

Coming:
RECREATING SOCIALISM
By LEWIS COREY

Workers Age

Weekly Paper of the Independent Labor League of America

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Behind the Headlines:

They Cannot Retrieve It

By JAY LOVESTONE

GERMANY'S resort to a new type of unrestricted mine warfare to supplement her submarine assaults on British naval prowess is an event of more than ordinary military significance. Its import transcends that of a devastating reply to the Franco-British decision to seize German sea-borne exports. The magnetic unmoored mines dropped along the frequently-traversed sea lanes by submarines and airplanes symbolize the highly advanced road to suicide taken by the entire capitalist civilization.

It's now over three months that the world is at war. Poland has been wiped off the map. Mutual-assistance pacts have been inflicted upon Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania. The ground is being prepared for similar "aid" being rammed down the throat of Finland. Big doings are in the offing for the little Balkan lands. There have been some dog-fights in the air on the western front; otherwise, especially in view of what had been expected, it has been relatively quiet on this sector. On the sea, British naval supremacy has been jarred but not really shaken. In short, we have had a paralyzing stalemate in a conflict that was supposed to be marked by sudden sharp thrusts to knock out the enemy.

The very technical nature of the war to-date sheds further light not only on the character of the war but on the very nature of the civilization it reflects. Here we are dealing with a conflict over economic interests. It is a battle between imperialist giants over spheres of influence, over areas of exploitation, over sources of raw materials. In this war there is not the slightest touch of idealism, no question of social philosophy, not the tiniest pretense of concern for the welfare or rights of the great masses of the peoples mobilized for the slaughter. This is an economic war fought for economic mastery, for imperialist supremacy in a decaying, declining system—in a social-economic system affording ever less opportunity, ever shrinking possibilities for profits.

It is this dying phase of a civilization that the war itself is reflecting today. That is why we are witnessing such a harrowing conflict of nerves, such campaigns of devitalizing attrition, so much bluff, so many threats, so many evanescent diplomatic maneuvers. These are all calculated to wear out and tear down the enemy. British imperialism is relying on economic weapons more than ever before to beat down an antagonist in the world market. The Nazi magnetic-mine and submarine terror campaigns are moves of major economic as well as military significance. If the Franco-British imperialist bandits can wipe out Germany as an exporter, then Hitler imperialism is licked. Should the Nazi plunderbund be able to destroy British foreign trade, then English hopes in this war are smashed to smithereens. Each side plans to weaken the other economically to such a low point that it can then administer a coup de grace, a knock-out blow, thru a whirlwind campaign. It is for this reason that we have had, so far, in Europe a declared war without much fighting. It is for this reason that the Nazi military machine, prepared for a major offensive even before the war was declared, has not yet struck.

The entire picture is one of mighty economic giants tearing each other to pieces, ripping each other's economic guts and vitals beyond recognition and reconstitution. It is all part of a bigger picture of the whole social-economic system committing suicide. Let none make the mistake of thinking that British imperialists will find it easier this time than in 1914 to blockade Germany into starvation. Next to the United States, Germany has the finest industrial machine in the world. Besides, today Nazi imperialism has open unmoored trade not only with the Soviet Union but with most of Europe, including the Scandinavian countries. Under these circumstances it is extremely difficult to starve Germany into surrender.

(Continued on Page 2)

Russia Invades Finland, Bombs Cities, Sets Up a Puppet Regime; Finns Resist

"THREE BILLION FOR ARMS—RELIEF CUT"



Moscow Follows Line of Nazi, Japanese Aggression in Assault on Small States

Stalinist Russia hurled its mighty military machine, troops, artillery, tanks, airplanes and warships, against tiny Finland last week in an effort to destroy the independence of that country and convert it into a vassal state in the expanding Stalin-

ist empire. Despite overwhelming odds, the Finns put up a stout resistance and by the end of the week, the invading forces held only a small section of the land under their control. But Helsinki, the capital, was bombed three times from the air by Soviet planes, with over 200 casualties, mostly women and children.

16,000 Cut Off Relief In Cleveland

Cleveland, Ohio. Over 8,000 single persons and 4,000 couples without children were summarily cut off from all relief here last week as Mayor Harold H. Burton declared that the city's relief funds were virtually depleted and there was no money in sight. The 24,000 relief clients left on the rolls after the dropping of these 16,000 found themselves facing the prospect that their meager aid would soon be cut off as the funds now available are very scanty.

Distress mounted rapidly during the week and thousands of hungry, desperate people gathered around the various relief headquarters and social service agencies clamoring for food. But very little aid was forthcoming. One nutritionist of the Cleveland Health Council said she knew of a case of a family of five, including a new-born baby and its nursing mother, which had existed on corn-meal and coffee for almost a week.

"We reported this case as an emergency before Thanksgiving," she said. "Nothing was done until Saturday night, when the family received \$2.69. That, I suppose, must last them for another week or so." Attempted suicides resulting from the widespread distress multiplied. One woman was found walking up and down the lake shore. "I'll kill myself if you don't get food for my children," she told the police. A man made a similar threat.

On several occasions, police were called out to disperse crowds of starving men and women who had collected in various parts of the city demanding food.

City officials blamed Cleveland's recurrent relief crisis on the state administration, which, they said, has "not only shunned the responsibility of providing funds but has also refused to relax tax restrictions to permit Ohio cities to finance their own relief."

Labor spokesmen also accused the reactionary administration of Governor Bricker, backed by the big property interests of the state, as being largely responsible for the breakdown of relief in Cleveland and other parts of the state.

Mayor Burton said that the city had only \$350,000, recently released from the state's surplus utilities—excise tax collections, to last for the rest of 1939. After that, he didn't know what would happen, he said.

Nazis to Set Up Jewish "Ghetto State" in Poland

Copenhagen, Denmark. A huge area, in part concentration camp, in part ghetto, will be set aside in German Poland next April to receive over 600,000 Jews to be driven there from all other sections of the German Reich, according to a Berlin report in the newspaper Politiken here last week. The frontiers of this "Jewish state" are to be ringed with enclosures of barbed wire, it was added.

A continuous stream of Jews is arriving in the new Jewish "state" around Lublin, the paper said, and by next Spring 65,000 will have been sent from Vienna, 30,000 from Posen and West Prussia (formerly the Corridor), 170,000 from Lodz, 150,000 from the Bohemia-Moravia Protectorate, and 240,000 from Germany proper.

Jews are placed in camps much like concentration camps and many suicides were reported. The intention, according to the paper, is to put barbed wire entanglements around the whole state when the migration has been completed, with Polish police and troops watching over it.

Andre Marty: Twice Turncoat

By MARCEAU PIVERT

(Marceau Pivert is secretary of the Socialist Workers and Peasants Party of France (PSOP) and one of the leaders of the International Workers Front Against War—Editor)

Paris, France. HAD the open letter from Andre Marty to Leon Blum been written by a militant revolutionist, had it not been dictated from Moscow in application of the new Stalinist "line," we would applaud without reservation the elementary truths contained therein . . . truths we ourselves have often expressed—for which we earned the abuse of the Stalinists, in those days ever ready to rush to the frontier to destroy Hitler—that is, so they said!

For how could we possibly refuse our agreement to a political line whose greatest exponent was Karl Liebknecht: "The main enemy is at home!" History will, indeed, pass the most severe judgment on Leon Blum!

CRIMES OF LEON BLUM

Leon Blum—the man who aided fascism in France under the guise of avoiding war, and who now has accepted a war for the defense of the Polish Colonels!

Leon Blum—the man who today, fully cognizant of his deeds, has tied that section of the French proletariat over which he unfortunately still exercises a sinister influence to the defense, by means of war, of Franco-British imperialist interests. His articles in the British and American press, which seek to prove that there is no such thing as imperialist rivalry between London and Berlin, are in themselves the most devastating evidence of his complicity!

Without the open (yet how refined!) collaboration of the Leon Blums (and the Arthur Greenwoods), the second imperialist war would probably have been many times more difficult to launch and, in any event, would have taken an entirely different course.

It is also indisputable that the military dictatorship is ruling more

and more stupidly in France, and that the fascist clique in control of internal defense and censorship, which has caused the imprisonment of such men as the writer Jean Giono, is assuming a more and more decisive role in the affairs of the country. The indignation of Andre Marty can thus flow unhampered from his pen against the hypocritical pretenses behind which the patriotic "socialists" cloak their association with the "sacred union" and pursue the massacre "until the end" . . .

