

Next Week:
**WHAT IS WAR
ECONOMY?**
By Jay Lovestone

Workers Age

Weekly Paper of the Independent Labor League of America

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Finland—Latest Victim of Imperialist Power Politics

It may be months or even years before we learn what it actually was that led to Finland's sudden capitulation before the Russian invader. But two things are already fairly certain without any additional information: first, that it was not immediate military necessity but rather diplomatic skulduggery that forced the Finns to surrender; and secondly, that this diplomatic skulduggery had its center in the British Foreign Office.

In short, the Finns fell victim not merely to the ruthless drive of the new Stalin imperialism but also to the imperialistic tug-of-war of European power-politics. From the very beginning, we warned that this would be the fate of Finland as long as the bourgeois and government elements of that unfortunate country remained in control, for these elements were always more amenable to foreign diplomatic influence than to the voice of the masses at home. We warned, too, that it was folly for Finland to put any faith in the fine promises of support and assistance coming from the Allies. In both instances, our warning has been only too well sustained by the events themselves.

How true to form they all ran! The Allies—or rather England, for France is the junior and the very much silent partner—promised Finland prompt and effective aid against the Russians; of that there can be no doubt. Quite a sizable private graveyard can now be laid out of those small nations that went down to disaster because they trusted in British or French promises: Ethiopia, Austria, Czechoslovakia, Poland, Finland. Why Allied aid was not forthcoming when apparently it was so much to their own interest to halt Russia, backed by Germany, in the Baltic and turn the German flank in the North, is more than obscure. Certainly, Chamberlain's formal excuse that the Finnish government never officially asked for aid cannot hold water, for the question immediately arises why Helsinki did not ask when such aid was apparently its only hope of salvation from the very beginning. The ways of the British Foreign Office have a logic of their own, the logic of imperialistic self-interest. Perhaps it was all part of another "appease Stalin" move; perhaps Downing Street had other and more complicated calculations. Events will not be long in showing which way things are shaping up.

And Stalinist Russia? Also true to form—the new Stalin imperialism, crude, stripped of its camouflage, brazenly predatory. For months, we were told in the Russian press in Moscow and New York that the only legitimate government of Finland was at Terijoki, with Kuusinen at its head; the Helsinki regime was nothing but a bunch of "White Guard bandits." For months, we were assured in the most impassioned phrases that Stalin was really conducting a crusade of liberation with the purpose of freeing the Finnish masses from the shackles of capitalism and bestowing upon them the blessings of socialism. Then, suddenly, without so much as a word of explanation, all this cheap ideological trumpery was ruthlessly brushed aside by the mailed fist of predatory power-politics. The Terijoki "government" was contemptuously forgotten, sunk without a trace; Stalin signed his "peace treaty" with the erstwhile "White Guard bandits." And what about the "liberation of the Finnish masses"? In the end, it turned out to be no more than a "revolutionary" phrase for the acquisition of the Karelian Isthmus and military control of Hangö! The game over, the spoils safe in hand, the mask can be thrown aside to the scrap-heap!

It is still too early to estimate the significance of the Finnish defeat for the changed European and world situation. One thing is clear, however: The Finnish problem is now more than ever inextricably involved in the tangle of European imperialist power-politics; it can find no solution except in the solution of the larger problem itself.

War Costs Already at Highest 1914-18 Level

No Big Operations on Western Front, Yet Expenditures Top All Records

New York City. EUROPE'S war costs already have been stepped up to the highest levels reached at the end of the World War, although the present conflict is only six months old and almost devoid of military operations, the National City Bank reported recently in its March monthly letter.

The letter comments that "this war is commencing where the last one left off, with costs mounting accordingly," and then gives examples of the British and French war budgets to show that on a population basis the former compares to a United States budget of \$27,000,000,000 and the latter to annual American expenditures of \$23,000,000,000. (The United States budget approximates \$7,000,000,000, actually less than the British figure and about the same as the French).

EATING UP THE NATIONAL INCOME

The letter says the British expenditures are running at an annual rate of \$9,600,000,000, or about 40% of the estimated annual income. If the war lasts two years, it is predicted by British economists that the cost, to Britain alone, will be something like \$16,000,000,000 a year, or two-thirds the annual income.

France is already similarly burdened, with war costs absorbing 40% of the annual income and the step-up equaling the mounting costs in England. Figures on the costs to Germany are less readily available, but it is estimated that "not less than 60% of Germany's national income is being spent by the state." Japan, too, has a record-breaking budget, up five times over the 1936 figure, prior to the "China Incident."

"That war costs already are approaching the maximum scale of the last war is due evidently to two principal causes," the letter states. "In the first place, the tempo of preparations has been much faster

than in the last war. In 1914, the general expectation was that the war would not last long, and there was no conception of the extent to which the resources and energies of all these people would become involved.

WHAT MODERN WAR MEANS

"Now there is a clearer appreciation of what modern war means, and all efforts are being bent from the beginning to organize the national life to maximum war efficiency at the earliest possible moment.

"The second reason why expenditures are rising so rapidly lies, of course, in the increased costliness of modern mechanized equipment. Not only is there more of such equipment than in the last war, but the unit cost is higher. According to the British Chancellor of the Exchequer, military aircraft costs three to seven times as much as in 1918, and in general the cost of maintaining a division in the field is about twice as much."

The burden of the war costs, the letter points out, is being quickly imposed on the taxpayers because of the difficulty in arranging sufficient loans.

"With the general recognition of the magnitude of the financial problem, and with the inflationary experiences of the last war in mind," the bank comments, "governments are now disposed to resort much earlier and more vigorously to taxes and to drafts upon current savings (either through voluntary or forced loan subscriptions) than was the case in the last war."

Huge left-over debts from the last war have complicated the financing of the new conflict, it is pointed out, and it is realized that despite all efforts to avoid loans and to prevent inflation, there is already fatalistic acceptance of inflation and of resort to loans wherever they may be obtained.

Stalin Forces Robber Peace on Finns

Wagner Hits Smith NLRA Amendment

States Changes Would Rob Labor of Protection of Law And Give Aid to Employers

Washington, D. C.

Senator Wagner was in favor of a five-man National Labor Relations Board but was strongly opposed to the amendments recently introduced by Representative Howard W. Smith, he stated last week in making public his stand on a new five-man Board, the Senator thought, would remedy most of the abuses charged to the administration of the Wagner Act.

In his address, Senator Wagner stressed that the Smith amendments would "more than repeal the National Labor Relations Act," and would make it "a delusive remedy for the worker and a concrete weapon for the oppression of labor." He charged that the Smith Committee proposals were "one-sided and unfair" and predicted that all accredited leaders of American labor would oppose the amendments, which he asserted were "providing a strategic rallying point for the enemies of the act."

Mr. Wagner said he was ready to admit that the Smith Committee supplied evidence "about conduct of some members of the staff of the National Labor Relations Board which is highly undesirable."

"These wrongs should be remedied," he added. "But such difficulties in personnel administration provide no foundation for the sweeping proposals in the Smith amendments."

The New York Senator was particularly emphatic in opposing as destructive the proposed new definition of collective bargaining. The substantive changes, he declared, "would not only remove the provisions designed to redress labor's economic inequality but moreover would place upon labor's right to seek legal redress unique limitations never applied to any other groups."

The procedural changes, he felt, would provide "a feast for a few lawyers, an insuperable problem for the courts, an insurmountable obstacle to any efficient administration of the law, a blessing to those anxious to disobey the law and a merry-go-round for the employers and workers affected by the law."

One of the substantive provisions in the Smith proposals would limit back-pay awards to six months. Senator Wagner felt that this "would make the wrongfully discharged worker bear the burden of the inevitable delays of legal process" and would encourage dilatory tactics by employers "with greater economic staying power."

The proposed amendment to fix a six-month statute of limitations for the filing of charges, far from accomplishing its purpose, according to Senator Wagner, "would cause employees, in self-protection, to file charges on the slightest provocation." It was repugnant to him, he said, that "a man of property should have twenty years to protect his holdings by recourse to the law, while the wronged worker would be denied the right to regain his job after six months."

Discussing the amendment which would deny reinstatement to an employee who engaged in an act of "violence," Senator Wagner said he was unable to believe that as a matter of inflexible federal law "a man should lose all right to earn his bread because of a minor scuffle on the picket line, which may well already have been punished under local law."

"No one would suggest that an employer lose his corporate franchise for a similar trivial act," he said.

The effect of the Smith "free-speech" proposal, said the Senator, was "not to uphold the Constitution but rather to overrule decisions of the Supreme Court and thus to allow unfair practices which the court has repeatedly held there is no constitutional right to enjoy." By this amendment, he insisted, the substantial justice embodied in many Supreme Court decisions would be undone and "the way would be opened for the return of the company-dominated union."

Asserting that the procedural proposals "would take us back to the very difficulties from which Congress sought to escape by adopting the administrative device," Senator Wagner opposed having the rules of evidence in federal district courts applied to labor-board procedure. (Continued on Page 2)

STILL THE FORGOTTEN MEN



State Court of Appeals Upholds Picket Rights

Rules Picketing Permissible Tho by Non-Employees of Firm Involved

Albany, N. Y.

