shachtman con-cluded, would be "orientated primarily not towards Russia but towards

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## Negro Needs Labor as An Ally in Struggle

### Unity Against War is Urged by Crosswaith

By FRANK CROSSWAITH

(We publish below the address delvered by Frank Crosswaith at the sym-"The Negro and the Present the auspices of the I.L.L.A .- Editor.) about it.

WHAT should be the attitude of the Negro in the procest the Negro in the present EXPERIENCE war? What it will be, I don't know, altho I should know by recalling the

I was old enough to say that that war was not for the purpose for which it was stated, but that it had an economic basis, an economic motif, if you please.

ment's hesitation that the attitude of the Negro to this war should be one of utter opposition, not simply as a Negro but as an integral part of the laboring masses of the United

Working men have nothing to gain n any war.

I am inclined to think that the Negro in America needs to do some serious overhauling of his present life as well as of his past life. What do I mean? For instance, the Negro in the United States should learn a lesson from the Irish in their struggle for the freedom of Ireland. One of the things which has impressed me greatly about Ireland and her successful fight for freedom has been the part played in the struggle for Irish liberation by the Irishmen here in the United States. I will assert, without fear of successful contradiction, that Ireland's freedom was won largely by the unity, the strength, THE installation of the newly- and the resourcefulness of Irishmen

The same thing is true of the G.W.U., on Saturday, April 27, struggle of the Jews for a homeland.

I cite to you these two cases because the lesson for us Negroes to learn is to stop permitting ourselves to be divided from our brothers in Dubinsky, who was kept away by Georgia as well as from our brothers on the banks of the Nile. Why? Because if we look over our situation, became united in the United States would generate enough power and strength by ourselves to right all of Senator Robert F. Wagner was read birth to our death in this country. the wrongs that follow us from our by his son. The Senator could not We couldn't do it because we are sit. This member of the Ku Klux attend the installation because of such a hopeless minority. Finding pressing business in Washington ourselves in this position of a hopewhere the National Labor Relations less minority, what are we to do? Act is under attack. The telegram It is the essence of intelligence on union, and the position she had as the part of any man or group finding himself in a minority to get alfor labor unity as a means of lies! How are you going to test your allies? There is only one test, and that one test is the common test of Marxism Probed that one test is the common test of self-interest. Find somebody from the majority whose interest is like yours. He may not look like you when you look in the mirror. He might be different from you in color and a lot of things, but if he has one important interest tied up with yours, you can trust him because in fighting to promote his own interests, whether he likes you or he hates you, he has got to promote

> The Negro in America belongs to the working class, and until we recognize that fact and act upon it, we will be wasting a lot of time throwing bouquets at the Kremlin or throwing bouquets at Buckingham Palace or throwing them even at Washington, D. C. Until we recognize our common interest with the working people of the United States firstly, and with the working people

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of the world secondly, we will continue to waste time.

It is true that here in the United States the plight of the Negro is pretty sordid. I know it. I know War," held recently in Harlem under what it is. I don't have to read

I was in Atlanta, Georgia, not very long ago, the first time in my life. I had always been very reluc-I was old enough in the last war tant to go into Georgia because to be conscripted. I was old enough once you remember they referred to to be chased off street corners in me as one of the most "dangerous niggers" in the United States. But my union, the International Ladies Garment Workers Union, sent me to Atlanta, because the Negroes were beginning to leave the farms and the cotton fields in Georgia and to find a place in the garment factories, and we wanted them organized. I had a

remarkable experience there. You know there are some lawsthat colored people and whites are not supposed to be together, and so on. And, in this particular factory, the employer "believed" in the Negro-he was a great fellow-and he employed humble Negroes. Of course, I don't have to tell you that the wages were much below the union scale, the hours were longer,

but he just loved the Negroes! So I went down there, and we set up a labor organization. On the day we were to present the charter to this Negro local, with a Negro president and a Negro secretary, I insisted that members of the Joint Board be present. They are native Georgians, and I felt they should be present when I made the speech and presented these black brothers and sisters with a charter from my international union. I also thought that, for the sake of posterity, it would be good for a photographer to be there at the same time, and so we had a white photographer whom we engaged when we invited the Joint Board to be present on a Sunday.

Well, only three members of the Joint Board showed up, and the photographer took three pictures, not one of which ever came out. It was the fault of the camera, you know. They just didn't come out.

But it so happens that in our union we have what is called a Joint Board, and every local has to have representatives on the Joint Board, and here comes this Negro local. The president of the union in Georgia, who was a woman, was the head of the women's division of the Ku Klux Klan in Georgia. This is interesting. It is important. That woman who led the women's auxiliary of the Ku Klux Klan in Georgia refused to

Well, my union is a pretty good union, and we decided then that they would have to have the Joint Board meeting; these colored people had Klan, if she felt she couldn't participate, she would have to leave, and leave her membership card in the

## In Stimulating Symposium

(Continued on Page 4)

(Continued from Page 1) their closing remarks. The proceedings lasted over four hours and did not conclude until one o'clock in the morning; yet such was the intense interest of the audience that practically all present remained to a late hour, most of them until the very

Those who attended the symposium, representing virtually every section of the city's radical and socialist movement, were unanimous in their enthusiasm. Every one realized the great significance of the fact that such a discussion could be held at this time in so free, undogmatic and critical an atmosphere. There was high praise, too, for the serious thought, penetration and insight manifested in the addresses of the participants. All in all, the symposium undoubtedly represented an important landmark in the process of socialist self-criticism that is beginning to get under way.

(The addresses delivered by the participants in the April 26 symposium will be published in full in early issues of this paper.—Editor.)

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## American Foreign Policy Looks to the Far East

U.S.A. and Great Britain Divide Imperialist Tasks

By M. S. MAUTNER

WITHIN the past few weeks, some faint light has swept over one of the most sinister and dangerous aspects of the Roosevelt Administration's foreign policy. While the beaters of the war-drums in this country set their rhythms to catch the anti-fascist and anti-Nazi ear of the people, the directtion of their real, tho concealed, policy is against Japan. While powerful forces strive to whip up a war spirit over the rights of small nations in Europe and in protest against aggression in that quarter of the world, signs are not wanting that these very forces would use the war sentiment for even more brazenly imperialist purposes elsewhere. The declaration of Secretary of State Hull, approved and em. then cynically utilize this sincere, battle with Hitler only to find the sive measures is exceedingly probphasized by President Roosevelt, the sentiment for a bold and crude im- they will have to spend most of statement by Admiral Taussig, of perialist stroke. I do not here imply their time eating quinine in percourse "officially repudiated by the that America's participation in the sonal battle with malaria in the Navy Department," point to the existence of a secret agreement between the United States with the Allies as to its role if the government can stampede the people into

Secretary Hull declared that the United States could not ignore any we ought to go to war to "defeat attempt (by Japan) to upset the status-quo in the Far East, especially in regard to the Netherlands island cracy" five thousand miles from empire, the Dutch East Indies. Admiral Taussig, appearing before a Senate hearing on naval appropriations, declared it the navy's manifest destiny to engage Japan in war for supremacy over the peoples, resources and markets of Asia.