WHO IS THIS ANDRE MARTY?

But who is writing it? Who is this Andre Marty? The sailor-hero of the Black Sea rebellion? The representative of an International which carries to all lands the call of socialist solidarity? The disciple of Lenin? No! This Andre Marty No. 1 is dead!

He died in 1935 when his "genial leader," Stalin, signed an agreement with Laval, approving "the measures taken by France"—the France of M. Marin, of the Comite des Forges, of the Bank of France and of the trusts—to safeguard its "national defense."

He is dead, and buried beneath a mountain of treachery, accumulated in the course of four years during which nationalistic propaganda in the ranks of the French proletariat had no more faithful disseminator, no agent of corruption more virulent than the French Communist Party and the Third International.

An Andre Marty No. 2 then emerged, more militant than Colonel Fabry, more counter-revolutionist than de Kerillis, more jingoist than Paul Deroulede, and more social-patriotic . . . than Leon Blum.

Yes, the Communist Party voted against the Rome accord . . . but Stalin furnished the Duce with the oil necessary for the Ethiopian expedition.

The Communist Party demanded aid for Republican Spain? Yes, but at the same time, Stalin's G.P.U. assassinated the elite of the revolutionists of that unhappy land—

Andres Nin, Kurt Landau, Berneri, Reiss and others. And it was Andre Marty No. 2, in person, whose personal dictatorship at Albacete sealed the fate of the non-conformist anti-fascist soldiers.

At that time, in order the better to serve the diplomatic game of Stalin, then favorable to the "democracies," the Communist Party at all times and in all lands intervened to defeat any awakening of the toilers of Western Europe. Stalin would not hear of an independent and autonomous effort of the working class. He needed "respectable servants"—that was all.

Thus, in June 1935, it was Thorez who crushed the occupation of the factories (in full agreement with Leon Blum): "It is necessary to know how to end a strike!" It was Thorez and it was Andre Marty No. 2 who shouted, "Daladier in power," who flattered President Herriot and praised the "Republican Senate."

No doubt, from 1937 on, it was Leon Blum, who with his own hands and under the pretext of "national defense," destroyed the social laws (the 40-hour week), but it was the communist leaders of the Metal Workers Federation, Croizat and Costes, who came to demand of him "airplanes" and "supplementary hours." And on April 13, 1938, all of the communist deputies voted for M. Daladier, placed their confidence in the bourgeois regime and accorded it full power, including an endorsement of the semi-fascist decree laws.

A RECORD OF DISASTER

In April 1938, the communists led to defeat the Citroen strike. In September 1938, they led to defeat the general building-trades strike. In November 1938, they divided and then terminated the strike of the workers of the Angus and Renault factories in order to better betray the general strike which took place four days later.

It is evident to any Marxist that the imperialist war could not have been launched except thru the disorientation and demoralization of the international proletariat, every-

where held in chains by class collaboration and "national unity." But then, one of the causes of the war is to be found in the Stalinist political line of the French Front, of the "outstretched hand," and of the policy of militarization unto death. As much and more than Leon Blum, the Communist Party contributed to furnishing the bourgeoisie with a proletarian betrayed, docile and resigned, ready to be sent to the slaughter.

Truly, it must be hard to have so short a memory! When we fought against "national unity," Andre Marty No. 2 accused us of playing the game of the fascist enemy. When we demonstrated against the Senate, when we defended the 40-hour week—by strikes—we were insulted, threatened, terrorized—and if the Stalinists had had "their war" in September 1938, we would have been murdered by them, like Nin, and all for having remained faithful to the language now used by Andre Marty No. 3!

Andre Marty No. 3 asks Blum if he really takes the French workers and peasants for imbeciles. But he—Andre Marty—what does he take us for? Today, he rediscovers the existence of colonial peoples, oppressed by the French Empire. But what did he do for El Fassi? for Bourghubah? for Menali Hadj? Wherever a movement for colonial emancipation raised its head, the C.P. sought to destroy it. It applauded the dissolution of the North African Star and constantly slandered the organization hunted by French imperialism, accusing them of being in the service of fascism!

WE HAVE NOT FORGOTTEN

Nothing is forgotten! Everything is remembered! Everything will be answered!

But while we have counterposed against all this treachery (against Leon Blum and against Thorez, the patriot-deserter) the traditional position of the working-class movement, we have never approved the utilization of the weapons of the class enemy for the furthering of

U. S. Court Overturns Apex Verdict

Philadelphia, Pa. The United States Circuit Court of Appeals last week unanimously set aside the jury decision ordering Branch 1 of the American Federation of Full-Fashioned Hosiery Workers, a C.I.O. affiliate, to pay the Apex Hosiery Co. \$711,932 in triple damages under the Sherman anti-trust law for acts committed during a sit-down strike.

In its appeal, the union had contended that the anti-trust laws did not apply to labor unions and that the strike was the result not of official orders but of a spontaneous action of the members. The appeals court decision voiding the original verdict did not hinge on these points but entirely on the point that the strike did not actually interfere with interstate commerce nor was that the intention of the strike, so that the Sherman Act did not apply. The court, however, denounced the tactics of the strikers and declared that the union should be compelled to answer in damages before the state courts.

Counsel for the Apex Company said that an appeal to the Supreme Court was being prepared.

our position. Today, we will not mingle our voice in the reactionary anti-communist chorus. We will be unrelenting, from the proletarian point of view, against the Stalinist leper, which is an entirely different thing. But even here, we will guard ourselves against borrowing from fascist demagoguery.

For us, it suffices that Leon Blum paints himself, in his own articles, as an agent of the Bank of London. He has placed himself in this vulnerable position, but who then is the virtuous demagogue who thinks himself qualified to reproach him? It is the agent of Stalin, ally of Hitler. Hitler—is he not an enemy of the proletariat? The agent of 10 Downing Street against the agent of the Hitler-Stalin firm!

We turn our backs on both ad-

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Arnold's 'Anti-Trust' Drive Hides Attack on Labor

Use of Sherman Act Would Imperil Right to Strike

By ARTHUR GREEN

Washington, D. C. Justice against the building-trades and other unions for practices allegedly falling under the anti-trust laws, will certainly have wide repercussions in the labor and political situations. Indications are that the issue will loom very large in the months to come.

Some weeks ago, Thurman Arnold, Assistant Attorney-General, in charge of the Anti-Trust Division, procured indictments in Washington and St. Louis of a number of building-trades officials, including William Hutcheson, president of the Carpenters, on charges of violating the Sherman Act. In the same connection, Mr. Arnold addressed a letter to the Indianapolis Central Labor Union, an A. F. of L. affiliate, enumerating certain trade union practices in his opinion punishable under the anti-trust laws (Indianapolis is Mr. Hutcheson's home). These practices "in restraint of trade," the Assistant Attorney-General said, have "no reasonable connection with such legitimate objectives as wages, hours, safety, health, undue speeding-up or the right of collective bargaining"; they are, according to Mr. Arnold, five in number:

MR. ARNOLD'S LIST

1. "Unreasonable restraints designed to prevent the use of cheaper material, improved equipment or more efficient methods."
2. "Unreasonable restraints designed to compel the hiring of useless and unnecessary labor."
3. "Unreasonable restraints designed to enforce systems of graft and corruption."
4. "Unreasonable restraints designed to enforce illegally fixed prices."
5. "Unreasonable restraints" (jurisdictional strikes) "designed to destroy an established system of collective bargaining."

Mr. Arnold's letter, following the indictments, produced a storm of indignation in labor circles. William Green, president of the A. F. of L., immediately addressed a communication to Attorney-General Murphy inquiring whether the Arnold letter was to be interpreted as the Administration's policy. Mr. Green stressed that labor unions were specifically exempted by the Clayton Act from prosecution under the anti-trust laws. To subject trade unions to the Sherman Act, Mr. Green declared, was "a retrogressive step advocated hitherto only by the most reactionary enemies of labor."