The State Court of Appeals unanimously ruled last week that picketing by a labor union was permissible even though none of the pickets were, or had been, employees of the picketed establishment. The court's opinion modified an injunction against picketing May's Department Store in Brooklyn.

"The court decided that only 'violent' and 'unlawful' picketing should be enjoined and recalled that after the original suit for the injunction was begun such actions had virtually ceased.

The May's case dates back to October 1935, when Locals 1150 and 1125 clashed in an effort to organize the Brooklyn department store. On March 20, 1936, the general organizer of the union informed the store management that Local 1150 had withdrawn and that thereafter Local 1125, the present defendant,

Lovestone Speaks on "New Frontiers for Labor" at ALP Club

New York City

Jay Lovestone spoke on "New Frontiers for Labor" at the Tremont American Labor Party Club, 1955 Southern Blvd., Bronx, on Thursday night, March 12. A very lively and stimulating discussion followed his remarks. That the discussion and questions were so deeply concerned with international problems was an indication of the extent to which the workers of New York realize how intricately bound up with the working classes of other countries is their own labor movement.

Lovestone gave an illuminating account of the background of the trade-union movement in this country, pointing out that only now, after many decades of confusion in the ranks of workers, was the American working class beginning to understand its role in the economic and social life of this country, beginning to become class conscious. There was, therefore, every reason, he said, to look forward to a unified and militant labor movement.

In his concluding remarks, Lovestone stressed the need for American workers to utilize properly their privileged position as compared with that of workers in a war-torn Europe. He urged the intensification of efforts to solidify labor's ranks. He urged the need for independent labor political action. He urged the

vigorous application of the American trade-union movement to efforts to keep America out of war. Only in this way, Lovestone stressed, would the achievements of the American working class be assured and further gains made possible. Only in this way, he added, would the American labor movement be able to set an example for the workers of the world, to inspire them to continue fighting, under infinitely more difficult conditions, towards a better life, towards a warless world.

The audience responded to Lovestone's speech and summary with genuine appreciation and hearty enthusiasm.

"The overwhelming mass of the people of this country are of the opinion that Stalin and his Nazi-minded bureaucracy have brought down upon them the loathing and contempt of every decent-minded person." —John McGovern, I.L.P. leader, in a statement in the British House of Commons.

Finland Becomes Russo-German Vassal State; Hitler and Mussolini Meet on New "Peace" Drive thru U.S. Mediation

The fifteen-week old Russian invasion of Finland came to a sudden end last week as the belligerent governments at Moscow and Helsinki concluded a formal peace which gave to Russia more than it had demanded in the first place and left Finland economically crippled and politically a mere vassal state of its two giant neighbors, Germany and Russia.

Striking immediately while the iron was hot, Adolf Hitler, German dictator and ally of Stalin, took steps to prepare the way for the launching of another "peace" offensive in a surprise conference with Premier Mussolini at a little border town near the Brenner Pass. The best available information was that the two dictators discussed a new "peace" effort thru American and Italian mediation—it was noted that Under-Secretary of State Sumner Welles remained waiting in Rome until the conference was over. In informed quarters, it was suggested

700,000 W.P.A. Workers to Be Fired in June

Big Slashes Made Necessary By Cuts in Relief Appropriations by Congress

Washington, D. C.

Almost a third of the nation's W.P.A. workers will be dismissed by June 30, H. O. Hunter, deputy W.P.A. commissioner said last week. The sharp reduction in W.P.A. rolls will start next month, he added.

About 700,000 persons would be cut from the total of 2,300,000 by June 30, beginning with 200,000 in April, he declared.

This reduction, he pointed out, had been planned as a step necessary to keep W.P.A. within the Congressional appropriation of \$1,477,000,000 for the current fiscal year, compared with \$2,225,000,000 for the previous year.

Even bigger cuts might be necessary, W.P.A. officials warned, if as was expected, W.P.A. appropriations next year were reduced by still another \$500,000,000. This would mean a wholesale lay-off of W.P.A. workers and discontinuance of the last worthwhile projects.

Stalinist Penetration in Washington Continues

Administration's Double Attitude of Persecution and Protection Aids C.P.

By FRANK HOWARD

Washington, D. C.

I HAVE received so many letters asking about the functioning of Stalinists here in Washington that it is about time to comment again. Their major concern is to embarrass the Roosevelt Administration because of its foreign policy. There is little to criticize in the fact that they are opposed to the pro-British and pro-war bias of F.D.R.; there is everything to be said against their stupid attempts to tie up anti-lynchism, protection-of-the-foreign-born, youth, social-security and other movements with a defense of Stalin's foreign policy and the Russian attack on the Finns. The Stalinists cannot get away with it and the only result is the serious compromising of sound progressive efforts.

The best recent example of their penetration tactics and totalitarian approach has been the meeting here of the American Committee for the Protection of the Foreign Born. However much influence they had in this committee in the past, plans had been made to keep the committee to the subject and to take it completely out of the control of Stalinists. The President and many others sent greetings. Numerous anti-Stalinist New Dealers appeared at the conference for a short time. As a whole, it was the Stalinist group which packed the meeting and which was on hand when voting was to be done. Consequently, when Herman Reissig, who has played with the Stalinists in the past, introduced a mild resolution saying that the committee "regards itself as an American organization devoted to the cause of pure democracy and opposed to forces of totalitarianism of all kinds as being essentially un-

also brought forward with much emphasis a plan for a German-Italian-Russian front. Rumor persisted, however, that what Germany was really after was a western four-power block against Russia and that such had been von Ribbentrop's proposal to the Pope recently.

According to the peace treaty signed by Russian and Finnish plenipotentiaries and ratified by the Finnish Diet by a vote of 145 to 3, Finland ceded to Russia the Karelian Isthmus, including Viipuri (Viborg), the entire shore of Lake Ladoga, the Rybachy and Sredni peninsulas on the Arctic Coast, and part of eastern Finland. It also leased to Russia the Hangoe peninsula and adjoining territory on the Gulf of Finland for a Russian naval base. Finland undertook not to maintain any naval forces in the Arctic waters and granted Russia the right of free transit of goods to and from Norway without Finnish customs control. Arrangements for a railroad to connect the Murmansk line with the Finnish line at Kemijarvi were also made.

Not only does the cession of Hangoe place Finland completely in the military power of Russia, but the surrender of Karelia and Viborg cuts away a good deal of the country's economic base and deprives the Finns of almost 85% of their export manufacturing.

The events that led up to so disastrous a peace did not come to light last week either in the official declarations of the Finnish government leaders or in the evasive formal statements of Allied spokesmen in London and Paris. All indications, however, pointed to the fact that it was final realization that no assistance whatever would be forthcoming from the Allies, despite all pledges, coupled with the threat of active German intervention, that drove Finland to surrender. According to a Washington dispatch in the New York Times of March 15, the question of direct Allied aid to Finland came up at a Paris conference in the early part of February. "Mr. Chamberlain, according to diplomatic reports, asked for several days to think over the matter, and, after consultation in London, he informed the French he was opposed to such intervention. The basis upon which he made his decision is not known."

Informed quarters also stressed

(Continued on Page 4)

GORKIN RECEPTION

RIVERA MURALS HALL + See Ad Page 4
Outstanding Speakers + Entertainment

MARCH 23

Knitgoods Progressives Are Overwhelmingly Endorsed

Brooklyn, N. Y.

BY a vote of six to one the Progressive Group in the Knitgoods Workers Union, Local 155, I.L.G.W.U., defeated the Stalinist "Rank-and-File" Group recently in the election of an Election and Objections Committee to supervise the coming union elections. This ratio makes it certain that in the election of delegates to the next I.L.G.W.U. convention, the Progressives will win by an overwhelming majority.

Implicit in the election of a progressive Election and Objections Committee is the realization on the part of the knitgoods workers that the Progressive Group will continue in its past tradition of honest, democratic elections, with representatives of all groups participating in the election campaign. Although the Stalinist group was defeated in the election for the committee, they will have the right to appoint watchers for the elections and for the tallying of the votes. This is part of the democratic tradition in the Knitgoods Workers Union. In every past election, all groups participating in the election signed statements certifying that the election was carried on in an honest, democratic manner. The overwhelming vote given the progressive slate is an indication of the confidence vested by the knitgoods workers in the progressive forces.

The current issue of the Knitgoods Workers Voice illustrates the degree of democracy existing in the local. One of the important issues on which there is difference today is the question of labor unity, the Progressive Group favoring reaffiliation of the I.L.G.W.U. with the A. F. of L. at the next convention in May should labor unity not be realized by that time; and the Stalinist group favoring reaffiliation with the C.I.O.

PROGRESSIVE CAMPAIGN ON PROGRAM

The Progressive Group appealed to the knitgoods workers for support on the basis of a program entitled "Maintain Our Union—Democratic, Progressive, Constructive!" The program is divided into three sections: 1. Industrial Program; 2. General Labor Program; and 3. Labor Legislation.