Now consider the amazing character of these remarks, especially in the light of certain previous events in Anglo-American naval relationships and the present military situation, Great Britain, popularly known as "perfidious Albion" in diplomatic out of sheer old-world courtesy.

Jealous of its sea-power, made doubly cautious by the permanent economic crisis afflicting it, England has vet relaxed its vigilance sufficiently to extend all manner of courtesies to the American fleet in the Pacific. At the same time, the United States government, apparently trembling lest Hitler invade us by way of Greenland and Canada, gives no thought to the fact that our naval strength is in the Pacific, and frowns at the idea of a "twoocean navy." England's position may not be of its own choosing: its fleet is engaged in the German blockade and in Mediterranean patrol for the ministration's position is of its and the Pacific. Not merely, then, could a Standard Oil tugboat embroil us in a war for the sake of "our own, our native" vested interests, but, in the eyes of the Roosevelt Administration, a sufficient cause conclusion of the Finnish peace, flung British and French holdings in the Far East.

### ANOTHER SINISTER ASPECT

It is from this point of view that I declared a few lines above, that the foreign policy of the government, already dangerously pro-war. has an additional sinister aspect, It seeks to foster systematically pro-

## All Belligerents Lose Favor With Student Youth

New York City A LL belligerents have lost favor with the students of New York University during the last three months, a special poll recently conducted by a committee of the Student Council showed.

Votes were cast by 1,117 students, or 39% of the entire day-school enrollment. The number of men and change has taken place which Stalin women who participated were almost equal.

Asked to indicate changes in sympathies during the last three months tion. toward nations involved in war today, 16% of the undergraduates ex- tinued, it is our duty to dissociate pressed themselves more in favor of socialism from Stalinism. Socialism England, 40% less and 40% no has principles which Stalin ignores change. Twenty-two percent showed or opposes and values which he greater sympathy for France, 23% despises. A few years ago, it would less and 49% no change. Three have been regarded as impossible percent indicated greater preference that socialists could condone the for Germany, 64% less and 29% no military invasion of a small nation change. In each of the foregoing by a major power, and incredible

toward Russia was revealed, against a 4% increase, while 22% were un- have been utterly condemned. changed. The students showed a 50% less liking toward Japan, opposed to ment nor any other capitalist gova 1% increase.

desired this country to stay out of government has adopted exactly the war regardless of the fate of the same tactics and made similar ex-Allies, but about 70% believed that cuses. America would be dragged into the war under such circumstances. This ship any more right to condemn vote paralleled closely the faculty Russia. It was prepared to see Rus-

## War in the Pacific

NDROSPECT is growing that this country will take a very firm stand in the Far East," the Newsgram in the April 26 issue of the United ganda and activity of Bose's left-States News informs us. "Roosevelt and Hull are determined to give no wing group. Bengal is Boses's own ground in asserting American rights, are equally determined to enforce the status-quo as it affects British, Dutch and French rights in that area. hibits any printed publicity concern-Warning hints to Japan are not academic, are not just idle threats, are ing their movement within the prorather the making of a record that can stand for future reference. . .

"A German Blitzkrieg in Holland, if followed by an already suggested Japanese move toward Dutch possessions, would precipitate American action. . .

"America's role in the war may concern the Pacific rather than the

European war thru sending an expeditionary force would be less imperialist than sending the marines and the navy to the Dutch East Indies. But I do insist that in addition to the trap prepared by the Administration for those who think fascism and aggression," there is another trap: "fighting for dema-

home in the Dutch East Indies. Thru this arrangement, to all practical intents and purposes as virtually admitted by the Administration, a division of imperialist labor has been created. The Anglo-French · block defends empire interests in Europe and the Near East. The United States defends the empire interest of the Allies along with its own in the Far East, with all indications that its military commitments are located in the Pacific.

Ally and anti-Nazi feelings, with who thirst to embroil us in war so all the "democratic" trappings, and that they can personally engage it

> CRUSADE IN PACIFIC

Of great importance to us in our

## circles, is not accustomed to weaken its own imperialist position as ruler to world markets) Stalin Imperialism

**But Warns Against British Threat to Russia** 

THE chief debate of the recent on the British side. ■ Nottingham conference of the Independent Labor Party arose on the question of the Finnish warnot because this was the main issue it was the one which produced the

strongest division of opinion. The debate arose on the National Administrative Council resolution on as a platform to expose imperialism sake of the Empire. But the Ad- "The War and Soviet Russia" (published in full on page 4.—Editor.) choosing, altho not that of the Here again there was complete American people. For all evidence agreement on the main sections of points to the fact that the American the resolution. It was only when the navy is committed to the defense of resolution proceeded to state the the Allied empires in the Far East causes and results of Russia's invasion of Finland that some disagreement arose.

Fenner Brockway, opening the debate, stressed the gravity of the ostensibly begun against "fascism" "communism."

spreads, the more distant becomes its end. The belief is held in some quarters that by the creation of new fronts, a conclusion can be reached more speedily. On the contrary, each new country entering the struggle brings new demands and makes any possible settlement more difficult.