SHERMAN ACT AND UNIONS

The issue of whether labor unions are subject to the anti-trust laws is a very important one, for should it be decided that unions are so subject, the labor movement would be gravely hampered in its functions and activities. Only a few months ago, a Philadelphia local of the American Federation of Full-Fashioned Hosiery Workers, a C.I.O. affiliate, was found guilty of violating the Sherman Act because of activities during a sit-down strike and assessed heavy triple damages as provided for under the act. (Apex case). The case aroused strong protests in the labor movement, C.I.O. and A. F. of L. alike

It is now before the Supreme Court. Labor spokesmen also pointed out with considerable feeling that Mr. Arnold was using unfair tactics in listing graft and corruption, which are not countenanced by any responsible labor leader and which are already punishable under the law with such things as jurisdictional strikes, thus giving the impression that they are equally part of labor's accepted practice. Many of the other practices listed by Mr. Arnold, they said, such as illegal price-fixing, were factors of very little importance in the situation, and were included only to make an impression. Still others, such as resistance to "cheaper material, improved equipment or more efficient methods," where such were to be found, were rooted in industrial conditions marked by insecurity and widespread unemployment and were a natural form of self-protection of the workers, which could not be eliminated unless conditions were changed. Are building-trades workers, of whom numbers are sometimes unemployed all year around and the rest without work most of the year, expected to welcome "more efficient methods" that will throw thousands more out of work? Can they be expected to refrain from resisting with every power at their command developments that threaten to undermine and destroy what little measure of security they still possess? With manufacturers openly practicing restriction of production when it suits their interests, with farmers paid by the government for cutting down acreage and crops, why shouldn't craftsmen and mechanics do what they can to preserve the advantages their skill still gives them?

JURISDICTIONAL STRIKES

As to jurisdictional strikes, all responsible labor leaders deplore them. But they cannot be eliminated by legal action. In the first place, jurisdictional strikes are sometimes really strikes for wages and working conditions. For example, in a dispute now pending, a certain high-

way laborers union, a C.I.O. affiliate, is insisting it has jurisdiction over a job involving cement finishing. This union's wage rate is 50 cents an hour. The wage rate of the cement-finishers union, A. F. of L., is \$1.75 an hour. The contractor in this case has cited Arnold's statement on jurisdictional disputes and has declared that he would hire laborers at 50 cents an hour. Any resistance from the A. F. of L. union, he has said, would come under the head of a jurisdictional strike, which had been "outlawed" by the government.

In this and other ways, it is stressed by labor leaders, Thurman Arnold's crusade is already being used by employers to break down wage scales, worsen conditions and undermine the effectiveness of unions.

RIGHT TO STRIKE IS BASIC

Furthermore, it is pointed out, it would be impossible to outlaw jurisdictional strikes, or for that matter strikes of any sort, without putting in jeopardy labor's right to strike as such, the most precious and indispensable right that labor possesses along with the rights of free organization and collective bargaining. The right to strike, like other fundamental rights, cannot be restricted in any way without danger of destroying it as a whole.

As can be seen from President Green's letter, the A. F. of L. is determined to fight Assistant Attorney-General Arnold's offensive against labor all along the line. The C.I.O. has so far been silent, although it is also seriously affected, as the Apex case shows. The silence of the C.I.O. leadership is generally attributed to narrow factional motives. The C.I.O. is now engaged in an effort to invade the building-trades field. Anything that embarrasses the A. F. of L. unions in this field, certain narrow-visioned, faction-embittered C.I.O. leaders are said to feel, is all to the good. They do not see that the blow is aimed against them as well, against all sections of the labor movement.

Rival Mine Unions Unite Against Coal Barons

CIO and AFL Join Forces in Illinois

Chicago, Ill. ANOTHER manifestation of the spirit of unity that is spreading thru the Southern Illinois coalfields appeared last week when the United Mine Workers (C.I.O.) and the Progressive Miners of America (A. F. of L.), bitter rivals for seven years, joined to support each other's efforts for better working conditions. District representatives predicted the accord might be the harbinger of peace on a national scale.

The agreement was reached at a conference over an employer-labor dispute the P.M.A. is having with the Superior Coal Co. of Gillespie, Ill. Ray Edmondson, state president of the U.M.W., offered his union's support to the P.M.A. David Reed, president of the District Six of the P.M.A., accepted and promised similar cooperation to the U.M.W., if and when needed.

"The time has ended," Mr. Reed said, "when companies can play one labor organization against the other

to their own advantage. From now on, what is one union's fight will be taken up by the other."

The agreement was especially notable in view of national moves to bring the C.I.O. and A. F. of L. into agreement.

District representatives of the P.M.A. and U.M.W. indicated that the agreement reached last week would be permanent and statewide and said it might be extended.

The Progressive Miners was organized by a group that broke away from the U.M.W. in 1932. After the split, between 1932 and 1935, approximately 40 persons were killed in mine and railroad bombings, riots and attacks in the Illinois fields. The two rival mine unions recently joined forces to obtain the release of five Du Quoin miners sentenced to long terms in prison as a consequence of one of these clashes. Cooperation in this case is said to have paved the way to the general accord reached last week.

Unemployed Are Victims Of Arms Cost

By CECIL OWEN

Washington, D. C. MOVES are already afoot here to make the unemployed the first real American victims of the war abroad.

Senator James Byrnes, a top Administration lieutenant, is out with a demand for W.P.A. slashes next year on the theory that war orders will put the jobless to work. He was joined by Representative Clifton Woodrum, who seized a chance to air his well known bias against the unemployed.

It is at least safe to predict that the Tory block on Capitol Hill, of which Byrnes and Woodrum are star performers, will not get away with this new attack on the unemployed without a real fight.

The theory that war orders are going to solve our unemployment problem is false. No sizeable reduction in W.P.A. rolls is expected because of increased employment in war industries.

Why this must be so is clear when it is realized there are about 10,000,000 jobless, only 2,000,000 of whom are on W.P.A. Employment due to war orders will probably first give jobs to those jobless who are not on W.P.A. Since the highest estimate of new war jobs is 500,000, it is simply absurd to argue that W.P.A. will be less needed.

The W.P.A. rolls have already been slashed by nearly a million despite the fact that there is a long waiting list of eligibles. Any stray W.P.A. workers who do quit to take private jobs will simply make way for those unemployed who have been unable so far to get on W.P.A.

War abroad offers no easy solution for America's unemployment problem even though the Byrnes and Woodrum may try to kid the public into thinking so.

(Cecil Owen is publicity director for Labor's Non-Partisan League—Editor)

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They Cannot Retrieve It

(Continued from page 1)

Again and again we must emphasize that capitalism AS A SYSTEM is weaker today than twenty-five years ago not only in Germany but in France and England as well. British economy used to be dependent on the world market. Today, it is dependent even more on armament expenditure. But this is a debilitating type of dependency. In direct taxation alone, the Briton pays nearly forty percent of his income. In reality, it is much more. Huge armament budgets spell much reduced living standards. The cost of the means of destruction is assuming astronomical proportions. A comparison of present-day French economy with that of a quarter of a century ago is even more revealing. It was in 1914 that the income tax was first introduced into France. Substantial tax increases were first introduced in 1917. Today, there are lots of holes in the famous "woolen stockings" of the French peasantry; in 1914, these resources were almost unlimited. In fine, the financial position of France is now far less favorable. And the much-over-advertised eight billion dollars of reserves accumulated by France and England in the United States are, practically speaking, the last liquid reserves these powers have for immediate use in the purchase of implements of destruction.

Into such a horrible jam has the capitalist economic set-up gotten itself that if peace were to break out suddenly, economic dislocation and privation would be very grave. Obviously, the seeds of social and economic disintegration have been lying about for some time. The war is accelerating the process of the germination of these seeds of decay and death. Even the best of capitalist plans and the finest of bourgeois minds cannot retrieve the present social-economic system. It has outlived its historical usefulness. Its great positive contributions to social progress can be preserved and developed to even higher levels only thru the introduction of a socialist system. The totalitarian war of today signals the total bankruptcy of an old civilization and the total need for a new and higher social order.

November 25, 1939.

Court Bans Race Bias in Teachers Pay

Baltimore, Md.

THE Negro teachers in Anne Arundel County, Md., must be paid the same salaries as white teachers doing the same work, it was ruled here November 22 by Judge W. Calvin Chesnut of the United States district court. Judge Chesnut signed an injunction restraining the Anne Arundel County Board of Education from paying lower salaries to colored teachers than to whites.