The industrial program deals with problems immediately confronting the knitgoods workers and the I.L.G.W.U. The second section is a general labor program relating to the problems facing the American labor movement. The planks in this section are as follows:

1. Unity in the American trade-union movement.
2. If all attempts for unifying the C.I.O. and A. F. of L. fail, the I.L.G.W.U., upon the adjournment of the convention, is to reaffiliate itself with the A. F. of L.
3. For industrial unionism, against craft unionism.
4. The amalgamation of all needle-trades unions into one union.
5. For the legalization of groups in local unions of the International.
6. Against government control of and interference with trade unions.
7. For the building of a national farmer-labor party.

The third and last section deals with labor legislation. This section emphasizes the need for more funds for housing, public works, education and relief for the unemployed, and raises its voice against spending millions of dollars for armaments and the building of war industries.

The biggest controversy thus far is over the question of labor unity. The progressive viewpoint is essentially as follows. The tendency in the C.I.O., due to the dictatorial methods of Lewis and the influence of the Communist Party, is to stifle democracy within that organization. More and more, the tendency is toward a one-man control. This was indicated recently when Lewis made important public statements without ever consulting his closest associates. The control exerted by the C.I.O. over its affiliated organizations makes free discussion impossible.

At the organization of the C.I.O., there was a definite understanding that it would not be converted into a dual-union center. The I.L.G.W.U. position at the May 1937 convention was stated in a resolution as follows: "Should it at any time be proved that the Committee for Industrial Organization engages in dual-union activities, we assure you that there will be no need of any edict or ultimatum, but the Committee will either correct its policy or we will withdraw from it."

Today there can be no doubt that the C.I.O. is a dual-union center. The I.L.G.W.U. should rejoin the A. F. of L. and fight within that organization for labor unity and industrial unionism. The existence of autonomy within the A. F. of L. makes such a fight possible.

LABOR ANTI-WAR PROGRAM

The progressives of Local 155 maintain a militant, labor anti-war program. They were among the first to help in the organization of the Keep America Out of War Council and Labor's Anti-War Council. The progressives favored full support to the underground movements in fascist countries but opposed the entanglement of the United States in any war, under whatever slogans that war was fought. It was for this reason that not so very long ago the Stalinist group bitterly assailed the Progressive Group as "agents of



"Gotta soften this up... it's too tough for my digestion." — from Justice

Hitler." This, of course, was in the heyday of their "collective-security" period. But recently, as a result of the Russian pact with Nazi Germany, and the attack on Finland, the Communist Party changed its position on war. Now they, too, favor keeping America out of war—or at least they say they do. No longer are the progressives called "agents of Hitler." But, of course, the progressives will have nothing of the Stalinist slogans or activities. They point out that the entire communist position is not sincere but stems from the political needs of the Hitler-Stalin alliance. The opposition to war of the communists is of the same variety as the opposition of the German-American Bund.

CAMPAIGN ON CONSTRUCTIVE RECORD

The progressives once again campaign on a consistent, progressive program, but, even more, they can show many constructive achievements during this past year. The progressive administration, headed by Louis Nelson, manager, has carried on campaigns in many different fields in an effort to improve the conditions of the knitgoods workers. A health campaign was carried out which led to the X-raying of all knitgoods workers and which resulted in the saving of scores of lives. A cam-

Kenosha: City of Labor Unity

By PAUL PORTER

Kenosha, Wis. CRAFT and industrial unions live in harmony with each other in Kenosha, Wis. The 11,500 members of the American Federation of Labor and the Congress of Industrial Organizations in this factory town of 53,000 people are not stirred by partisan loyalties in the national conflict between the two labor factions. They have desired labor unity enough to have maintained it through the four years of struggle between their national organizations, and their achievement is a daily demonstration that labor can have peace in its own ranks. The workers in this highly organized city have never been more effectively united in a common purpose than they are today.

TYPICAL U. S. TOWN — BUT UNIONIZED!

In most respects, Kenosha is a typical American city of a population between 50,000 and 100,000. What sets it apart from other communities is the advanced character of its labor movement as measured by the extent of organization, internal unity, political strength, lively interest in workers education, recreation, and consumers cooperation, and friendly relationship with other sections of the population.

Of the 8,500 industrial workers in Kenosha, 94% are member of A. F. of L. or C.I.O. unions. More than 70% of the public-service workers (teachers, police, letter carriers, and other government employees) are union members. Approximately 50% of the service trades (retail clerks, beauticians, barbers, hotel and restaurant workers, etc.) are organized, and those unions that have not already obtained 100% organization continue to grow.

The largest industrial establishment is the main works of the Nash-Kelvinator Corporation, employing approximately 3,500 industrial workers during the automobile production season. About 3,200 of these are members of the United Automobile Workers (Local 72); the others are represented by locals of the International Association of Machinists, the International Brotherhood of Blacksmiths and Drop Forgers, and of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, Chauffeurs, Stablemen and Helpers. The first is affiliated with the C.I.O., the latter three with the A. F. of L. There is no record of any jurisdictional dispute arising between any of them. They exchange information and work in the closest

harmony. Together they represent a 100% organization of all employees of the corporation, except supervisory and office workers.

Other important Kenosha industries are the main works of the Simmons Co., manufacturers of beds, mattresses, and studio couches; an American Brass Co. plant; Coopers, Inc., manufacturers of knit-goods; and the Kenosha Full Fashioned Mills, hosiery manufacturers. Workers in the Simmons and American Brass plants are members of A. F. of L. federal labor unions, except a small number who belong to locals of the International Association of Machinists and International Union of Metal Polishers, Buffers, Platers and Helpers. All Cooper factory workers are members of the Textile Workers Union of America of the C.I.O. All production workers in the Kenosha Full Fashioned Mills are members of the American Federation of Hosiery Workers, affiliated with the C.I.O.

Organization of Kenosha workers into strong unions has placed local employer-labor relations on a highly stable basis. Only four strikes occurred during the past four years. Three were conducted by newly organized unions in the service trades for union recognition; the fourth, by Nash workers in October 1939, was for a written contract to succeed a verbal agreement. All were successful from the standpoint of the workers.

JOINT LABOR ACTIVITIES

The united labor movement of Kenosha has been able to engage successfully in enterprises for the benefit of all workers, which would have been impossible for a divided labor movement. The largest of these has been the publication of a weekly newspaper, The Kenosha Laborer, whose paid circulation has been expanded since it was founded in November 1935 to the point where it is now read in four out of every five Kenosha homes. The newspaper is managed by the Union Cooperative Publishing Co., owned by thirty-four local unions. The company, organized on the Rochdale plan, is incorporated as a cooperative under the laws of Wisconsin, and the unions which own it vote at stockholders meetings in proportion to their membership. This arrangement gives A. F. of L. unions 56% of the voting stock, C.I.O. unions 43%, and an independent union, the Policemen's Protective Association,

Administration Slashes Public Housing Plans

Washington, D. C.

OVER a billion dollars in back-log demands for slum clearance and low-cost housing projects from communities in 35 states are gently reposing in U.S.H.A. pigeonholes because the House of Representatives refuses to authorize a loan for expanding the program. The measure is one of the most vital to national progress.

Housing has become a popular subject. Whole communities are clamoring for continuation and enlargement of the program. Nathan Straus, U.S.H.A. administrator, declares that small cities, towns and villages, and even strictly rural communities in addition to large cities, have organized and are organizing housing authorities which "have the ardent support of their local governments and of local business, trades, civic and social groups."

The release of another \$800,000,000 which House authorization would make possible, experts point out, would stimulate employment, as construction affects many fields of industrial activity.

With Secretary of Labor Perkins' report before them, showing a drop of more than a million in employment between December 1939, and January 1940, members of the House have little enough excuse for their present attitude. Unless they act on this measure they will rightly stand accused of being more interested in the desires of the comparatively few realtors than in the millions who seek release from slums and the millions more who plead for jobs and can't find them.

Housing Is Shown Vital Need for Public

New York City.

LARGE families and slum-dwelling families with incomes just above the minimum set by federal housing authorities present urgent problems as yet unsolved in the field of public housing, it is pointed out in a pamphlet just published by the Public Affairs Committee. The pamphlet, "The Home the Public Builds," was prepared by Edith Elmer Wood, one of America's leading public-housing authorities, and Elizabeth Ogg of the staff of the Foreign Policy Association.

At present large families, which occur most frequently in the lowest income groups, are at a disadvantage in federal housing projects, the pamphlet discloses. "To prevent extravagance, two

Machinery Drives Out Farm Masses

Mitchell Tells of Sharecroppers Plight

New York City.

M ECHANIZATION of Southern farms, made possible by government loans and grants, has displaced from 500,000 to 1,000,000 families since 1930 in the cotton states, H. L. Mitchell, an executive of the Southern Tenant Farmers Union, declared here last week.

Mr. Mitchell and J. R. Butlef, president of the union, F. R. Betton, vice-president, and Floyd Slay-

amendments were placed in the United States Housing Act. One limited the construction cost per room to \$1,250 in cities with over 500,000 population and to \$1,000 in smaller towns. The other limited the corresponding dwelling unit cost to \$5,000 and \$4,000.

"The first of these amendments," the pamphlet asserts, "has worked well." But it holds that "the wisdom of the second is doubtful. Unless very drastic cuts in the construction costs per room can be made . . . this provision limits public housing units to four or at most five rooms."

