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Workers Age

Weekly Paper of the Independent Labor League of America

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Vo. 9, No. 5.

NEW YORK, N. Y., SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 3, 1940

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Behind the Headlines:

Outraged Facts and Outrageous Folly

By JAY LOVESTONE

WE don't think a single American worker should attach the slightest value to the sincerity of Hoover's plea for "poor little Finland". We believe no forward-looking person should waste a continental on the Vatican's crocodile tears in behalf of "Finnish democracy". This is the same Vatican that used Italian army tanks as sacred altars in Mussolini's campaign to butcher Ethiopia. The Hoovers, the Roosevelts, the Chamberlains, the Daladiers, the Papal hierarchs—and all their junior and senior partners, Leon Blum and Stalin not excluded—contributed in varying ways and degrees to the defeat of the Spanish working masses and the triumph of Franco.

It is not with the opinions of such worthies that we should be concerned in considering the tragedy of, and the crime against, Finland. Let's approach the problem solely from the viewpoint of genuine socialist policy, that is, on the basis of the interests of the international working class, and hence, of social progress. Much clarification is assured by examining some unchallengeable historical facts.

At the outset, the military and moral results of the Russian onslaught on Finland reveal the most costly confirmation of the fact that the Stalinist bureaucracy is not only thoroughly unfitted to carry out the principles of Marx and Lenin, but is even politically stupid. When the American Stalinist puppets defend the Russian invasion as a continuation of Lenin's foreign policy, they, at best, advertise to the world that their ignorance is invincible. In preparing the rise of the Bolshevik party to power, Lenin went out of the way to emphasize, in May 1917:

"The relation of Finland to Russia is the question of the hour. Finland was annexed by the Russian Czars thru a deal with Napoleon, the stifier of the French Revolution. If we are really against annexations, we must come out openly for Finland's freedom. . . . After we have said it and practised it, then, and then only, will agreement with Finland become a really voluntary, free and true agreement, and not a deception. . . ."

And in his Collected Works, Vol. XX, in the section dealing with "Finland and Russia", Lenin denounces the fraudulent policy of the Russian liberal bourgeoisie and their social-democratic satellites towards Finland, and declares: "In order that the agreement might be a true agreement, and not a verbal screen for subjugation, it is necessary that both sides enjoy equal rights, that is, that both Russia and Finland should have the right not to agree." How profound, prophetic and appropriate! Herr Molotov could certainly tell Lenin something about "a verbal screen for subjugation" and the equal rights of Russia and Finland "not to agree".

But Stalin and his worshippers tell us that the present government of Finland elected in July 1939 is dangerously reactionary, outright fascist. First of all, this charge is thoroughly unfounded in fact. After the present government was elected, the official Comintern mouthpiece, World News and Views (formerly Inprocor), said: "The results of the Finnish parliamentary elections of July 1 and 3 prove that the people of Finland are for freedom and democracy and against fascism. The participation in the election was much larger than in 1936. The increased vote benefited the democratic parties." Furthermore, when Kyosti Kallio was elected Finland's president in 1937, the Stalin press everywhere quite properly hailed his victory over his reactionary opponent because it was based on a policy of active rapprochement with the Soviets.

However, even if Finnish fascism had triumphed in the July 1939 election, it could not in the least serve as an excuse for Stalin's criminal adventure. On this basis, the Soviet Union ought to be at war with all countries on its borders that have fascist regimes. How come, then, that the Stalin regime so proudly proclaims that it has left intact the almost wholly fascist governments of the Baltic states—with jails jammed to overflow with communists, trade unionists and socialists? Had the form of government of a neighboring state been the cue to Russian foreign policy, Stalin would have been denied the rare and very questionable privilege of receiving the very warm greetings from Hitler and Ribbentrop on the occasion of his sixtieth birthday. But, as Stalin himself would say, such reasoning smacks of "rotten liberalism" and "is enough to make a cat laugh".

What is the source and what is the nature of this latest policy pursued by the Stalin government and defended by its apologists thru the world. Let none other than the redoubtable Israel Amter tell us "The Truth About Finland" (page 45):

"If New York City were in danger of bombardment, say by a country that might be just the other side of Long Island Sound, wouldn't the United States government act just like the Soviet government in order to protect New York? Of course, it would. In fact, let us not forget that (Continued on page 4)

Important Peace Issues Face Congress Session

Foreign Policy, War Budget, Loans to Finland Confront Federal Legislators

Washington, D. C.

THE third session of the 76th Congress is on. Washington observers and the legislators expect a lengthy session. June 15 is the earliest date for adjournment so far suggested.

President Roosevelt's annual message: Similar to the last message on the State of the Union, the leading subjects were foreign affairs and armament. The immediate reaction in Congress was favorable but later consideration was more critical. Analysis of the speech discloses the President really made a case for our moral participation in the war. Many Congressmen have expressed themselves to their colleagues as "fearful of the exact meaning" of the President's statement that "the overwhelming majority of our fellow-citizens do not abandon in the slightest their hope and expectation that the United States will not become involved in military participation in the war."

The section of the Presidential message dealing with "national defense" did not meet with the expected enthusiasm. It appears that the request for new taxes in an election year to pay for increased armament is the dampening factor. At any rate, it has served to revive discussion of a committee to study and report on "national-defense" policy. Interesting in this regard is the

proposal of Senator Harrison for a joint committee to study the budget "with a view to assisting the Congress in formulating a comprehensive fiscal program which will tend . . . to bring revenues and expenditures into balance." It is reported to have Administration blessing. Republican Senators met to determine their attitude towards this measure. They agreed to support it but wanted a study of "national-defense" expenditures and military policy included. In a short debate Monday, January 8, Senator Harrison told Republican leader McNary he would include a study as to the adequacy of "national-defense" expenditures. McNary pressed for a definite statement on policy. Senator Byrnes, chairman of the sub-committee on Naval Appropriations, said he would object if policy were included. Senator Harrison had hoped for unanimous consent but in view of McNary's objection unless it included policy and Byrnes's objection if it did, the resolution will now come to a vote in the regular way.

Propaganda: During the special session of Congress Senator Bennett Champ Clark introduced a resolution which would create a special committee of seven Senators to investigate any person, firm or corporation whose activities would tend to cause the United States to change its policy of neutrality. It is now in the (Continued on Page 4)

German Thrust at Rumania Imminent

Agreement With Russia Said to Give Reich Control of Rich Oil Resources

A German thrust at Rumania, with the object of securing uninterrupted control over rich supplies of wheat and oil, loomed as an imminent threat last week. The Reich, it was reliably reported, had reached an agreement with Russia which permitted German infiltration of Galicia, a part of Poland seized by Russia, to the proportions of an occupation and the establishment in fact of a common frontier between Germany and Rumania.

The German demands upon Rumania were not known but they obviously included control over its wheat and oil supplies, so badly needed by the Reich. Rumania's refusal would mean German invasion. Last week, Rumania was reported to have asked its partners in the Balkan Entente—Greece, Turkey and Yugoslavia—whether it could expect military aid from them in case of a German attack. Formal presentation of the demand will probably be made when the four powers meet in Belgrade on February 2. The well-informed Turkish paper Aksam said flatly that the demand would be turned down. France and Britain are guarantors of Rumania and they are pledged to support it against attack, but without the cooperation of the Balkan Entente little could be done.

In view of this situation, Rumania was said to be preparing to yield to Germany in the hope of averting outright invasion. The government at Bucharest last week issued a decree forcing foreign-owned oil companies to turn over a part of their production to the state to enable it to "meet its obligations to the Reich." Most of these foreign companies thus obliged to contribute to Germany's war needs are under British, French or American ownership.

The terms of the Russo-German agreement giving Hitler access to Rumania remained unknown. It was apparent, however, that the weakness of Russia's position as a result of its setbacks in Finland gave the German negotiators an easy advantage, enabling them to obtain something concrete in exchange for promises. That something concrete was Russian assent to German exploitation of Galician oil fields and other resources and a direct approach to Rumania. The promises were that Germany would intervene if the Allies tried to help Finland, either directly or thru Norway and Sweden; that Germany would immediately send military technicians and experts to organize Russian transport and arms production; that, should it come to the partition of Rumania, Bessarabia would be assured to Russia.

Russia was particularly eager to get more extensive German assistance because the armies invading Finland were still meeting defeat after defeat despite a reported reorganization of the commanding staff and the service of supply. The biggest action last week, the eighth week of the invasion, took place just above Lake Ladoga, and in this battle the Russians suffered their most disastrous defeat of the war.

Economic conditions in Russia have suffered a marked change for the worse in recent weeks, reports reaching Washington last week indicated. Government food prices in the Moscow district, and perhaps in the other parts of the Soviet Union, were raised again by 35%, it was said. Water and gas rates were also sharply increased. The reports further indicated growing disruption of the Soviet transportation and communication systems, heightened as a consequence of the Finnish war.

In the general European war, little was doing last week, the twenty-first week after the outbreak of hostilities. Thruout Europe, however, there were reports that a decisive change in the situation might be expected soon. A sharp controversy was said to be under way in high quarters in Berlin as to the grand strategy of the war, a controversy between Chancellor Hitler and his generals as to whether to attack or not. Judging by an article by General von Brauchitsch on the occasion

"THE British cabinet is divided. Influential members of it would like to make peace with Hitler even to granting colonies. A United States of Europe would be set up and world markets agreed upon." — Walter Winchell, January 23, 1940.

At the Peak of "Prosperity"

Washington, D. C.
A picture of the United States at a prosperity peak, with production reaching 1929 levels, is furnished by a report of the Federal Surplus Commodities Corporation issued recently.

Nearly two billion pounds of foodstuffs were sent to states for free distribution to the unemployed by June 30, the F.S.C.C. report advises, over 100 cities will be under the food stamp plan.