The decision represented a victory for Walter Mills, 31, principal of a five-teacher school at Camp Parole, Md., plaintiff in the case, who sought to have the county education board restrained from paying him a salary less than white principals of the same experience and doing the same work, solely on the ground of color. Mills's salary is \$1,050 per year, while white principals doing similar work receive \$1,800 per year.

The decision means that Negro teachers in Anne Arundel County will receive approximately \$45,000 more in their pay envelopes than they have heretofore. The total amount of the differential wage still existing in Maryland counties is more than \$400,000.

Andre Marty: Turncoat Twice Over

(Continued from page 1)

versaries, Blum and Marty Without the former, the masses of French people would never have confused the struggle against fascism with the imperialist war into which they are now thrown. Without the latter, without the Stalin-Hitler pact, the butcher of the German people would no doubt have had no such easy time in playing his game of war. And without Stalinist Russia feeding and upholding the Fuehrer, the latter's reign might come to an end very early indeed.

If Andre Marty No. 3 is truly sincere in resuming his former propaganda, why doesn't he address an open letter to Adolph Hitler, too, along the same line as that to Leon Blum? That would be still more justifiable and more telling a blow. "Adolph Hitler, you are the assassin. Goering, you are the incendiary!"

INTERNATIONALISM AGAINST BOTH

We, who are internationalists, can do it. Our political line is not dictated from without. It draws its inspiration from the depths of proletarian conscience. Our independence permits us to make a distinction as to the exact nature and extent of the culpability. There is a difference: for to rid itself of Leon Blum, it is only necessary for the French proletariat to reach political maturity, of which it is completely capable; but to rid itself of Hitler, as well as of Stalin and Andre Marty, the German proletariat will have recourse to revolutionary force.

So, since Andre Marty No. 3 did not utilize the occasion of a trip by von Ribbentrop to Moscow (or the airplane presented by Goering to his friend Voroshilov for sending an open letter to Adolph Hitler, we will consider his language unilateral, as simply an echo of the "anti-capitalism" and of "the anti-Blumism" of his friend, Hitler.

This kind of a tragical comedy

Labor and the Law

by Joseph Elwood

UNEMPLOYMENT BENEFITS IN STRIKES

THE recent ruling of the Michigan Unemployment Compensation Commission that strikers against the Chrysler Corporation are not entitled to unemployment benefits, no matter whether the work stoppage is a strike or a lockout, illustrates vividly the role which such state commissions are beginning to play in the labor situation today.

The Michigan commission adopted a strict construction of the law in contrast to an earlier ruling of the corresponding agency in Maryland (discussed in this column in the October 28, 1939 issue).

The language of the statute under which both state decisions were reached is virtually the same and both state laws have been certified by the Federal Social Security Board as conforming to the federal law.

The basic question involved in the Chrysler case before the Michigan commission was whether the workers were disqualified to receive benefits under the section of the act which reads as follows:

"An individual shall be disqualified for benefits . . . for any week with respect to which his total or partial unemployment is due to a labor dispute which is actively in progress in the establishment in which he is or was last employed."

According to the Michigan ruling, the Chrysler stoppage constitutes a "labor dispute," whether it is a strike or lockout. The Maryland commission, on the other hand, distinguished between a strike and a lockout and ruled that a lockout was not a "labor dispute" within the meaning of the law.

The two rulings illustrate the key role which job-insurance officials may play in labor disputes in all states. By adopting a strict construction or a liberal interpretation of the language of the law, they may exert great influence on the outcome of the labor struggles involved.

An Important Wage-Hour Case

A court action for wage claims of \$640 is now the focus of the widest interest because it involves the issues on which hang the Wage and Hour Division's biggest suit, that against the Atlantic Coast Line Railroad.

The case was brought by five maintenance-of-way workers on the Atlantic Coast Line and was heard by the federal district court at Raleigh, N. C.

Up for determination is the permissible extent of deductions from

has nothing in common with the aspirations of international socialism. The European struggle is not merely one between two imperialist blocs for the partition of the world. It is also a struggle between the plutocratic exploiters of a decadent capitalism and the autocratic exploiters of totalitarian statism. Neither with one nor with the other can the socialism to which we are faithful express common interests. This socialism will not be brought to the peoples at the points of bayonets of the Red Army, nor under the direction of those who were associated with the preparation of the imperialist war. It will result from the free and autonomous efforts of the workers capable of thinking for themselves, that is, of beginning the process of ridding themselves of the agents of 10 Downing Street, like Leon Blum, as well as the agents of Stalin-Hitler, like Andre Marty No. 3, whose hands are stained with the blood of workers.

Cloakmakers!

Mass Meeting

"Stalin-Hitler Pact and the Communist Line in the Unions"

Speakers:

N. CHANIN, Social-Democratic Federation

LOUIS HYMAN, League Against Dictatorship and Fascism.

AARON LEVENSTEIN, Socialist Party.

MINNIE LURYE, Independent Labor League of A.

Tuesday, Dec. 5, 2 p. m.

at

HOTEL DIPLOMAT
108 W 43rd St., N. Y. C.

Auspices: Cloakmaker (Local 117, I.L.G.W.U.) Members of the Above-Mentioned Political Organizations.

Russia Attacks Finns, Sets Up Puppet Government

(Continued from page 1)

would not negotiate under any circumstances.

The Russian invasion of Finland was officially applauded in Berlin. It was clear that the grab was part of the program mapped out by Stalin and von Ribbentrop on the occasion of the latter's visits to Moscow to implement the Russo-German alliance. In Nazi quarters, it was felt that every new aggression on the part of Russia tied that country closer to Germany in a "community of fate," for Stalin could hope to retain his spoils only in the event the Allies were checkmated in the war with the Reich.

In Rome, however, Moscow was denounced and demonstrations organized in front of the Soviet Embassy. This hostility, of course, reflected Italy's fear of Russian penetration in the Balkans.

There was great perturbation in the Scandinavian countries, especially in Sweden, for it was felt that Russia might next turn its attention in that direction. There were rumors that in the Russo-German agreement, Denmark and Sweden had been handed over to the Reich as its "sphere of influence." This seemed confirmed by the savage denunciations of Swedish Foreign Minister Sandler featured in the controlled German press.

Russian relations with the United States were strained almost to the breaking point last week over the invasion of Finland. President Roosevelt made a tender of America's good offices in the conflict but this was rejected in Moscow. When the bombing of Helsinki was reported, Mr. Roosevelt appealed to both

sides against the aerial bombardment of open cities but this again the Russian government rejected as "pointless." The President minced no words in condemning the Russian aggression as a "wanton disregard of law" that "jeopardized the rights of self-government." An unofficial "moral" embargo on the sale of planes to Russia was placed by the White House. Whatever further action Washington would take, it was felt, would be dependent on the line taken by the British Foreign Office. As the week closed, official quarters in London and Paris "explored" the Russian attack on Finland as "inexcusable" but gave no indication as to what else, if anything, would be done. In Moscow and in the Moscow-controlled Stalinist press everywhere, the burden of denunciation fell upon the United States and Great Britain for their "indecency" of Finland against Soviet Russia.

In well-informed circles, the Russian invasion of Finland was regarded as part of a far-reaching plan of aggressive expansion that might next hit Rumania in the Balkans and Turkey in the Near East. Little was doing on the western front last week, the thirteenth week of the war, which by now has multiplied into three wars—the Polish war, the Anglo-French war, and the assault on Finland. In Paris, Premier Daladier tightened his military dictatorship by having the Chamber of Deputies perpetuate his decree powers for the duration of the war. The vote was 309 to 118.

(Read the editorial, "And Now Finland", on page 4.—Editor)

Will War Bring Prosperity For American Labor?

Experiences of World War Disprove False Promises

By ANNE LAURIER

ONE of the favorite arguments of the war-mongers, that it is not often made openly and publicly, is that war will bring prosperity both to business men and workers. Indeed, in Administration circles, the slogan already is, "Recovery thru armament"; between that and "Recovery thru war", the distance is very short indeed.

What would war really bring? The answer cannot be given in one word because the economic consequences of war are vastly different for the biggest capitalists from what they are for the masses of the people, especially for the workers.

