

"RECONSIDERING  
MARXISM"

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# Workers Age

Weekly Paper of the Independent Labor League of America

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## Behind the Headlines:

### Stalinism and the Present World Situation—1

By JAY LOVESTONE

THE latest developments in the Scandinavian countries make imperative a brief estimate of the ever-changing world situation. I say this not because evaluations can really be definite when the changes are so kaleidoscopic, but because it is essential to have some points of vantage for serious judgment.

The estimate of the various forces involved, the role of Stalinism as a distinct factor, the problems growing therefrom, the situation confronting American and world labor, all demand examination and reexamination. It is with this end in view that the following outline is presented.

1. In the West, the military stalemate continues. This is due primarily to two factors. First, the defensive strength of the respective fortified lines—Siegfried and Maginot; secondly, we must not discount the real ability displayed by the Nazis, thru a sort of "prestige of terror," to set up an even more effective economic Siegfried Line for securing supplies from neutrals all the way from the Arctic Circle to the Aegean.

2. The Allies are striving to extend the front of military operations in order to cut down the economic resources available to Hitler and to have more countries share the burden of warfare, thus strengthening the Anglo-French economic position. Furthermore, the Allied general staffs are hoping to find a soft spot which to break thru and attack a Germany weakened because of its loss of some sources of supplies.

3. The efficacy of the British blockade has been undermined primarily by Hitler's deal with Stalin and by the aggressively benevolent "neutral" of Italy in the role of middle-man for Germany and the world market.

4. Particularly because of these factors, the war is assuming more and more the nature of a desperate economic conflict with each side hoping to weaken the other sufficiently to permit it to launch a "Blitz" onslaught at a lower cost of men, materials and money. In this phase of the war, the Allies are still stronger.

5. But the Allies have made some very costly miscalculations. These are: (a) as to the possibility of Hitler and Stalin getting together; (b) that Stalin would be the sole and real gainer as a result of the pact with Hitler—in reality, Hitler has been and continues to be the senior partner; (c) wishful thinking in underestimating the extent of economic aid Stalin can render Hitler; (d) underestimation of the offensive or striking power of the Russian army; (e) misjudgment of the real motives animating Mussolini's "non-belligerency" to-date; and (f) continued underestimation of the dynamic probabilities of the Stalin-Hitler partnership-in-plunder.

6. That time is, at this moment, on the side of Hitler is evident by the expanding possibilities of Russian economic assistance to Nazi Germany. This is revealed, for example, in the great headway recently made by the Russians in canal construction. More than that, psychologically speaking, there is to be noticed in all countries a growing war tedium, a sapping of the will to fight for victory, a total lack of enthusiasm for going "over the top." In no small measure does this situation arise out of the paralyzing stalemate itself. But this condition holds even more for the Allied countries because, today, their propaganda technique is all the more inferior on account of the Russo-German agitation amalgam.

7. The Axis is being carefully and cleverly expanded. Yet there is mounting proof of expanding cooperation in sundry forms among Berlin, Moscow, Rome and Tokio. The unfolding of this cooperation is revealed gradually so as to enable the component partners to dramatize each systematically prepared step in such a way as to suit best not only the fundamental common interests of the brigands on the rampage, but also the momentary needs and demands of each individual power. On occasions, this trend may be deliberately and skilfully camouflaged so as to make all the more telling the particular consequences of each of the above maneuvers, taken with an eye to timing.

In the relations between Hitler and Stalin, as well as in the relations between each of them with Rome and Tokio, we must first of all reckon with the iron law of the objective logic of events. Hitler and Stalin have common loot to defend against the Allies, who are seeking to make them disgorge. That's what Stalin meant when, in acknowledging Hitler's birthday greetings to him, he said: "Our relations are cemented by blood." That's what Molotov meant when he told the recent session of the Supreme Soviet that Russo-German relations have been "proved." Likewise, what Japan and Italy want and need most they can grab only from England and France. Hence, the four Axis Powers have today, and will have for some time, the same enemies—England, France, and any country that may ally with or aid them. No maneuvers of the type recently made by the British ambassador to Tokio in his "appeasement" address can alter or even seriously deflect this basic trend of policy on the part

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## Franco Regime Faces Desperate Crisis Due to Unsolvable Contradictions

P.O.U.M. Leader Describes Economic and Political Conflicts in Fascist Spain

By JULIAN GORKIN

(Julian Gorkin is well known as an outstanding leader of the P.O.U.M., the revolutionary socialist party of Spain, and as one of the defendants in the notorious G.P.U. frame-up "trial" in Barcelona.—Editor.)

THROUGHOUT the entire Spanish revolution, we found it necessary to carry on a double struggle—a struggle against the fascist Gestapo that attacked the revolution from without, and a struggle against the Stalinist G.P.U. that attempted to crush the revolution from within. Thruout that double struggle against fascism seeking to reduce Spain to a colony on behalf of Germany and the G.P.U. also trying to reduce Spain to a colony on behalf of the Stalinist bureaucracy, thruout that double struggle, we could feel the coming alliance of those two forces which at that time still seemed to be opposed to each other. And thruout that struggle, we learned that it was necessary, as it continues to be necessary, to fight against both those forces which are today in common alliance together.

At that very moment, while in Moscow they were organizing the



JULIAN GORKIN

monstrous "trials" that were to end with the shooting of the men of October and the assassination of the Russian Revolution, at that very moment they were already preparing in Spain our assassination because we remained faithful to the ideals of the October Revolution and were seeking to extend it from a revolution in Russia to a revolution of the entire world proletariat.

During eighteen months of the persecution and torture in the

prisons of the G.P.U. in Spain, during those months when the threat of death was constantly hanging over us, we were able to see at close range the most monstrous crimes of Stalinism as a repressive force in the Spanish Revolution. We saw men die in jail. We saw men shot by firing squads at the order of the Stalinists. We saw the bravest international fighters, who had come from all the lands of the earth in order to help us to defend the Spanish revolution, and with them, too, the best fighters of Spain, the best Spanish revolutionaries, led out and shot for the sole "crime" of refusing to submit to the absolute dictates of Stalinism in Spain. We witnessed at close hand the horrible strangulation of a revolution which we dared to assert was writing one of the most glorious pages in the history of the international proletariat—a revolution which we continue to sustain in our hour of defeat and which we are determined to carry forward until we have brought it to victory.

### INTERNATIONAL SOLIDARITY

Every moment we spent in our prison cells, we were able to feel solidarity coming to us from other lands. From every European country in which the working class was able

to give expression to its feelings, from the United States and from the countries of Latin America, came the surest and firmest expression of solidarity and support. And because of that we did not lose hope for a moment. For we knew that while that feeling was alive, while that sentiment of solidarity remained active, even in the midst of the greatest crisis and the greatest collapse in the history of the international movement, socialism was saved, socialism would yet work out its future. Today we know that because we have been able to build up our independent parties to continue the struggle for freedom, we have already won a battle, the first battle in a struggle to restore the living value of socialism and make socialism and its principles triumph in the world.

### THE FRANCO TERROR

Immediately after the victory of Franco in Spain, there began one of the most terrific repressions in history, a repression without precedent. From the "model prison" in Barcelona alone, 20,000 men were taken out before the firing squad. In Madrid, in Catalonia, thousands and thousands more were taken out and shot. Those who had fought in

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## Scandinavia Crushed in Imperialist Vise

### German Socialists Greet French, English Comrades

(This message from the Independent Socialists of Germany to the workers of the "enemy" countries, Britain and France, was secretly smuggled out of the Reich into a neutral country and thence to London. It is another eloquent evidence of the determination of the German socialists to continue the fight against the Hitler regime despite all obstacles and dangers.—Editor.)

#### TO THE WORKERS OF BRITAIN AND FRANCE:

IN the midst of this war, while our armies are waiting to kill each other, we send our message to you. The German people have not begun this war; the German people do not want war.

We love our country, as you love your country. But no peace for us with the present German government; no political truce for us with the Hitler regime.

In peace or in war, our work goes on, the fight for the human rights of the German people, the fight against the Hitler regime and the Nazi war. In the trenches and in the munition factories, on the markets and in the farm-yards, we spread our leaflets demanding more food, higher wages, peace and the end of the Hitler reign.

If Hitler's ruthless warfare strikes your country in the same way as Poland, remember the German workers do not want this war. If we remain silent, it is because behind our backs there is the armed force of bayonets. If we do not act now, realize that our hands are in fetters, chained. But in war, as in peace, we remain enemies of the German government and till our last breath we shall fight for the future of our children, for the destruction of the Hitler regime.

Defeated, we are not defenseless, subjugated; we have still the possibility to meet in secret, to come together in the dark. Thru terror and persecution, we have remained socialists and, in the midst of death and destruction, we see another world, a better world to come. In the citadel of tyranny and suppression we shall erect the new German Republic, the free Germany!

## Antonini Is Reelected Chairman of the A.L.P.

Stalinist Attempt to Capture Party  
Is Defeated by Vote of 412 to 319

New York City.

Luigi Antonini was reelected chairman of the American Labor Party in a hotly contested and long-drawn-out meeting of the new State Committee last Saturday, April 13. His reelection marked the definite defeat of the Stalinist "Progressive Committee" in its efforts to capture the A.L.P. in the primaries.

Antonini won over Morris Watson, the Stalinist nominee, by a margin of 412 to 319. The Watson adherents challenged this vote but their own count gave Antonini a majority, thus conceding defeat.

The division of the vote for chairman, the decisive test of strength, gave 295 for Antonini and 132 for Watson up-state and 117 for Antonini and 187 for Watson in New York City. Watson's lead in the city was due to the fact that, under the system of voting in the primaries, boroughs such as Manhattan, Richmond and Queens, where the A.L.P. membership and vote are relatively

small, far outnumbered in state committees to be chosen such boroughs as Brooklyn and the Bronx, where the A.L.P. strength is concentrated. The Stalinists carried the former altho they lost the latter, and thus came off with more committee men than the A.L.P. leadership. Registration and election figures, however, show that the great majority of A.L.P. voters and members in New York City supported the State Committee ticket.

Altho defeated by their own count, the Stalinist faction refused to submit but announced that it would start court action immediately in an attempt to upset the election. There were reports that the Stalinists were planning to precipitate a split and the formation of a dual Labor party, perhaps with the same name as the real A.L.P.

Along with Mr. Antonini, Alex Rose was reelected state secretary and a State Executive Committee chosen under the firm control of the State Committee majority.

## S.P. Names Thomas On Anti-War Plank

But Takes No Consistent Stand on  
International Relations or Unity

By B. HERMAN

Washington, D. C.