Thus, while on the one hand, industry hums at a pace equal to that reached during the highest period in our industrial history, on the other hand, the need of the unemployed is so great that a government food relief agency is likely to become a permanent feature of our economic life.

Lewis Indicts New Deal, Hits 3rd Term

Charges Administration Ignores Labor; Hillman Answers Endorsing President

Columbus, Ohio
In his keynote address to the 2,400 delegates at the jubilee convention of the United Mine Workers of America that opened its sessions here last week, John L. Lewis hurled a bombshell into the political arena by making a scathing indictment of President Roosevelt and the New Deal and then topping it off with a forecast that should Mr.

Roosevelt run for a third term, which Lewis said he believed he would not, he was certain to meet with "ignominious defeat."

Before he came to this startling pronouncement, the C.I.O. chief reviewed the alliance of labor with the Democratic party since 1932, which he described as an altogether one-sided affair, labor giving wholehearted support to the Democrats but receiving little in the way of real recognition in return. In recent times, Mr. Lewis charged, the Democratic attitude towards labor had become more and more hostile.

In line with these remarks, the U.M.W.A. convention was expected to empower the Executive Board to act "as conditions may warrant," that is, as Lewis and his colleagues may find it proper.

The practical meaning of Lewis's conclusion, the C.I.O. chief immediately obvious. The general belief was that it was intended to exert pressure on the Democrats for greater concessions and more political "recognition" in return for continued C.I.O. support. There were rumors that Senator Wheeler, the star guest speaker at the convention, might be backed by Lewis for the Democratic nomination, but nothing was said of this in Lewis's address to Wheeler by the convention. There was certainly no sign that Lewis contemplated any immediate break with the Democratic party. The C.I.O. chieftain left so many loopholes open in his address in every direction that almost any sort of policy, from supporting Roosevelt to backing a Republican, is ultimately possible.

Whatever Lewis's intentions may be, he is bound to have a great deal of trouble in the top councils of the C.I.O., where Sidney Hillman and a number of others are committed to the support of President Roosevelt and a third term. In fact, Hillman lost no time in issuing a statement endorsing the Administration and the third-term movement.

In New York City, William Green, president of the A. F. of L., took the opportunity of an address at a dinner in honor of Thomas J. Lyons, the new head of the New York State Federation of Labor, to denounce Lewis as an "arch-ingrate" and to pledge his own organization's support to the New Deal. But it is well known that whatever Mr. Green's personal views may be, sentiment in the upper circles of the A. F. of L. is even cooler to the Administration than in the C.I.O.

National politics overshadowed everything else during the first week of the convention. Very little was said on the burning issue of labor unity, and that little was entirely of a negative character. Addressing the convention of District 50 of the U.M.W.A., just before the general convention, Philip Murray, vice-president of the miners union and head of the Steel Workers Organizing Committee, rejected the very idea of peace by negotiation and declared that some day the C.I.O. would "absorb or supplant" the A. F. of L. The same idea was expressed by Mr. Lewis. There were, however, some resolutions introduced by a few locals urging unity between C.I.O. and A. F. of L.

Over 600,000 miners were reported as represented at the jubilee convention, held fifty years since the formation of the United Mine Workers of America in 1890 in this very city of Columbus. Lewis's grip over the convention and the organization was unchallenged. When a strong demand was made by a number of delegates for district autonomy—a great many of the districts in the U.M.W.A. are still without autonomous rights and are ruled by the International office—Lewis declared that these districts would be given their autonomy "when they deserved it"—and that settled the matter.

A sensational incident that nearly precipitated a riot at the convention was the lowering, by whom it remained unknown, of a red banner with a Soviet hammer and sickle just over Mr. Lewis's head as he was delivering a brief address at the microphone. Lewis quieted the enraptured delegates and launched into an impassioned eulogy of the American flag, stressing that communists as "servants of a foreign power" were barred from his union. No inkling of who had perpetrated this "most cowardly, reprehensible and dastardly trick," as Mr. Lewis called it, could be found.

The convention greeted with applause the adoption of the officers' recommendation that "the United States must not become involved in foreign wars."

HE'S THE BIG SHOT NOW!



'Of Arms and Men I Sing'

Vast Economic Changes Seen In Europe

Confidential Report States Old-Line Capitalism Gone, Russia in Hitler's Grip

By FRANK HOWARD

Washington, D. C.
I have been allowed to look over a digest of a report which has just been made to important people here by a person who has just returned from Poland, Germany, Russia, the Balkans and most other parts of Europe. This man knows Germany and Poland very well; he was on an official mission; he is a convinced democrat and anti-Nazi and his judgment must be respected. He comes back very pessimistic about the outcome of the war. On one point he is emphatic: there is an amazing amount of wishful thinking by the British, French and Americans who tend to consider Germany already defeated.

This report states that in the part of Poland conquered and kept by Germany, magnificent cross-country roads are being built at an amazing speed. No cost is being spared. The Poles, he says, even the liberals, used to say: "We cannot undertake public works such as road building because of the cost." The Germans are going ahead with such projects and are not bothering about the cost. They are using a system of practically forced labor, but they are getting away with it. The lot of some of the Poles has been improved but they are all in absolute bondage to the Nazi state.

The report declares that Stalin and Russia are completely at the mercy of Hitler and the Nazis. For this reason, closer cooperation than has hitherto existed between Russia and Germany is expected. Over against this observation, the reporter states that rapid "bolshhevization" is in process among the Nazis. That means that they are less bothered about ideas of private property and speak more and more in "socialistic" terms. He states that,

U. S. Government Hits At Longshore Union

3 Locals, 11 Officers, Including Ryan, Are Indicted Under Anti-Trust Law

New York City.

The United States government struck once more at the labor movement last week as the Department of Justice obtained indictments from a federal grand jury against Joseph P. Ryan, president of the International Longshoremen's Association, an A. F. of L. affiliate, and ten other union officers along with three locals of the I.L.A. on a charge of conspiracy to violate the Sherman anti-trust law. This action followed on the heels of a similar indictment of twenty-four leaders of A. F. of L. building-trades unions in New Orleans the week before.

The government charged that the I.L.A., by means of boycotts and blacklists, prevented certain lumber companies from obtaining lumber in a drive to "compel" the employees of these companies, already members of a C.I.O. union, to join the A. F. of L. In the course of this "conspiracy," the indictment charged, the defendants "forcibly prevented" the C.I.O. members from coming on the docks to get lumber. The C.I.O. union involved is Local 104 of the United Retail and Wholesale Employees of America.

Mr. Ryan indignantly denied the charges and demanded a speedy trial. He emphatically declared that neither he nor his associates had

done anything but attempt to organize men who were getting inadequate wages.
Edward C. Maguire, attorney for one of the locals indicted, stressed that the government contention that this was simply an effort by the A. F. of L. to destroy a C.I.O. union was incorrect. He stated that actually the boycott instituted by the A. F. of L. unions was designed to maintain the A. F. of L. wage scale of \$44 a week as against the C.I.O. scale of \$27.50. To permit the C.I.O. union to invade the field, he pointed out, would mean to allow the higher wage scale, built up thru many years of hard struggle, to be undermined and destroyed.
The New York publicity bureau of the A. F. of L. issued a statement immediately after the indictments became known reiterating labor's position that the Sherman anti-trust law does not and was never meant to apply to labor unions. "The A. F. of L. has never contended," the statement ran, "that demonstrably illegal activities should go unpunished. On the contrary, it has urged that such offenses, where they exist, be prosecuted—but, be it emphasized, under the proper laws applicable thereto. Organized labor insists that the anti-trust laws cannot and must not be invoked against trade unions because these laws do not permit such prosecution. Labor unions are clearly and specifically exempted from the application of the anti-trust laws. This seems to have been forgotten by certain persons."
Observers pointed out that if otherwise legal union activities designed to protect union standards against groups willing to work for lower rates are to be declared illegal as "restraints of trade," then practically any sort of union activity is placed in jeopardy.
(Continued on page 2)

The Nation's No. 1 Problem Is a Job for Every Worker

By JOHN L. LEWIS

(These paragraphs, dealing with the economic situation and the tasks of the labor movement, are from the report of John L. Lewis to the last CIO convention held at San Francisco—Ed.)

IN the background of any discussion of temporary measures to help the unemployed stands a grim reminder that the only way to solve unemployment is to give everyone a job. Expedients are valuable only as they may give time to work out permanent means to provide jobs.

The nation's Number One problem is work for its population. The displacement and economic exile of twenty-five percent of our adult population constitutes a threat to the stability of the nation.

This appalling drift cannot go on forever. Privation is taking a toll from the population that cannot be much longer endured. Our people, unemployed, sweated and exploited, have been patient. But their patience is not inexhaustible. Beyond patience lies despair, and from despair springs action, drastic and unpredictable.

UNEMPLOYMENT CAN BE SOLVED
Labor believes that this nation, acting within its democratic tradition, can solve the problem of unemployment. Labor believes that every worker in this country can have a job, a job paying enough to give him and his family a happy and secure life. Labor believes that the machinery of our nation can be so operated that no wheel need be stopped nor any man idle. That is labor's faith.

The history of the government's attack upon unemployment has been one of hesitant half-steps towards solution, hastily withdrawn before they could become effective. If we are to justify the effectiveness of our democracy, of our vaunted leadership in the economic field, then we must prove that we can solve this problem of unemployment.

In the report to the last convention, an economic program was laid down in broad terms which labor believes would bring economic stability. No item of that program need be withdrawn.