"A large family cannot squeeze into a small apartment because there are 'occupancy standards' to prevent a tenant from taking either a larger or a smaller home than his family needs . . . (and) there are not nearly enough public housing units for large families."

Dividing the population into three income groups, the pamphlet suggests that private enterprise can supply the top third with homes, and that housing subsidized by the government will be necessary for the bottom third for some time to come. But it indicates that a serious dispute rages over the fate of the middle third.

Even if it is admitted that, insofar as private enterprise can reduce the cost of housing to the consumer, this middle third will be the province of private construction, the problem is still unsolved, the pamphlet declares. "An answer to the problem of the middle income group," the pamphlet concludes, "may be provided by the non-profit cooperative or limited-dividend housing aided by loans from public funds. Such housing need not be subsidized. If it could have the benefit of public loans up to 100% of its cost, and the sort of public-spirited management that has characterized tenant cooperatives in Holland and Scandinavia . . . it could pay its own way and be highly successful."

ten were here to address meetings on the plight of the share-cropper as part of the program of National Share-Cropper Week.

In Texas alone in 1930, Mr. Mitchell said, there were 30,000 farm tractors, whereas last year there were 100,000, each tractor having displaced from two to eight families. This situation, he said, was typical of what has happened in all the cotton states since 1930.

While the government has aided individual farmers in its farm-security program by reestablishing them on the land and granting rehabilitation loans, he said, this help has been far outbalanced by aid to land-owners through which farms have been mechanized, thus creating more unemployment.

As a result of this modernization, Mr. Mitchell continued, one out of five families had migrated to the West and the rest are now crowded in the slum areas of southern cities.

The W.P.A., he said, had aided only industrial workers and done little for the unemployed farmers, encouraging them to remain on the land. The W.P.A. also took over highway construction, he explained, where previously some jobs were available between cotton seasons for the farmers.

Mr. Mitchell urged an amendment to the Agricultural Adjustment Act to provide a minimum wage of twenty-five cents an hour for all farm labor hired by land-owners receiving A.A.A. subsidy payments.

Mr. Butler and Mr. Betton were in Washington recently to present the views of their 40,000 members before a Senate subcommittee on agriculture. The union has its headquarters in Memphis.

C.P. Efforts at Penetration Continue

(Continued from page 1)

Stalinist and Stalinist protectors. The "protectors" are the real problem. They say: "We know they are Stalinists. We dislike the way they have been attacking F.D.R., but we can handle them and they do work hard, you know." The result of all of this is that, with their new burst of energy growing out of their persecution by these same New Dealers, the Stalinists are not only holding their own here fairly well but even gaining some additional influence. It is considered "smart" and "intellectual" to work in organizations with them, while being a part of an Administration which has seriously considered and still may be considering outlawing their party!

Richard Wright's terrific new book, "Native Son," has stirred up great interest here. Many Southerners who received it as a Book-of-the-Month Club selection have been introduced for the first time to what Negro intellectuals are thinking about the white people of America. Knowing Wright from a few contacts four years ago, I am convinced that Bigger, the "killer," is not only speaking for himself at times—especially in the latter part of the book—but for Richard Wright and a thousand Wrights at Howard, Fisk, C.C.N.Y., New York University and in the railroad terminals and elevators of our great cities. A few novels with the wallop of this one can do more to open the eyes of those who have eyes and see not than tons of sociological articles and baskets of well-meaning resolutions.

The C.I.O. locals were never suspended by the A. F. of L. Trades and Labor Council. They are still represented in it.

This high degree of unity and community of purpose has been achieved in a population of many national and racial stocks. The major national groups are descendants of early English, Scotch, and Irish immigrants; second, third, and fourth generation Germans; and first and second generation Italians. But there are also large groups of people of Polish, Lithuanian, Russian, Danish, Swedish, Austrian, Czech, and Slovenian descent. Old-country antagonisms have been largely lost in the experience of common endeavor.

The Kenosha unions cooperate effectively in local and State politics. A labor slate is entered in the non-partisan elections for city council, school board, and county board of supervisors. For several years labor has had two representatives out of seven on the city council and on the school board, and a substantial minority on the county board.

(Paul Porter is editor of the Kenosha Labor. This article first appeared in March 1940 issue of Labor Information Bulletin.—Editor.)

Read—Spread WORKERS AGE

Green Says AFL Ready for Labor Peace Parleys

Washington, D. C.

T HE continuing split in the American labor movement "endangers our progress," President William Green of the A. F. of L. declared last week, calling upon the C.I.O. to resume peace talks.

"No person who cares for the welfare of the American labor movement would needlessly prolong the present civil war," Mr. Green wrote in the A. F. of L. Journal, American Federationist.

"The A. F. of L. stands ready to continue negotiations thru its committee created at the request of the President. Obviously the fundamental problem which such negotiating committees would have to meet is a practical way of uniting opposing unions in the same jurisdiction. The basis for planning is necessarily union books or certified records showing the number of dues-paying members in various occupations and industries. This information is equally essential to enable any delegate conference to function."

"Voting strength should be determined by validity to represent. Negotiations on any other basis would be fruitless. Honesty in proposing and entering upon negotiations is essential to that confidence which makes representatives willing to propose and accept compromises. Peace cannot come until the issues are settled equitably and with consideration of the interests and rights of all concerned."

"If the man (John L. Lewis) responsible for the secession movement which involved this nation in a labor war has the sincerity and courage to notify the President of the United States that the committee of his organization is ready to continue negotiations with the committee of the A. F. of L., the way will be open to negotiate peace."

Wagner Hits Smith NLRA Amendments

(Continued from page 1)

He said the change proposed would burden everybody with the cost and time of new litigation on purely technical points.

Another procedural change, he went on to say, vests in a newly created Administrator, appointed by the President and acting independently of the Labor Board, every function now vested in the Board except that of actual decisions of cases and conduct of elections.

"Such a dismemberment of functions and division of responsibility would defeat the just expectation of industry and labor that there be prompt and effective administration of the national labor policy," he declared. "There would be nothing to prevent the Administrator from adjusting cases on a basis entirely different from those laid down in the Board's decision, or from refusing arbitrarily to issue a complaint in a case clearly within the Board's province."

"The division of responsibility and confusion of policy reach farcical heights in the proposals that the Administrator, not the Board, should direct and control litigation in the courts for enforcement of orders issued by the Board."

The election procedure required under the amendments, according to Senator Wagner, "is obviously unsound." Analysis of the proposal to separate the power of the Board, he said, indicated that it could operate only to impede progress toward democracy and peace in American industry.

Washington, D. C.

The Smith Committee amendments to the Wagner Act were strongly condemned by A. F. of L. and C.I.O. spokesmen here last week. William Green, president of the A. F. of L., declared that "as a whole, they strike in a destructive way at vital, fundamental principles of the act." H. W. Brown, president of the International Association of Machinists, an important A. F. of L. affiliate, added that the Smith proposals would emasculate the labor law and nullify labor's rights.

Lee Pressman, general counsel for the C.I.O., expressed the condemnation of the Lewis organization.

JAY LOVESTONE

will speak on

"Road to Labor and Socialist Unity"

Thursday, March 28, 6 P. M.

RIVERA MURALS HALL
131 W. 33rd St., (7th floor)

Admission Free

Auspices: Dressmakers Branch, Independent Labor League of America

Letters from Our Readers:

On Questioning Motives

New York City. Editor, Workers Age:

IN your issue of February 10th you have a statement made by Dr. John Haynes Holmes concerning Russia. I am glad that you published this statement and agree with you on its value.

What I disagree about is your holier-than-thou attitude (in an editorial note) toward such people as Louis Fischer, Vincent Sheean and others.

The fact that these men have honestly and publicly disagreed with the betrayal in the Soviet Union seems to me reason enough to respect them. After all, the editors of the Workers Age have in the past made the same mistakes about Russia that these people have made. Not in the same way nor from the same point of view. But it seems rather short-sighted not to recognize and appreciate independence of opinion even when it is not done up in the package or tied with the ribbons you prefer.

Are the editors of the Workers Age trying to establish a formula for confession of error? I hope not, and as a matter of fact I do not believe that you are doing so consciously. But how many apparently innocent tendencies develop before we know it into rigid formulas! An aunt of mine in Georgia started out as a happy and rather tolerant convert to the Baptist church. She ended up with hatred and suspicion toward everyone who had not been immersed. But my aunt is a little old lady who has never gotten beyond her small provincial circle.

I am all for a good healthy hate toward someone like Hitler. But isn't it possible to go steadily on your way without despising those who do not exactly conform?

GRACE LUMPKIN

The Editor Replies:

WE accept Miss Lumpkin's rebuke in good part; to a large extent, it is well deserved. Yet in extenuation, we would like to make the following remarks:

It is not a question of "making mistakes about Russia." As our correspondent points out, we have all made such mistakes and plenty of them, heaven knows. And it isn't simply that Fischer, Sheean and the others don't "conform" (that is, agree with us one hundred percent); neither does John Haynes Holmes, and yet we praised his statement in the highest terms. What rankled us about Fischer, Sheean and the rest was something quite different. It was their calm avowal that they had all along known the full horrors of the Stalin regime but had, for various reasons, kept silent. (They say they kept silent; actually, they rarely missed an opportunity to slander and abuse critics of Stalinism, especially as it manifested itself in Loyalist Spain.) Can we be blamed if we see more than a touch of cynicism in such an attitude? How shall we interpret the fact that only a few weeks before Vincent Sheean had his articles arguing that Russia was a fascist state published in the New Republic, he had had a defense of the Stalin-Hitler pact published in the New Masses?