The National Nominating Convention of the Socialist Party of America was held in Washington, D. C., from April 6 to 8, attended by over 200 delegates and 60 alternates. Amidst great enthusiasm, Norman Thomas and Maynard Krueger were unanimously selected as the Presidential and Vice-Presidential candidates of the party in the 1940 election campaign on a platform whose keynote is: Keep America Out of War. The 1940 platform scores totalitarianism whether of the Hitler or Stalin variety, and advocates a democratic socialism as the "one road to plenty, peace and freedom."

### DEMOCRATIC DISCUSSION

The convention was marked by a spirit of democratic discussion, centering around two major questions: (1) whether to run a ticket in 1940, and (2) on the war position of the party. The minority in the convention was given a full opportunity to present its point of view. Nor did the discussion have a factional or acrimonious character. Only once did it reach a sharp pitch, when Norman Thomas, representing the majority viewpoint, very properly pointed out the similarity of the minority war position to that of the Roosevelt Administration. Alfred Baker Lewis, replying for the minority, insinuated that Browder and Stalin had the majority position on the war, which was absurd on the face of it.

In the discussion on the running of a ticket in 1940, there was only a small minority in opposition, consisting of about a dozen New York delegates. This minority resolution, defended by Jack Altman, Murray Gross and Hal Siegel, urged that the Socialist Party wait until the political situation would clear up and it became possible to determine whether the A. F. of L. and the C.I.O. would support a candidate. They regarded the S.P. as too weak to run an effective campaign independently, and were strongly motivated by the existing cooperation between the New York socialists and the American Labor Party. Socialists from other parts of the country—including the Massachusetts delegates, led by Alfred Baker Lewis whose war position in support of the Allied governments was even more outspoken than

## Supreme Court Upholds NLRB In Steel Case

Tribunal Refuses to Review  
Lower Court's Decision Upholding  
N.L.R.B. Ruling

Washington, D. C.

The United States Supreme Court last week refused to review an order by the National Labor Relations Board directing the Republic Steel Corporation to reinstate 5,000 C.I.O. strikers and reimburse them with \$5,000,000 in back-pay.

By declining to act, the tribunal automatically upheld a unanimous decision of the Third Circuit Court of Appeals that the company was guilty of unfair labor practices in the "Little Steel" strike in 1937. Republic's only legal recourse now is to petition the court for a rehearing, but such requests are almost invariably denied.

Under the N.L.R.B. order, the company was required to: Withdraw all recognition from the company-union plan and its successors at the Ohio Republic plants in the Massillon, Canton, Youngstown, Warren, Niles and Cleveland districts.

Give back-pay to employees locked out at Canton May 5-24, 1937, and at Massillon May 20-23, 1937. Cease discouraging membership in the C.I.O. Steel Workers Organizing Committee or any other labor organization.

The court also declined to review a case allied with that of Republic. It concerned the Central Council of Steel Plants, a company-union organization of Republic employees. The Council had challenged the Labor Board's order that it cease existence.

C.I.O. spokesmen hailed the action of the Supreme Court as a decisive victory in the campaign to organize "Little Steel."

that of the Becker-Altman group from New York—supported the majority proposal to put forward a national ticket in 1940.

### THE WAR DEBATE

In the discussion on the war position of the party, the majority maintained that the policy of the S.P. adopted at the St. Louis convention in 1917 and exemplified by the attitude of Eugene V. Debs during the last war, held true today. This position is that socialists can give no support to imperialist war. In striving to keep America out of war, a fight must be made against the various moves of the present Roosevelt Administration tending in the direction of involvement. The majority condemned America's participation in the war thru economic aid to one side, which it declared was making for war. Instead of support to the Allied governments, it urged support to the anti-war socialists of Europe.

The minority consisted in the main of two groups: (1) most of the Massachusetts delegates, led by Alfred Baker Lewis; and (2) part of the New York delegation, led by Lazar Becker and Jack Altman. The Lewis position was the most outspoken. Lewis declared in his statement: "When either Molotov or misguided socialists make the statement that this is an imperialist war, they are dead wrong. Of course, Chamberlain and Daladier are imperialists. As such, socialists here and in their own country are opposed to them. One reason for that opposition is that they cannot be relied on to fight a war against Hitlerism to a victorious conclusion. In the exercise of democracy, France has kicked out Daladier and replaced him with a government which is sufficiently pro-war so that the French Socialist Party feels that they can cooperate with it. Let us hope that Chamberlain will go the same way."

Lewis's position was one of unabashed support of the "progressive" role of the French and British governments in this war.

The position presented by the New York group was a more restrained version of the Lewis position. Becker's statement read: "We do not propose to support the Chamberlain and Daladier governments." Becker wanted to support only the labor movements in England and France—which are, of course, supporting the Allied governments in the war. While Lewis denied that this was an imperialist war, Becker admitted that the aims of the British and French governments were imperialistic in character. Both Becker and Lewis said they were for keeping America out of war, but they advocated full economic aid to the Allied powers in order bring about the military defeat of Hitler. Becker attacked the policy of the majority which opposed the raising of the embargo and which favored the cessation of hostilities by an immediate negotiated peace.

Both the Lewis and Becker wings then combined on a minority resolution which was toned down to more or less the Becker position. The anti-war sentiment of the convention was indicated by the overwhelming vote of 159 to 28 for the majority resolution. Norman Thomas contributed greatly to the healthy anti-war stand of the party by the earnestness, the emotional warmth and the profound conviction which he imparted in the several speeches he made, in which his major emphasis was on keeping America out of both economic and military war. At one point in the convention, he declared that he could not accept the nomination unless the party stood definitely on an anti-war platform.

Resolutions were adopted for labor unity, for the independence of India, against Hitlerism and the persecution of Jews, in support of the Workers Defense League, for full social and political equality for Negroes, and against the Dies Committee.

### TRADE UNION DISCUSSION

The resolution and the discussion on trade-union unity lacked any concrete analysis of the causes of the division in the labor movement today or of the present obstacles to unity. It offered no concrete program as to the basis of the unification of the labor movement. In essence, therefore, it represented hardly more than a pious wish for

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## Nazis Launch Invasion of North Europe

The European war, so largely stagnant on land since its outbreak last September, flared up furiously last week as the Germans launched a spectacular Blitzkrieg invasion of Scandinavia and the Allies rushed to utilize their superior sea-power on the new front.

The thirty-second week of the war was opened by the announcement from London that the Allies had mined Norwegian territorial waters in order to block the shipment of Scandinavian iron ore to the Reich. Germany made swift and violent reply to this challenge. Without warning, Nazi troops crossed the border of Denmark, landed on Danish soil from warships and occupied the Danish capital, Copenhagen—all apparently without resistance. Simultaneously, German troops landed at various Norwegian ports, took Oslo, the capital, and proceeded inland in four directions. But in Norway they met with immediate resistance.

Exactly what happened in Norway last week is still shrouded in the fog of war and the smokescreen of contradictory reports. It appears that as soon as the German invasion became known, Norway declared itself in a state of war with Germany altho the German Foreign Office did not "recognize" this declaration, pretending that the relations between the two countries remained "normal." King Haakon and the Norwegian government retired to a distant town near the Swedish frontier, while in Oslo, under German control, a new "cabinet" was formed by Major Quisling, head of the hitherto insignificant pro-Nazi National Union party. The attitude of the German authorities varied. At first, the attempt was made to reach an "understanding" with King Haakon and the bona-fide government of Norway for a German "protectorate" over the country along the lines of the arrangement in Denmark. During these negotiations, the Germans kept officially aloof from Quisling altho there was never any doubt as to their real relations. Towards the end of the week, however, it became evident that the negotiations had broken down. King Haakon had apparently rejected the German demand for the appointment of a pro-Nazi premier. The Norwegian government had issued a proclamation calling on the people to resist and welcoming the aid of the Allies. Thereupon, Germany seemed about ready to recognize the Quisling "cabinet" and use it as a puppet regime.

No reliable information was available as to the progress of the invading German forces in Norway. Reports from Berlin claimed that everything was proceeding according to schedule, while reports from Allied sources and from the Norwegian authorities thru Sweden maintained that resistance was heavy and the German advance seriously impeded. Whatever the case, at the end of the week, the Germans undoubtedly had a firm grip on some important Norwegian centers and were extending their sway.

Germany's real difficulties were on the sea. Despite German denials, it was clear that fierce naval and air battles raged around the coasts of Norway where the Great Britain had rushed a formidable force in line with the decision of the Allied War

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## Lewis Pushes Third-Party Alliances

By FRANK HOWARD

Washington, D. C. John L. Lewis's new political combination is now taking shape. Word comes to me of numerous conferences between Lewis and leaders of the Townsend movement, the National Negro Congress, the American Youth Congress and dissident Democrats and sometime progressives. According to the present outlook, California's delegates may be under Lewis's control at the Democratic convention and perhaps lead the way out of the party if their platform and candidate are not accepted. Their candidate, if Lieutenant-Governor Patterson's slate wins in the California primaries, will probably be Senator Wheeler. This will certainly be the case if there is a deal with Lewis. A representative of the Patterson faction was here the other day negotiating with Lewis. Sheridan Downey and the Townsends will be the California leaders of this pro-Lewis movement, along with Patterson.

As Lewis's lieutenants, Lee Pressman and Gardner Jackson, increase

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# Military Grip Perils Labor Gains, Rights

### Unions, Anti-War Groups Must Join Forces

By ALBERT W. HAMILTON

(Albert W. Hamilton is executive secretary of Labor's Anti-War Council.—Editor.)

THE current struggle of labor against an increase in reactionary legislation is likewise a struggle against increasing intervention by military authorities in government activities that affect the conditions of labor.

Already, sample "educational" orders, which the War and Navy Departments place with industry to determine the abilities and capacities of various plants to meet war needs, have been exempted from provisions of the Walsh-Healey Act requiring fair labor standards in public contracts. However, the army and navy are still not satisfied. During the week of March 4th, representatives of both the army and navy appeared before a House sub-committee to oppose amendments extending the act's wage-hour standards to government contracts below \$10,000. They also urged suspension of the law's operation during a "national emergency" as well as during actual war.

The War and Navy Departments are thus attempting to apply "military standards" instead of "labor standards" to wages and hours for orders placed by the government. Inevitably, they will seek to extend these standards to all military orders.

The labor movement, both A. F. of L. and C.I.O., has expressed opposition to the placing of military men in control of departments dealing with civilian matters—most important of these men are Colonel Philip Fleming, heading the Wages and Hours Administration, and Colonel F. C. Harrington, heading the W.P.A.