It is with deep concern that we must report no advance of significance toward the fulfillment of that program. To the contrary, there have been steps backward. A brief analysis will indicate this point by point:

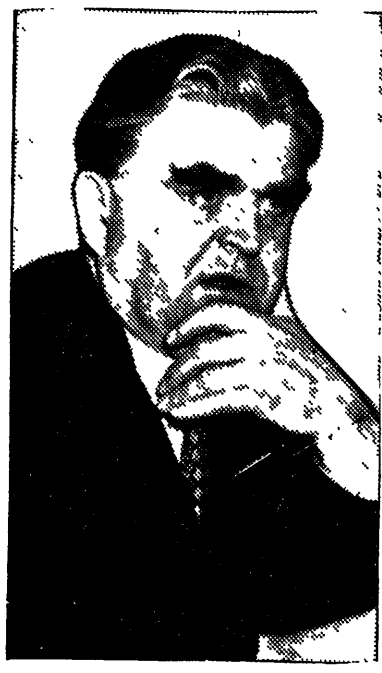
LABOR'S PROGRESS DURING YEAR

1. Last year's report called the most important factor the increased economic activity by organized workers to raise wages and shorten hours. In most of the industries in this country, labor has been under such heavy pressure to reduce standards during the past year that it has been able to do little more than safeguard the levels already attained. This static condition of wages and hours has occurred in the face of a rapidly increased productivity per man-hour during the year. Furthermore, the legislation giving labor the right of collective bargaining and protecting workers against sweat-shops has been under most severe attack.

2. That an increased proportion of the national income should go to active consumers was pointed out last year. The trend during the year has been in the other direction. From May 1938 to May of this year, the index of industrial production rose 17 points while the index of income given to all employees increased during the same period only from 79.5 to 82.9, that is, less than four points.

It was further pointed out that the federal government must make a substantial contribution to purchasing power by its expenditures and that expenditures which would accomplish this best were those which direct the largest proportion of funds to consumers.

Altho federal disbursements planned for the present fiscal year are slightly more than those of the past year, \$9,902,000,000 as compared to \$9,408,000,000 in the previous fiscal year, the amount of government funds which will go immediately to workers for purchasing power has been substantially reduced. In place



JOHN L. LEWIS

of expenditures for such agencies as W.P.A. and P.W.A., there have been provided expenditures for armaments which offer far less employment per dollar and which take a considerably longer time to reach the consumer.

At the 1938 convention, the C.I.O. urged that all the national-defense expenditures be made above and beyond the necessary expenditures for W.P.A. and for social services. This advice was not taken.

DISPLACEMENT BY MACHINES

3. Last year's report indicated that provisions needed to be made so that the beneficial effects of wage raises or decreased hours should not be wiped out by the too rapid replacement of men by machines. There is every indication that during the past year technological displacements have moved forward with increased acceleration.

The beginning of operations of new mills in the steel industry has thrown out of work a number of steel workers estimated at not less than 85,000. At least six substantial cities which were once centers of steel manufacturing are now left without one single major source of employment. The production of each worker in one of the largest steel firms rose by 34%, from 7.34 tons per worker in the fourth quarter of 1937 to 9.84 tons in the same quarter, 1938. Similar movements have been reported in the automobile, mining, rubber, rayon, electric-manufacturing and other industries. The federal government has not taken one step to cope with this tragic trend.

The terrible import of these facts is disclosed by a statement introducing a recent study made by the W.P.A. on production, employment and productivity in manufacturing industries: "There is every indication that output per man-hour in manufacturing industries will continue to increase, and there is little likelihood that more jobs will be available in manufacturing unless there is a substantial gain in production or a further decrease in working hours. Therefore, our manufacturing industries are not again likely to serve as a reservoir of jobs for the growing labor supply of the nation."

As machines representing capital investment replace workers, there is also inevitably assigned a larger proportion of the output of industry to the machines and to capital than to labor. In substance, that means that as technological changes take place, an increasing proportion of our national income goes to capital and a decreasing proportion to labor.

By this trend the chronic underconsumption in this country is aggravated. More than that, since it is usually the skilled worker with the higher rate of pay who is replaced by machine operators at lower wage rates, there is a further tendency to reduce the relative average wage income.

4. No move has been made to reduce the continuing inflated overhead costs created by excessive debt burdens on the part of many large corporations.

It's About Time for Labor To Clean House

WESTBROOK PEGLER is no particular friend of labor but that's no reason simply to disregard the charges he made in recent newspaper articles. For the conditions to which he directed attention, in an unfriendly and malicious spirit, it is true, are conditions that do exist. They are conditions that constitute a major evil in the trade-union movement, and they cannot be conjured away by reflections, however well deserved, on Westbrook Pegler's motives.

It is not merely that among top officials of certain trade unions affiliated with the A.F. L. there are men who have served prison sentences for despicable crimes. Far more important is the fact that these men and others lucky enough to keep out of prison are notorious racketeers who have muscled into the unions by methods of strong-arm terrorism familiar to their trade and who keep their control by the same methods. They loot the treasuries, milk and bully the members, misuse their power for their own enrichment. In short, they work the unions as rackets, or rather, as one racket among many, for usually these people have their irons in many a fire.

There is no need to name names or cite circumstances. No one with the slightest knowledge of the labor movement as it is can be unaware of the situation to which we refer. It is an old evil that has not grown more tolerable with time.

First responsibility in eradicating this evil rests with the membership of the unions affected. We know how formidable is the set-up which the members of racket-ridden unions face and how hard it is even for an overwhelming majority to make their voice heard and their will felt in a union run by a mob. But there are ways, as experience has shown. Unfortunately, large sections of the membership, sharing the average American's indifference to political corruption, don't seem to care much who runs their unions and how, provided the officials "deliver the goods." As long as wages and working conditions remain tolerable, too many union members feel that any of the officials who can get away with it are "entitled" to the "honest graft" they rake in. It is usually only when the pinch of depression begins to hit the industry and union standards are threatened or undermined, that the membership begins to appreciate the great truth that the pickings of their racketeer officials are largely at the expense of their own meager wages. Then a house-cleaning usually takes place and a new deal is ushered in—for how long it is not always easy to tell. Witness the return of Sam Kaplan to the Motion Picture Operators Union.

But a great deal of the responsibility also falls upon the top leadership of the A. F. of L. for passively tolerating the evil. We know that Mr. Green has explained time and again that the A. F. of L. is a federative organization and neither he nor the Executive Council can invade the autonomy of affiliated international unions. But surely an executive Council that could find it within its power to suspend ten internationals for banding together to promote industrial unionism can discover ways and means of discouraging racketeering and strengthening the hand of those who are fighting to cut out this cancerous growth from the body of labor. The leaders of the A. F. of L.—and of the C.I.O., too, for that matter, for in C.I.O. unions the evil is not unknown—cannot simply wash their hands of the whole business and look the other way.

The matter is a serious one. Racketeering not only robs the workers, enslaves the membership and corrupts the unions; it also discredits unionism in the eyes of public opinion and provides yet another pretext for governmental intervention in the affairs of the labor movement. It is a danger even to those unions, and they are the vast majority, that are completely free of the evil and that run their affairs in a clean, decent and responsible manner. It is a danger to the whole labor movement.

It's about time organized labor set about seriously to put its house in order.

Wage Law is Menaced by Budget Cut

Washington, D. C.

UNLESS the strongest pressure is exerted on Congress the Wage-Hour Act will be seriously weakened. Not only are powerful interests driving for destructive amendments, but more dangerous for the moment is the plan to prevent satisfactory operation of the law by drastically slicing its appropriations.

President Roosevelt recommended an increase for the division of \$2,723,800 to a total of \$6,185,000 for the next fiscal year, a sum very inadequate in itself. Even so, the focus of the measure are intent on cutting it down.

Last year, the request for \$3,461,200 was bitterly fought in Congress. This sum was so inadequate as to make policing of the law entirely unsatisfactory.

Low-wage employers do not mind the act so much as long as appropriations are too low to provide for enough inspectors to catch up with violations. So amendments to weaken the act have been introduced to attack it from one angle while other opponents will attack it from the enforcement side.

At least four bills are in the hands of the House committee, and one in the Senate, seeking to modify the law by extending the list of exempted industries. Newspapers, canneries and white-collar workers are among those the bills would exclude if adopted. Labor, on the other hand, seeks to broaden the coverage. It will require a strong counter-attack to prevent the focus of the wage-hour law from coming out victorious.

From the present indications, it appears that anti-labor elements will concentrate their fire on the appropriations. If successful in reducing them considerably, all the chattering employers will be happy. Enforcement will then be so limited as to give the "go-ahead" sign to those unwilling to pay the wage rates and to limit the work-week to the standards provided by the act.

All sections of the labor movement are agreed on the great value of the wage-hour law, altho labor has its criticism of some aspects of the law and its enforcement. Yet the split in labor's ranks is bound to tell heavily in the scale.

Consumer Probe Shows Wide Inequalities

Washington, D. C.

HOW far the New Deal still is from achieving a fair distribution of income is shown by the report of the National Resources Committee entitled, "Consumer Income in the United States."

The report deals with incomes of 1935-36. But, tho the general income has risen, very little has happened since then to change the picture materially as to its distribution.

The total income for that year, the committee estimates, was \$48 billion. Its division among the people of the United States displays the fact that mighty few families enjoy what we are pleased to call the "American standard of living," which is based on a minimum income of between \$1,800 and \$2,100.

Of the 29 million families who made up the total, 14%, or one out of seven, roughly speaking, received less than \$500. More than two out of every five families received an income of less than \$1,000 or around \$18 a week (42%). Two out of every three families (65%) received less than \$1,500 a year or below \$30 weekly.

To understand how top-heavy the income structure is, these low incomes of the vast majority of the American people must immediately be contrasted with the comparatively few families on the top.

Only 1% of the families had incomes of \$10,000 a year or over. Only 3% had an income of \$5,000 or more.

How unbalanced the income structure was is evidenced by the fact that the 1% top families (290,000) together had an income representing 13% of the total income. The 42% with incomes below \$1,000 (12,180,000 families) had a combined income representing 16% of total income. In other words, the 290,000 top families had almost as much to spend for their needs as the 12,180,000 lowest families.