War does provide a market for declining capitalism. It also provides conditions for the realization of high rates of profit. Among the factors operating in this direction are:

1. A war-time dictatorship openly controlled by big business for the "efficient" prosecution of the war and the accumulation of war profits.

2. Organization and regulation of industry at the expense of the people at large.

3. Strangulation of labor on the grounds of "national emergency."

4. Rapidly rising prices, putting the burden on low incomes and fixed wages.

The net result is the rise of profits to unprecedentedly high levels and the simultaneous fall of real wages.

The experiences of the World War should be most instructive in this respect.

When America entered the last war, it was quick to learn from the experiences of other warring countries and was able to set up immediately a very efficient war machine and industrial-mobilization plan based on the German model. In this plan, the War Industries Board—whose function was government purchases, price fixing, allocation of raw materials and production, etc.—functioned under the control of big business and assured a stupendously high level of profits, while the War Labor Board fixed wages and settled disputes, and the selective draft system completed the picture by keeping labor "docile" and wages down in spite of rising prices.

A view of the trend in the crucial years shows what happened to profits during the last war "to make the world safe for democracy" and completely destroys the myth of "war prosperity" for the workers.

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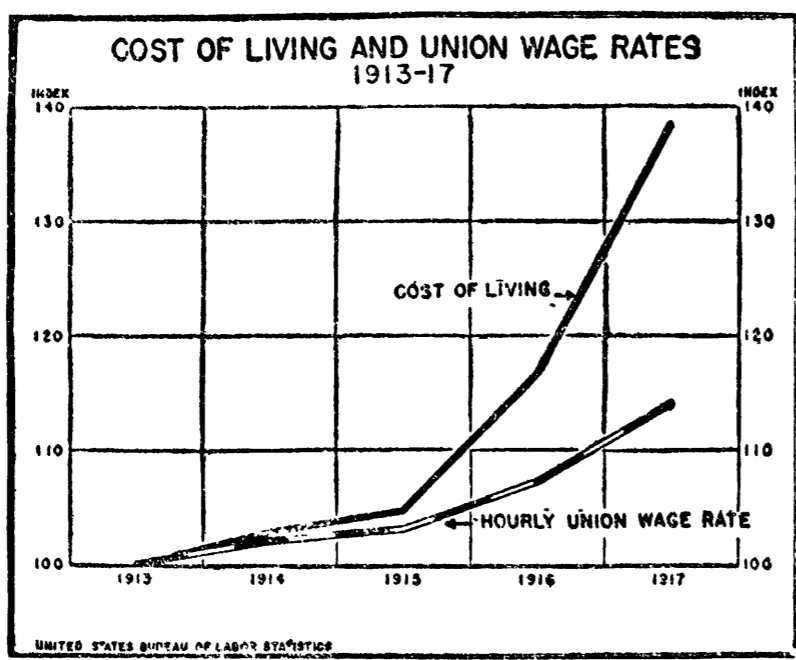
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Yet, in the war year 1918, nearly 40% of the 400,000 steel workers earned less than \$1,265 a year and another one-third less than \$1,683. This means that about 40% of the steel workers could not reach the minimum-subsistence level (\$1,380) and nearly 75% fell below the minimum-comfort level (\$1,760). When the war started, the wages of common labor in the steel industry rose from \$2 to \$3 a day for a 12-hour day and 72-hour week!

INTENSIFIED EXPLOITATION

Labor suffered not only thru falling standards but also as a result of a generally intensified exploitation due to the suspension of trade-union conditions and labor legislation. Hours were lengthened, in many cases, to twelve or fifteen, while overtime pay was often dropped. Thru the sudden and wholesale replacement of men by women and children in many occupations, there was a general breakdown of differentials and a depression of wages. At the same time, there was a widespread worsening of working conditions, particularly a greater disregard of industrial hazards. But, above all was the element of industrial serfdom introduced by the selective draft and the "work-or-fight" system, which placed the civilian worker practically at the mercy of the army machine. In Europe, this

tendency proceeded much further to completion than in this country but even in this country, there were already discernible the harsh outlines of a military dictatorship with its grip over the whole of the life of the nation.

EFFECTS EVEN WORSE TODAY

That is what happened in the last war. There is every reason to believe that these tendencies would be much aggravated should the United States become involved in war today. What in 1917 took the government months to achieve in the way of dictatorial control of labor and regulation of wages and working conditions, would now be accomplished overnight thru the enactment of the Industrial Mobilization Plan bills, already fully drafted, ready to become law on M-Day. Real wages would probably fall even faster; labor organizations would be completely hamstrung; union conditions and protective labor legislation would be promptly "suspended" for the "duration of the war". Some of the millions of jobless would naturally be reemployed and others would be mobilized in the armed forces. But the lot of the average laboring man in this country would become far worse in every respect. No, there is no "prosperity" in war for the workers; there is only impoverishment, misery and death.

Books of the Age

by Jim Cork

THE AWAKENING OF AMERICA, by V. F. Calverton. The John Day Company, New York, 1939. \$3.75.

V. F. CALVERTON'S new book has been greeted with an almost unanimous chorus of praise in the press—and it well deserves it. It is a kind of book that makes you wonder how American history could ever have been written without due regard to the viewpoint and material embodied in it. And yet that American history has been so written is painfully evident from every conventional work in the field and from many unconventional ones as well. Let us hope that it will not be possible to write history that way much longer.

What V. F. Calverton sets out to do, and does with much success, in a vigorous, picturesque, always interesting manner, is to get to the grass-roots of the American democratic tradition. In this first volume of what will probably develop into a series of three or four, the colonial period up to about the middle of the eighteenth century is covered. It is a "radical" history in that, as the author himself explains, it "tries to reread American history in different terms—in terms of the ruled instead of the rulers, the underdogs instead of the top dogs." But it is not a work of "debunking" as so many "radical" histories have tended to be. It deals with its material in an objective, realistic way, but withal in a spirit of natural piety towards the American democratic ideal in the many crude, imperfect yet thoroughly vital forms it has assumed in the course of centuries. And that is as it should be.

In general, Calverton's approach and method are Marxian, but Marxian in an independent and critical sense as distinct from the dogmatic "dialectic" schematism that has so frequently passed muster for Marxism in this country. I think there is much to justify the author's claim for his work of the distinction of being the "first extended Marxian history of America," altho naturally Calverton does not embrace within his scope all aspects of American development but only those that are of direct relevance to his theme.

In a rapid, episodic survey of the English colonies in America in the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, Calverton skillfully lays bare a number of strands that have gone to make up our democratic tradition: religious egalitarianism; the revolt of the men of small property against the arbitrary exactions and oppressions of colonial proprietor, governor or king; even the

obsessive, sporadic outbreaks of discontent of the landless men and indentured servants and the still more obscure, chaotic revolts of the black slaves. It was a cross-section of conflicts, rebellions and discontents, a mass of confused ideals and often contradictory aspirations of various social classes and groups—but out of it all grew the American Revolution, Jeffersonian and Jacksonian democracy, the generous impulses of Transcendentalism, the heroic challenge of Abolitionism, agrarian Populism, in short, all that is fine and enduring in our democratic tradition. And it is this great tradition that must be absorbed and built upon by modern American socialism if socialism in this country is ever to be more than an exotic ideological growth, strange, unintelligible and somewhat terrifying to the masses of the people.

Particularly well does Calverton treat of the frontier, of its immense role in fusing the many strands of democratic challenge and bringing democracy into actual realization as a way of life.

I spoke above of the author making a rapid, episodic survey of the English colonies in America. But I see now how inadequate this phrase is. It gives no impression of the exciting stories of struggles, revolts, clashes and conflicts of which the book is full, of the brilliant pen pictures of such champions of early democracy as Bacon, Culpeper, Fendall, Coope, Leisler and Lloyd. It does not do justice to the wealth of material, frequently detailed, in this book, to the effective use of illustrative quotations, to the extended discussions of related questions. Indeed, the only real fault the book may be said to have is the author's tendency to go too far afield on occasion. The careful distinction made and stressed between the Dissenter (Pilgrim)-democratic influence, rooted in the lower middle classes, and the Puritan-theocratic influence, rooted in the upper layers of the middle classes and even in certain sections of the aristocracy, is a very important one and is organically related to the theme of the work. But the same cannot be said for the chapter on "India: the Magic Land," especially since as Calverton himself points out, "it was nothing of India that the European brought to the new world." And there are other examples of this failing. But it is a failing that we can easily forgive, all the more so as the not altogether relevant material is never without interest in itself.