Now, American seamen are faced with a threat of military supervision in a series of bills at present before the House Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries. These bills

(H. R. 7084, 8612, 7870, 6136) all propose construction or acquisition of vessels by the U. S. Maritime Commission to be placed at the disposal of state nautical schools in a number of states. An outlay of at least \$10,000,000 is contemplated. In addition, an appropriation of \$50,000 for the upkeep of each school-ship is provided for.

H. R. 8612 stipulates that "the navy shall own these ships, keep them up and they shall be restored to the U. S. navy on demand." The bills provide as a condition of receiving such appropriations as are contemplated, "that each school or branch thereof, shall agree to conform to such standards regarding courses of, and vessels for training and the admission of students resident in other states, as the Maritime Commission and the Navy Department shall prescribe or regulate."

These bills are being opposed by the Seamen's Union of the Pacific, and Harry Lundeberg, acting President of the Seafarers International Union of North America. They point out that there are today several thousand experienced and certified seamen who are unemployed. They contend that the passage of these bills would only aggravate the situation. The Seamen's Union also deals specifically with the question of military supervision of civilian training.

A vast number of young men will be trained under military supervision for a profession in which they cannot get jobs. They will exist, then, as a potential body of scab labor trained with the approval of the government and with federal funds.

## CUTTING HIS HEART OUT



—from the N. Y. Post

Certainly, it is a new high in reactionary legislation to have funds of the federal government used to subsidize potential strike-breakers over the opposition of organized labor.

Reaction in general cannot be fought successfully by the labor movement unless it is willing to

fight the expanding power of the most reactionary section of the federal government—the military authorities. These bills extending navy supervision to the training of seamen, and the opposition to extension of the Walsh-Healey Act are issues demanding action from every progressive trade unionist.

# New Local 66 Leadership Carries Vote

By GEORGE HALPERN

IN an election held recently in Local 66, I.L.G.W.U., the Bonnaz Embroiders, Tuckers, Stitches, Pleaters and Tubular-Piping Workers Union, the administration forces scored a sweeping victory, defeating the opposition by a two-to-one vote. All the administration candidates for paid officers, Executive Board, standing committees and convention delegates, were elected by overwhelming majorities.

Opposing the administration was a combination of the Stalinist "Rank-and-File Group" and a newly formed makeshift outfit which started under the banner of "No Isms" and wound up by being swallowed up by the Stalinists.

This election aroused more than ordinary interest among the members of the union. This was evidenced both by the intense pre-election activity as well as by the surprisingly high percentage of the membership that came to the polls—3,150 members cast their vote, which amounts to close to 85% of the entire membership of the local, compared with the previous high point of less than 70%.

The special interest in this election was in large measure due to the fact that this was the first election under the new leadership of the local. It is to be recalled that in May 1939, the manager of Local 66 was forced to resign by action of the General Executive Board of the I.L.G.W.U. for practices inimical to the best interests of the union and the president of the local, Z. L. Freedman, was assigned the duties of that office.

The ousted manager and the few henchmen he still had in the union, following the logic of wishful thinking, predicted that "looseness would set in" in the union with the disappearance of their system of boss rule. As a matter of fact, however, under the old regime, it was only in the membership that had been held in a tight grip, while as far as the union and its functioning in the shop were concerned, there had been plenty of "looseness," so much so that it proved the old manager's own undoing. With the change in administration effected last May, the situation was quite altered, in fact, reversed: in the functioning of the union, things were tightened up to a considerable extent, while the tight grip over the membership was loosened.

For the first time in many years, the members of the union began to enjoy full freedom of expression. Various elements from the Stalinists down to just ordinary office-seekers therefore, thought that their time had come at last. Long before the elections, the mustering of forces began; various alignments were planned, and various possibilities were sounded out. However, when elections came around, the situation reduced itself to two opposing camps: the forces backing the administration on the basis of the good work it had done and with the assurance that it would continue along the same road, and an unprincipled conglomeration of various opposition elements under the hegemony of the Stalinists.

The opposition slate, as has been mentioned, was overwhelmingly defeated, by a two-to-one majority. The "unity" deal with the blessings of the Stalinists turned out a disappointment all around. Those who had hoped to benefit by Stalinist aid learned that the Stalinists were not such comfortable bed-fellows these days. As for the Stalinists, they do not think for themselves and so they cannot learn anything.

Spanish working class is not conquered; the Spanish working class is not crushed!

We have our direct contacts and our direct reports. Our comrades in Spain are sending courage and moral support to those of our comrades who are in exile. Spontaneously growing up from below, there are forming in the towns and villages of Spain committees in the nature of "workers alliances" including members of the P.O.U.M., of the C.N.T., of the Socialist Party, of the Republican movement, looking for each other, finding each other, uniting with each other to defend themselves, to help those who are in prison, to prevent discrimination in the factories, to resume the struggle for the interests of the working class. The "workers alliances," which in 1934 were formed from above, prepared the ground for the great battles of October that year. They also prepared the revolutionary struggle of 1936. But today, in memory and understanding of those experiences, without the leadership of any party, without direction from any center, spontaneously as if it were something growing up out of the depths of the earth, the workers alliances are being reformed by the masses of the Spanish people. Without any false optimism, basing myself on the most realistic and careful analysis, I venture to announce to you that the Spanish working class will soon again give battle and will soon again, together with the workers of other lands, write glorious pages in the annals of revolutionary socialism.

But in that plan Franco sees an enormous danger to the totalitarian regime which he must maintain in Spain. For that regime can only base itself upon the totalitarian regimes of Italy and Germany which are so closely akin to what Franco has intended to introduce in Spain. Of all the totalitarian regimes, the weakest, the most undermined by contradictions, the most vulnerable is the Franco regime in Spain. It feels the beginnings of internal decomposition. It feels the prime danger that whatever shakes the totalitarian regime of Italy or Germany will mean the end of the totalitarian regime in Spain. Franco feels this; the working class feels it. The working class is already aware of the weakness of the regime that oppresses it. Truly admirable, truly heroic is the record of the Spanish workers, after two and half years of civil war and another year of the most bitter repression, which together claimed a million and a half of working class victims! The

The Isaac Soyer painting, "The Young Girl," was won by Fanny Volkell of the Bronx. Congratulations!

# Jersey C.I.O. Defies Lewis On 3rd Term

Newark, N. J.

THE growing rift in the C.I.O. between John L. Lewis and Sidney Hillman broke out into the open last week as the New Jersey Labor's Non-Partisan League, meeting here, flatly rejected a written recommendation from the C.I.O. chief and, by a majority vote, went on record in favor of a third term for President Roosevelt.

The state-wide convention, said to represent 250,000 members of unions in New Jersey, adopted an unqualified third-term resolution in the face of Lewis's recommendation that it follow the example of the national C.I.O., which did not endorse any candidate.

The vote, following a debate in which leaders of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers and the Textile Workers Union took the lead in the revolt against Lewis, was 177 to 101. Carl Holderman, chairman of the New Jersey L.N.-P.L., presided.

Lewis's stand was expressed in a letter to George Knott, district representative of the United Mine Workers of New Jersey, which was read to the convention by Leonard Goldsmith, C.I.O. executive secretary. It said:

"I definitely think that the convention should follow the same policy as the C.I.O. national convention and the conventions of many units of Labor's Non-Partisan League."

The supporters of Mr. Lewis were led by William J. Carney, regional director of the C.I.O.; Leonard Goldsmith, executive secretary of the New Jersey Industrial Union Council; and Neal Brant, organizer for the United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers of America. The great bulk of the delegates who backed the Lewis position were Stalinists or "fellow-travelers."

In the course of the debate, one of the leaders of the Hillman faction, Irving Abramson, regional director of the Textile Workers Union, questioned the motives of those opposed to endorsement of Mr. Roosevelt.

"As recently as last November, Neal Brant and many of the others lined up with him were calling President Roosevelt 'the man of the hour' and demanding that he announce his candidacy," Mr. Abramson observed. "Now they are against him, and I believe that it is because of international factors, and I am not going in for Red-baiting."

# Running Around In Circles

FOR seven years, Franklin D. Roosevelt has poured out farm benefits, strengthened labor's bargaining position, piled new tax burdens on the rich. His reward: to the lower-third of the U. S. he is a savior; to economic royalists 'that madman in the White House.'

"This week Commerce Department economists, having broken down national income payments by years, 1919-39, found that, despite marked shifts during depression-bottom years, the basic national-income pattern in 1939 was virtually the same as in 1929."—Time, April 1, 1940.

# Woll Charges Government Is Anti-Union

New York City.

THE anti-trust suits filed by the government thru Assistant Attorney-General Thurman Arnold against a group of labor unions and their leaders with the ostensible purpose of halting alleged restraints of trade threaten the annihilation of trade unionism in the United States, Matthew Woll, vice president of the American Federation of Labor, declared last week at a luncheon here.

Mr. Woll stated that as a consequence of the actions begun by Mr. Arnold under the Sherman anti-trust law, the government had "thrown the cloak of protection around company unions in spite of the fact that Congress expressly recognized that the company union has been a fertile source of industrial strife."

Mr. Woll contended that the suits filed by Mr. Arnold constituted a misuse of the Sherman Act, which, he said, was designed to curb combinations of capital, not of labor, and a violation of the Clayton Act, which provides that unions shall not be held to be combinations in restraint of trade.

Labor's position in the light of the anti-trust suits has been aggravated further, Mr. Woll said, by the decision of Judge Peyton Gordon of the District of Columbia Federal District Court who, in a decision recently affecting a jurisdictional dispute between unions, upheld for the first time the use of the Sherman law against unions.

# Job Parley Shows Lack Of Youth Opportunity

### Only Misfit, Temporary Jobs Available

By DOROTHY CAMPBELL

NEW YORK CITY. Title of the Fifth Annual Career Conference of the Vocational Service for Juniors, held recently in the auditorium of the Engineering Societies in New York. The Vocational Service for Juniors "carries on a series of investigations of the interests and abilities of young people, and functions as a division of the New York State Employment Service, cooperating with the N.Y.A. The chairman, Thomas J. Watson, president of the International Business Machines Corporation, was unable to be present but the lobby resounded to the music of his business machines, and everyone was very aware of the fact that Mr. Thomas J. Watson and his business machines were connected with "How To Get A Job."

Mr. Nichols, substituting for Mr. Watson, neatly answered the question, "Why do we need vocational guidance?" His formula is simple: "Division of labor yields more types of jobs; more types of jobs yield the necessity for vocational guidance."