From such facts, there are certain conclusions that we might legitimately draw. But we shall refrain from drawing them. We will take the recantations of Louis Fischer, Vincent Sheean and the others at their face value without any question as to good faith. We agree with Miss Lumpkin that in times like these it would be well for all of us to be ever ready to forgive each other our political sins and to bear in mind the injunction: "Judge not that ye be not judged..." especially when it comes to motives.

"Do A Mental Rewrite . . ."

New York City. Editor, Workers Age:

I SUPPOSE many have wondered what the Stalinists have done with their tons of People's Front and anti-Hitler literature after their sudden change of line following the Hitler-Stalin Pact. This mystery has been cleared up in the Sunday Worker of March 3rd, in a review of Ludwig Renn's book entitled "Warfare." Renn, a Stalinist, fought in the Loyalist army in Spain, and wrote his book from the People's Front anti-fascist point of view immediately prior to the recent change of Communist Party line. The Daily Worker solves this embarrassing problem in the following unique manner.

"Renn's undue emphasis on the one-time distinction between the so-called 'democratic' and the fascist states—which is being erased today by the second imperialist war—compels the reader to perform a mental 'rewrite' on certain political estimations, replacing 'democratic' by 'socialist' and 'fascist' by 'capitalist', 'imperialist'."

This is the neatest trick of the month! It deserves to go down in any history of the weird operations of the human mind. Visualize the devoted Communist Party members dutifully taking Earl Browder's speeches of the past four years, and mentally crossing out every reference to "democracy" and putting in "socialism"—and wherever Browder says "anti-Nazi," putting in "pro-Nazi."

About Trotskyist Political Logic

New York City. Editor, Workers Age:

IT gives me no pleasure to belabor a dead dog, and even less, when the punch-drunk editor of the Socialist Appeal is the victim. But Felix Morrow is asking for it. . . . Felix Morrow, ill-equipped with logic, comes forth bravely in the Socialist Appeal of February 26th with a column entitled "An Exchange with Lovestone on Finland." He attempts to answer my recent comment in the Workers Age on the effort of the Socialist Appeal to fabricate an amalgam of Norman Thomas, the Lovestoneites—and the Russian White Guards.

It is significant that Morrow drops our recent "association" with Russian White Guards like a hot potato. He then constructs a new amalgam of the Lovestoneites with the Social Democratic Federation's New Leader. I must grant that this is progress. Within a few weeks, we have been promoted from the grade of Russian monarchists to that of the social-democrats, for which we are duly grateful. But even with this progress, we must note that the method remains essentially the same. It indicates that even when it is called to his attention, Morrow can no more break away from this Stalinist method of argumentation than he can jump thru his own skin.

To the old "amalgam" method, however, Morrow now adds another, which we have been expecting for some time—what I would call the argument of the non-sequitur. This consists in discussing the invasion of Finland by asking the question: "Weren't you wrong on the Stalinist frame-up trials in 1935?" This method of discussion, like the other, is based on avoiding the real and unpleasant issue facing you. The second type of argument is constantly being used by the Stalinists. For example, a Stalinist and a Trotskyist are arguing about the lack of democracy in the Russian Communist Party. The Trotskyist has his opponent completely cornered. In desperation, the Stalinist pulls out a batch of quotations from Lenin criticizing Trotsky in 1905, 1907 and 1909. He then walks off in triumph. The fact that this has nothing to do with the matter under discussion is beside the point—it is the very essence of this manner of discussion. It also illustrates the third method of argumentation used by Morrow, the reference to authority. Apparently, Morrow knows exactly what Lenin's position would be on the Finnish invasion of 1940.

Let us clear up a couple of points: First, Morrow assumes that he has delivered a crushing blow—but doesn't have the slightest idea that he has been fanning the air. The Trotskyists were not right on all of

Stalin's frame-up trials, and the Lovestoneites were not wrong on all of them. Today, I hope that we can agree that all Stalinist demonstration trials, even those prior to 1935, were monstrous frame-ups, and yet Trotsky and the Trotskyists endorsed them!

Secondly, if the Moscow have any relevancy to the Finnish invasion at all, the point lies in this: the Lovestoneites have learned much from the Moscow trials—much more than the Trotskyist editor, by his support of Stalin's invasion, has apparently learned nothing.

The best answer to the illogical, as well as the most convincing answer to the logical, is not a quotation from Lenin, but a fact. A fact we take our fact, appropriately, from the Socialist Appeal itself (February 10, 1940), which published the following "Appeal from Our Polish Comrades": "Today I received my first information of the whereabouts of our friends who escaped the Polish disaster. At present, they are at Vilno, the temporary capital of Lithuania. Imagine journeying on foot from Warsaw thru Lublin, Chelm, Kowel, Lvov to Vilno. All the way facing the impending danger of German bullets and bombs. But more gruesome than this, having Stalin's barbaric hordes on their trail all the time. These bands make the Czar's Cossacks look like playboys in comparison. It is still a mystery to me how, thru all these horrible events, they got to Vilno. . . . The Winter is bitter and earning a living is out of the question. We must help them to freedom."

We can visualize Felix Morrow in Poland at the time of the Stalinist invasion. We accompany him as he makes a dash for the Lithuanian border as fast as his legs can carry him. He runs five miles in twenty minutes flat, breaking a sweat and then explains to all who will listen the Trotskyist political line: "Don't have any illusion that in running to Lithuania, I'm not supporting the Red Army! Stalin is taking a progressive step, and I'm taking faster one. After all, I'm saving valuable Russian ammunition, that could be better used against the Poles." Morrow then runs another two miles (incidentally again breaking the world record) and then says: "Don't forget, Stalin is liberating the Poles. Of course, I hope he doesn't liberate them all before I get to Vilno."

To which we can only add, together with the workers of Finland: "God save us from our friends, our 'liberators' and the editor of the Socialist Appeal, and we'll take care of our own liberation." DONALD GRAHAM

Asks: "Who Are The Orthodox?"

Toronto, Canada. Editor, Workers Age:

I'VE reread the February 10th issue, I see that in the Letters From Our Readers column one of your correspondents refers to the Communist Party as the "orthodox communists." In one sense of the word, no doubt this is quite true; that sense of the word which means unswerving obedience to dictation from above—and without question!

Peace Revolt Grows In British Labor Ranks

Labor Party Leaders Start Counter-Drive

London, England.

THE Labor Party leadership is so concerned about the strength of the anti-war revolt in the British working-class movement that it is launching an opposition campaign under the slogan "Labor's Peace Aims."

In South Wales, the official policy has immediately to face a serious challenge in the Miners Federation, which has a special conference on the war issue. Most of the Labor M.P.s in South Wales are supporting the war, but among the rank-and-file miners there is a strong anti-war feeling, which is also reflected on the Executive.

The ultimatum issued by the Transport Workers Union against Trades Councils which adopt peace resolutions, is another indication of the fear in official labor circles of the developing anti-war opinion.

In the terms of the Transport Workers Union decision and the character of the "Labor's Peace Aims" campaign, we can see the nature of the attack which is to be made on the anti-war movement.

The argument is being put forward that the official policy is more socialist because it opposes an immediate peace, which would be favorable to Hitler, and stands for a peace, to be secured when Hitler

Gandhists Drain Militancy From Indian National Aims

By J. CORK

THAT Gandhi and the right-wing leadership of the Indian National Congress are opposed to a clean break with the British Empire, that they are sabotaging the direct mass fight for complete independence of India, is patent to anybody who has followed Indian developments of the last few months. The interminable negotiations with the British Raj, the attempt to muzzle the more "impatient" left-wing forces, the frantic search for some face-saving policy, radical-sounding enough to keep their hold over the masses without at the same time destroying the control of British imperialism, the attempt to divert and dissipate the rebellious spirit of the masses into frivolous side-channels like spinning, while hindering a mass frontal attack, all these are constituent parts of the definite policy of compromise and retreat on the part of Gandhi and his right-wing supporters. Their face-saving policy they seem to have found in the slogans, Dominion Status and Constituent Assembly, or rather in their peculiar interpretation of these slogans.

That type of interpretation and the political intention behind it are made crystal clear in the recent writings and speeches of one Dr. P. T. Sircar, who is an influential right-wing member of the Congress Working Committee (that is, the Central Executive of the Indian National Congress). Says the honorable doctor: "Today, there exists no difference between a country enjoying Dominion Status within the meaning of the Westminster Act and a country declared to have complete independence." The honorable doctor is engaged here in a rather crude attempt at fraud at the expense of the Indian masses. Dominion Status was defined at the British Commonwealth Imperial Conference in 1926 in the very Statute of Westminster which our doctor so admires as:

"Autonomous communities within the British Empire, equal in status, in no way subordinate to one another in any aspect of their domestic or external affairs, and freely associated as members of the British Commonwealth of Nations." Even this gentle, insinuating formulation of imperial policy, which, of course, does violation to the actual relationship within the empire, uncovers the fraud which the doctor is attempting. The British Empire remains. The so-called autonomy and equality of status are merely between separate parts of the empire, all of which parts in common are still subordinated to the central authority of the British Crown. If this is the same as independence, then the lion and the lamb are equally carnivorous animals.