The book ends with a fervent plea for the preservation of American de-

Have You Forgotten Yet?

Have you forgotten yet?

For the world's events have rumbled on since those gagged days, Like traffic checked awhile at the crossing of city ways, And the haunted gap in your mind has been filled with thoughts that flow Like clouds in the lit heavens of life, and you're a man relieved to go, Taking your peaceful share of Time, with joy to spare. But the past is just the same—and war's a bloody game . . . Have you forgotten yet? . . .

Look down, swear by the slain of the war that you'll never forget.

Do you remember the dark months you held the sector at Mametz— The nights you watched and wired and dug and piled sandbags on parapets? Do you remember the rats; and the stench Of corpses rotting in front of the front-line trench— And dawn coming, dirty white, and chill with a hopeless rain? Do you ever stop and ask, "Is it all going to happen again?"

Do you remember that hour of din before the attack— And the anger, the blind compassion that seized and shook you then As you peered at the doomed and haggard faces of your men? Do you remember the stretcher-cases lurching back With dying eyes and lolling heads—those ashen-grey Masks of the lads who once were keen and kind and gay? Have you forgotten yet? . . .

Look up, and swear by the green of the Spring that you'll never forget

March 1919.

SIEGFRIED SASSOON

Dangerous Loopholes in Neutrality Law

Washington, D. C.

NOW that the Administration's neutrality legislation has been enacted into law on the assurance that it embodies the most stringent safeguards against involvement in war ever adopted by any nation in history, it is becoming clear that the new law is full of the most dangerous loopholes. In fact, close study of the legislation has already revealed at least five types of these openings for evasion or circumvention.

It took John M. Franklin, president of the United States Lines, just forty-eight hours after the act was signed to set into motion one scheme of getting around the law.

His plan was to set up a Panamanian corporation to operate eight freighters on normal trans-Atlantic runs from New York to London, Liverpool and Havre. It would remove the American flag and American crews from his ships, so as not to run afoul of specific Neutrality Act bans against American ships and citizens entering combat zones.

President Roosevelt and Maritime Commission Chairman Land declared the procedure perfectly legal and routine. Justice Department attorneys privately agreed. But the storm of protest aroused by this brazen attempt to evade the law without regard to consequences caused the authorities in Washington to think twice of it and refuse permission, at least for the time being.

A second possible loophole—much wider—is the absence of any restriction in the new law against selling goods on credit and carried in American ships to neutrals for transshipment to Great Britain, France or Germany.

Trade figures already indicate that neutral nations near the war zone are buying in unusual quantities from the United States.

For example: September shipments from the United States to Sweden this year were \$8.6 million against \$3.6 million last September; Norway took \$4.3 million against \$1.6 million last year; the Netherlands imported \$9.9 million against \$6.6 million; Denmark \$2.6 million against \$1.3 million.

Trade with Canada, of course, is wide open except for cash and title requirements on arms sales.

Many experts believe the law may have a third loophole permitting government corporations, such as the Export-Import Bank and Reconstruction Finance Corporation, to make loans to warring governments, altho the law forbids "any person within the United States" making such loans and the Johnson Act (1934) rules out loans to European governments that have defaulted on war debts.

Representative Wolcott, Michigan, offered an amendment to plug this possible loophole by forbidding Federal Reserve Banks and other quasi-governmental institutions to make such loans. His amendment failed, however, 288 to 196.

Two other possible loopholes thru which Americans might make loans and credit sales to European gov-

ernments may lie in the law. Its language prohibits sales on credit or loans to European governments or their agencies. Credit sales and loans to their private citizens, however, are not forbidden.

What will happen if Great Britain, for instance, sets up a dummy corporation to buy goods from the United States on credit and sells its stocks and bonds here? If the British government officially disclaims any connection with the "straw" corporation, would it be illegal for Americans to extend credit? Recent State Department rulings seem to indicate that it would not.

These are just some of the loopholes questions, spotlighted by proposed transfer of eight ships to Panama registry, that indicate the many inadequacies and shortcomings of the present neutrality law. These loopholes must be stopped up without delay if America is to be saved from war.

Members Attack C.P. Trickery on Pact

Group Continues Exposure of New "Line"

(We publish below another in the series of letters circulated within Communist Party ranks by a group of Communist Party and Young Communist League members. Other documents of this group were published in our September 2 and November 11 issues.)

(This document, like its predecessors, is a significant expression of awakening socialist consciousness in the ranks of the Communist Party, and we welcome it as such. We must, however, indicate that the criterion of revolutionary integrity put forward by the authors of this letter in the paragraph before last is inadequate, at least in part. It is not enough for the Communist Party to attack Roosevelt as a war-monger for it to show itself a genuine anti-war party, a genuine revolutionary party. Fritz Kuhn does that. Since Stalin is an ally of Hitler and Hitler is naturally anti-American and anti-Roosevelt, it is quite possible for the C.P. in this country to denounce the Administration and still remain an agency of the Stalin-Hitler war block. In fact, that is exactly what the C.P. is doing today. Under present conditions, this criterion must be supplemented by another to make it adequate: condemnation of the Stalin-Hitler pact and the Russo-German war alliance.)

(It goes without saying that we do not share the faith of the authors of this letter in the possibility of reforming the Communist Party or the Communist International.—Editor.)

October 10, 1939. To Members of the Communist Party and Young Communist League:

ALMOST a month has passed since our last letter immediately after the first Soviet-German pact. Did you think then that we exaggerated, comrades? Now, after a month of fast-moving events, it is time to check on the first hasty justifications for the pact which occurred to many comrades.

Anyone who has been faithfully reading the Daily Worker must agree with us on this at least: the role of the party leaders has been to tail after events with hastily improvised rationalizations, most of which have been abandoned shortly in the face of the refutation of events, or maintained side by side with totally contradictory arguments without an attempt at reconciling the two.

We quote from a letter received from a comrade: "Perhaps the most painful feature of the whole situation for us who are known to our friends as communists, and who have attempted to argue along the lines indicated by the Daily Worker from day to day, is that we are forced to flatly contradict ourselves three times a week. Friends I have considered close sympathizers now approach me with 'What's the latest line?'" Sympathetic members of our periphery adopt a mocking tone towards the party; they show clearly their feeling that the "brains" of the party are politically bankrupt.

ARGUMENTS AND EVENTS Here's part of the record—judge for yourselves:

1. ARGUMENT: The pact is a

2. ARGUMENT: The pact will contain an "escape" clause like all the other non-aggression pacts the Soviet Union has made. EVENT: The next day, the text of the pact is published—there is no "escape" clause.

3. ARGUMENT: The pact will restrain Hitler, who was forced into signing it by the Soviet Union. EVENT: Hitler invades Poland within twenty-four hours of the ratification of the pact by the Soviet Union.

4. ARGUMENT: (Sam Darcy in the Daily Worker). The trade pact means that Germany will get only consumers goods, not raw materials, as the lying bourgeois press says. EVENT: Correspondence between Molotov and Ribbentrop made public, in which Molotov specifically states that the pact means raw materials for Germany.

5. ARGUMENT: The trade pact is only for \$80,000,000 worth of goods for Germany, a drop in the bucket compared with Germany's needs. EVENT: The Molotov-Ribbentrop correspondence provides that Soviet-German trade is to be increased to a new peak, Soviet raw materials for German machinery.

6. ARGUMENT: The pact has weakened Japan. EVENT: Soviet-Japanese truce signed and followed immediately by launching of first large-scale Japanese offensive in China in a long time.

7. ARGUMENT: The U.S.S.R. was forced to make the agreement with Hitler because England refused to let the Red Army come to the defense of Poland. CONTRADIC-

8. ARGUMENT: The pact is a

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FDR Looks to Arms Spending as Way Out

"Recovery thru Armament" Is Slogan Today

By JOHN T. FLYNN

THERE seems to be little room to doubt that the government is deliberately seeking to use a vastly expanded munitions industry to take up the slack in private investment. "Recovery thru armament" is taking form as a definite Administration policy.