While these figures are for 1935-36, it must again be emphasized that the picture as to distribution of income is about the same today.

that no wrong decisions are issued, that all the employees are efficient and fully qualified and trained for their jobs. On the contrary, the Board is fully aware of many deficiencies in operations, of troublesome mistakes, doubtful policies, and weaknesses in organization and personnel. The members of the Board, more than any one else, are constantly criticizing and reexamining methods, policies and procedures for the purpose of securing improvements in administration and a more prompt and effective enforcement of the provisions of the act.

So far as the complaint cases in-

Fear Check-Off Illegal Under NLRA

Washington, D. C.

GRAVE doubt that the check-off system of collecting dues from union members is legal under the National Labor Relations Act was expressed last week before a nation-wide conference of the National Lawyers Guild.

Under the check-off employers deduct union dues from pay envelopes before the worker receives his wage. The dues are then turned over to the union by the employer.

The question was raised by Dr. Herman A. Gray, professor of law at New York University, as liberal-minded attorneys and laymen gathered for a three-day discussion of "contemporary problems in labor law and relations."

Gray, in raising the question of constitutionality of the check-off, said he did not want to appear "unduly legalistic or illiberal," but suggested the Wagner Act be examined not only from what labor gained by it but from what labor lost.

He said the Wagner Act made "it clear that no union may now seek any aid from the employer in its organizational activities." This would throw "grave doubt" on the validity of the check-off, he said.

volving charges of violations of the law are concerned, there is no essential disagreement among the three members of the Board. At times, of course, we view details of evidence differently, but such disagreements are usually ironed out in conferences, so that dissenting opinions in these cases are rarely written. Most of the dissents occur in connection with representation cases and revolve around the question of the appropriate bargaining unit. That the problems raised by this question are extremely complex and bound to develop diverse views is evident from the fact that there have been as many separate concurring opinions as there have been dissenting opinions, and many have occurred in part.

The greatest weakness in the work of the Board is the delay in handling cases. All the members of the Board are of one mind in believing that the complaints on this account are justified, and all of us are devoting our energies to speeding up the process. Despite all our efforts there is still a very large back-log of cases. This is being reduced, however, and our position a year from now promises to be a good deal better than it is now, just as we are now in a much better position than we were two years ago.

* Recent decisions of the Supreme Court bring up the record as follows: of 22 cases, the Board has won 18, lost 2, and partially won 2.

Functioning of the Labor Board Under the Wagner Act

Says N.L.R.B. Has Done a Good Job in Face of Difficulties

By WM. M. LEISERSON

(This article is one of a series taken from the memorandum submitted recently by William M. Leiserson to the Smith Committee investigating the N.L.R.B. The final article will appear in the next issue of this paper.—Editor.)

IF there is nothing in the labor-relations law itself to justify the attacks on it, then is there anything in the administration of the act by the Board and in the work of its staff of 900 people that justifies any of the criticism? That there are faults and weaknesses in administration may be readily admitted. But it is a serious question if those who are opposing the law and demanding that it be revised are not more responsible for these defects than the Board itself. You will recall that after the act was adopted in July 1935, a national committee of 58 leading members of the American bar took it upon themselves to declare the law unconstitutional. More than a hundred court-injunction suits tied the hands of the Board,

and its work all but came to a standstill. Attorneys advised their clients that it was not necessary to obey the law until the Supreme Court said so. Flagrant violations and defiance of the authority of the Board were excused by allegations of unconstitutionality.

This did not set the working people of the country a very good example of obedience to law, but it did accomplish the purpose of demoralizing the administration of the act. The effects of this demoralization are still being felt, and the obstructive policies of those who are opposed to the act are being continued. There is room for much improvement in the administrative methods of the Board, but the act cannot be made to work altogether efficiently until the opposition to it, and the attempts to weaken it by revisions, have ceased.

It seems strange to me that almost every day we should be reading of attacks on the Board and its personnel, but hardly anyone thinks of attacking or even criticizing the conduct of those employers who have

fouted the law of the land and who have been found guilty of violations that the courts as well as the conscience of the American people have condemned. If we had a little more criticism of those who engage in unfair labor practices and who defy the law of the land, and a little less criticism of those who are honestly trying to carry out their oath of office in enforcing the law, we would get a better perspective on the perplexing problems of labor relations with which the government has been trying to deal by means of the Wagner Act.

Chairman Madden and Edwain Smith, the other two members of the Board, can give a better idea of the operations of the Board than I can. They set up the administrative organization, selected the personnel, and devised the necessary procedures. Their task was unusually difficult because they had to do all these things and carry on all the other work of the Board while they were under fire. They were constantly being attacked and subjected to successive investigations by one Congressional Committee after another. I have been a member of the Board for only 6 months, and knowing the difficulties of the Board's problems in these months of relative quietness, I must say that on the whole the other members of the Board are to be commended for the good job they have done under very trying circumstances.

It is no accident that out of 19 of the Board's cases that went to the Supreme Court, the positions of the Board were upheld completely in 15. In two cases, the Board's decisions were upheld with some modifications, and in only two cases were the Board's decisions reversed.* In the circuit courts, the Board's record has not been quite as good, but it has been excellent nevertheless, and a good many of the circuit court decisions against the Board have been reversed by the Supreme Court. This record is due to careful and efficient work on the part of the Board and its legal and field staff and a devotion to duty of the personnel that should receive public commendation instead of the brickbats they have been getting.

This does not mean that all the work of the Board is carried on efficiently, that no mistakes are made,

More than we expected . . .

When we announced the details of the musical evening we had arranged for

Saturday Night, February 24
at 8:30 o'clock

our promise for a most worthwhile event was backed by our confidence in the fine talent that had agreed to perform for us.

We can now speak with even greater conviction because, since last week, several other musicians and performers have accepted our invitation to entertain you. That means our program will be **EVEN MORE VARIED THAN WE EXPECTED**—and we thought it was colorful enough when we announced it last week.

So, in addition to the

NEGRO SPIRITUALS and CHANTS
FOLK SONGS of VARIOUS NATIONS
(American, French, Portuguese, and Spanish)
SPANISH FLAMENCO SONGS
CHARACTER SONGS
PIANO AND GUITAR SOLOS

We shall have

A PIANO, VIOLIN and CELLO TRIO
A STRING QUARTET
and
An engaging, fiery Spanish Flamenco Dancer
(If that word "Flamenco" has bothered you as it has us, come and be enlightened)

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SATURDAY NIGHT, FEBRUARY 24th
Steinway Hall
113 West 57th Street — Studio 503

TICKETS: RESERVED SEATS (in advance) \$1.00 and 75 cents
GENERAL ADMISSION 50 CENTS

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Lackawanna 4-5282

Vast Economic Changes Seen As Result of European War

(Continued from page 1)

the use of machinery, they are technically far superior to the Russians. If the Germans can get control of the Soviet machinery, they will make things hum over a period of years, and he expects them to have this period of years in which to achieve this objective.

His observations about the rest of Europe are equally interesting. Everywhere he, a believer in capitalism and capitalist democracy, sees the capitalist system breaking down. He states categorically that there is not now anywhere in Europe anything comparable to a bonafide old-line capitalist system. He does not think that even England can return to such a system after the war. He draws no conclusions, and I don't either.

I do not wish to add anything to the appropriate sentiments expressed in last week's issue of this

paper on the passing of Senator Borah. I simply want to help you to understand the awe in which he was held here. When the first report about his illness was passed by word of mouth around the city, the effect was comparable, in my own experience, only to what happened when my grandmother died. She was a grand old lady, loved and feared, who ruled her social set with an iron hand. She had many grandchildren, great-grandchildren, children, nieces, nephews, cousins and their children. Many men of fifty, unrelated to her, had been brought into the world with her assistance as a volunteer midwife. She had lived long past the traditional three score and ten years. She was older than Borah when she died. But I could not help remembering the whispers throught the whole county when she was lingering a few days before she died as quietly as he: "How is she?" "Is she still living?"

The premiere of that very great picture, "Abe Lincoln in Illinois" with Raymond Massey giving a stirring portrayal of Lincoln, was the occasion for again calling to the attention of Washington that it is one of the worst Jim-crow cities in the country. It is disgraceful that Negroes cannot even attend the theatre here or see movies until they get to dirty little two-by-four movie houses in Washington's "Harlem."

In the same way, all over Washington, people of all political viewpoints were asking: "How is he?" No one needed to say who was being discussed. It is sort of curious that K.A.O.W. leaders are stunned by his untimely death, while N.A.A.-C.P. leaders are silently counting on the absence of his stalwart and influential voice in the Senate to help build up a larger vote in favor of the anti-lynching bill. Borah, the constitutionalist, could not support measures which he considered to represent unconstitutional infringement by the federal government of the rights of states.

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me the other day: "I am simply too damn tired of always fighting for every little right which this great democracy supposedly grants me and my wife to bother about this matter." However, some white residents of Washington are expecting to try again to take this one small step toward something like equality of opportunity for Negroes in Washington. Mrs. Roosevelt has spoken in favor of making arrangements so that Negroes can attend all movies and plays. The problem, of course, is that, unlike Memphis and Atlanta, Washington cannot put the Negroes in their own balcony. They would have to sit among the white folks and this just cannot be done.

I wish you could hear some of the "way-down-South" talk of some of the "damn Yankees" from Boston, Brooklyn and Wilkes-Barre that I heard on the street car this morning. It is amazing what fools a trip or residence South of the Mason and Dixon line makes of a lot of Northerners. Maybe its "Gone with the Wind". In any case, this ought to make a good fight and create almost as much attention as the Marian Anderson affair.

Does Fascism Menace America?

The Social Roots of Fascism

By WILL HERBERG

THE sensational arrest of a group of Christian Fronters in New York on charges of plotting to overthrow the government of the United States has thrust the problem of fascism in America to the fore...

Is There a Fascist Danger?

Is there really a fascist danger in this country? Yes, there is, but it is very different in character and direction from the usual conception. The fascist danger confronting us is not the danger of foreign invasion or foreign intrigue...