The doctor continues: "In Ireland, it was direct action that led to the Constituent Assembly. In India, it is reasonable to expect the reverse order, and that, therefore, the Constituent Assembly should overrule direct action." In truth, the doctor lets the cat out of the bag here. Gandhi and his followers envisage the Constituent Assembly not as the representative political body of an India that has wrested independence from an unwilling England, not as

But there happens to be another interpretation to the word "orthodox"—and I have no doubt that this view is shared with me by many—in the interpretation which looks upon the period of the Russian Revolution as the "orthodox" period, and upon the present and past policies of the Stalinists as "unorthodox," to say the very least.

In regard to the question of socialist unity, as mooted in these columns in the past, I say, yes, if it does not compromise one's convictions and is possible on an orderly, unified basis.

A READER

a body which could come into being only by direct action against imperial domination, but as a body which would sanctify Dominion Status within the Empire, and therefore a body which would presumably be handed to the Indians on a silver platter by England, above all in order to prevent direct action. The entire program of the right-wing leadership of the Congress is contained in these few very significant remarks of the doctor.

THE LEFTS ON THE ISSUES

The Lefts in Congress have bitterly attacked this conception of Constituent Assembly and "independence." At the United Provinces District Conference of the Indian National Congress, K. K. Sinha, a leading member of the League of Radical Congressmen of which M. N. Roy is the political leader, said: "The slogan of the Constituent Assembly is a revolutionary slogan—a signal for the rise of a new state thru the political assertion of the right of self-determination. . . . It is not the prerogative of the British government to grant or withhold the right of self-determination to India; that right belongs to the people of India and must be conquered by the Indian people by all available means." On December 31, 1939, greeting the new year, the League of Radical Congressmen made public a manifesto to the Indian National Congress which included the following:

"The present policy of the Congress is determined by the fact that our leaders believe in the possibility of India becoming free with the consent of British imperialism. . . . With this wrong idea about the way to freedom, they have naturally brushed aside the goal of complete independence and have declared their readiness to come to an agreement with British imperialism if the latter will grant Dominion Status. . . . An equally wrong interpretation is given to the demand for the Constituent Assembly. It is hoped that the demand will be accepted by imperialism. . . . It is wrong to believe that any status within the British Empire can be equal to complete independence. . . . The struggle for freedom is a revolutionary struggle. It must be conducted with a revolutionary determination and revolutionary means."

The manifesto concluded with the following seven-point program for adoption at the coming national gathering of the Congress:

"1. Attainment of the goal of complete independence as defined by the Faizpur Resolution, thru the conquest of power by the people.

"2. No specification of the means and methods to be adopted in the struggle for freedom because that necessarily restricts the scope of the struggle.

"3. Enforcement of the demand for a Constituent Assembly thru the revolutionary action of the masses.

"4. Building up of the primary Congress Committees as the local organs of that struggle, as well as the units of the National Democratic State which will replace the present imperialist state.

"5. Mobilization of the masses by the local Congress Committees, leading them in a continuous struggle for enforcing their partial economic and political demands.

"6. Establishment of national unity thru the standing cooperation in the day-to-day activities of the local units of the Congress, the Moslem League, and other organizations definitely committed to the goal of complete national independence.

"7. The daily activity of Congressmen and Congress Committees to consist of propagandist, agitational and organizational work of purely political character, that is, of such a nature as will quicken the political consciousness of the people, and strengthen the Congress as a revolutionary political party mobilizing and leading the masses for the conquest of effective political power."

The other left groups inside Congress, such as the Congress Socialist Party and Bose's Forward Block, are, to the knowledge of the writer, also fighting against the capitulatory attitude of Gandhi and his followers on independence.

INDIAN OPINION ON FINNISH INVASION

M. N. Roy has come out in support of the Soviet invasion of Finland in his paper Independent India. Jawarhalal Nehru, on the other hand, at a

duty of carrying on the struggle against the capitalist enemy at home. Every advance in one country helps those who are working on the same lines in other countries.

It is impossible to say at this stage how the war will develop or how the war will end.

The only thing which can be said with confidence is that the peace which follows the war will only be socialist to the degree in which the working-class is given an independent lead against the war, against the governments conducting the war, and for the overthrow of the whole system of capitalism.

By its policy, the Labor Party has done much to destroy the development of this independent working-class struggle for the ending of the war by a socialist peace. It has tied up the labor movement with the National government and its imperialist purposes.

Thinking workers will not be misled by the turn which the Labor Party is now striving to give to its propaganda against the anti-war forces in the working class.

Is Negro Education a Force for Progress?

Reactionary Orientation, Control Stifling

By DOXEY WILKERSON

(This is the second part of Dr. Wilkerson's article on Negro education in America. The first part appeared in the last issue.—Editor.)

AN educational program which is directed by teachers who truly understand and have progressive attitudes toward the basic problems of society, and who, moreover, accept responsibility, in the classroom and out, for promoting wholesome social change; which puts into the hands of students instructional materials designed to develop similar social understandings and attitudes; and which is responsive to the needs and wishes of the great masses of American people—such an educational program might be expected to make a distinctly positive contribution to social progress. This is precisely what one does not find in the predominant pattern of Negro education. A few illustrations should suffice to establish this point.

The general run of the Negro teachers neither understand nor are concerned with correcting the major problems of our society. As in the field of American education generally, so in the field of Negro education, the instructional materials with which pupils are supplied are so written as to ignore or to justify the basic ills of American society. Hardly ever, for example, does one find a course on the history and problems of organized labor, or even a sympathetic discussion of that topic in "social-studies" textbooks. The inequities of an economic system which simultaneously produces from ten to fifteen million unemployed and a handful of millionaires; the fundamentally undemocratic character of the "poll-tax" disfranchisement of millions of white and black "citizens" in the South; the vicious and un-American program of the Ku Klux Klan; the real financial masters of our major political parties; the rich cultural contributions and essential human worth of America's many persecuted racial minorities; just why our government refuses to launch a public-housing program adequate for the needs of our sorely "ill-housed" one-third; the necessity for and basic validity of the principle of collective bargaining in employer-employee relations; the economic, social and political origins and effects of our far-too-numerous Congressional demagogues from the South and elsewhere—these topics, representing truly vital issues in American society, are never fully and frankly discussed in the textbooks or in the other materials which our schools place into the hands of Negro pupils. The reason, of course, is obvious! Textbooks are written to sell for profit, not to further social progress.

Our schools, as now organized, are under the control of the ruling classes, not the masses of American people, and certainly not the Negro people. For example, lawyers, bankers, business men, and prosperous farmers predominate on local school boards thruout the nation, not representatives of workers whose children predominate in the schools. Outside the District of Columbia, there is not a single Negro local school-board member in the entire South. With few exceptions, conservative white state officials comprise the governing board of Negro public colleges and universities, not able and progressive Negroes—or even white liberals who are truly eager for the present-day emancipation of the Negro people. Even among the private Negro colleges and universities, the picture is essentially the same. Banking, business, manufacturing and other industrial interests are the ones most frequently represented on boards of trustees. There should be no surprise that Negro schools do not now serve the ends of social progress. They are "kept" institutions, safely remote

from effective control by the masses of people whose welfare they affect. Thus, as now operative, Negro education must be viewed, not as a force for social progress, but as an agency for the perpetuation of the social status-quo. To readers of a labor paper, it is unnecessary to interpret the unwholesome effects of this situation upon the Negro people, upon organized workers—both white and black—and upon the whole progressive movement to build here a truly democratic America. It may be well, however, briefly to list a few of the things which organized labor ought to do about it.

The extent of and facilities for the education of the Negro people must be tremendously expanded. Briefly, this will require: (1) the immediate check and the ultimate abolition of school segregation; (2) far more democratic—and hence equitable—administration of state and local school budgets; and (3) considering the poverty of most of the southern states, a greatly enlarged, equitably administered, program of federal aid to education. No group can more appropriately, more effectively, apply the pressure necessary to achieve these ends than the organized millions of American workers.

Negro teachers must be made alert to and willing to accept their responsibility to further social progress. As parents whose children attend the schools, as members of organized civic groups, as friends and acquaintances of teachers, and directly thru their unions, organized workers are in position significantly to influence the social outlook of the persons who teach their children. Further, and this is of the utmost importance, teacher acquaintances should be encouraged to join the American Federation of Teachers. When a teacher joins a union, then is he well on the way to becoming an educator with a social purpose.