2. Because in Russia private capitalism has been abolished and the economic foundations laid by the Russian Revolution have not been altogether wiped out. That is not to say that socialism has been established in Russia. It has not. Neither of two vital socialist prerequisites exists in Russia-equalitarianism and workers democracy; in recent years, there has been a retreat from both. Nevertheless, a historical cannot destroy any more than Napoleon was able to destroy the social basis of the French Revolu-

At the same time, Brockway concases, small groups had no opinions. that the power should be Russia. A 70% decrease in sympathy The theory that socialism could be extended by military conquest would

But neither the British governernment has the right to condemn Sixty-four percent of the students Russia. Every capitalist-imperialist

> Nor has the Labor Party leadersia play the game of imperialist

departure from Lenin's policy of were to disappear suddenly, the power-politics; its entry in the Moslem state within the British calendar. League of Nations, not to use it "Commonwealth of Nations." one side. And the other side was its the European war." pact with Germany; its use of armed force to secure naval and political domination of the Baltic States; and finally its invasion of Finland.

war danger. But for the hurried way said. First, strategic. But mili-Even now, the war which was this country took the decision to fines of Europe alone. resist a threatened war against Rusmay be diverted into a war against sia by a general strike. Even a year THE COMMUNIST ago, the British government would PARTY IN INDIA The whole of the I.L.P. is against not have dared to declare war on war with Russia, and for two Russia. Today, if the government is true of this country is true of

every other country. Secondly, the liberation of the Finnish people. This pretense has now been exposed and discarded, and the puppet Kuusinen government has been liquidated. The technique faithfully followed that of Japan in China, Germany in Czecho-Slovakia

and Britain in Iraq. The present policy of the Russian government is largely the result of the destruction of working-class democracy. First the power of the Soviets, and then the power even the Communist Party, were destroyed by the burocracy. A regime based upon personal power has led, in internal affairs, to the (Continued on page 4)

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## Crush Left in Indian Congress

By J. CORK

DEPRESSION against Indian National Congress members, especially left wingers, is on the up by the House of Representatives by in India. Its latest manifestation is the huge majority of 282 to 97 the decree of the Bengal govern- brings the problem which the bill is ment attempting to stifle the propastamping-ground. The decree "province." This was on April 6. On April 12, H. V. Kamath, an outstanding leader of Bose's block, was arrested under the Defence of What attitude the dominant

Gandhist right-wing group in the

Congress will take on these represlematical in view of the growing cleavage between the right and the streets between the two wings on the occasion of demonstrations of hand-spinning, one of Gandhi's fight to keep America out of war trivial techniques for engendering law. is the fact that this aspect of our the "necessary self-discipline" in foreign policy has been deliberately Congress members. Furthermore, kept in the background. It is ad-Gandhi's attitude will probably be agency there shall be established a mittedly not as attractive a proposi- colored by the fact that the type of board of review of three members tion as fighting fascism in Europe, activity prohibited by the Bengal which upon request, shall hold a It cannot be so easily camouflaged governmental decree is agitation for hearing as to the propriety of any with ringing phrases about freedom. India's immediate and unconditional order. From the decision of this It is a barefaced imperialist policy, independence from England, a pro- board, appeal may be made to any and no bones about it. And it is, I position which was rejected by the United States Circuit Court of Apam convinced, the major direction of dominant right wing at the last peals. The court may take into conour foreign policy; the true, if convention at Ramgarh under partially concealed, aim of our war- Gandhi's direct leadership. Gandhi mongers. The more we make this recently announced that if any point clear, the surer will be the members started civil disobedience success of the campaign to keep without his signal, they would have America out of war. For even the to act as rebels outside the party East-coasters might tone down their fold. So my guess is that Gandhi What a disappointment that would belligerence if they realized that the will disown the lefts and use the oe to all the righteous crusade promised arena of their crusade fact of their activity in agitating cap cially on the Atlantic seaboard were somewhere in the Pacific. excuse for driving them out of the party on the basis that they are violating conference decisions. This, if done, will affect chiefly Bose and his block—that is, so far!

> THE MOSLEM LEAGUE AGAIN

Jinnah and his Moslem League continue to complicate matters. Jinnah rejects complete independ-London, England | power-politics so long as Russia was | ence and, in defense of his position, uses the age-old hypocritical im-This was the root error of Russian perialist slogan of "necessary policy, Brockway declared. The protection": "If British bayonets

Jinnah thus continues to be true to his role of England's lickspittle and stooge as against Hindu India. His demand for a separate and im-It has been attempted to justify proved status of the Moslems may the invasion on two grounds, Brock- prove to be no mere pipe dream, but a shrewd bargaining point with naturally this aspect that attracts tary value of the territory and bases some chance of its being granted most attention today. However, the of war would be a threat to the Britain and France might now be at gained is nothing compared with the by an England whose need for help movement behind the Logan-Walter loss of the good-will of the working from the Moslem world is becoming soon have spread over the greater class of the world. Twenty years ever more apparent as the war the problem of burocratic agencies ago, the whole labor movement of threatens to extend beyond the con-

The Communist Party of India went to war with Russia, there all the twists and turns of the 1. Because the more the war would be far less resistance from Stalintern in the last decade. In the the British working class. And what old ultra-left days, it attacked the Indian National Congress as the "social-fascist twin" of British imperialism, and Gandhi as the chief Administration forces have opposed Front days of playing around with England was remarkably gentle and the activities of the administrative took a 180-degree turn. Its members scrambled hastily into the Congress and vied with the most moderate for the prize in moderation. Its revolutionary hell-fire was shelved; it took over the reformist ritual bag and baggage, and jumped whole-heartedly on Gandhi's bandwagon. Gandhi's critics found in the Stalinites their most venemous opponents. Now the line has changed again, and so have they. But the change is being accomplished with the duplicity so characteristic of all another way outside. Inside, they still prate about unity, support all except two of the Republicans Gandhi to all intents and purposes, and resist attempts of other left- final passage. wing groups to make a clear-cut ideological and organizational fight on as broad united-front leftwing basis as possible against foreign policy of the Soviet Union. modification of the laws creating ing on what is not true, that this is

## British Move to Logan Bill Raises Big Tricky "Peace" Issue of Burocracy

"Fourth Branch" of Government Real Menace

**By ROBERT WALTERS** 

THE recent passage of the Logan-Walter "burocracy-curbing" bill designed to meet not only before the Senate but before the American people as a whole. The measure is widely recognized as one of the most important to come before the country in many years. CHIEF PURPOSES

The Logan-Walter bill has two major purposes and provisions: (1) to require administrative agencies of the federal government to have fixed rules of procedure; and (2) to permit appeals to the courts from orders issued by such agencies.

To implement the first purpose, the bill, as it was passed by the House, provides a public hearing shall be held with respect to rules and regulations of each administraleft wings. In certain parts of India, tive agency and that any person things have come to an open clash on regarding himself aggrieved by promulgated rule may appeal to the District of Columbia Court of Appeals, which shall determine whether the rule is in accordance with the

To effectuate the second purpose it is provided that within each sideration not only whether the order is in accord with the law, but also whether it is based upon substantial evidence. Many laws creating administrative agencies confine court reviews to the law, and make findings of fact by the agencies

Certain agencies which have longestablished rules of procedure and the terms of the Logan-Walter bill. Logan-Walter bill offers the proper denied.