Never was a truer word said than the remark of Dr. George S. Counts in the December 1939 issue of the American Teacher that "the greatest threat to American democracy comes not from doctrines and movements imported from beyond the seas but rather from our failures at home."

In these articles, I want to examine the problem of fascism in America from the standpoint both of the European experience and the historical background and political conditions of this country.

There are two distinct roads to fascism. Fascism may come "from below" as the result of the triumph of a popular mass movement led by a fascist party. Or a totalitarian regime may be imposed "from above" by the powers-that-be within the old state.

How Does Fascism Arise and Grow

How does fascism come "from below," along the Italo-German way? Under what social conditions does it arise and grow strong as a formidable political movement? Fascism is a crisis phenomenon. It is generated out of crisis, out of deep all-embracing crisis...

The crisis hits the ruling classes, too, with tremendous force, also its import is necessarily different. If the masses cannot continue to live in the same old way any longer, the ruling classes cannot continue to rule in the old accustomed way.

The Decisive Question

It is at this point that history puts the great, the decisive question. Who will show the masses the way out of the hell of the crisis to salvation beyond? Who will succeed in winning the confidence and support of the discontented, rebellious masses?

If the organized working-class movement lives up to its historical mission and succeeds in rallying the masses of the people behind a constructive, forward-looking program, then the transition to socialism may be effected and a new, higher type of democracy realized.

But if the working-class movement proves incapable of fulfilling its historical mission in the crisis, this vast flood of mass insurgency is repelled, alienated; it turns reactionary, anti-labor, anti-socialist. It falls under the influence of hitherto obscure and insignificant fascist groups by whom it is organized into an allegedly "independent" middle-class movement...

Who are these fascist groups that, at the moment of crisis and failure of the working-class movement, become the active agents in the crystallization of a fascist mass movement by exploiting the frustrated rebelliousness of the middle classes? Of whom do they consist? Of political adventurers, hungry for power; of desperate, declassed elements from every stratum of society...

Big Business And Fascism

But all this is only half the picture, it shows fascism arising as a popular mass movement. On the other side, big business begins to see in the growing fascist movement, so bitterly hostile to socialism and independent labor organization, a substitute for the bankrupt system of parliamentary democracy, a new mass base for the preservation of capitalism. Not that big business as such, or even any of its important sections, are actually ever eager for fascism...

A queer sort of alliance is thus struck between the pillars of society, the men of standing, eminence and respectability in the old society and a gaggle of reckless ruffians and adventurers. And so it is that fascism, once it really enters upon the historical scene as a serious political force, does so with the substantial, the not always open, backing of decisive sections of big business, of leading elements in the world of monopoly-finance capital.

(Continued in the next issue)

U. S. Budget: 1939-1941

ESTIMATED EXPENDITURES IN 1939-40-41 (in millions)

Table with columns for 1939, 1940, and 1941. Rows include Army and Navy, Interest on debt, Legislative, judicial and civil establishments, Payments to veterans, Agricultural program, Social Security, P.W.A., C.C.C., N.Y.A., etc., Public works, and All other.

These figures tell their own story: Relief, public works and expenditures of social utility down to record lows for the New Deal; expenditures for war—up to record peace-time highs.

Another View on the Finnish Situation

Says Finns Should Have Yielded in Crisis

(We publish below a letter on the Finnish situation from a Norwegian adherent of the International Workers Front Against War. The letter was written on December 2 and subsequent events have obviously refuted many of the contentions advanced in it. However, as an aid to clarification, we present this letter to be followed next week by a statement on the questions at issue by the International Workers Front Against War—Editor)

Oslo, Norway, December 2, 1939.

THE main reason for the Russian policy in the Baltic and in Finland is that the Russian bureaucracy realizes that Germany, on the one hand, and England and France, on the other, are not going to fight for years with Russia out of the war. Whoever wins the war, both parties are going to be seriously weakened...

Finland has no natural resources of importance for Russia. Russia has all she wants of timber, Finland's all-important source of living. I don't any longer dare to say that the motives behind Russia's policy are purely strategic, but strategy is the driving force and the only advantage Russia can get in Finland...

Originally, therefore, Molotov meant what he said when he said that Russia would not violate Finnish neutrality or independence. Accordingly, Finland was at that time, when the negotiations started, treated with considerably more diplomatic courtesy than the Baltic countries who were overnight dictated pacts of "friendship" with the Soviet Union...

FINNISH POLICY WRONG

In my opinion, the policy of the Finnish government was very wrong and has brought a disaster to the Finnish people which could have been avoided. From the very beginning of the negotiations, troops were mobilized in Finland and sent to the Russian border. Instead of giving in to minimum demands of Russia, they made it clear that there was a point beyond which they would not go...

"The Congress Socialist Party," this statement went on, "is at one with Mahatma Gandhi in feeling that this is neither the issue nor the occasion on which to bargain with the British government. But the only conclusion of such an approach, consistent with the Congress objective and adherence to peaceful and legitimate means, appears to us to be not an offer of cooperation with Britain at war, but unconditional resistance to war. We cannot conceive of any gesture or concession on the part of the British government that could possibly justify the Congress in supporting the imperialist war."

"The Congress Socialist Party has been the pioneer of the anti-war movement in India. It stands unshaken by its policy. The party believes in unconditional resistance to war because: 'An Acquiescence to India being dragged by the British government into war is an abandonment of India's demand for complete national independence and is against Indian self-respect.'

"As Congressmen, we abhor war and are committed to 'peaceful and legitimate means' and cannot accept the arbitrament of arms as a solution of international problems. 'This is an imperialist war and not one for democracy.'"

"Fortunately for the people, the position of the Congress regarding Britain's imperialist wars is clear. The Congress has again and again declared in an unequivocal manner that in the event of war, India will resist the utilization of its resources for war purposes. This policy has now to be carried into practice..." After this statement was issued, the Congress Working Committee

Distress of Children Told In U.S. Report

Washington, D. C.

TWO children out of every three in America live in homes where income is inadequate for a decent standard of living.

This was one conclusion reported to the White House Conference on Children in Democracy, a group which meets every ten years to survey the condition of children and draft a program to improve it.

The report said that the fate of democracy in the United States depended on lifting the living standards of a huge segment of the population to the decency level.

The conference assembled last week to discuss the report, prepared by 150 experts who had a preliminary meeting at the White House last year. The opening session was addressed by Secretary of Labor Perkins, chairman, who told the 500 members that child welfare was threatened by "the breakdown of orderly relations among nations and the lack of balance among the various elements of our own economic life."

The next day, the conference's recommendations were placed before President Roosevelt, its honorary chairman Mrs. Roosevelt is honorary vice-chairman.

The conference's report—based on first-hand analysis in every part of the country—found that "More than half, and closer to two-thirds, of American children in cities live in families where the income is too low to maintain a decent American standard of living. Enough is known to show that the situation of farm children is at least as bad."

The committee said that "the safety of our democratic institutions requires far-reaching modification in our educational system, in family life, in local government and in the relative responsibility of local community, state and nation."

It proposed a ten-year or longer child-welfare program to:

- 1. Increase family income and purchasing power. 2. Improve housing and expand slum clearance, especially in rural areas. 3. Increase state and federal aid to communities to improve educational opportunities. 4. Provide additional recreation centers for supervised direction of leisure time. 5. Enforce improved child-labor standards on a national basis. 6. Expand full-time local public health services organized on a city, county or district basis. 7. Insure equal opportunity for children without regard to race, color or creed.

The report was submitted by Homer Folks, chairman of the National Child Labor Committee and chairman of the special report committee.

"If the American people, in a world showing many signs of breakdown, can present a picture of a nation devoting thought and resources to building for the distant future, we shall strengthen by these very actions our own faith in our democracy," the committee said.

The principal enemy of child welfare, it found, is the large percentage of families with an income too low to provide their children with "common necessities for decent health and normal education."

It said that where private industry could not find profitable use for workers, the government should "salvage their skill and morale" by public employment. It recommended a public-works program adjusted to fluctuations in private employment.

Between 6,000,000 and 8,000,000 children last year were in families dependent for food and shelter on public assistance, the report said.

Declaring that millions of houses are unfit for human habitation, the committee said "the federal government should continue and expand its program of promoting slum clearance and new housing for low-income groups thru further appropriations for federal loans and grants to local housing authorities."

The committee said that "a primary responsibility of our democracy is to establish and provide a fair educational opportunity to which every American child is entitled."

The committee characterized child labor as still a serious problem and recommended legislation establishing sixteen years as the minimum age for employment outside of school hours and eighteen for employment in hazardous occupations.

It called for a health program to provide adequate medical care, regardless of income and financed by both private and public funds, for all children and all women during maternity.

Tell It to The Finns!

"THE peaceful character of the foreign policy of the Soviet state is consistently realized as a political principle. The peace policy of the socialist state is not only profoundly one of principle but also profoundly realistic."—Moscow Pravda, January 22, 1940.

French Socialist Party Sinking Into Deep Crisis

(These paragraphs are from a letter recently received from a well-informed member of the French Socialist Party—Editor)

Paris, France December 5, 1939

OVER here, life is clouded with anxiety. Every day the atmosphere seems to get thicker. . . . The working class will pay very dearly for its illusions, its errors and the incapacity of its leaders. . . .

Our friends in the leadership of the Austrian Revolutionary Socialists are very gloomy and preoccupied, and sadly disillusioned with the policy of the French Socialist Party. They are neither with Leon Blum nor with Paul Faure; for, on one hand, they are definitely in favor of the independent action of the socialist movement, and on the other hand, they still see the war as a possible application of a Marxist tactic, playing one faction of the bourgeoisie off against the other, a very dangerous attitude for the socialist movement. The unfortunate thing is that in this war, instead of the workers "using" the bourgeoisie, it is the bourgeoisie that uses the working class.