An interesting feature was the round-table discussion of the New York State Employment Service counselors. Holding an informal meeting on the platform, they brought forth many interesting facts and were flooded with questions from the high-school students who composed the audience.

In 1939, the New York State Employment Service placed about 12,000 boys and as many girls. Although it takes one to three months before the average youth obtains a job (this statement was greeted by laughter—perhaps some of the students know of cases where the interval between jobs was rather longer!), about 50% to 60% of them last only three months or more; only 15% last six months or more.

Young people were urged to take these temporary jobs as the experience adds up; in addition, several seasonal jobs may keep a person working all year. The months of graduation, January and July, are usually slack seasons in most fields. The specifications that employers list for their young employees are certainly complete. For example, one counselor had a job for a "bus girl." A "bus girl" is the girl who clears the tables in cafeterias. This job paid \$9.50 a week and called for a girl 5' 3"-5' 6" tall, 120-135 lbs., pretty, alert, healthy, strong, fine complexion. . . . Another counselor stated that the

majority of the boys and girls who received jobs had "known someone," to get the job.

Perhaps the most tragic note of the morning was a question raised by a timid, bewildered-looking boy who asked: "What about a fellow who hasn't got a union card and can't get a job on account of it?" The counselors regretted the fact that most unions are forced to close their books but could offer no solution. Perhaps The Campaign For Youth's Needs—that new organization that is concentrating on problems of this kind—can work out a better answer.

The rest of the convention was devoted to three speakers who spoke on commercial, sales, and aviation jobs. The only one worth mention was Dr. Norcross, assistant editor of the magazine Aviation. He stated bluntly: "If you can't afford to pay for training (in the field of aviation), join the army!"

The meeting ended on a note of "optimism" for the future. Today there are only four applicants for every job, as compared with the seven or eight of several years ago! Opportunity still beckons!

# Franco Faces Growing Crisis In Regime's Contradictions

### POUM's Leader Describes Deep Conflicts in Fascist Spain

(Continued from page 1)

the civil war, those who had borne arms, those who were merely members of working-class parties, those who were members of trade unions, those who were only members of the Republican Party or of the Catalan National Independence Party, were taken out and shot. In every town, in every village, in every rural area of Spain, men were taken from their homes without trial, without check, without legal procedure, taken out of their houses into the streets, into the highways and into the fields, and murdered. These very measures of terror are ample proof that the Franco regime already felt itself uncertain and doomed. From every report which comes to us, we have ample evidence that that regime is helpless, is impotent, is unable to resurrect Spain politically or economically, or to solve the problems left over from the civil war. Franco inherited all the problems of the old Spanish monarchy, aggravated and intensified by the subsequent economic and political ruin of the country. Now a fresh conflict is developing ready to break out between the industrialist and the agrarian interests of Spain. The industrialists, to whom Franco made such promises and from whom he got so much of his support, are already in rebellion. The reason is a simple one. Spain is dominated once again by the rural "cacique," by rural bossism, on which the old monarchy rested its control. The Spanish agrarians want to control and check the development of Spanish industry. They fear the growth and concentration of industry because with the growth and concentration of industry comes the growth and concentration of the working class. And Franco cannot tolerate the beginning of that new revolutionary process which developed under Primo Rivera and under Alphonso XIII and that led to the downfall of the monarchy and before that of the military dictatorship.

The old regime—agrarian, clerical, feudal monarchistic, absolutist—has been restored in Spain, which is now "unitary" and totalitarian. So simple a thing as a meeting held in the Catalan language, a newspaper published in the Catalan tongue, a flag of the Catalan people, a song of Catalonia, is sufficient to draw the death penalty under the Franco regime. All the peasants gains under the statutes of the Republic have been wiped out. But this absolutist reactionary regime possesses one virtue and that virtue is that it creates an abyss between itself on the one hand and the masses of workers and peasants, on the other. Not only the masses of peasants and workers, but even the bourgeoisie is alienated and in sharp conflict with the Franco dictatorship. At this moment the right to national freedom, the right to self-determination, has become a major revolutionary force, a major force for the break-up of the absolutist regime that Franco has installed in Spain.

All of these internal conflicts and contradictions, and all the international contradictions that weigh down on the Franco regime, are reflected in the single legal party of Franco Spain, the Falange Espanola, the Spanish Falangists. This organization was originally set up in an entirely artificial manner, and up to July 18, 1936, it was nonexistent in most of the cities, towns and villages of Spain. It had not one single deputy in the Cortes. Then it was built up as part of the counter-revolution but, from the very outset, it carried within itself the germs of its own decomposition.

Within the Falange Espanola you will find the rural or village bosses who hope to use it to dominate the four and a half million peasants of Spain. You will find the old bureaucrats of the old state machine. You will find the fanatical clergy, the petty student adventurers, the rogues, big and small, of the old monarchic regime. You will find the monarchistically inclined military men. And you will find, along with these veterans of reac-

tion, former members of the Communist Party, of the C.N.T., of the Socialist Party, of the Republican Party, many of whom have sought within it a temporary refuge and who hope to reintroduce into it their conflicts and their aims and thus hasten its decomposition. As a result of this internal situation, there is no discipline in that party, no unity, no authority, no leadership, no direction and no line capable of meeting or solving a single problem of present-day Spain. Certain Falangists are attempting to introduce into Spain a form of totalitarian dictatorship on the Italian plan under the dictates of Mussolini or on the German plan under the dictates of Hitler, but, at the same time, within the Falange, you will find the generals who feel that they won the civil war and who in their overwhelming majority are determined to impose on Spain a monarchy under the control of England and France, as was the case with the old monarchy.

The international contradiction is the gravest that is facing the Franco regime at the present moment. The war in Europe came too soon for Franco. It came before he could even begin to take up the problems of economic restoration or of the stability of his regime. The plan on which he had based himself was one of economic relationship with Germany—a policy of barter which was to reconstruct Spanish economy but also to subject it to the domination of Germany. But the war came too soon for that plan to be put into operation. The railroads which were to carry the economic exchanges between Germany and Spain were cut off by France. And the seas were cut off by the blockade. No economic help can come from Germany today. As to Italy, it is capable of giving but little help and incapable of investing the vast sums of capital needed for reconstruction of the war-ruined Spanish lands. Yet unless France can rebuild the cities, rebuild the ports, the roads, the railroads, the ruined industries, unless he can do these things, his regime must perish in the midst of the greatest conceivable economic chaos. The only alternative which offers itself is for Franco to deliver Spain once more, as the old monarchy did, to French and English domination, and to that of the United States.

But in that plan Franco sees an enormous danger to the totalitarian regime which he must maintain in Spain. For that regime can only base itself upon the totalitarian regimes of Italy and Germany which are so closely akin to what Franco has intended to introduce in Spain. Of all the totalitarian regimes, the weakest, the most undermined by contradictions, the most vulnerable is the Franco regime in Spain. It feels the beginnings of internal decomposition. It feels the prime danger that whatever shakes the totalitarian regime of Italy or Germany will mean the end of the totalitarian regime in Spain. Franco feels this; the working class feels it. The working class is already aware of the weakness of the regime that oppresses it. Truly admirable, truly heroic is the record of the Spanish workers, after two and half years of civil war and another year of the most bitter repression, which together claimed a million and a half of working class victims! The

# Reconsidering Marxism

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# Scandinavia Crushed in Vise of War

(Continued from Page 1)

Council in London. No reliable information of the outcome of these battles was available but it seemed clear that Germany had suffered heavy losses although the British had apparently been unable to effect a landing on Norwegian soil. Towards the end of the week, Britain announced that it had initiated the biggest mining operation in naval history to fence off Germany from sea contact with Norway by laying explosives in the waters of the Kattegat, the Skagerrak and the North Sea. Airplanes supplemented this effort to cut communications by bombing supply ships from Denmark.

"Order" reigned in Denmark, completely under the control of German bayonets. Sweden's position was very precarious. Locked in between regions held by Germany and Russia, it pledged to Berlin that it would maintain strict neutrality. But such a situation was recognized as extremely unstable. It was rumored that Germany was contemplating a demand on Sweden to grant passage to Nazi troops to Norway. What would happen then would be decisive. If Germany retains any sort of grip over the rest of Scandinavia, Sweden is bound to fall under its control.

Informed observers stressed that the German invasion of the Scandinavian countries was not the sudden outbreak it seemed but part of a long-range plan of action worked out between Germany and Russia and between Germany and Italy in the past few months. Russia was assigned the first move in the attack on Finland. The way cleared, Germany followed up with the invasion of Norway and Denmark. Whether or not, as Berlin reports had it, most of the German troops that occupied Narvik came thru Murmansk over Russian soil, Moscow vigorously defended the German invasion in an editorial in Izvestia, the official government paper, and hailed the gains made by the Nazis. It was said that Russia was scheduled to receive a portion of the Scandinavian spoils; certainly it seemed that what remained of Finland would soon fall under Russian control, perhaps also in the form of a "protectorate."

According to this analysis, the next aggressive move of the Moscow-Berlin-Rome Axis would be in the Balkans, where Germany, Italy and Russia would share in the spoils. Great tension prevailed in that quarter of Europe last week, especially in Rumania. Considerable anxiety was felt also in the Low Countries, Holland and Belgium, for a German thrust in that direction was feared, although not regarded as probable, at least as the next move.

The German invasion of Scandinavia had wide repercussions in this country, although the main effects were not yet clear last week. Taking cognizance of the new situation in Scandinavia, President Roosevelt issued an executive order "freezing" all Danish and Norwegian balances and foreign-exchange transactions and signed a proclamation extending the war zone from which American shipping is barred to cover the entire coast of Norway.

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# French War Dictatorship Strikes at P.S.O.P. Militants

(We publish below a graphic and moving account of the trial of the seven militants of the French Socialist Workers and Peasants Party (P.S.O.P.) in Paris. It illustrates the fate of democracy in war time, even in a country that is ostensibly fighting to "make the world safe for democracy." We call particular attention to the appeal for aid in the last paragraph; it should not go unheeded.—Editor.)

Paris, France, March 7, 1940. M. DALADIER has promised to abolish the censorship. As a matter of fact, however, even the "domesticated" journalists are subjected to rigorous instructions. As for the opposition papers, they are simply suppressed. So with Juin 36. The last number of Juin 36 was ready. On the first page, it had an article telling in quite an objective manner the facts about the arrest of certain leaders of the P.S.O.P. and the inhuman conditions of their imprisonment. This article raised a general outcry at the Hotel Continental (the seat of the French censorship.—Editor). First the representative of the paper was sent from one office to the other; finally, he was told in an angry tone: "Jun 36! A paper like that must be examined minutely. At the present moment it's in the hands of the Commandant . . ."

ti-millionaire pharmacist, of rather limited capacity, a man by the name of James. The public prosecutor is an awfully shady character, who has made his fortune ruining poor people. Every time the judges enter the hall, "Present arms!" is shouted. Everybody rises. The only thing lacking is the sound of trumpets and the Marseillaise. Then the court gives the military salute before the entire assembly and a second command, "Rest arms!", is the signal for the poor sovereign people to sit down again. . . .