The Senate bill is similar to the House bill. It passed the Senate last ness of federal agencies administer-Summer with little debate and with- ing social-welfare and labor legisla- further risk to the United States. out a record vote. It was recalled basing its defense on the solidarity central government would collapse." from the House, however, after ing business. This certainly would Study the Organization of Peace, before the conference, but because of the international working class He would be satisfied with pleas were made for fuller considerand the adoption of the methods of dominion status for an autonomous ation, and is now on the Senate

There are 130 federal agencies but as a maneuver to ally itself with the support of British imperialism: They interpret laws, make rules our entire economic and political Empire, and Nicholas Murray French and British imperialism; its "Our practical interests are to have which they may change at will, and military and political pact with the Britain win. Moslem India would be issue orders which have the effect French government—these were the willing to fight for Great Britain in of law. They combine legislative, executive, and judicial authority.

The tangle of administrative agencies-very appropriately called the "fourth arm" of the federal government-has, of course, grown tremendously during the years of New Deal legislation, and it is bill antedates the New Deal, just as does. The American Bar Association, which is responsible for the bill just passed by the House, appointed a committee to study the subject and suggest legislation in 1932, before the New Deal came into being.

### ARGUMENTS FOR

AND AGAINST Advocates of the bill maintain that it is necessary to curb misuse of authority and arbitrary burocracy. devil. In the more recent People's the measure on the ground that it would complicate and delay the funccapitalist democracies, its ire against tions of the government and paralyze its attitude toward the Congress agencies created to fulfil a necessary and useful purpose. During the House debate, it was attacked as being confusing and as threatening

endless litigation. House opposition finally centered Securities and Exchange Commission. Majority Leader Rayburn opposed the bill. Representative Rankin asserted the measure was aimed at crippling the S.E.C., the Tennessee Valley Authority, and the Rural Electrification Administration. An amendment to exempt the S.E.C. Stalinesque puppet parties They act failed, 15 to 65. One to exempt the one way inside the Congress and R.E.A. was voted down, 60 to 124. A majority of the Democrats and in the House voted for the bill on

There is little doubt that the rapid expansion of administrative burocracy in recent years constitutes one of the most disturbing trends of Gandhi. On the outside, they carry the times. These quasi-judicial, on independent activity among the quasi-legislative agencies are not workers, peasants and youth for merely a "fourth arm" of the govtheir program against England, not ernment, as some have said; in those so much against Germany, for sup- aspects of government that directly port of the Soviet Union, etc.—in affect the lives and activities of the certain cases, mobilizing even masses of people, these administraagainst the Congress itself. The tive agencies are the government itinevitably contradictory character self. Yet to a large extent they are of their activity, in this transitory arbitrary and irresponsible in their stake—if you really believe that stage to a new line, cannot, of functioning, that is, they are course, last very long. It will be responsible only to themselves and you will be willing to give them food ironed out to a uniform character the President. Congress can exand the C.P. will progressively ercise only the remotest sort of will have to do that if you really reveal itself more and more clearly control over them, either thru the believe that civilization is at stake for what it is, the stooge for the power of appointment or thru direct The whole error comes from insist-

them, usually a difficult and not always effective process for the laws must necessarily allow a great deal of latitude and discretion. Recourse to the courts is also limited, as recent Supreme Court decisions on Wagner Act cases show. In short, those restraints and checks and balances that are supposed to characterize our constitutional democracy do not seem to extend to the new "fourth arm" of the govern

### PROBLEM GOES DEEP

The difficulty goes deep. Modern economic and social conditions have rendered the old parliamentary three-branch system of government increasingly obsolete. To cope with on every side today-problems, primarily, of regulating and controlling the economic activities of agencies have to be devised unknown to old laissez-faire days. This process is not, of course, new; the Interstate Commerce Commission, for example, is over fifty years old. But obviously, it has been speeded up tremendously in the last ten years of crisis and breakdown. The of the government are today operat-"alphabetical" agencies.

The very flexibility of these rolled in one! The danger to democratic institutions in this situation is plainly apparent. In fact, democratic processes are almost completely overshadowed. This is the problem; it is a prob-

economic, social and political development. But how to solve this probbackers, hope to be able to use such tion and the New Deal laws regulatbe reactionary.

that it is essentially unsolvable

## Schemes Imperil Anti-War Fight

By QUINCY HOWE

N<sup>O</sup> amount of hunting in the vicinity of 23 Wall Street or the British Foreign Office will uncover at this stage of the game the individuals or organizations that may lead the United States into Europe's war. It took more than ten years after the World War to reveal the part that American banking interests and British propaganda played in enlisting this country in the last crusade for democracy, and they were not the only forces responsible. This time, however, the bulk of that propaganda comes from Americaı, citizens.

Needless to say, those American writers who express a pro-British point of view have not been bribed or bamboozled into their present the complicated problems that arise convictions. I do not know a more patriotic, high-minded or intelligent American than Clarence Streit. Yet it is precisely because Mr. Streit has society—new and more flexible such exceptional qualities that his agencies have to be devised up.

"Union Now" organization has become perhaps the most serious existing threat to the peace of the United States. His "Unionists," as they call themselves, believe in a federal union of the democraciesincluding, curiously enough, the British Empire which rules over most essential administrative affairs of the government are today operations. Stalin and the Mikado all put toed almost entirely by these new gether. Yet if Mr. Streit's point of view and propaganda prevail—and they have made sensational headagencies means that they do not way in the past year—the American conform to the traditional pattern of people and their leaders will have constitutional government. They acquired a series of convictions about world organization and an invery frequently are investigator, terventionist brand of foreign policy complainant, prosecutor, judge, jury, that will subordinate the issue of keeping America out of this war to the issue of "building a new world order.'