Nobody has had any news of our friend Alter (leader of the Polish Socialist Bund). We are very much afraid that he has been shot by the Russians. He was in Paris in July and while he was there he had a very heated discussion with J. B. Severac.

The meetings of the C.A.P. (Administrative Committee of the S.P.) are becoming more and more painful; differences of opinion are increasing, and no agreement can be reached on any question. The International is in the same state. Its various sections no longer speak the same language; this has reached such a degree of divergence that all meetings of the Executive Committee are now impossible.

Zyromski comments on this "scandalous situation" in today's Populaire. For example: the British Labor Party and the French Socialist Party were to meet together, but the C.A.P. was not able to give a mandate to our delegates for a common declaration. We finally settled the matter by calling off the Anglo-French meeting altogether. J. B. Severac seems to be among the most far-sighted. Among Paul Faure's friends, Costedob certainly does not lack courage. It appears that he has managed at the meetings of the C.A.P. to answer Leon Blum with plenty of fight and of intelligence. Blum himself is losing authority. Amedeo Dunois is just as enraged as ever Zyromski is becoming more and more of a warmonger, supported by his Parisian friends, Jacques Grumbach and Roger Dufour, who naturally have gone off to the war. . . . to Paris or somewhere in the suburbs. They are getting more absurd every day.

On the other hand, we must register some unexpected and very much appreciated conversions. For example, Leroux, who has been running the column on foreign news in the Populaire for some time, and since the beginning of the war has been an infantry lieutenant at the front, realizes that he had made a serious mistake, not only on the question of Stalinism, but also on the efficacy of the so-called policy of "resistance."

His analysis of the imperialist nature of the conflict is today identical with ours! Here is another important piece of news: Our friend Zoratti has just been expelled from the party! His crime consists of attacking, fairly severely, the "great man" (Leon Blum) in a private letter! He wrote a letter in September to one of his friends in the Swiss Socialist Party and expressed his personal opinions on the conflict. He also made some suggestions in keeping with his ideas on the question; in this letter, he made a very severe criticism of the role of Leon Blum. This Swiss "friend" sent a copy of the letter to one of his friends in

(Continued on Page 4)

Books of the Age

by Jim Cork

SCIENCE TODAY AND TOMORROW by Waldemar Kaempfert. Viking Press New York, 1939. \$2.50.

ATOMS IN ACTION: The World of Creative Physics, by George R. Harrison. William Morrow and Co., New York, 1939. \$3.50.

EXCURSIONS IN SCIENCE, edited by Reynolds and Manning. Whitelsey House, New York, 1939. \$2.50.

THESE three books make interesting and instructive reading. They are easily accessible to the interested layman, for they are mostly concerned with the practical application of science to life and living, and hardly at all with the more technical and theoretical aspects of science. What theoretical matters are touched upon are treated in the easily comprehended language of popularization. All natural sciences in their varied aspects are covered. After finishing these books, one understands more concretely how science has entered into and transformed every nook and cranny of modern life and living.

Perhaps the most interesting, because the most unified, is Harrison's book. It is the story of energy, captured from nature, stored up, and put to use in a thousand and one ways. "Almost every material problem of living," writes the author, "turns out in the last analysis to be a problem of the control of energy." How this energy is put to use in homes, factories and farms, in heating, in preserving food, in recording of sound, in developing the telephone, the telegraph, the radio, optical instruments from telescopes thru photography to television, in medicine, in perfecting glass, in taming winds, and outwitting the weather—all this and more is the absorbing story Harrison tells.

The book edited by Reynolds and Manning is a collection in short essay form of the radio speeches of thirty-five scientists and engineers delivered in May 1936 over a program called the "Science Forum" conducted by General Electric. The much of the material overlaps that covered by Harrison in more thorough fashion, here one can find in very simple language interesting information on such subjects as lightning,

vacuums, meteors, Mars, smells, ozone, age of the earth, metals, tides, the sun, the moon, gauges that measure millionths of an inch, and so forth.

Kaempfert, the genial science editor of the New York Times, on his part runs the gamut of all the sciences in a series of popular essays of a highly instructive and imaginative character. He ponders on the wonders that science has already uncovered and points out today's impossibilities that may be tomorrow's common-places—a thousand-mile speed for an airplane ("breakfast in New York, luncheon in London"), tapping the inexhaustible energy in the atom ("In a tumbler of water lies enough power to drive the Mauretania across the Atlantic and back"), the creation of life in the laboratory, rocketing thru space beyond the reach of the gravitational pull of the earth, and so on.

Some of science's latest findings sound a little portentous to us humans. The solar system is changing, and so are the relations within it of its constituent parts. The sun is radiating itself away at an immense rate. Becoming lighter, its gravitational pull on the earth is lessening. So the earth is going a little further away all the time, while the sun is getting progressively less warm. In a couple of thousand billion years we'll be so far away that the prerequisites for life will be absent. Sounds bad for our descendants of that future day. As for us, it still gives us a little time to make the social revolution in our little cubicle and make up for Joe Stalin's sins.

As one ponders over the dizzy successes which man's intellect has been able to score in science, one wonders at how correspondingly little he has been able to do to put his social house in order. The vast potential riches of science's achievements spread their beneficence over only a small portion of the earth's population. Social obstacles prevent them from being placed at the service of humanity. That's why we can but utter "Amen" to Kaempfert when he says: "The greatest of all inventions will be the social invention that will make the most of science and technology socially in terms of human happiness." Reviewed by J. CORK

All-India Congress S.P. Opposes War

Socialists Reject Any Aid to British Empire

London, England THE National Executive of the All-India Congress Socialist Party, meeting at Lucknow on September 6, 1939, adopted a statement on the war in the course of which it said:

"War, which the people of every country abhor and which they had hoped to avert, has finally overtaken us. . . .

"It is not a war to save democracy or to uphold high ideals of civilization but an imperialist war between rival groups of capitalists who wish to rule the world!

"The Committee notes with great concern that war propaganda seems to have already affected sections of the Indian public and that even Mahatma Gandhi has failed to see any thing behind the obvious fact of the invasion of Poland The Viceroy of the other day appealed to the Indian people in the name of international justice, morality and democracy, and asked them to help Britain to destroy the menace of 'rule by force.'"

"It is strange that the Indian people, who have been victims of fascist rule for long and who have been subjected to a most ruthless rule of force, should be asked to fight in order to destroy it elsewhere while retaining it at home. It is strange that the Viceroy, who represents in his office the most comprehensive negation of democracy that exists anywhere, should appeal to us in the name of that great ideal.

"If Britain persists in holding India in bondage, India's only contribution to the cause of democracy and international justice can be to put an end to British imperialism that rules her by force and to establish a free democracy of the people of the country."

"Fortunately for the people, the position of the Congress regarding Britain's imperialist wars is clear. The Congress has again and again declared in an unequivocal manner that in the event of war, India will resist the utilization of its resources for war purposes. This policy has now to be carried into practice. . . . After this statement was issued, the Congress Working Committee

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Organ of the National Council, Independent Labor League of America, 131 West 33rd St., New York City. Published every Saturday by the Workers Age Publishing Association. Subscription Rates: \$1.50 per year; \$85 for six months; 5c a copy. Foreign Rates: \$2.50, Canada \$1.75 per year.

Entered as second class matter Nov. 5, 1934, at the Post Office New York, N. Y. under the act of March 3, 1879. Phone: LACKAWANNA 4-5282.

WILL HERBERG, Editor

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Vol. 9. SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 3, 1940 No. 5.

TOBIN'S UNITY APPEAL

FOR the past two years we have never missed an opportunity of stressing the need for unity in the labor movement. Indeed, "need" is hardly the word; it is far too weak. The labor movement has already paid a heavy price for permitting the civil war in its ranks to continue beyond all necessity. It cannot afford to go on paying such a price. Today, unity is a life-and-death question for labor in the most literal sense of the term.

Feeling as we do on the question, we naturally applaud the appeal for immediate unity made two weeks ago by Daniel Tobin, head of the teamsters union. We believe Mr. Tobin has done a good service in again raising the issue in the sharp form he has, for no words can be sharp enough in placing an issue of such urgency before the public opinion of the labor movement.

But we cannot help feeling a little uneasy too about Mr. Tobin. Mr. Tobin, it is well known, is the Democratic key man in the top councils of the A. F. of L., a sort of party contact man for President Roosevelt. In his appeals for unity he is "doing a job" for Mr. Roosevelt and the Administration? We cannot warn too strongly against governmental interference in the affairs of labor, even when it is exercised in the good cause of peace and thru such a man as Mr. Tobin. President Roosevelt's latest gift to labor, union-busting Assistant Attorney-General Thurman Arnold, is hardly such as to inspire us with any deep confidence in his attitude or intentions. Beware of employing-class parties and employing-class governments even when they come bearing gifts, might be a very good maxim for organized labor.

Furthermore, Mr. Tobin is rather too vague and indefinite in his appeal, even though he does call for rank-and-file action. Yet the situation is clear and specific. The A. F. of L. negotiating committee offered the C.I.O. a set of conditions for unity that seem to us generally quite reasonable and acceptable. The C.I.O.—or rather John L. Lewis, for in this case he is the C.I.O.—not only rejected these terms on grounds that should be regarded as unintelligible and frivolous; it went further and abruptly broke off negotiations altogether and has since persistently refused to resume them, although the A. F. of L. has more than once signified its willingness to go ahead with the discussions. An appeal for unity today, if it is to have any practical meaning, must be a direct appeal to the C.I.O. to change its obstinate, irresponsible attitude and resume peace negotiations. Somehow, Mr. Tobin, although he is a member of the A. F. of L. negotiating committee, failed to make this appeal.