## P.S.O.P.'ists Face Military Court

The trial of the militants of the P.S.O.P. begins at a quarter after five in the afternoon and lasts till a quarter after eleven. A dramatic session—a human and political document of intense interest! The attitude of the P.S.O.P. militants is firm but without presumption, full of a dignity that obviously makes a strong impression even on the military judges. Lying in wait there, rejoicing in their power to condemn, they have to confess to themselves, not without uneasiness, that they "are real men before them. And that perhaps may explain their verdict. The form of the oath they order administered is: "You swear to speak without hate or fear. . . ."

The proceedings begin with the questioning of the young people, 16, 17 and 18 years of age. What a spectacle! Their youth leaves them ill protected against the difficulties of the illegal prosecution, but one among them, Lesergent, stands up courageously and formally accuses the commissioner of police of Boulogne of having extorted "confessions" by violence. His sincerity makes an impression. The judges

are terribly embarrassed. One of the lawyers, Le Troquer, a socialist deputy, immediately enters the fray. He calls for the appearance of the said commissioner. That fellow, the type of a cynical police officer, appears, at once uneasy and brazen. He denies everything with an arrogance that does not quite hide his hypocrisy. The president proclaims: "No, it's impossible; we are not in Germany. Nobody is tortured in France. . . ." Le Troquer replies: "Come now, Mr. President, do you mean to say you don't know of the existence of the third degree?" And when the police commissioner, Cauteloux, tries a little flattery on the lawyer: "I know you well, M. Le Troquer, on account of. . . ." Le Troquer interrupts and lashes out at him: "It's precisely, because I know you so well, Mr. Commissioner, that I believe the accusation of my young client to be so probable." The public prosecutor comes to the aid of the commissioner and insinuates cunningly: "Furthermore, young Lesergent seems to get lost in his story. . . ."

Here is young Chaplain, secretary of the P.S.O.P. Youth. He is certainly a handsome young fellow, with a strong face, proud, full of determination. His mother watches without a tear. His old father, resolute and indomitable, keeps control of his emotions. Only his little sister can't restrain her sobs.

Now the official file is brought in. Communications exchanged to arrange meetings have been intercepted, and the letters that he wrote from his cell, expressing the fury of a caged young animal and the depth of his revolutionary faith, have been carefully copied and preserved for record.

## Stripping the Mask Off the Judges

Here is Rouaix, former administrative secretary of P.S.O.P. He stands there composed and at ease,

without bluster, with a simple, quiet dignity, with a man-to-man approach which reestablishes the human equality that the military apparatus is trying to destroy. His whole attitude says very clearly: "I am not taken in with your airs, and you yourselves aren't taken in with them either." The judges stand unmoved, ill at ease, reduced to their true dwarfish proportions. Rouaix declares that he has never tried to evade responsibility for his acts. "I defend myself and defend my party from the accusation of having in a cowardly manner made use of minors not responsible before the law. He reduces the affair to its true proportions: "To paste a socialist propaganda sticker, a sticker furthermore printed before the war, cannot without exaggeration be called a plot against the security of the state." The replies of the president of the court are powerless to shake his calm. The president grows impatient: "At eighteen years of age, you're supposed to know what you're doing. At that age, you've already gone thru high school." "Mr. President," Rouaix answers softly, "a worker's son does not go thru high school." "Nevertheless," the president rejoins with a certain humor, "I have the impression that you haven't come off so badly."

What an avowal! What an involuntary expression of angry admiration!

Class hatred expresses itself in stupid insinuations as to the "morality" of the accused: "The proof that all your sympathies are with the Reds," says the president, "is to be found in the fact that you are living as man and wife with a Spanish woman whom the Spanish Reds sent to France as teacher for the refugee children." "Isn't it a fact," Rouaix replies quietly, "that those whom you call the Reds constituted at that time the official government of Republican Spain with whom our country maintained excellent relations?" "That's one way of looking at it," grumbles the president, pinned down and forced to avow his fascist sympathies. The questioning of Jaquier is

very brief. These gentlemen are probably waiting for the Cherbourg case, which is scheduled for April 8. There is also another quite suspicious affair, dealing with a pamphlet, of which Jaquier is now accused. This pamphlet, addressed to the soldiers, was published without the knowledge or direction of the P.S.O.P. but with its imprint—obviously a provocation from police or other sources with the object of precipitating the dissolution of the P.S.O.P.

There remains now the unfortunate Preis, completely innocent. He hadn't been seen since the war, but as chance would have it, he felt a desire to drink a glass of wine with his friend Rouaix at the cafe on Rue Cochehouart. There he was picked up with the others and accused of being the prime mover of the blackest of the plots, a veteran rogue, knowing very well how to hide his tricks and allegedly one of the most responsible key-men of the organization. . . . The proof? They found among his effects a rubber stamp, such as is sold everywhere, which he used to call meetings of the group of the Socialist Party of which he was secretary in 1937. On that basis, the judges gravely affirm that he was a member of a communist cell. Le Troquer demonstrates the absurdity of this accusation.

Then Cuisot, a leader of the metal workers union, tells how in the recent elections the same Preis was bitterly attacked by the Stalinists altho the accusation charges him with selling the Humanite. But nothing can shake the officials who bring the episode to a close with this monstrous piece of stupidity: "Maybe he was a member of the Socialist Party, but deep down in his heart he was a communist."

## A Monument Of Stupidity

The public prosecutor's speech is a monument of profound nonsense and evident bad faith. He begins by declaring: "This is not a political trial. In France, everyone has the right to profess any political opinions he may choose." Then suddenly,

without transition, he bursts into a denunciation of "propaganda plot," "revolutionary tricks," "defeatist treason"; he cites this "monstrous" text: "Capitalism bears within itself the seeds of war as the sleeping cloud bears the tempest" (the text of the P.S.O.P. sticker). Le Troquer jumps up: "From whom is this quotation, Mr. President? . . . It is from Jaures! Do you dare to say that Jaures was a traitor? Do you consider him such? Do you mean to deny that the competitive system leads to war, and that competition is the basis of capitalism?"

Silence, amazed silence. . . . Finally, the president, weary, allows this astonishing avowal to escape him, so revealing of the confusion and bad conscience of those who serve the regime: "Without doubt, this phrase is correct. . . in principle. But whereas you could quote it before the war, it is dangerous to the state to quote it today."

The verdict: five years imprisonment, 1,000 francs fine, loss of civic and family rights. The two youngest defendants are acquitted. This time Chaplain's mother cannot hold back her tears. It is eleven o'clock. The people pass into the dark corridor. The women, a little feverish band, trying to see the condemned men once more, are surrounded by guards. After the reading of the verdict, a defiant cry suddenly rings out: "Courage, comrades, we won't forget you!" Fists are clenched, bodies tremble with grief and anger.

The case will come up for appeal soon, but quite certainly without any chance of success. There remains the urgent duty of saving the two little children of Emile Rouaix, who himself is in danger of dying in jail because of his tubercular condition; of caring for the four children and "rail wife of Jaquier, who also himself in very bad condition; of assuring the means of existence to Preis's little daughter, only 18 months old.

## Under Protection Of World Proletariat

The imprisoned militants are henceforth under the protection of

the international revolutionary proletariat. They are socialist workers, having nothing in common either with Stalinism or with Hitlerite fascism or with the disgusting hypocrisy of the plutocrats. They oppose the imperialist war from a standpoint that is entirely proletarian and socialist. This trial, those that have preceded it, and those that will follow, show the extraordinary sweep of the repression instituted in France against the working class by the military dictatorship, the paid servants of the trusts and high finance. We know how the French diplomats have tried to hide their crimes against the most elementary democratic liberties, how they have lied brazenly to delegations of intellectuals who are disturbed at these repressions. To their cynical denials we oppose the truth. Never has such a situation existed in our country. People are arrested at random, informing has reached the point of mania, the basest passions are glutted.

A "malcontent" is apprehended at the bar of a cafe; his neighbor says to him: "Let's go home, your wife is waiting for you." The policeman thereupon arrests him too, and to the judge he explains: "Your honor, I saw right away that this was an agreed-upon password." A suspect is arrested in his home. He asks to be allowed to leave his little dog and his radio with his neighbor. Impossible! The order is given to take the little dog to the city pound and the radio to the police station; otherwise the neighbor will be involved as an accomplice. And this is the "Land of the Rights of Man!"

We appeal for aid. We turn to America. If our fathers were happy to help America win its independence, we freely ask today that those who love liberty should come to the aid of the authentic descendants of the sans-culottes. We are profoundly convinced that we represent the only genuinely effective movement against fascism. Hitlerite and Stalinist alike. The P.S.O.P. trial should be a signal to arouse all free spirits throughout the world. Comrades, we count on you!

# Have Government Workers The Basic Rights of Labor?

## Invasion of Their Rights Is Menace to All Workers

By I. M. HAMILTON

THE government in all its branches is by far the biggest employer of labor in this country. Federal, state and local governmental units throughout the land employ approximately 3,500,000 people today—over three times the number of railroad men, about five times the number of steel workers, five or six times the number of coal miners. And the number is rapidly growing, more rapidly than in any other field of employment. The federal government today employs nearly a million people; when Roosevelt took office, it employed only 570,000. Back in the days when the present civil-service system was adopted, federal employees numbered no more than 110,000; today, New York alone employs many more than that.

## REAL SIGNIFICANCE OF PROBLEM

Yet the significance of the problem passes beyond mere numbers or even rapidity of growth. The real significance lies in the fact that the employer is the government and the government considers itself entitled to special rights and privileges as an employer and regards its employees as deprived of rights and privileges that the ordinary citizen possesses as an employee in private industry. Because it is the final representative of authority in the community, it therefore lays claim to the absolute and unquestioned allegiance of all those who are in its service. There are some, indeed, such as Nicholas Murray Butler, who go so far as to maintain that every employee of the government owes it the same kind of obedience, whether the service be civil or military. This is, of course, an extreme statement of the case but it is, after all, essentially the standpoint of the government. The government as such demands final authority over its agents even if it does not, for obvious reasons, exert the same power over its civil employees as over those in the military service.