All we have to do is to look at the figures to see this. Last May, a person very close to the President, speaking at a school commencement, pointed out that if this country were to set about arming itself as Germany is doing, we could end unemployment and do it with the funds now being used by the W.P.A.

Since that time, here are the outlays for W.P.A. and armaments: From July 1 to October 13, all government expenditures were \$200,000,000 more than last year. Not-

withstanding this increase, W.P.A. spending was \$200,000,000 under last year. But army and navy expenditures were about \$80,000,000 more. And there are a lot of "national-defense" expenditures concealed in other public works projects as well as in W.P.A.

2.8 BILLIONS NEXT YEAR

Now we are told that next year the Administration is going to ask for \$2,800,000,000 for "national defense." This staggering budget is to carry out the proposals advanced last year for a two-ocean navy.

With outlay running \$200,000,000 ahead of last year and tax receipts \$60,000,000 less, we face this year perhaps the biggest deficit of the Roosevelt regime. And already the President is preparing for a still more staggering deficit next year—election year.

When we combine deficit financing with armaments, we are on the road to trouble so grave that I shudder to contemplate it.

Why the armament drive? It is as plain as a pikestaff. This Administration cannot think of any means of keeping the country afloat save by continuing vast deficits. But to do that some powerful argument must be found—some savage narcotic which will completely subdue the reason of the public.

TOWARDS AN ARMS ECONOMY

The Administration cannot go on talking about ordinary peace-time projects which will meet increasing resistance. It cannot just invent projects. There is only one which can be dramatized as such, and that is "national defense." It is appalling to see this country drifting into an arms economy—a condition where the very economic stability of the country will depend on our continuous production of arms, whether we use them or not.

But never fear; we will use them. We will have to be told that Germany, Japan, Russia—anybody—is planning to invade us. Then we will gladly pay out the sum needed.

The Administration has been heading toward this policy since 1936. I have predicted these rising appropriations. We are only in the beginning of this phase of our national life. There is time to check it. A little while and it will be too late.

(These paragraphs are from the New York World-Telegram of October 18, 1939.—Editor.)

TORY ARGUMENT: The U.S.S.R.'s invasion of Poland is justified because Poland is "itself fascist in character," and

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... AND NOW FINLAND

POLAND, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, and now Finland! In less than three months, the new Stalinist imperialism, with the connivance and support of its fascist ally in Germany, has trodden roughshod over the prostrate bodies of five conquered peoples. Poland overwhelmed and partitioned; Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania swallowed up thru military occupation and "mutual-assistance" pacts; Finland bombed, invaded, overrun. . . Here, indeed, is one field where Stalin has, in three short months, "overtaken and surpassed" the capitalist imperialisms whom he has now apparently taken as his model.

We will not insult the intelligence of our readers or sully these columns with any examination of the foul pretexts which the diplomatic and journalistic flunkies of the Russian dictator have concocted in order to "justify" their master's bloody deeds. What need is there of that? Stalin is obviously copying and improving upon the most odious features of the imperialism that Moscow was once wont to denounce: the propaganda and provocation technique of the Nazis in Czechoslovakia and Poland; the unprovoked assault upon a small nation as practised by the British in South Africa against the Boers; the method of control thru a puppet government as exemplified by Japan in Manchukuo and China. These are the true models and sources of inspiration of the Fuehrer in the Kremlin.

In December 1917, the new revolutionary government of Lenin freely recognized the independence of Finland, the dominated by a bourgeois, pro-German regime, on the general principle of national self-determination. Today, twenty-two years later, the counter-revolutionary government of Stalin is overwhelming that country with fire and sword in order to destroy its independence and convert it into a vassal state. This is the measure of the twenty-two years from Lenin to Stalin, a measure of the degradation of once revolutionary Russia.

What is Stalin out for in his mad course of imperialist aggression? One thing is certain, it is not the interests of the Russian masses that concern him, any more than the interests of the German masses concern Hitler in his aggressions. The "national interests" that Stalin is pursuing are the interests of the dominant clique in the Kremlin, the totalitarian bureaucratic caste that holds the Russian people in its bloody grip. Military and economic objectives do play their role but, at bottom, what we are witnessing is an attempt of the Stalin dictatorship, driven by the accumulation of inner crises and the utter bankruptcy of its foreign policy, to seek salvation in the traditional device of despotisms at the end of their rope—in glittering adventures of foreign conquest. It hopes to bolster its rule by arousing wild jingoistic passions among the Russian people, by diverting the attention of the Russian masses at home to dreams of national chauvinism and military "glory" abroad. The alliance with Hitler and the reversion to old-line imperialistic power-politics are the plainest possible indication that the reactionary clique in the Kremlin has just about exhausted the vast social resources left in its hands by the Russian Revolution, that it can no longer look to any great "victories" at home on the front of "socialist construction," where the deepest crisis prevails, and that its only hope of survival lies along the road of predatory aggression and militaristic adventures.

To what can the Finnish people now look for a restoration of their independence? To the Allies, whose treacherous leaders only yesterday offered to let Stalin keep his share of the Polish loot with their blessings if only he would break with Hitler, and who are today probably making the same offer with respect to Finland? To fanciful speculations of an imminent rupture between Moscow and Berlin? No; the only hope of the Finnish people is a revolutionary upsurge in Russia that will overthrow Stalin and his counter-revolutionary regime and will once again raise aloft the banner of socialism, freedom and national self-determination. Such a revolutionary upsurge in Russia, it is our profound conviction, must come sooner or later.

Stalinist Russia no longer has anything positive to contribute to the world-wide labor and socialist struggle for emancipation. The bloody farce of the puppet government of the "Democratic Republic of Finland," the creature of Russian arms, is a shame and dishonor to the very name of democracy and the people. Never yet has freedom been bestowed upon the masses at the point of a foreign bayonet or the blessing of socialism rained down with bombs from the airplanes of a conqueror. The Stalinist regime has become a reactionary and hostile power in every sense of the word. If socialism is to make headway, if freedom is to triumph, if any of the great economic and social achievements that still remain of the Russian Revolution are to be preserved, the barbarous dictatorship in the Kremlin and its degraded, servile henchmen everywhere must be swept away.

SNOOPERS NOT WANTED!

By a ruling of the New York Municipal Civil Service Commission on November 1, city employees who spy and inform on their fellow-employees are to be rewarded with extra credit ratings! Here is the official ruling in the form of a letter from the Commission to the heads of all city departments:

"It has come to the attention of the Civil Service Commission that employees of several departments voluntarily and in their own time have assisted in exposing and eliminating corrupt conditions. The Commission is anxious to encourage service of this sort and accordingly will give extra service rating credit to employees who assist in combating such conditions."

This is outright encouragement to spying, an official premium on informing, two of the most despicable things a person can do against a fellow-worker. They used to have that kind of thing in imperial Rome; they have it today in totalitarian Germany, Italy and Russia. Are we going to get a taste of it now in New York?

What would the LaFollette Civil Liberties Committee have to say if such a "voluntary" espionage system were installed by a private employer in order to hunt out and eradicate "corruption" in his organization? Does it become fine and noble just because the city is the employer?

We applaud the curt reply of Park Commissioner Moses to the circular of the Civil Service Commission: "Send this communication to the Ogpu in Russia, whose American representative you seem to be."

Mr. Moses's barbed phrase gains special point since the president of the Municipal Civil Service Commission and apparently the prime instigator of this precious scheme is Paul J. Kern. Paul J. Kern, it will be remembered, is the darling of the Stalinites and their civil-service employees union. Perhaps his association with them may help to explain the origin of this typical Stalinist-G.P.U. piece of trickery.

Mayor LaGuardia has so far not committed himself on the ruling of the Civil Service Commission. The least we can expect is that he will speak up promptly in no uncertain terms. The new City Council will undoubtedly also have something to say on the matter when it meets in January. Meanwhile, all civic and labor organizations in the city should make their voices heard in condemnation of Mr. Kern and his scheme to run New York's civil service on the basis of espionage and informing.

By Rosa Luxemburg:

The Russian Revolution

(We begin in this issue the publication of Rosa Luxemburg's "The Russian Revolution," written in 1918, more than twenty years ago. This is the first time that this profound and justly celebrated work of Rosa Luxemburg will appear in full in the English language. Bertram D. Wolfe, the translator, will also contribute an introduction analyzing and evaluating the work—Editor.)