If Mr. Streit's organization is perhaps a little theoretical, there is nothing dreamy-eyed about the lem inherent in our present stage of American Committee for Non-Participation in Japanese Aggression. Led by such seasoned realists lem is far from obvious. Many who as ex-Secretary Stimson and Adregarding whose acts there are codes are thoroly aware of the seriousness miral Yarnell, this propaganda and of judicial decisions are exempt from of the problem do not feel that the pressure group is selling the American people a program of stream-Among them are the Interstate approach to its solution. There is lined twentieth century imperial ex-Commerce Commission and the good reason to believe that a large pansion in the Orient. At the Federal Trade Commission. The bill, part of the purpose in pushing the moment, of course, it presents its as it passed the House, also exempts bill at this time is political to case on purely moral grounds; invarious agencies where discretion embarrass and hamper the Ad- deed, many peace-loving clergymen must be permitted in decision—such ministration. Nor is there any doubt have been persuaded that a trade as decisions as to whether an appli- that many of its Congressional embargo on Japan will cause the cation for a loan is to be granted or sponsors, and their big-business present military rulers of that country to abdicate. Peace in the Orient a measure to cripple the effective- and the Open Door in China will thus be secured for all time without

Then there is the Commission to one of many offsprings of the prolific The more the problem of buro- peace organizations founded by the cracy and its control is studied the late Andrew Carnegie. It was the stronger does the conviction grow lifelong ambition of the Scottishoorn steel magnate to bring the (Continued on Page 4)

## **Move to Break Down Neutrality Seen**

## Flynn Warns Against Effort to Grant Credit

By JOHN T. FLYNN

STRANGE reports are going about about the grain and commodity true, then we have to believe that a British purchasing commission is in this country to buy foodstuffs and that it has been at work in Washing- apparently. ton trying to make arrangements to buy here on credit. This would mean an amendment to the neutrality law. And the strangest part of these reports is that this commission has been making some headway with this plan.

If there was one resolution we took to high heaven before this war started, and after, it was that we would not make the mistake of selling to the warring nations on credit. That is the way we moved head over heels into the last war.

I do not mean the American peoupon an effort to exempt the ple went to war to save those credits. I mean that by becoming implicated in the Allied cause to the extent of billions of dollars of credit, we become economically all bound up in their cause and their victory.

> We may recall now the prophetic words of the late Senator Borah when he opposed the weakening of the neutrality bill. He said Congress proposed to help England and France by permitting the sale of everything but munitions "provided they pay cash."

The Senator said: "You say you want to do this because civilization is at stake. You want to save civilization, but, you say, the Allies must put cash on the line. But suppose that six months or a year from now the Allies are in trouble. The odds turn against them. Will you say, 'We want to help you save civilizationbut you must lay the cash on the

"No," he exclaimed, "if you believe civilization and democracy are at you will not only grant credits, but and munitions and, finally men. You

la fight for democracy. It is a fight for empire.'

This is a free-hand quotation. But here we are now, with the tide seemmarkets of New York. If they are ingly against the empires. And the commission is here to get credit instead of cash and "is making headway." It is being subtly managed,

> England has cut off tobacco purchases here. She is buying but little cotton. She is not buying grain from us in the quantitites we would like to sell. The farmer wants to sell his goods. He is in trouble. Therefore, what about selling food-food for women and children whose men "are fighting our battle" on credit? Can you not hear the speeches now?

Having amended the Neutrality Act to permit sales on credit for farm products, we will be ready to take the next inevitable step and sell all sorts of things, including war materials. To do this, we will have to sell our

people the proposition that "civilization and democracy" are at stakethat we are in danger—that there is an emergency—that the Germans are about to invade Greenland, and so

Washington is leading us step by step. Little by little, we shall go on.

(These paragraphs are from the New York World-Telegram of April 20, 1940.—Editor.)

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### F.D.R.'S BLIND SPOT

11 IT is far easier [for President Roosevelt] to lecture Hitler than to fight I for a repeal of the poll tax in Mississippi," writes John Chamberlain in his new book, "The American Stakes." And never were there truer words said or words that deserved more repetition and emphasis.

President Roosevelt, and his spokesmen, official and unofficial, never miss an opportunity to laud democracy and freedom and to denounce ly necessary and of the greatest imarbitrary power and oppression. With true missionary zeal, they seem to be just aching to launch another grand crusade to bring the blessings How can we be so selfish, they ask indignantly, as to let considerations ample, the seeking of the causes ot liberty to the unfortunate peoples of central and eastern Europe. of our own welfare outweigh our "duty to mankind"?

All very noble, no doubt; but somehow this universal philanthropy has a rather sizeable blind spot, and that blind spot, curiously enough, covers a good deal of territory right at home. How keen is their vision in detecting outrages against democracy that must be redressed in Berlin and Moscow and how loud their indignation; but how strangely dull their vision and subdued their tone when they are made to turn their gaze on Mississippi! This type of blindness to conditions near at hand is the traditional infirmity of the missionary mind, no less so when the missionary zeal smells suspiciously of imperialistic calculations.

In Mississippi, as indeed thruout most of the South, large numbers of Negroes and poor whites are disfranchised, just as surely as by special law, thru the device of the poll tax. Before you can vote, you've got to pay a tax of \$1 or \$2. That may not sound so drastic until you think of the conditions under which the mass of the voters live in these communities. When it is realized, as Maury Maverick pointed out some weeks ago before a House Judiciary subcommittee, that southern poor whites and Negroes earn as little as \$36 a year and show a general average of \$186 a year, it is not difficult to see why the poll tax is in practise virtually prohibitive. To the people who have to pay it, the \$1 or \$2 tax represents from 10 to 15 days work. In some states, poll taxes are even the communist movement, in its earcumulative, so that if a voter hasn't paid his tax for some years, he is ly years, despite fundamental de- with the barbarous methods and suirequired to put down \$5 or \$10 before he can exercise his allegedly fects in structure and method, alone natural right as a citizen!

The results are plain enough—actual disfranchisement of great masses of poor people in the southern states. The figures leave no doubt of it. Whereas for the nation as a whole an average of 67% of the qualified voters participate in elections, for the southern states where poll of a labor party and the amalgamataxes prevail only 31% vote in Florida, 27% in Texas, 16.2% in Georgia, 14.5% in Mississippi, 10% in South Carolina.

These results are only the logical fulfillment of the purpose for which the poll-tax system was instituted—to deprive the Negroes of their constitutional right to vote, and along with them also great numbers of poor whites, and to perpetuate political control in the hands of the most corrupt collection of political machines in the country.

President Roosevelt knows all this, but does he raise his voice or lift a finger against this shameful, outrageous violation of democracy right activities of the Communist Party of reveals what that defect is, and to at home? Oh, no; he is much too busy denouncing outrages against the 1920's in furthering progressive human rights abroad—and, besides, he can't afford to offend the political policies in the American labor movemachines in the Solid South on whose support he and his Democratic party are so absolutely dependent.