Of course, there are powerful elements in the A. F. of L. that are against unity and any concessions on industrial unionism. (Mr. Tobin's own attitude on industrial unionism is more than dubious; witness his conflict with the brewery union.) But the unreasonable attitude of the C.I.O. leadership has hitherto made it virtually impossible to smoke them out. The die-hards in the A. F. of L. are sitting pretty. Why not? Lewis won't even allow any negotiations between the two organizations.

In these respects, we feel Mr. Tobin's appeal for unity was defective. It did not quite hit the mark. But at least it aimed at the proper goal and as such, it deserves support.

IT'S THE VOICE OF THE PEOPLE

LUDWIG LORE, foreign-affairs columnist on the New York Post, is annoyed at the wide opposition in Congress to a Finnish war loan. In his column of January 18, he quotes a paragraph from the Daily Worker condemning the loan proposal and continues:

"A few days ago, everybody, in all parts of the United States, favored such a loan—everybody with the exception of the communists, the Nazis and their sympathizers. What has happened to change this sentiment almost overnight? It was cleverly dished out propaganda, in my opinion, that did the trick. Friends of the two aggressor powers—the Soviet Union and Germany—played on the well-known fear of the isolationists and the pacifists that a loan would drag the United States into war and this is the result."

So it's all a Stalin-Hitler plot, according to Mr. Lore! It is hard to reason with a man who thinks in such terms. To him, the proper role for the American people is that of a collective knight-errant scanning the horizon for noble causes to champion, wicked giants to slay, and fair maidens to rescue. Any objections raised to such a program of suicidal folly must necessarily appear to him as the promptings of the Evil One—or, in other words, as the machinations of the "aggressor powers." But we would like to ask Mr. Lore one question: "Has even the New York Post succumbed to the insidious wiles of Hitler-Stalin propaganda? For the New York Post of January 17, the day before your column appeared, carried a powerful editorial plea against extending any further war loans to belligerents, Finland not excepted. Was that Russo-German propaganda too?"

The actual explanation of the mystery that puzzles Mr. Lore is very simple, so simple that Mr. Lore and his fellow-knights in a new crusade to "make the world safe for democracy" just can't understand it. The American people, almost to a man, sympathize with Finland, and everything they can do to help the Finns they will do—so long as it doesn't involve any danger to American neutrality. As Raymond Clapper points out in a report quoted elsewhere on this page, they feel that this country must be kept out of war at all costs and they naturally shy away from any proposal that threatens to push the United States nearer to the precipice. War loans to belligerents, they feel, are the surest road to war, even when made in a good cause. The road to hell is paved with the best of intentions. . . .

That's why so many Congressmen are so cool to the idea of a war loan to Finland. They've been hearing from back home, and the people back home say they don't want the structure of American keep-out-of-war legislation undermined even for the sake of helping Finland.

When hundreds of thousands of letters poured in on Washington some months ago urging that the arms embargo be kept, Administration spokesmen pretty openly insinuated that it was all Russo-German propaganda, and Mr. Lore eagerly repeated the insinuation. Now he sees another Stalin-Hitler plot in the lack of enthusiasm for a Finnish loan in Congress. Wake up, Mr. Lore! Get out of the dream world you're living in. Look beyond the Hudson. The voice you're hearing is not the voice of Moscow or Berlin. It's the authentic voice of the American people!

OUTRAGED FACTS AND FOLLY

(Continued from page 1)

when the United States government wanted to build the Panama Canal to make it possible for the American fleet to move thru the Canal to protect both coastlines, it carried out the action not by way of agreement, but by plotting. The Panama Canal extended thru Colombia. The United States felt it could not trust another government with such an important undertaking. Hence a "revolt" was started in Colombia. What is known as Panama today, with the aid of the United States—declared its independence and then leased the Canal Zone to the United States. In 1921, as an admission of the crime committed against Colombia, the United States government compensated Colombia for the crime committed to the tune of \$25,000,000. Since that time, Panama has been under the thumb of the United States government."

What a sinister and enlightening parallel! This is cutting the evil tree at its root. Stalin's Amter unblushingly turns to the yardstick of America's sordid imperialism as his standard of purity for Soviet foreign policy. It is clear—Stalin and his puppets have traveled in double-quick time from their heresy against the socialist principles of self-determination to treason against the most cherished ideals of international socialism.

By Rosa Luxemburg:

The Constituent Assembly

(We continue publication of Rosa Luxemburg's "The Russian Revolution," written in 1918 and now for the first time translated in full into English. Another section will appear in the next issue of this paper. —Editor.)

LET us test this matter further by taking a few examples.

The well-known dissolution of the Constituent Assembly in November 1917 played an outstanding role in the policy of the Bolsheviks. This measure was decisive for their further position; to a certain extent, it represented a turning point in their tactics.

It is a fact that Lenin and his comrades were stormily demanding the calling of a Constituent Assembly up to the time of their October victory, and that the policy of dragging out this matter on the part of the Kerensky government constituted an article in the indictment of that government by the Bolsheviks and was the basis of some of their most violent attacks upon it. Indeed, Trotsky says in his interesting pamphlet, *From October to Brest-Litovsk*, that the October Revolution represented "the salvation of the Constituent Assembly" as well as of the revolution as a whole. "And when we said," he continues, "that the entrance to the Constituent Assembly could not be reached through the Preliminary Parliament of Zeretelli, but only through the seizure of power by the Soviets, we were entirely right."

And then, after these declarations, Lenin's first step after the October Revolution was . . . the dissolution of this same Constituent Assembly, to which it was supposed to be an entrance.¹³ What reasons could be decisive for so astonishing a turn? Trotsky, in the above-mentioned pamphlet, discusses the matter thoroughly, and we will set down his argument here:

"While the months preceding the October Revolution were a time of leftward movement on the part of the masses and of an elemental flow of workers, soldiers and peasants towards the Bolsheviks, inside the Socialist-Revolutionary Party this process expressed itself as a strengthening of the left wing at the cost of the right. But within the list of party candidates of the Socialist-Revolutionaries, the old names of the right wing still occupied three fourths of the places. . . ."

"Then there was the further circumstance that the elections themselves took place in the course of the first weeks after the October Revolution. The news of the change that had taken place spread rather slowly in concentric circles from the capital to the provinces and from the towns to the villages. The peasant masses in many places had little notion of what went on in Petrograd and Moscow. They voted for 'Land and Freedom,' and elected as their representatives in the land committees those who stood under the banner of the 'Narodniki'¹⁴. Thereby, however, they voted for Kerensky and Avksentiev, who had been dissolving these land committees and having their members arrested. . . . This state of affairs gives a clear idea of the extent to which the Constituent Assembly had lagged behind the development of the political struggle and the development of party groupings."

THEY SHOULD HAVE CALLED NEW ELECTIONS

All of this is very fine and quite convincing. But one cannot help wondering how such clever people as Lenin and Trotsky failed to arrive at the conclusion which follows immediately from the above facts. Since the Constituent Assembly was elected long before the decisive turning point, the October Revolution,¹⁵ and its composition reflected the picture of the vanished past and not of the new state of affairs, then it follows automatically that the outgrowth and therefore still-born Constituent Assembly should have been annulled, and without delay, new elections to a new Constituent Assembly should have been arranged. They did not want to entrust, nor should they have entrusted, the fate of the revolution to an assemblage which reflected the Kerenskyan Russia of yesterday, of the period of vacillations and coalition with the bourgeoisie. Hence there was nothing left to do except to convoke an assembly that would issue forth out of the renewed Russia that had advanced further.

Instead of this, from the special inadequacy of the Constituent Assembly which came together in October, Trotsky draws a general conclusion concerning the inadequacy of any popular representation whatsoever which might come from universal popular elections during the revolution.

"Thanks to the open and direct struggle for governmental power," he writes, "the laboring masses acquire in the shortest time an accumulation of politi-

¹³ The Constituent Assembly was dissolved at its first session in January 1918.

¹⁴ "Populists," a name used at this time for the Socialist-Revolutionary Party, which, as a party, supported Kerensky and opposed the October Revolution.

¹⁵ Rosa Luxemburg is not correct the elections for the Constituent Assembly were largely arranged for prior to the October Revolution but actually took place immediately after that event.

cal experience, and they climb rapidly from step to step in their political development. The bigger the country and the more rudimentary its technical apparatus, the less is the cumbersome mechanism of democratic institutions able to keep pace with this development."

Here we find the "mechanism of democratic institutions" as such called in question. To this we must at once object that in such an estimate of representative institutions there lies a somewhat rigid and schematic conception which is expressly contradicted by the historical experience of every revolutionary epoch. According to Trotsky's theory, every elected assembly reflects once and for all only the mental composition, political maturity and mood of its electorate just at the moment when the latter goes to the polling place. According to that, a democratic body is the reflection of the masses at the end of the electoral period, much as the heavens of Herschel always show us the heavenly bodies not as they are when we are looking at them but as they were at the moment they sent out their light-messages to the earth from the measureless distances of space. Any living mental connection between the representatives, once they have been elected, and the electorate, any permanent interaction between one and the other, is hereby denied.

THE INFLUENCE OF THE MASSES ON PARLIAMENTS

Yet how all historical experience contradicts this! Experience demonstrates quite the contrary: namely, that the living fluid of the popular mood continuously flows around the representative bodies, penetrates them, guides them. How else would it be possible to witness, as we do at times in every bourgeois parliament, the amusing capers of the "people's representatives," who are suddenly inspired by a new "spirit" and give forth quite unexpected sounds; or to find the most dried-out mummies at times comporting themselves like youngsters and the most diverse little *Scheidemannchen*¹⁶ suddenly finding revolutionary tones in their breasts—whenever there is rumbling in factories and workshops and on the streets?