This is important from the point of view of the civil servant as a worker and a citizen. In effect, the government refuses to bargain with its employees on the same basis as private employers and it strongly challenges the right of its employees to organize on the same basis as employees in private industry, their right to affiliate with the labor movement and, above all, their right to strike. President Roosevelt's and Attorney General Murphy's pronouncements last Summer that "you can't strike against the government" will be remembered—a view which Mayor LaGuardia has recently extended to apply to municipal transport workers. On what grounds does the gov-

ernment take this position? Ordinarily, the argument is that its unchallenged authority is necessary for the continuance of social existence. Without such authority over its employees, we are told, the whole social fabric would collapse.

## TYPES OF GOVERNMENT FUNCTIONS

And yet there is nothing in the character of employment of the great bulk of civil servants to give any color of justification to this argument. Leaving aside for the time being the fundamental social and class character of the governmental power, let us examine the actual functions which the governmental machinery performs. These functions can be classified roughly under several heads.

First of all, there are the ordinary administrative functions which any plant, concern or institution must engage in in order to keep going. This involves such occupations as keeping records, filing, general clerical work, etc. Obviously government employees engaged in such activities can see no difference between their work and the work of private employees engaged in similar occupations, nor does the social fabric seem to depend more on the one than on the other. There seems to be no reason why the one group should not have the same rights and privileges as the other.

Another class of occupations are the social-service functions—the administration of public relief, the dispensing of education, the conduct of public-health activities, the operation of hospitals, and so on. Here too these functions are of essentially the same kind as the comparable functions in private enterprises. There is no reason for denying the government-hospital worker civil and industrial rights which the private-hospital workers are supposed to enjoy.

The third great class of civil servants are engaged in industrial activities—manufacture, repair, transportation, communications, etc. Here the functions are exactly analogous to those in private industry. The government manufactures armaments in public plants and it does so in private plants. A tie-up of the railroads, of transportation, of lighting, of communications, which are all predominantly in private hands, would surely hit the community a great deal harder than the tie-up of any industrial service that is today of a public character. As a matter of fact, there is such complete interdependence between the industrial activities of the government and those in private hands that it is impossible to make any valid distinction between the civil and industrial rights of one group and those of the other.

Of course, large groups of government employees do organize and

exercise their rights as employees despite the absolutist claims of the government. The 3,500,000 million civil servants, let us remember, are also 3,500,000 million citizens with votes, and the effectiveness of their political pressure is the greater because of their greater concern with what the government does. As a result of this fact and as a result also of the fact that the labor movement realized the necessity of protecting its rights when the growth of the government services began in earnest, the government is for the time being content to "forget" its demand for absolute and unquestioned obedience on the part of its employees and to permit them to organize and affiliate with the labor movement. But it is significant to realize that this came about in

(Continued on Page 4)

# Capitalism Now in Crisis As Feudalism Once Was

By JOHN T. FLYNN

THE National Association of Manufacturers has summoned its members as warriors to save the system of free enterprise.

This is not the first time in history that the leaders of the existing system have organized to save their system. Back in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, the princes and the lords and guildsmen were tremendously troubled at the attacks on their system—the feudal system—and its strange twin in the towns—the guild system.

There was no doubt that something was destroying both these systems. In the towns, great merchants were attaining immense power and wealth against all the principles and interests of the guildsmen. In the nation, the powers of government were being slowly absorbed by the king. The feudal lords were losing their power.

Meetings were held. Conferences were called of the princes and the holders of estates. The guilds convoked conferences, too. Orators went about discussing the subject. The church issued rules and regulations designed to deal with the great problem. All sorts of cures were proposed.

But the strangest thing of all about this era of crumbling, which lasted for several hundred years, was that in all these discussions, in all these plans, all these proposed cures, the real force which was killing the old system was never mentioned. The princes blamed the king and even the Church. The guildsmen blamed the lords and the merchants and often the king for his monopolies. Many blamed the Jews, who were the busiest itinerant bank-

## Books

—by Jim Cork

REVOLUTION OF NIHILISM, by Hermann Rauschning. Alliance Book Corporation, New York, 1939.

THE subtitle of Rauschning's book is "A Warning to the West." If the newspaper listings of best sellers are an index, a fair share of American intellectuals are receiving this warning. It would be interesting to have some of the reactions of readers after attempting to or actually wading thru this heavily written plea by a former high Nazi functionary for a return to the "good old days."

Before studying his plea, it is well to know more about Rauschning. A former member of the East Prussian Junker class, he was the first Nazi president of the Free City of Danzig, a logical position for a member of the class that came to an arrangement with Hitler in 1933 and to whom Hitler had promised not to reveal their thefts of East Prussian state funds. Rauschning

(Continued on Page 4)

# How Did It Happen In Soviet Russia?

## Country's Backwardness Made for Stalinism

By B. HERMAN

(This article is part of the discussion, "Socialist Fundamentals Reexamined." Since complete freedom of opinion prevails in this discussion, the views expressed in this and similar articles are not necessarily those of anyone but the author.—Editor.)

(Concluded from the last issue)

UPON the basis of such unprecedented privation, no expansion of freedom could take place, but rather a growth of all the forces of coercion and tendencies toward suppression of democratic liberties. The weapons of the dictatorship of the proletariat to suppress the capitalists and landowners were soon required to suppress the workers and peasants. On August 20, 1918, the People's Commissar for Food issued the following "Instructions to Food Detachments": Food Detachments were to consist of not less than 75 men armed with two to three machine-guns; they were to be so distributed as to establish contact with one another in the shortest possible time; and regular cavalry was to be stationed between each detachment. All firearms in possession of the population were to be surrendered and distributed to the food detachments.

These were the methods that the Bolsheviks were compelled to resort to not because of predetermining theory, but in order to keep the population of the cities alive! Forcible seizure of food-stuffs and the disarming of the population are hardly the methods of expanding freedom! When a regime goes out with a machine-gun to get food, freedom has departed together with all theoretical predictions. By 1921, this regime had, in its methods, gone a long way towards totalitarianism before it retreated and introduced the N.E.P. Even with economic recovery during the N.E.P., it was not until 1925-26 that the totally inadequate pre-war standard of production was reached.

Lenin realized during the last year of his life that Russia could not go forward to socialism without what he called a "cultural revolution" and the defeat of the growing tendencies of bureaucratization. It is his last report to any international gathering, to the fourth congress of the Communist International, in November

it cannot move. Business holds meetings, conventions, conferences, as the old feudalists did. It blames the government, the war makers, the Reds, labor. But it never gets down to the real cause. Instead, while it calls on government to end certain checks, it advocates twice as many checks by itself.

I commend this thought to the men who are about to arm to save free enterprise in America.

(These paragraphs are from the New York World-Telegram of April 6, 1940.—Editor.)

1922, just prior to his demand for Stalin's removal, a note creeps in that all is not well with the state of affairs in Russia. Lenin says: "Why do we do these absurd things? The reason is clear: first, because ours was a backward country; secondly, because education in our country is at the lowest level; and thirdly, because we are receiving no assistance. Not a single civilized state is helping us. On the contrary, they are all working against us! Fourthly, owing to our state apparatus. We took over the old state apparatus, and this was unfortunate for us. Very often, the state apparatus works against us."

Five years after the Russian Revolution, Lenin admits that the old Czarist state bureaucracy has not been shattered, in accordance with the tenets of Marxist theory. He says: "At the top, we have, I think, several tens of thousands, of our own people. Down below, however, there are hundreds of thousands of old officials who came over to us from the Czar and from bourgeois society."

The mystery of the rise of Stalin is here dissipated. This vast, anti-revolutionary Czarist bureaucracy, cutrumbering the revolutionary elements in the state machinery by ten to one, provided the basis for the rise of a Stalin.

Those who argue that because the Russians, thru economic and cultural backwardness, were unable to replace the old state bureaucracy, the same must be the case in a socialist America are obviously guilty of the fundamental error of mechanical disregard of specific problems and conditions.

The difficulties facing the Russian Revolution were not totally unforeseen. It was obvious to every Marxist that Russia was a backward country, torn apart by years of imperialist war and additional years of blockade, civil wars and imperialist invasion. But the terrific effect of the false economic policies of the Bolsheviks, known as "War Communism," no one could predict. In any case, even with the best of policies, the difficulties would still have been so great, as to be almost insuperable. The Bolsheviks well realized that in a long-range sense, only the revolution in the more advanced countries could possibly save them. As Lenin put it: "The absolute truth is that without a revolution in Germany, we shall perish."

Lenin was a better prophet than he himself could be aware of. All his collaborators finally did perish, at the hands of the executioner—Stalin.

Rosa Luxemburg, with amazing insight, was able to foresee, only two weeks after the revolution, an eventual collapse. Writing to Luise Kautsky from prison (November 24, 1917), she says:

"Of course, they (the Russians) will not be able to maintain themselves in this witches sabbath, not

## Bertrand Russell on The "Russell Case"

THE habit of considering a man's religious, moral and political opinions before appointing him to a post or giving him a job is the modern form of persecution, and it is likely to become quite as efficient as the Inquisition ever was.—Bertrand Russell, "Free Thought and Official Propaganda" (1922).

because statistics show that economic development in Russia is too backward, as your clever husband has figured out, but because the social-democracy in the highly developed West consists of pitifully wretched cowards, who looking quietly on, will let the Russians bleed to death. But such a collapse is better than to 'remain alive for the Fatherland!'"

Kautsky maintained that the Bolsheviks should not have taken power because Russia was not ripe for socialism. The answer of revolutionary Marxists was not that Russian economy was ripe, but that world economy was mature for socialism. In fact, in his "Letter to the American Workers," Lenin ascribes the proletarian victory in Russia to the very backwardness of that country. But it was the expectation of the Bolsheviks that the Russian workers would start, and that the German and French workers would follow shortly after. The leaders of the Russian Communist Party debated whether the world revolution would be a matter of weeks or months!

There are those, who, twenty-two years after the Russian Revolution, have not acquired the insight Rosa Luxemburg had a week after. They do not see that the impossibility of realizing "utopian predictions" was due not to the errors of Marxian principles or of dialectical materialism, but to the overwhelming difficulties facing the Russian Revolution deserted by the Scheidemann and Kautskys of the West. But even Kautsky's position was more commendable than that of our latter-day Marxist critics. He, at least, never blamed Stalinism on Marx.

Soviet Russia in Lenin's day bore the character of a revolutionary army in a besieged fortress; privation and the strictest military discipline were the rule. But it remained revolutionary and internationalist, despite many grossly undesirable features. It had not become a citadel of Bonapartist degeneration, of counter-revolutionary attacks on the socialist strivings of the workers of other lands, or a source of supplies to fascist reaction.