"It is far easier to lecture Hitler than to fight for a repeal of the poll tax in Mississippi.'

### STALINISM AND WORLD SITUATION

(Continued from page 1)

Hitler's brutal crushing of Austria and Czecho-Slovakia—once condemned this Citler fails to do or aven to the Communist parties were laid was by Stalin himself—but even shift the blame from the Nazis and give the grass. He therefore fails to make sees them sither political or parse. latter tips on how to improve their stranglehold on the oppressed Czech and Austrian peoples.

It is in the same spirit and substance that the May Day manifesto of the Comintern could say nothing else about the Nazi invasion of Norway than: "Countering the Anglo-French violation of Scandinavian neutrality, the Germans occupied Denmark and seized strategic positions in Norway." It is for the same purpose and for identical reasons that this Stalin manifesto says not a word of direct criticism of Nazi imperialism but directs its fire exclusively upon French, British and American imperialism. Thruout the manifesto, the Allied imperialists are accused and the German imperialists are excused.

We condemn this role as outright pro-Nazi. We condemn it as much as we once condemned the pro-Anglo-French imperialist role played by regime established in the American ror of his own, he is always careful Russia and its foreign agencies (alias: Communist parties) thruout the world. In both instances, Stalin and his puppets played the role of accomplices, agents and assistants of one band of imperialists against another. Such a role is anti-socialist and renders incalculable harm to the best interests of the workers of the Soviet Union and of all other countries.

Because we are against all imperialism, we condemn such a role being played especially by a country calling itself the "Socialist Fatherland." That is why we do not allow such comments as those cited above to be buried in indecent obscurity. Hence we turn a scorching light on it.

Negro Needs Labor as We believe in the time-honored truth that the first condition for getting the better of an enemy is to understand him. Therefore, we strive for a full understanding of Stalinism and its role in the present international

With this aim in mind, we have presented our material and made our analysis. We have set down no blue-print, no prophesy, no wish. We understand that the current of international affairs is full of surprises replete with eddies. Nonetheless, we can see the cataracts. These indicate a continuation of intimate cooperation between Stalin and Hitler for some time to come.

(The first two articles by Jay Lovestone on Stalinism and the international situation appeared in earlier issues of this paper.—Editor.)

INTELLECTUALLY, spiritually, the greatest havoc wrought by Hitler and Stalin has been in the democratic countries, in driving men of good will literally to distraction in their horror of fascist barbarism. A shocking case in point is Lewis Mumford's article, "The Corruption of Liberalism," in the New Republic of April 29, 1940.

How tragically disoriented Mumford's fine mind has become under the cruel blows of recent experience can be seen from the following incredible statement of his:

'The isolationism of a Charles Beard or a Stuart Chase or a Quincy Howe is indeed almost as much a sign of barbarism as the doctrines of a Rosenberg or a Gottfried Feder.'

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Review of Ben Gitlow's "I Confess":

## What Does Gitlow 'Confess'? Resolution on Russia

By B. HERMAN

**B** his confession of why he has No. 19. broken with the communist movecrisis of the entire working-class movement thruout the world today, that a serious reexamination of the communist and socialist movements during the past two decades is vitalportance. An honest examination requires an objective, self-critical approach. It demands, for exof the growing degeneration of the many leaders, but in the very nature and structure of the Third International. Such an examination would stages of development of world communism, of its positive contributions, of its decay-of its transformation from a revolutionary to a counterrevolutionary force. POSITIVE SIDE

IGNORED

gether fails to do. He hardly touches the problem, and when he does, he fails to illumine. He does not esti- nist leaders even more prominent tive, revolutionary socialist role of to labor and persecution in its cause the communist movement in its first is equal to his, have been led to period. It is an undeniable fact that break with the working-class moveheld aloft the banner of revolution- Jacques Doriot, for example, even revolutionary sincerity. But, of ary socialism. It is undeniable also that it was the working-class political organization in this country that, tion of the trade unions, and that fought unceasingly against imperialism, militarism, class collaboration, "capitalist efficiency socialism," "Fordism," and the like. One may the revolutionary principles which criticize the effectiveness of the movement during this period, or the approach and methods employed, but and make-up of the individual hima proper estimate cannot ignore the consciousness. In estimating the effect of the Russian domination, it is also necessary to show the relatively healthy influence of the Comintern in the earlier years compared with the Stalinist period following 1929for example, in eradicating infantile grasp. He therefore fails to make nation of the history of the commu-

nist movement. Gitlow's conclusions-repudiation of all existing working-class movements and uncritical exaltation of bourgeois democracy-do not follow is, on the viewpoint of the Indepenexposes once again the totalitarian Communist Party by Stalin in 1929. the suppression of all democracy and

I CONFESS, by Benjamin Gitlow. With an Introduction by Max Eastman.

PENJAMIN GITLOW has written Russian police agency. He shows the effect the escape of Gene Debs from ment, the socialist movement, and the party during earlier years and seems to be able to treat others with the working-class movement.\* There exposes the mechanical transplanta- the same tolerance and understand can be no question, given the degen- tion from Russia to America not on- ing. Yet, when, with the help of eration of Stalinist Russia and the ly of political line, but also of inter- Lenin, this "exuberance of youth," Communist International, and the nal party struggles. This very sound this revolutionary romanticism, bethe repudiation of Marxism, of revo-derstanding of American reality, Gitconclusion from such a criticism would be that a revolutionary workno Fuehrer, and under no circumstances subordinate itself to the ar- the existence of the underground Comintern and its parties not in the bitrary will of any party or power communist organization which would personal wickedness of its one or abroad. It should, of course, maintain mechanically control the legal Workrequire a careful analysis of the of criticism, not on that of corpse- ing an outlived underground movelogical conclusions. Rather, he sees This necessary job Gitlow alto- in its critical reexamination.

Gitlow is not an isolated phenomenon. Thruout the world, commument entirely thru disillusionment cidal policies of the Stalin regime. went over to fascism. A number have gone over to bourgeois democracy. The burden of blame for this demoralization of proletarian forces movement. Most of Gitlow's book must fall upon the brutal Stalinist dictatorship. But no amount of degeneration of the Communist International can excuse the abandonment of the working class movement or of Stalin was the first to attack. There must be some defect in the character self that contributes. Gitlow's book that small, negative degree he does render a contribution.