Really vital and progressive instructional materials must be introduced into the schools. It would be well for every national and local union to create and keep at work a competent Committee on School Textbooks and Courses. Despite the entrenched vested commercial interests which one meets in this realm, unceasing and organized pressures—petitions, delegations to school administrators and school boards, publicity and anti-social literature upon which our children are now nurtured—and to replace it with instructional materials which have a vital and progressive social orientation. Negro schools must be made responsible to the will of the people. Here again, the demand is for constant agitation and organized (especially political) pressure to attain Negro and other working-class representation upon policy-making educational boards. As our society is now organized, it is unthinkable that representatives of workers, either black or white, should come to "dominate" boards of education. It is entirely practicable, however, here and there to elect or have appointed at least a few representatives of the people whose children predominate in the schools. Even one true representative of the working people, as a member of the board of education, can be a tremendous influence for democracy in the conduct of our schools.

Finally, and this is more important than all the rest, trade unions must give major attention to the development of their own broad programs of adult education. If the schools refuse to give to the people the truly social education that they so sorely need, then the workers, thru their own unions, must perform the task for themselves. There is no more important function for a union of white or of Negro workers.

press conference in Bombay on December 16, gave out a statement which included the following: "The Russian invasion of Finland came as a great shock to me. It injures the Soviet cause." The Moscow Pravda is reported to have claimed Nehru as a supporter of the Russian invasion, and quoted another part of his press statement which included some critical remarks against England and Germany, but suppressed the above quotation which is really the heart of his remarks!

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Still Suckers . . .

By LUDWELL DENNY

(These paragraphs are from the New York World-Telegram of March 14, 1940.—Editor.)

THE Finnish affair is likely to cramp President Roosevelt's policy of helping the Allies in all ways short of war. Certainly it has brought disillusionment to those Americans who still cling to the myth that the Allies were fighting to save oppressed democracies from totalitarian aggressors.

So Americans blame the British for leaving little Finland to her fate, and the British blame the Swedes, and meanwhile European neutral nations observe again that it is futile to count on the Allies for help.

Even an old hand like David Lloyd George shouts bitterly: "It is the old trouble—too late. Too late for Czecho-Slovakia. Too late for Poland. Certainly too late for Finland. It is always too late or too little, or both, and it is the road to disaster."

That any American should have expected the Allies to fight for Finland after they deserted Czecho-Slovakia to save themselves (a bargain Hitler didn't keep) is evidence that we are still suckers for Allied propaganda.

Workers Age

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WILL HERBERG, Editor

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Vol. 9. SATURDAY, MARCH 23, 1940. No. 12.

CHRISTIAN FRONT AND POLICE

LABOR organizations in New York City have shown an unaccountable lack of interest in the situation created by the spread of Christian Front influence among the city's police force. When the recent scandal broke, there was a flurry of alarm and indignation for a day or two; then the whole affair was allowed to die down and disappear from public attention. And apparently that's how things stand today.

Yet the situation may well prove to be a serious one. Clearly, it would be intolerable if a hate-drenched, anti-Semitic, anti-labor organization such as the Christian Front were permitted to acquire a wide following among the "guardians of the peace" in a city like New York. It would soon show itself in disastrous fashion in the everyday life of the community and the labor movement would probably be among the first to suffer. Surely it is folly to ignore the danger or to regard it as a passing sensation, as most of the labor organizations of this city seem to be doing.

In view of certain revelations coming to light in connection with the arrest of the sixteen Christian Front plotters, the Mayor and the Police Commissioner decided on an investigation. They thereupon issued a questionnaire to the personnel of the police force, asking them if they belonged to the Christian Front, Communist Party or any other "subversive" organization. Aside from its dangerous potentialities as a precedent for arbitrary inquiries into the beliefs or affiliations of civil-service employees, this questionnaire method was obviously futile. Those who were really committed to "subversive" activities, certainly wouldn't oblige by admitting it on request! The net result was that only twenty-seven policemen confessed membership in the Christian Front. No one really believes that that is the limit of Christian Front influence in the police force, and so the problem still remains just about where it was before.

We are not in the position to provide a fool-proof method of detecting and eradicating fascist or racialistic influence in the police force. But we do know this much: Eradicated it must be—and yet will not be until the labor and progressive forces of the city take a more vigorous and active interest in the problem, which is serious enough to deserve their full attention. Here, above all, is an issue for the American Labor Party, an issue the party cannot afford to neglect.

BENIGHTED AMERICA

In there a civilized person in this country, a person to whom culture and intelligence are more than mere sounds, who does not experience a deep sense of shame at the disgusting scene being made in New York over the appointment of Bertrand Russell as professor of philosophy at the College of the City of New York?

Bertrand Russell is one of the world's most distinguished philosophers, a brilliant writer, a profound student of mathematics, logic and philosophy. There is not a free educational institution on the face of the earth that would not be highly honored to have him deliver a few lectures under its auspices, not to speak of having him permanently associated with it. By a stroke of great good fortune, the New York Board of Higher Education was able to get him to join the faculty of C.C.N.Y. In any community but half civilized, this would be a matter of public rejoicing and self-congratulation. But New York can think of nothing better to do than to raise a savage hue-and-cry against Russell and the Board of Higher Education on the ground that the English philosopher's views on marriage and sexual morality do not quite measure up to orthodox standards! And leading the pack of howling dervishes of darkness is none other than the very virtuous Bishop Manning followed by his equally virtuous brothers of the cloth of the Catholic and Jewish persuasions.

There is no need for us to arise in defense of Russell's views on marriage and sex. They are as reasonable, as humane and as civilized as anything that has ever been said on this superstition-ridden subject in recent times. And as to Russell's personal morals, we will say with John T. Flynn that they need fear no comparison with those of Bishop Manning. But all this is really irrelevant for Russell has been invited by the Board of Higher Education to teach philosophy and logic, not to serve as a model of moral perfection to the innocent youth at City College.

The Board of Higher Education is to be strongly commended for sticking to its guns and paying no heed to the pharisaical inquisitors who are howling for Russell's blood today just as their spiritual ancestors in past centuries howled for the blood of Socrates, Jesus, Bruno and Spinoza, all non-conformists and subversive thinkers in their day, just as their spiritual brothers in the totalitarian countries are howling for the blood of any one who dares to think freely and independently. There isn't much civilization and cultural freedom left in a world rapidly sinking into barbarism; let us cherish and defend to the last what little we still have of it.

"WE Russians must never forget the shame that oppresses us; we are still enslaved to such a degree that we are used to enslave other peoples. We still tolerate in this country of ours a government that not only represses in Russia itself every urge to freedom with the ruthlessness of a hangman, but even makes use of the Russian army to assault with violence the freedom of other peoples."—V. I. Lenin.

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Socialist Fundamentals Reexamined:

Recreating Socialism

By LEWIS COREY

(We present below the address delivered by Lewis Corey at the symposium, "Towards A Better America," held last Fall by the Independent Labor Institute. The same views are developed by him at greater length in the Nation of February 17 and 24 and March 2, 1940.—Editor.)

I TAKE it for granted that we all agree that whatever movement we build toward a better America and toward a better world must be based upon American tradition, upon American experience, upon American problems. We have in this country the greatest opportunity for building a new America that will convey an inspiring message to all the peoples of the world. By and large, we are at the stage in American development where only a socialist reorganization of society will give us the chance to build upon the potentialities of American economic development and democratic experience.



LEWIS COREY

because in this day of declining capitalism, in this day of threatening fascism, only if we go beyond capitalism to socialism can we really build a better America and preserve for the future and for a higher civilization all that is constructive in American life today.

But when I say that a better America should mean a socialist America, I am confronted by the inescapable fact that socialism today is in a state of collapse; that there is no faith in socialism by and large left in the world today. All variants of Marxist socialism are in collapse. The socialist movement is a mere tatter of things that were and might have been but are not, and the one experience of what a socialist organization of society may mean is represented today by that monstrous totalitarian nightmare which is the Soviet Union.

In other words, we confront the problem of building a better America under compulsion to recognize that all the old ideas and all the old programs have failed to meet the pragmatic test of history, that socialism seems to have neither will nor power to do things in the modern world—or, where it is allegedly doing things, they are things that we don't want and that we repudiate.

Need for Recreating Socialist Thought

Now, I submit that this puts before us a problem of the utmost importance. It places before us the problem of recreating socialism.

Communism was always an importation in the American scene. It was an artificial importation twenty years ago. It was an honest importation then. It is today, in the form of Stalinism, a much worse importation, because it has no honesty, because it trades upon the working class but is the worst enemy of the working class.

But socialism, too, the older socialism in America was always an importation that had no real connection with the American scene. European socialism, in the days of the Second International, was a movement that in practice attempted to complete the bourgeois-democratic revolution in Europe. Strip European socialism of its ideology, of its phraseology, of its Marxist trimmings, and we find that in practice the movement was essentially a democratic movement and that it set itself the primary task of democratizing Europe. We Marxists generally made the mistake and some still make it today, of arguing that the working class in Europe in taking to the socialist parties was necessarily more advanced than the American working class which did not do so.

On the contrary, I think that today we must recognize the fact, and build upon the fact, that the American working class rejected the older types of European reformist socialism not because it was more backward but because it was ahead of the working classes of Europe. Organized socialism was essentially an expression of the democratic backwardness of Europe.