We cannot for the world see how the degeneration of the Russian Revolution predicted by such an outstanding Marxist and dialectician as Rosa Luxemburg, invalidates Marxism and dialectical materialism. This "collapse" which Rosa Luxemburg foresaw could have taken place in several forms, by imperialist invasion from without, by revolt and capitalist restoration from within, or by Bonapartist degeneration. The third variant has taken place.

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## HITLER OVERRUNS SCANDINAVIA

ANOTHER quarter of Europe has fallen victim to the raging flames of war. Scandinavia, at peace for a century, has become the "Northern Front," a blood-drenched battlefield in the clash of giant imperialist combinations that is tearing Europe and the world apart.

The German invasion and overrunning of Denmark and Norway, in its very ruthlessness and disregard of human rights, followed the age-old pattern of predatory warfare, a pattern established to no small degree by the very "democracies" that are now protesting the Nazi invasion with such virtuous indignation. In the World War, was it not the Allies, England and France, that invaded Greece, a neutral country, seized its navy, occupied its ports, fomented a revolt that overthrew its king, helped set up an "acceptable" government and finally forced it into the war against the Central Powers? And was not the British mining of Norway's territorial waters almost as gross a violation of Norwegian sovereignty as the German invasion, of which indeed it was the signal? It is all part of the same bloody game of imperialist war, and to attempt to apportion "responsibility" is about as futile in this case as it would be in a gang war in which an innocent bystander is killed.

There can be little doubt that the main lines of Hitler's Scandinavian adventure were laid down in the series of Russo-German conferences in Moscow and Berlin after the Stalin-Hitler pact and the partition of Poland, and confirmed in subsequent negotiations with Mussolini. In this long-range plan, Russia was assigned the first move—against Finland. It was Russia's job to break down the military power of the only country on the Baltic capable of some degree of effective resistance, and this Russia did, at a tremendous cost. Its reward was the Finnish grab and more to come. Then it was up to Germany. Preparations down to every detail were made by the Reich weeks in advance. The moment for action came when the British began to mine Norwegian waters and endanger Germany's supply of vital war materials from Norway and Sweden.

By this logic, the next move of the totalitarian powers should be in the Balkans, where fascist Italy will at last get its portion of the loot, sharing with Russia and the Reich. But everything depends, of course, on the speed and degree of Germany's success in overrunning Scandinavia.

It would be difficult to exaggerate the increase of strength that Germany would gain should it succeed in establishing full control over the Scandinavian countries. Aside from the very important iron-ore deposits in Norway and Sweden, there is Norway's oil-tanker fleet, ranking third in the world, and Denmark's capacity as a producer of foods, especially dairy products and bacon, which war-time Germany needs so badly. From a strategic standpoint, the extension of the front towards the North may have its disadvantages for Germany, but not nearly as to outweigh these economic gains.

Like Finland before it, Norway is the hapless victim of the death grapple of imperialist giants. Without in any way giving the Allies a clean bill of health, we denounce the German invasion of Denmark and Norway and its threat to Sweden as a barbarous outrage and extend our sympathies to the Scandinavian peoples in their hour of danger and affliction. But here too, as in the case of Finland, we must stress that the problem of small nations in a war-mad world is now more than ever inextricably involved in the tangle of imperialist power-politics; it can find no solution except in the solution of the larger problem itself. Short of the overthrow of the whole damnable system of imperialism, there is no hope, no salvation for the small nations of the world.

For us in America, the big task is now to intensify our efforts to keep this country out of war. It is obvious that what is happening in northern Europe will serve to strengthen very considerably those forces, economic, political and moral, that are making for American involvement in the slaughter across the Atlantic. We must quickly develop counter-force, counter-pressure. We must do everything in our power to help the American people keep their heads in this crisis and consolidate their determination to keep out of war.

## STALINISM AND WORLD SITUATION

(Continued from page 1)

of any or all of these powers. At the moment collusion, rather than collision, characterizes the decisive relations amongst them.

Today, Germany with a six-year head-start in building up war economy for the purpose of waging totalitarian warfare is in the best position to help Russia repair the serious losses inflicted on her industrial machine, on her entire economic life, through Stalin's extensive blood-purges. That this is so, and that Stalin long ago recognized Germany's capacities to render him such urgent aid, is confirmed by the fact that the German Communist Party, under Stalin's thumb, as early as December 1938, at its so-called Berne Congress, unanimously adopted a resolution calling upon Hitler to form a complete and total alliance with the U.S.S.R. This resolution was passed nearly four months before Stalin himself gave the first public Russian intimation of a probable rapprochement with Hitler—at the congress of the C.P.S.U. in March 1939. Anyone who has had an opportunity to watch at close range the workings of Stalin and his set-up can detect constantly multiplying manifestations of the unfolding of this expanding Axis and increasing evidence that this four-power arrangement has been arrived at, at least in principle, as a desideratum—even if all its details have not yet been worked out. Allowing time itself and changing circumstances to unfold a general plan and to adjust and adapt its details is an integral characteristic of the strategy of the old General von Moltke. This technique is quite specifically German and has been repeatedly applied by the Nazis.

8. A special type of assistance rendered by Stalin to Hitler—an assistance less tangible yet at least as significant as today's active economic aid and tomorrow's military aid—is the "moral" and morale stimulus given by Russia's Comintern throughout the world. Thus, Pravda rushes to justify Hitler's devouring of Denmark and invasion of Norway. The Communist parties have, on this basis, for some time, been nothing but agencies of Stalin's foreign office and agents of Russian foreign policy. In this capacity, they serve Hitler's morale in Germany by lending a so-called "socialist" touch and "revolutionary" hue to Goebbels's propaganda. The effect of this is to be noted in the turn recently taken by German propaganda. Hitler, Goebbels, Dr. Ley, and Goering have been making speeches studded with such phrases as "Fight the plutocratic democracies," "The proletarian nations must unite," and "Workers of the world, unite!"

It is in this connection that the Communist parties everywhere render special service to the expanding Hitler-Stalin Axis. They attach themselves to bona-fide anti-war or peace movements and demagogically exploit such sound sentiments. Here it must be noted that they make particularly effective use of all speeches made by imperialist government officials in Allied countries for a new and more severe Versailles or for a dismemberment of Germany and Russia. In this fashion, the Communist parties wield an important negative influence on Allied and a significant positive effect on Nazi morale.

(The second part of this analysis will appear in the next issue of this paper.—Editor.)

**A DECREE** published today orders the return to the grandees (the landed aristocracy) of land seized by the late Spanish republic for distribution among peasants," we are informed in a Madrid dispatch to the New York Times.

Here, in these few, dry words, we have the essence and the inner meaning of the Franco counter-revolution, the crude reality behind all the mystical phrases about the "national regeneration of Catholic Spain."

## Socialist Fundamentals Reexamined:

# Is Marxism Refuted?

By EUGENE KREININ

(This article is part of the discussion, "Socialist Fundamentals Reexamined." Since complete freedom of opinion prevails in this discussion, the views expressed in this and similar articles are not necessarily those of anyone but the author.—Editor.)

THE monstrosity that is today the Soviet Union has almost completely destroyed sympathy for socialism among the masses of the workers throughout the world. This is quite natural. As far as they were told and believed, the U.S.S.R. was building socialism. Its leadership was Marxian. Then if this totalitarian, criminal, slave regime is the sum total of socialism and Marxism, what else can we expect but disgust and contempt for anything and everything that has to do with the very concept of socialism?

A more realistic attitude, however, is discerned among revolutionary workers who see in Stalinism the very antithesis of Marxism. Certain manifestations of the Russian Revolution have directly influenced the emergence of totalitarian bureaucracy. In "defense" of Stalin and Stalinism, if such is possible, let us say that the economic and political backwardness of pre-1917 Russia, the lack of any conception of democracy, the absence of trade unions and the abject existence of the peasantry, contributed a great deal to the Stalin dictatorship.

The Russian Revolution presents us with positive as well as negative lessons. One important lesson is to eradicate that unscientific and dogmatic acceptance of the October Re-

volution as a blueprint for other countries. Another important lesson is the knowledge of what we do not want as the result of a proletarian revolution.

A reevaluation of what were to us basic fundamentals of socialism (as manifested by the Russian Revolution) is a healthy reaction on the part of those who wish to continue the struggle for socialism. However, such a reevaluation should not sweep us off our feet and drive us into the swamp of reformism.

Reformism (Second International) and communism (Third International) have failed. Both failures are not due to the falsity of Marxism, but to its rejection. The social-democrats rejected working-class power when it was on the order of the day. Stalinism betrayed the revolution and established a clique dictatorship. Why blame Marx for Bernsteinian revisionism or Stalinist counter-revolution?

The violent overthrow of capitalism is under attack. In this day and age, can anyone believe even for a moment that you can sneak in socialism simply by means of legislation? Can anyone cite an historical incident where a ruling class has surrendered its privileged position without a struggle? Especially today when fascism is so much in style, the capitalist class will use the state power or bribe and mislead declassed elements to terrorize and destroy a rising working class.

The "dictatorship of the proletariat" is under consideration. This does not necessarily imply a one-party rule. It implies the rule of the working class as a whole irrespective

of ephemeral ideological differences. These differences come and go in the process of socialist construction. A transitory workers rule is necessary to destroy the remnants of the enemy class and forestall counter-revolutionary attempts against the new order.

The dictatorship does not preclude democracy. On the contrary! Only thru genuine democracy can it be a workers rule. Only thru an ideological struggle among the various tendencies in the ranks of the workers will democratic socialism triumph and totalitarianism be avoided.

The Marxian analysis of the state has not been proven erroneous. The state is still the political expression of a ruling class. In capitalist countries, the state is the protector of private property in the hands of the exploiters. In the U.S.S.R., the state is the defender of the economic privileges of the ruling bureaucracy. The Red Army is being used in the Stalinist imperialist adventures to bolster the waning prestige of the ruling clique.

Stalin is strengthening the dictatorship (over the proletariat) when, according to the Stalinists, the enemy class within the U.S.S.R. has been destroyed and socialism is established. The repressive hand of Stalin is strengthened in the same way as that of other dictators. Does that disprove the Marxian theory of the "withering away of the state"?

A reevaluation is not only essential but imperative, Stalinism has made it so. But let us be on guard lest in throwing away whatever is odious and barbaric in Stalinist "communism," we discard the baby together with the dirty bath water.