And is this ever-living influence of the mood and degree of political ripeness of the masses upon the elected bodies to be renounced in favor of a rigid scheme of party emblems and tickets in the very midst of revolution? Quite the contrary! It is precisely the revolution which creates by its glowing heat that delicate, vibrant, sensitive political atmosphere in which the waves of popular feeling, the pulse of popular life, work for the moment on the representative bodies in most wonderful fashion. It is on this very fact, to be sure, that the well-known moving scenes depend which invariably present themselves in the first stages of every revolution, scenes in which old reactionaries or extreme moderates, who have issued out of a parliamentary election by limited suffrage under the old regime, suddenly become the heroic and stormy spokesmen of the uprising. The classic example is provided by the famous "Long Parliament" in England, which was elected and assembled in 1642 and remained at its post for seven whole years and reflected in its internal life all alterations and displacements of popular feeling, of political ripeness, of class differentiation, of the progress of the revolution to its highest point, from the initial devout skirmishes with the Crown under a Speaker who remained on his knees, to the abolition of the House of Lords, the execution of Charles and the proclamation of the republic.

And was not the same wonderful transformation repeated in the French Estates General, in the censorship-subjected parliament of Louis Philippe, and even—and this last, most striking example was very close to Trotsky—even in the Fourth Russian Duma which, elected in the Year of Grace 1909 under the most rigid rule of the counter-revolution, suddenly felt the glowing heat of the impending overturn and became the point of departure for the revolution?¹⁷

All this shows that "the cumbersome mechanism of democratic institutions" possesses a powerful corrective—namely, the living movement of the masses, their unending pressure. And the more democratic the institutions, the livelier and stronger the pulse-beat of the political life of the masses, the more direct and complete is their influence—despite rigid party banners, outgrown tickets (electoral lists), etc. To be sure, every democratic institution has its limits and shortcomings, things which it doubtless shares with all other human institutions. But the remedy which Trotsky and Lenin have found, the elimination of democracy as such, is worse than the disease it is supposed to cure; for it stops up the very living source from which alone can come the correction of all the innate shortcomings of social institutions. That source is the active, untrammeled, energetic political life of the broadest masses of the people.

¹⁶ "Little Scheidemann," a play on the name of the pro-war, government Social-Democrat, Phillip Scheidemann.

¹⁷ It was this Fourth Duma which, after popular demonstrations in February 1917, sent two emissaries to the Czar to demand his abdication.

Why Congress Is Cool To the Finnish Loan

By RAYMOND CLAPPER

(These paragraphs are from an article by Raymond Clapper in the New York World-Telegram of January 16, 1940—Editor)

Cleveland, Ohio. It is with good reason that Congressional leaders are nervous about going into a heavy program of aid for Finland. Any move which carries the slightest suggestion of possibly involving us in the European war will provoke a sharp protest from the country west of the Alleghenies.

Isolationist sentiment is quiet now. But it is watchful and ready to flame out again. I have talked during the last two weeks with a large variety of persons, in several states. There is no sign whatever of any shift in sentiment. Lord Lothian may tell us that Great Britain is fighting our battle. American correspondents home from Europe may tell us that we ought to get in and help the Allies. President Roosevelt will warn us in his public addresses—as he did in his message to Congress—that it would be a sorry world for this great democracy if it were left alone thru a smash-up of the British Empire. Still it is no sale. . . .

The Allies have several billions of dollars in the United States. They are more directly involved. Let them shell out for Finland. That is the attitude. And nobody was made any more enthusiastic about helping the Allies by the blast of Lord Beaverbrook accusing the United States of not being generous enough to England about the war debt. That crack was thoroughly noted, you may be sure.

The Atlantic seaboard may be working itself up into another crusade to make the world safe for democracy, but out this side of the mountains the dangers to the United States will have to be presented much more convincingly than they have been thus far before the people will become reconciled to any kind of direct intervention. Right now, they are suspicious of anything that might lead into such intervention.

Vital Peace Issues Confront New Session

Foreign Policy, War Budget Big Question

(Continued from page 1)

Senate Committee on Foreign Relations.

Trade agreements: The stiffest fight of this session is expected over the renewal of the powers to negotiate trade agreements. Observers do not give the Administration better than a 50-50 chance although sentiment may grow. There is time as the present law does not expire until June 12.

The projected treaty with Argentina has been abandoned. While this is a blow to the Hull policy in South America, it may work to the Administration's advantage in Congress. The cattle and wheat interests were vigorously opposed to Argentina treaty. But now that it has been dropped, some of the Congressmen and Senators from the affected states may be induced to go along with the Administration.

Armaments: The following figures are taken from the budget: Navy Department—\$851,751,660; War Department—\$687,693,500.

This is an increase in the total "national-defense" budget of approximately \$180,000,000. While on the surface this seems like a modest increase, there is no way of guessing at the total expenditures for the fiscal year 1940-41 because of the deficiency bills which will be brought in after the regular appropriations have been legislated.

Vinson naval-authorization bill: On top of the regular expenditures, Representative Vinson, chairman of the House Committee on Naval Affairs, has introduced a bill to authorize an increase in the navy by 400,000 tons of combat vessels and 200,000 tons of auxiliary vessels, 3,000 additional airplanes and 28 additional lighter-than-air ships. Congressman Vinson's bill does not carry any cost of this increase and, since it is an authorization bill, does not provide for appropriation. The estimated cost, however, of this authorization is \$1,300,000,000.

In the hearings on the Vinson naval-expansion bill, the Guam issue was raised again. It will be remembered that a bill authorizing the fortification of Guam was defeated in the first session of this Congress. This time, no authorization is requested. Admiral Stark told the House Naval Affairs Committee that the Navy Department had included in this year's budget an item of \$4,000,000 to start the Guam project.

While the Vinson bill does not authorize more battleships—there are now eight under construction; two others are included in the regular naval budget for 1941 and five others are authorized under the 1934 Expansion Act—most of the questioning of Admiral Stark has been on the size of battleships. There has been a lot of talk here about 65,000 tons ships, but it seems mostly talk.

Presidential powers: Shelved for the time being because of the storm of criticism in Congress and throughout the country is Navy Secretary Edison's request to give President Roosevelt war-time powers in advance of a declaration of war.

House Resolution 337, introduced by Representative MacDowell, provides that a committee of seven members of the House shall be appointed to inquire into and investigate the powers available to the President under any proclamation of national emergency. In this same connection, Representative Keane has introduced a bill to make it mandatory on the President that whenever he declares the existence of a national emergency or a limited national emergency when the Congress is not in session, that the Congress shall be called into session not later than the thirtieth day after the date of such declaration.

Deficiency bill: A deficiency appropriation of \$272,000,000 to cover emergency army and navy expenditures during the present fiscal year will be introduced soon. This boosts

the 1939-40 national defense bill to \$1,899,300,000.

Diplomatic relations: Representative Bolles has introduced H.J. Res. 397 to discontinue diplomatic relations with Soviet Russia. This and several similar proposals have been referred to the Committee on Foreign Affairs. There is strong pressure in both Houses of Congress and some groups in the country to sever Russian diplomatic relations. The President and the Secretary of State have thus far resisted this pressure and it is not expected at this time that we will recall our ambassador. The Administration now privately admits that the recall of Ambassador Wilson from Berlin was a mistake.

Aid to Finland: Representative Hook has introduced two resolutions, H.R. 7630 and H.R. 7631. Representative Smith has introduced H.R. 7659. All of these bills have been sent to the Committee on Ways and Means.

H.R. 7630 provides for a loan of \$60,000,000 to Finland to be made "without restriction in order that it be used by the present recognized government of Finland so as to meet that country's general requirements." It is to be noted that "general requirements" can be interpreted to include armament. It is one of the cardinal points of the existing Neutrality Act which the President emphasized in his speech to the special session of Congress when he urged the change in the neutrality law that the United States was avoiding one of the pitfalls of 1914-17 by not allowing nations at war to borrow money in this country for the purchase of armament. Administration leaders in Congress also emphasized this point.

H.R. 7631 provides that the Secretary of the Treasury be authorized and directed to pay to the Finnish government an amount equal to all interest which she has paid on her debt to the United States.

H.R. 7659 provides that Finland be relieved of making any further payments on its debt to the United States until such time as the Congress shall ask for a resumption of payments, and that the money which Finland has thus far paid on her indebtedness shall be loaned to her.

President Roosevelt has not yet determined that a state of war exists between Russia and Finland so the neutrality law does not apply. While there is every sympathy and admiration for Finland in the Congress, many Congressmen look upon this move as "the camel getting his nose under the tent" in the matter of loans to the countries at war for the purchase of armament.

War referendum: The most recent move on this issue is the introduction by Representative Fish of H.J. Res. 408 which provides for a national referendum before drafting citizens and aliens for military service outside of the western hemisphere or the territorial possessions of the United States. It has been referred to the Committee on Military Affairs. The proposal has the support of Representative Ludlow. Different from the Ludlow bill, it is not an amendment to the Constitution, but a regular bill which, when it receives a majority vote of both Houses, shall become law.

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French Socialist Party Sinking Into Deep Crisis

(Continued from Page 3)

France, who rushed with it to Leon Blum. The C.A.P. was shaken up by his business; the Blumists showed great indignation and anger. And Marx Dormoy, without considering the legality of this step, proposed Zorette's expulsion. Only one person took the floor against this proposal. Later, the National Conflicts Committee decided by 4 to 3 for the expulsion. The three opposing votes were from friends of Paul Faure, who vigorously protested against this procedure and then resigned. This is a very minor episode, when we consider the situation as a whole, but it is an index of the morale and the state of mind of the S.P., and for us is but further proof that a

split is indeed unavoidable.

I still have to tell you of Jules Mallandre, functionary in the socialist "amicales" (organizations in the factories). Since August, he has been drifting further and further away from the position he has always held. Last Thursday, he said to me: "Marceau (Marceau Pivert, secretary of the French Socialist Workers and Peasants Party) was wrong only in one thing: he was right too soon!"

All in all, the Socialist Party is certainly in a bad way. It is beginning to fall apart. In the end, it will probably not be able to retain a third of its membership. We will have to start everything all over again, to rebuild on the ruins!

HARRY LAIDLER

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