CONFESSING THE

ERRORS OF OTHERS Elementary honesty would require hat Gitlow begin his confession by an examination of his own errors. This he has failed to do. The book is a confession of other people's errors, Max Eastman. Take, for example, leftism and revolutionary romanti- real or alleged, made for them by the five pages of Chapter V ending cism, the dual-union and sectarian Gitlow. His own errors Gitlow does with the following striking passage: outlook that was rife in the commu- not confess; he justifies them and "The bed of Procrustes on which all variety of viewpoints. Emrys Thomas any real contribution to a reexami- | nal, to all the leaders, with very few | erary references and such dignity of exceptions, of all the communist and socialist organizations he has ever most ignoble motives to everybody himself, even in the days when from his criticism. His critique, in merely being a member meant arrest so far as it is valid, is based on his and persecution, perhaps deportation riewpoint developed after 1929, that He fails to see any elements of sincere devotion to ideals and principles dent Labor League of America. He anywhere but in himself. Even when he confesses, here and there, an ernevertheless, acting from the best and most sincere of motives. With 1939. what scorn does he treat the revolutionary romanticism of Ruthenberg E. P. Dutton and Co., New York, 1939. in planning to break out of Sing

all freedom of thought within the or- | Sing! But when he describes his own ganization, and its conversion into a at least equally fantastic plan to constant interference of the Russian Woodstock prison, he excuses it by leaders in the internal affairs of the "exuberance of youth." He never criticism, however, does not warrant gan to turn into a more mature unlutionary socialism. The only logical low himself was among the last to sober up-which, of course, he fails to tell us. He passes lightly over the ing-class political movement in this significance of the fact that he was country should be based on the needs the leader of the so-called "Goose' and the problems of the American caucus at the underground C.P. conworking class—should bow down to vention of 1922. It was the "Goose' caucus which insisted on maintaining international relations with other ers Party, Thus, Gitlow continued working-class organizations, but only to live in a world of revolutionary on the basis of equality and freedom romanticism (not to speak of fosterlike discipline and subordination. ment and undemocratic form of or-But Gitlow draws none of these ganization) at a time when other leaders of the movement, such as in the degeneration of the Stalinist Ruthenberg, Lovestone and Wolfe, movement the excuse for repudiat- had passed beyond that stage. Writing every form of revolutionary ing in 1939, he justifies his old posisocialism. This book is therefore as tion. Wasn't it in agreement with the defective in its conclusions as it is Twenty-One Points of the Comin tern? This in itself is no condemnation of the Gitlow of 1922. But it does condemn a "confession" written almost two decades later in which he mate in objective fashion the posi-than Gitlow, whose record of service is unable to make a frank and critial self-evaluation.

> Gitlow apparently believes he has the good fortunes to possess that remarkable mechanism known as a "sincerometer," which always registers infallibly the degree of people's course, one must understand that he is simply justifying his own course of abandoning the working-class could just as well have been written as an attack on a movement thoroly sound in its socialist principles and politics. In fact, the book is written in sev-

eral different styles and from several widely varying points of view. Some portions of the book, a few pages or a few paragraphs each time, are in a style entirely different from the personal subjective narrow-minded Gitlowesque manner. These passages are objective and analytical in character and occasionally even display the gift of poetical imagery. They are either examples of inlay work, having been lifted or rewritten from the Workers Age, or they are ghost-written, in all all, to do our part here in Britain Russia, but strongly sympathized probability by Gitlow's translator, sees them, either political or perso-the Comintern program." Such litxpression are alike alien to Gitlow. The true Gitlowesque style begins in been associated with. He ascribes the the next paragraph: "We American communists took it-hook, line and in the communist movement except sinker." Thus the book continuesfrom the "bed of Procrustes" to "hook, line and sinker." Other pages, such as those describing Stalin's brutal treatment of the American Communist Party, are apparently based on letters and other material written in 1929. Such brief passages are from Gitlow, the communist opto assure the reader that he was, positionist of 1929, and not from the nte witness for the prosecution of

> (The second article in this series will appear in the next issue.—Editor.,

## Partners in An Ally in Struggle

### Unity Against War is Urged by Crosswaith

(Continued from page 2) chairlady of the shop. Moreover, she workers, regardless of color, of race couldn't go into the shop without a and anything else. union card. So she found herself cardless and jobless, with the result that our union is being sued in the courts of Georgia today for \$50,000 damages.

That experience without a doubt helped to educate thousands of white garment workers and white to get the raw deal, the short end workers generally in the organized labor movement.

I cite this experience to emphasize the point I wanted to make-I don't need to make any other-that the Negro must look for allies, and he can only find allies whom he can trust by finding them in his own class, the working class.

FIGHT IN A GOOD CAUSE

The working class has nothing to gain by war. The working class must

lways remain opposed to war. I am not pacifist either. You should and what not, and so when we get see me in a fight! I am not a pacifist, but when I fight, I am going to fight for myself or my class. No-

thing else. Otherwise I am a pacifist. So I say to you, the attitude of the Negro toward this war should be reflective of the attitude of the workers of this country, and the workers of the world. We need to cement ourselves, we need to knit ourselves closer as working men. We need to recognize that our only hope for we do that, we must state that in deliverance out of this Gethsemane this instance and every other inof hunger and race prejudice and stance where greed for profit is inwar, our only hope is to unite on volved, we are opposed to war.

the basis of our common interests as

WHITE WORKERS MUST BE EDUCATED

That doesn't mean that when we get into the labor movement, we should forget the fact that because of the tint of our skin we are likely of the stick. Even in the labor movement we will get that. Our job when we get in there is to educate the workers, white as well as black.

dom home to you on a silver platter. our sleeves, and fight like hell every step of the way, because the people who are a part of the labor move ment are educated in the schools of America. They get their impressions on the streets and in the theaters We have got to do what the Jewish workers had to do in order to gain recognition in the American labor movement. They had to organize the United Hebrew Trades, so that every Jewish worker would be united in their common demand for justice for the Jewish workers in the trade-

union movement We have got to do that. And, as

## The Spoils

By way of the diplomatic grapevine, the State Department now has evidence that Russia knew weeks in advance the German plans to invade Norway. Several weeks before Germany moved, the Soviet ambassador paid a formal call on the Norwegian minister in Washington and conveyed information that Russia had no further ambitions in northern Europe. The, surprised Norwegian envoy didn't realize until after the invasion that Russia wanted to 'make a record' of neutrality before the event."—United States News, May 3, 1940.

# Independent Labor Party

(We publish below the resolution on Rusisa adopted by the recent Nottingham conserence of the British Independent Labor Party.—Editor.)