## Government Workers And Rights of Labor

### Invasion of Their Rights Peril to Unions

(Continued from Page 3)

the first place thru defiance on the part of government employees. They just organized, despite the denial of that right and affiliated with the labor movement. The first group were the postal workers in the early part of the century, and as the movement grew, the government was able to do nothing and was virtually obliged to concede the right of its employees to organize. But so long as the government insists that this is merely a concession on its part and not the right of its employees, so long as it maintains the absolute right to determine working conditions for its employees on the basis of sovereign order and fiat, the rights of government employees are precarious indeed.

An outstanding example of this is the agitation which took place in this country about fifteen or twenty years ago after the Boston police strike. All over the country there was a movement for legislation to curb the rights of government employees, to forbid them to strike, and bills were actually introduced into Congress to that effect. As a result of vigorous and united protest of government workers and the A. F. of L., these bills did not pass but the fact that they were introduced and got support indicates the real threat.

In municipalities, however, one after the other, authorities have denied by ordinance the right of their school teachers of firemen or policemen to organize and affiliate with the labor movement. Especially has the right to strike been categorically denied.

## IN BRITAIN AND FRANCE

In Great Britain, in 1926, the government employees took no active part in the general strike but they supported it with public pronouncements, with financial contributions and with pledges that they would refuse to engage in strike-breaking. The government thereupon declared

that this was a threat to its sovereignty and authority, and in 1927, it introduced and passed legislation disaffiliating by law the government employees from the Trade Union Congress and the Labor Party, to one or the other of which they had been affiliated for half a century.

In France, the civil service is more important than in any western country, not merely because of its numbers but because of its position and role in the labor movement, where until recently it was by far the largest, most active and most militant single element. Yet the French courts, the government and even certain statutes deny civil servants the right to affiliate with the C.G.T. or to strike. The civil servants have met these prohibitions with open defiance. They affiliate with labor and they strike freely. So far, the government has tolerated this situation, although it has made some gestures to save face.

German foreign policy, as shown by his forecasting the Russo-German alliance and the anti-Polish orientation. On the other hand, according to him, German expansionism is not the usual imperialism but a "revolutionary dynamism." Similarly for internal policy: anti-Semitism, increased taxation of Rauschnig's Junker friends, etc., are not evidence of the inner conflicts of decayed capitalism but of the growth of the "ideology of Nihilism," the "Catinarians of the Left," of forces who did not have the slightest idea of what they would do with power." It is all a "revolution for revolution's sake," a "revolution without a doctrine," the "Revolution of Nihilism."

Rauschnig seriously considers the Nazi groups scattered "from Flushing to Vladivostok" a sign of the "revolutionary dynamism" of this threatening "World Revolution of Nihilism."

Naturally, it is not the big, high-sounding "aims" of the Nazis that Rauschnig advances as the reasons for his having broken with them. What motivated him, he says, was the "gradual recognition of the destructive tendency and the growing radicalization of National-Socialist policy as a whole." In general it may be said that Rauschnig wants pre-Hitler capitalism even with older names. Rauschnig asks what could "recall the army to its own tradition," and answers, "There is one thing and one alone: The restoration of a German monarchy!" "A restoration of the monarchy in Germany would, after the experiences of the great war," he says, "have virtually guaranteed stable conditions and excluded any adventurous foreign policy. A restored monarchy would have accepted and adhered to a peaceable settlement that removed Germany's just grievances."

So goes this best-selling contribution to the world problems!

"And finally if there are minds that are still unconvinced on the sanctity of Western civilization, let us be reassured by Rauschnig that 'no one can deny that the British Empire, with its methods of government based on freedom and consent, and with the moral authority of its center, comes very close to an almost spiritual conception of the state and the social order.' Ireland and India and others, please note!

Reviewed by J. KANE

## Good Prospects For Profit . . .

"WE believe the possibilities of more active hostilities have been raised (by the Finnish-Soviet peace treaty). Therefore, the prospect remains that normal Spring recovery will be augmented by war orders and by continued heavy exports to neutrals. "We continue to advise a market policy consistent with the expectation of a general advance this Spring."—From the March 16 issue of the United Business Service, a weekly business and financial "dope-sheet."

But the contradiction is there and, as social and political conditions grow tenser, as absolutist and authoritarian tendencies grow more pronounced even in the "democratic" states, as the trend towards public ownership or control makes headway in the various fields of economic life, the problem of the civil and industrial rights of the government employee obviously grows more critical. It is one of the big problems of the day.

## Lewis Promotes His Third-Party Ties

### May Control Entire California Delegation

(Continued from page 1) their activities, Sidney Hillman and E. L. Oliver try to undermine Lewis in Labor's Non-Partisan League. They favor staying in the Democratic party and fighting for a left-wing program with F.D.R. rather than against him. That the amalgamated and its C.I.O. friends can divide C.I.O. forces on this question is proved by what happened at the New Jersey convention of the League.

Also these anti-Roosevelt political developments are mainly led by non-Stalinists, the Communist Party will eagerly support whatever Lewis and his section of the C.I.O. are able to develop. It is thought here that the C.P. is influential among supporters of Patterson in California and some persons claim that Patterson is a fellow-traveler. In all of their efforts, the Stalinists can depend a great deal on the simple-mindedness of a lot of New Dealers who still insist on working with them and protecting them in the name of "civil liberties" and the Stalinist reputation for "hard work."

The new drive of the Nazi-Stalinist combine into the Scandinavian countries has given additional ammunition to the pro-Ally Rooseveltians who are eager to commit the United States to practically unlimited support of Britain and France. How the Administration will reconcile this eagerness to aid the Allies with the keep-America-out-of-war line which it has been espousing recently, in the light of the sentiment of the country, is hard to imagine. However, all New Dealers here agree that it would be politically stupid for them to say to the country what they are saying privately here in Washington. About the best formulation they can think of is to demand from the Democratic convention a third term, trusting to F.D.R. to work out his purposes in his own way at an appropriate time.

The A. F. of L. is now tops with a majority of the House Labor Committee, which a few weeks ago was listening primarily to C.I.O. lobbyists. This has infuriated the C.I.O. and is calculated to make the F.D.R.

## Fight Against Poverty Is Best "National Defense"

New York City. The American people believe that national defense can best be served by reducing poverty and unemployment. Fortune magazine announced last week as the result of its survey.

The Fortune survey asked a cross-section of the public this question, the magazine said in its April issue: "Bearing in mind that our problem is to build the strongest nation possible in order to meet any situation, on which of these four groups of things do you think the government is warranted in spending the most money: (1) increasing armaments, (2) dealing with agricultural problems, (3) reducing poverty and unemployment, (4) public construction? Which second? Third? Fourth?"

In analyzing the answers, the survey gave 100 points for first place mention of any of the four items, 75 points for second place, 50 for third place, 25 for fourth place, zero for any item ranked as unimportant, and minus 100 points if the person questioned was definitely opposed to any item.

On this basis, spending money for reducing poverty and unemployment came first with a score of 76 points out of 100; increasing armaments was second with 65 points; dealing with agricultural problems third with 62; and public construction last with 42 points.

Further analysis showed that old-age pensions ranked first as a means of relieving poverty and unemployment, public housing second, training skilled labor third and work relief fourth.

Reforestation and soil conservation were put first among the nation's agricultural needs, with control of pests second, removal of poor farm land from cultivation third, subsidizing farmers fourth and control of farm production fifth.

The survey gave control of production a score of minus 5, indicating a majority definitely opposed to crop restrictions.

Flood control was given first place among public works, with construction of big national highways second, building of airports third and construction of federal power plants fourth.

## S.P. Names Thomas on Anti-War Platform

### But Takes No Action on Unity Question

(Continued from Page 1)

labor unity. One delegate, Woodcock of Michigan, however, went so far as to say that even raising the question of unity in the S.W.O.C. and the C.I.O. Auto Workers Union was inadvisable at this time. He criticized those socialists who thought that the division in the labor movement had a paralyzing effect. He regarded John L. Lewis's invasions of the building trades and the A. F. of L. jurisdiction in the baking industry as a good thing. As he placed the question, "it put the A. F. of L. on its toes, and made them put on more organizers." Woodcock was subsequently elected to the National Executive Committee of the party.

## NO CRITICISM OF SECOND INTERNATIONAL

Very striking was the contrast between the anti-war position of the Socialist Party of America and its continuance of affiliation and support to the pro-war Socialist (Second) International. Even granting the illogical continuance of such affiliation as the result of inertia, why the total lack of criticism thruout the convention of the pro-war position of European social-democracy? Yet, the chief speakers at the banquet and mass meeting held by the party during the convention were Angelica Balabanof, of the Italian Socialist Party (Maximalists); Marceau Pivert, of the Socialist Workers and Peasants Party of France

(P.S.O.P.); and Julian Gorkin, leader of the Spanish P.O.U.M. All three are outstanding leaders of the International Revolutionary Marxist Center and the International Workers Front Against War. One might be led to believe from this that, in accordance with political logic, the S.P. would take a stand with the International Workers Front. As a matter of fact, the convention failed to implement its orientation on the war question in its international relations. In the one instance in which it gave definite endorsement to a socialist organization abroad, it pledged its special aid to the Neue Beginnen Group, but not to the other groups of the German socialist movement which are affiliated to the International Workers Front, and which the convention failed to mention by name. It also failed to mention support to the P.O.U.M., the P.S.O.P. or the I.L.P. In international relations, the position of the S.P. of America is in great measure that of its pro-war minority.

To realize the extent of this political contradiction, one must understand that the Neue Beginnen group is pro-war in general tendency and that P. Hagen, one of its outstanding leaders, is now in the Public Information Department (the censorship) of the British government.

## CONVENTION AND SOCIALIST UNITY

The convention also failed to tackle the question of socialist unity in this country. The letter of greeting sent by the Independent Labor League of America in which this question was raised (published in the last issue of this paper) received no consideration at the convention. Travers Clement, the secretary of the S.P., did not even feel it necessary to read this document but gave to the convention a short and selected summary of its contents. No report was given to the delegates of the decision of the Milwaukee session of the N.E.C. of the S.P. to elect a Committee on Socialist Cooperation, which committee has been meeting with a similar committee of the I.L.L.A. for some months.

The problem of a new concentration of socialist forces which can be the rallying center for all socialists and class-conscious forces in this country, and the problem of an international socialist regrouping, cannot be avoided. It must be faced frankly and without equivocation before any substantial and sound development of a healthy, united socialist movement can occur.

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for your contribution of \$18.00 to the Workers Age. We are pleased to acknowledge it thru our paper, as you requested. We should like to communicate directly with you, but we recognize the fact that Canada's being at war makes it difficult to do so.