We had already had, by and large, the democratic revolution in this country in the 1830's, and when there was imported a European socialism that was based upon the struggle for democracy in feudal Russia, semi-feudal Germany or bureaucratic France, the socialism had no meaning to America and to the American working class because we had already completed our bourgeois-democratic revolution. That socialism could not base itself upon the struggles which had already been victorious in this country, and it was too early in the last century to think seriously of the conquest of capitalism, because capitalism was still on the upgrade, still had tremendous powers of expansion, of making good on its promises to the people.

So I suggest, in all due humility, that the main thing that is necessary today to recreate and rebuild a movement towards a better America—which can only be a socialist America—is to recognize the fact

that we need a new approach, a new program, a new language, with which to recreate our movement.

We have to unlearn a lot of things, to relearn a lot of things, to learn a lot of new things. This is a process which requires collective effort, collective thinking, collective experience.

Socialism and Democracy

There are a number of angles of the problem which I believe we ought to think about. The first one is the problem of socialism and democracy. In the world today, we have a trend everywhere, whether the government be bourgeois-democratic, or Nazi-fascist, or Bolshevik-Soviet—we have a trend towards totalitarianism. That is the dominant trend in the world today, and it seems to make little difference what type of government you have—that trend towards totalitarianism goes on.

We must set up against that trend a trend toward democratic collectivism. Here I think we must recognize that the totalitarianism of the Soviet Union is not simply a result of Russian experience and Russian tactics. That is a very important element in the problem. But when the Bolsheviks adopted the Marxist Jacobin tactics of the seizure of power in a bourgeois-democratic revolution and proletarian dictatorship—only a totalitarian dictatorship over the masses of the people could result.

I remember Lenin saying in 1920: "We have a dictatorship of the proletariat in Russia without an proletariat!" And then they proceeded to build socialism without any proletariat, which is supposed to be the architect of the new socialist society.

Under those conditions, building a socialist "fluke" of history, the task of building a new socialist society fell to a party which could only resort to brutal totalitarian methods, when scarcely any of the elements of the new society were in existence with which to build it.

The general historical background of Russia was a factor, of course—the economic and democratic backwardness, the lack of a large proletariat. But I no longer believe those conditions alone were responsible for Bolshevik totalitarianism. I now think that proletarian dictatorship must destroy democracy and drive towards totalitarianism.

We assumed in the past that socialism and democracy were identical. We assumed that socialism meant the completion of the struggle for democracy. We took it for granted that once you socialized the means of production, you made them common property; and that such an economic set-up could move only in the direction of socialism. But we see in Russia that the socialist system of collective ownership is identified with a new and more constructive type of totalitarianism. Moreover, and this is still more significant, there is a tendency toward totalitarianism in the socialist system of collective ownership itself.

I think we must recognize today that there are elements in a socialist economy that, unless conscious measures are taken, unless the problem is recognized and something is done to solve it, may lead towards totalitarianism and not towards socialist democracy.

Very briefly, let me indicate what I mean. When you socialize the means of production and you amalgamate political and economic power in one center, you have an economic basis for totalitarianism. You create an overwhelming centralization of economic and political power, which may easily become the basis of a new tyranny; you destroy one of the basic elements of democracy in the modern world, the separation of economic and political power (against whose feudal combination the revolutionary bourgeoisie fought); you destroy the independence of organizations in relation to the state (freedom of association), as is the case in Russia. Where are the conditions for democracy in that set-up?

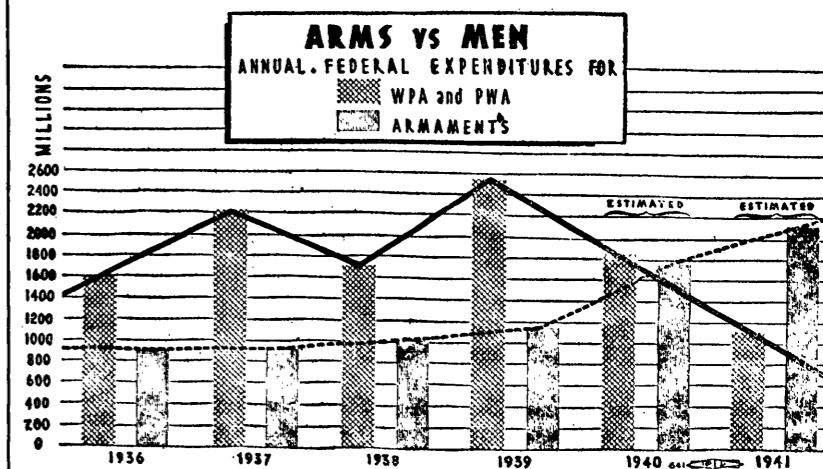
State and Bureaucracy

We must recognize the fact that in the socialist set-up, there may arise an all-powerful state and its bureaucracy, and that unless neutralizing forces are advanced to insure democracy, the emergence of a totalitarian state is inevitable.

There is also the question of the ambiguity of the phrases we were fond of using and still continue using—"workers ownership" and "workers state." Now, I ask you, in view of the Russian experience, precisely what do we mean by "workers ownership" and "workers state"?

Under the socialist economic set-up, at least in its earlier stages, the worker is still a wage worker, and because there is centralization of all economic and all political power in the state, there is a condition where the workers may be deprived of all democratic and political rights. Consider that the moment you have socialist planning, you eliminate many conditions that have hitherto tended to safeguard democracy—for example, the free market, widely distributed ownership of the means of production, etc. When you destroy these automatic safeguards of democracy, however inadequate, as you do when you have a complete socialization of the means of production, you may get a movement towards totalitarianism, you may get the strongest totalitarianism that the world has ever seen—unless you recognize the problem and set up institutional arrangements to overcome that powerful tendency towards totalitarianism.

(Concluded in the next issue)



This chart, taken from the C.I.O.'s Economic Outlook, shows how the Roosevelt Administration has shifted the weight of its expenditures from relief and public works to armaments. For the first time in the seven years of the New Deal, the 1941 arms budget tops the budget for W.P.A. and P.W.A.—the former has shot up to record highs, the latter sunk far below need.

Stalin Forces Robber Peace on Finland

Hitler and Mussolini Confer on "Peace"

(Continued from Page 1)

The active role of Germany in bringing about an end to the Russo-Finnish war. From Germany's standpoint, a prompt peace was important for three reasons: (1) to protect its northern flank, which would have been in great danger had the Allies come directly involved in the Finnish war; (2) to release its Russian ally so as to make possible greater economic aid and assistance from that quarter; and (3) to strengthen its own position and influence in the Baltic thru an active policy.

The ending of the Russo-Finnish war in the way it did had immediate repercussions of great significance in reshaping political and diplomatic relations in Europe. Finland would henceforth be a vassal state under joint Russo-German domination; in domestic politics, a shift towards reaction and totalitarianism was expected, with some trustworthy Finnish agent of Hitler and Stalin—Svinhufvud was mentioned—taking authoritarian control. (Of course, the puppet regime at Terijoki, Moscow's "Democratic People's Government of Finland," was lost in the shuffling, with reports rife of the "purging" of Kuisinen and his colleagues.)

From Finnish government circles came a strong initiative for the formation of a "defensive block" of Scandinavian nations, primarily of an economic character. Such a Scandinavian alliance would be under the direct influence of Germany, even more than of Russia. In general, Germany's position in Scandinavian affairs was greatly strengthened by the events of last week.

The conclusion of hostilities in the North turned world attention to the Balkans and the Near East as the world's most explosive danger spot. Germany was pressing hard to bring Rumania into line by offering to use its good offices to ward off Russian attack. The sudden relaxation of the Rumanian government campaign against the Nazi Iron Guard was regarded as a sign that these moves were not without success. Germany was also understood to be making a serious effort to adjust relations between Russia and Italy by bringing about an understanding and division of spheres of influence in regard to the Balkans. There were rumors in Berlin that Italy and Soviet Russia were nearing the end of successful

negotiations for a trade agreement. All of these developments, of course, directly affected the general European war already in its twenty-eighth week. The turn of events in Finland was generally regarded as a heavy blow to the Allied cause, although Allied diplomatic policy undoubtedly contributed towards it. There was talk of government reorganization in London and Paris. (Read the editorial, "Finland—Latest Victim of Imperialist Power-Politics," on page 1.—Editor.)

V. Alter, Polish Socialist, Killed By Stalinists

New York City.

Victor Alter, leader of the Jewish Workers Party of Poland (Bund), and internationally known socialist writer, has been executed by the Stalinist government, according to a report published in the Jewish Daily Forward here on March 6. Repeated inquiries concerning the whereabouts of Alter, Heinrich Ehrlich and other members of the Bund since Hitler's and Stalin's armies crushed Poland, were made in the past few weeks with little result until recently.

It is now reported that Alter was kidnapped at a railroad station as he was fleeing from the Nazis. After he had been detained in Kovel, Russian authorities ordered his execution.

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WITH this article by Lewis Corey, we open a general discussion in these columns on the reconstruction of socialist theory in the light of the experiences of the past twenty-five years. A fundamental reexamination of principles, programs and doctrines in a free and democratic spirit is necessary. We hope the discussion in these columns will contribute towards that end. We invite our readers to express their views without any restrictions except that of space.—Editor.