1. The I.L.P. warns the workers of the danger that the British government, in association with other capitalist governments, will extend or divert the present European conflict into a war against Russia. The I.L.P. will resist all developments in this direction and will strive to influence other sections of the working-class movement to resist. Should the war be turned against Russia, the I.L.P. will do everything in its power to strengthen opposition and to bring the war to an end in all countries, by the overthrow of capitalism.

2. At the same time, the I.L.P. regards it as a necessary duty of socialists to dissociate themselves in the clearest way from the foreign and military policy of the Stalinist regime, which has reached its present climax in Finland.

This disastrous development is the outcome of the adoption by Russia of the imperialist methods of power-politics in substitution for the policy of world socialist revolution and reliance upon the support of the working class of all countries.

The aggression committed against Finland and the terms of the peace treaty were excused by the Stalinist government and its supporters on the grounds of (a) strategic necessity, and (b) the liberation of the Finnish people and the establishment of a People's Government.

As regards (a), the strongest bulwark for the defence of Russia was the good-will of the working class of the world, and this good-will has been largely destroyed by Russia's invasion of Finland.

As regards (b), the liquidation of the Kuusinen puppet government since the conclusion of the peace treaty shows that it was a mere device and never had any popular support. So far from stimulating a revolutionary rising, the effect of the Russian policy was to associate the Finnish workers and peasants with the reactionary elements in Finland.

3. Whilst the I.L.P. recognizes that private capitalism has been abolshed in Russia, it reaffirms its view that only the reintroduction of working-class democracy within the U.S.S.R. will affect the changes in Russian internal and foreign policy necessary to realign its interests with those of world socialism. The I.L.P. believes that such working-class democracy would meet with enthusiastic support from the Russian masses.

4. Notwithstanding its criticism of the Stalinst regime, the I.L.P. renews its pledge to the Russian people that it will not only oppose war against them, but will carry on the struggle against the capitalist-imperialist class in Britain until in this country socialism and working-class democracy are established.

## I.L.P. Denounces New Stalin Imperialism

### But Warns Against British Threat to Russia

(Continued from Page 3) ploody suppression of all differences of opinion, and in international power-politics.

But there is still hope for the future of Russia, Brockway concluded. A movement will arise to restore political democracy. It is our duty to oppose capitalist war which tion. The I.L.P., he said, would opwould destroy that hope, and, above towards the overthrow of capitalism and imperialism.

Those who disagreed with the N (Wales) attempted to justify the foreign policy that led to it. The logic of the N.A.C. resolution Thomas concluded, was that it would have been preferable for Finland to have defeated Russia-and with this he, Thomas, disagreed. Tom Stephen son (Cumberland) took a similar stand. The invasion might in normal times be classed as a crime, he said but now the times were not normal. Harry Cund (Merseyside) stressed that Stalin's foreign policy was disastrous for Russia. In the past, he said, it had been possible for the Soviet government to find scapegoats on which to blame its own blunders; this time, the Russian burocracy was forced to accept sole responsibility.

Jack Sproud (Cardiff) and David Gibson (Glasgow) continued the indictment of Stalin's foreign policies as damaging both to the Russian people and the international working class. Cecil Dixon (Woolwich) insisted that a form of totalitarianism was "essential" to Russia at this stage. George Johnson (Norwich) carried further the criticism of Russian foreign policy and the invasion of Finland. Fred Jowett, well-known I.L.P. veteran, appealed that "we should seek always for the good

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## So, when you get into this movement, you mustn't stay home and linside the "Trojan Horse"

We have got to get in there, roll up 66 TO understand how the Nazis staged their 'Trojan Horse' invasion of Norway, one must get an inside view of the Norwegian political "Secret of the Nazi success was a rift between the Labor government

ruling Norway and Norwegian big business. "Norwegian businessmen, while not exactly pro-Nazi, toyed with the

hope that Germany might rescue them from a Labor government, which in there our job is to educate them. I they had been unable to overthrow at the ballot box. "It is doubtful whether the mass of Norwegian businessmen would

have favored an outright occupation by Germany, but according to official cabled reports, they seemed to have the idea that after turning out the Labor government, Hitler would restore Norway to conservative rule.

"There was also a powerful clique within the Norwegian army even more strongly pro-Nazi. Norway's army is not large, chiefly militia officered in part by business and professional men.

"They argued that since Labor had spent so much on social welfare | Read-Spread and neglected national defense, the Labor government could take the consequence. These were the officers whom the Nazis induced to keep their men away when German troops first landed."-Drew Pearson and Robert S. Allen, "Washington Merry-Go-Round," April 23, 1940.

when considering a socialist state." Replying specifically to Jowett, Bob Edwards laid bare the real affairs to the method of imperialist situation in Russia and showed how far from a "socialist state" it actually was.

C. A. Smith, I.L.P. chairman, wound up the discussion with a very effective defense of the N.A.C. posipose any imperialistic attack upon with a people (the Finns) struggling-and rightly struggling-for its national independence.

The N.A.C. resolution was adopted by 70 votes to 21.

## Tricky "Peace" Schemes Imperil Anti-War Fight

(Continued from Page 3)

Butler, as head of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, carries on the good work. Dr. Butler's chief assistant and heir presumptive is James T. Shotwell, Canadian-born chairman of the newly-created Commission. In this capacity, Dr. Shotwell and two officials of the League of Nations Association-Dr. Clark Eichelberger and Dr. Pennington Haile-have organized a series of radio forums and discussion groups. The Commission will study every conceivable aspect of war and peace save only one-how the United States might stay out of the present war. That continued American neutrality might be as helpful to other countries as to the United States is considered too absurd an assumption even to warrant discussion on the otherwise comprehensive forum.

(This article is taken from .. the March-April 1940 issue of the News Bulletin of the Youth Committee Against War.--Editor.)

### Allies Abandon Norway to Nazis

(Continued from Page 1)

between the two partners, with Russia probably receiving, either outright or in an indirect form, some ports in northern Norway and a section of Sweden, now completely at the mercy of the Berlin-Moscow Axis, as well as the "go-ahead" signal to swallow up the rest of Fin-

There was little military activity on the western front last week, the thirty-fifth week of the war. But Britain suffered a heavy naval loss if the German report, disputed in London, is true which claimed that a 31,000-ton British capital ship of the type of the Queen Elizabeth had been sunk by an air bomber. This would be the first case in naval history of a capital ship being sunk by ı bomb from the air.

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