THE Russian Revolution is the mightiest event of the World War. Its outbreak, its unexampled radicalism, its enduring consequences, constitute the clearest condemnation of the lying phrases which official Social-Democracy so zealously supplied at the beginning of the war as an ideological cover for German imperialism's campaign of conquest. I refer to the phrases concerning the mission of German bayonets, which were to overthrow Russian Czarism and free its oppressed peoples.

The mighty sweep of the revolution in Russia, the profound results which have transformed all class relationships, raised all social and economic problems, and, with the fatality of their own inner logic, developed consistently from the first phase of the bourgeois republic to ever more advanced stages, finally reducing the fall of Czarism to the status of a mere minor episode—all these things show as plain as day that the freeing of Russia was not an achievement of the war and the military defeat of Czarism, not some service of "German bayonets in German fists," as the *Neue Zeit* under Kautsky's editorship once promised in an editorial. They show, on the contrary, that the freeing of Russia had its roots deep in the soil of its own land and was fully matured internally. The military adventure of German imperialism under the ideological blessing of German Social-Democracy did not bring about the revolution in Russia but only served to interrupt it at first, to postpone it for a while after its first stormy rising tide in the years 1911-13, and then, after its outbreak, created for it the most difficult and abnormal conditions.

Moreover, for every thinking observer, these developments are a decisive refutation of the doctrinaire theory which Kautsky shared with the Government Social-Democrats, according to which Russia, as an economically backward and predominantly agrarian land, was supposed not to be ripe for social revolution and proletarian dictatorship. This theory, which regards only a bourgeois revolution as feasible in Russia, is also the theory of the opportunist wing of the Russian labor movement, of the so-called Mensheviks, under the experienced leadership of Axelrod and Dan. And from this conception follow the tactics of the coalition of the socialists in Russia with bourgeois liberalism. On this basic conception of the Russian Revolution, from which follow automatically their detailed positions on questions of tactics, both the Russian and the German opportunists find themselves in agreement with the German Government Socialists. According to the opinion of all three, the Russian Revolution should have called a halt at the stage which German imperialism in its conduct of the war had set as its noble task, according to the mythology of the German Social-Democracy, i.e., it should have stopped with the overthrow of Czarism. According to this view, if the revolution has gone beyond that point and has set as its task the dictatorship of the proletariat, this is simply a mistake of the radical wing of the Russian labor movement, the Bolsheviks. And all difficulties which the revolution has met with

1 During the war the German Social-Democracy divided into three factions: the majority leadership, which openly supported and entered into the Imperial government, the Kautsky section, which declined responsibility for the conduct of the war but supplied many of the theoretical arguments for those who accepted such responsibility; and the section led by Rosa Luxemburg and Karl Liebknecht, which openly opposed the war and counterposed international solidarity and proletarian revolution to it.

in its further course, and all disorders it has suffered, are pictured as purely a result of this fateful error. Theoretically, this doctrine (recommended as the fruit of "Marxist thinking" by the Vorwarts of Stammer and by Kautsky alike) follows from the original "Marxist" discovery that the socialist revolution is a national and, so to speak, a domestic affair in each modern country taken by itself. Of course, in the blue mists of abstract formulae, a Kautsky knows very well how to trace the world-wide economic connections of capital which make of all modern countries a single integrated organism. The problems of the Russian Revolution, moreover—since it is a product of international developments plus the agrarian question—cannot possibly be solved within the limits of bourgeois society.

Practically, this same doctrine represents an attempt to get rid of any responsibility for the course of the Russian Revolution, so far as that responsibility concerns the international, and especially the German, proletariat, and to deny the international connections of this revolution. It is not Russia's unripe-ness which has been proved by the events of the war and the Russian Revolution, but the unripe-ness of the German proletariat for the fulfillment of its historic tasks. And to make this fully clear is the first task of a critical examination of the Russian Revolution.

The fate of the revolution in Russia depended fully upon international events. That the Bolsheviks have based their policy entirely upon the world proletarian revolution is the clearest proof of their political far-sightedness and firmness of principle and of the bold scope of their policies. In it is visible the mighty advance which capitalist development has made in the last decade. The revolution of 1905-07 roused only a faint echo in Europe. Therefore, it had to remain a mere opening chapter. Continuation and conclusion were tied up with the further development of Europe.

Clearly, not uncritical apologetics but penetrating and thoughtful criticism is alone capable of bringing out the treasures of experiences and teachings. Dealing as we are with the very first experiment in proletarian dictatorship in world history (and one taking place at that under the hardest conceivable conditions, in the midst of the world-wide conflagration and chaos of the imperialist mass slaughter, caught in the coils of the most reactionary military power in Europe, and accompanied by the completest failure on the part of the international working class), it would be a crazy idea to think that every last thing done or left undone in an experiment with the dictatorship of the proletariat under such abnormal conditions represented the very pinnacle of perfection. On the contrary, elementary conceptions of socialist politics and an insight into their historically necessary prerequisites force us to understand that under such fatal conditions even the most gigantic idealism and the most storm-tested revolutionary energy are incapable of realizing democracy and socialism but only distorted attempts at either.

To make this stand out clearly in all its fundamental aspects and consequences is the elementary duty of the socialists of all countries; for only on the background of this bitter knowledge can we measure the enormous magnitude of the responsibility of the international proletariat itself for the fate of the Russian Revolution. Furthermore, it is only on this basis that the decisive importance of the resolute international action of the proletarian revolution can become effective, without which action as its necessary support, even the greatest energy and the greatest sacrifices of the proletariat in a single country must inevitably become tangled in a maze of contradiction and blunders.

(Continued in the next issue)

Members Attack C.P. Trickery on Pact

(Continued from Page 3)
The present war between the English-French Allies and Germany as an imperialist war on both sides, in which "poor Poland" is only an imperialist pawn, like Belgium in 1914, is correct without a shadow of a doubt. Does this mean, then, that the party is returning to the revolutionary line of Lenin and the Bolshevik party?

Unfortunately, no. Now that a break has occurred between the Soviet Union and the "democratic" Allies, the party, too, has ceased to support the idea of a war of the "democracies against fascism" and has labeled their war "imperialist." That is all.

Why is this war imperialist? Here is the party's answer: "Above all, the imperialist character of this war was indelibly stamped on it when the Chamberlain-Daladier gang together with the Polish semi-fascist government rejected military aid of the U.S.S.R.—genuine aid which would not only have saved Poland, but would have put an entirely different character to a war, if war there had to be. . ." (Daily Worker, September 14).

If the Lloyd George faction of the British imperialists, who would like to have used the Red Army as a battering ram against their German enemy, had won out, then the war by England would no longer have been imperialist! A Lloyd George England would have been fighting for justice, democracy and, we suppose, the defense of the Soviet Union—is that what we are supposed to believe? And this refers to the same Lloyd George who was the British Prime Minister during the World War. Does this not substantiate the accusations of those who say that the party does not attempt to analyze the nature of the war, but merely reflects mechanically the shifting alliances of the Soviet Union?

Lenin taught that the modern capitalist powers could fight only imperialist wars, because of the very nature of capitalist society, its state power and its economic interests.

"The age-old British imperialism, whose hands drip with blood" (Daily Worker, September 23), does not become non-imperialist overnight because of the substitution of a Lloyd George for a Chamberlain as the managing director of the British Empire, which is based on military

dictatorship and slavery whether it is run by a Chamberlain or even a "Laborite" Ramsey MacDonald, let alone a Lloyd George.

Finally, while the Communist Party of the U. S. calls this war imperialist, the Communist Parties of both France and England supported this same imperialist war just a few weeks ago!

(Concluded in next issue)

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American Writers, Artists Protest French Arrests

THE League for Cultural Freedom and Socialism has sent the following cablegram to Premier Daladier of France, signed by thirty writers, artists and intellectuals:

"WE PROTEST IMPRISONMENT OF JEAN GIGNO AND OTHER SIGNERS OF ANTI-WAR STATEMENT. SUCH REPRESSIVE MEASURES AGAINST WRITERS AND TRADE UNIONISTS GUILTY ONLY OF EXPRESSING OPINIONS ARE INCOMPATIBLE WITH DEMOCRACY. WE DEMAND RELEASE OF GIGNO AND OTHERS."

This message was signed by:

Newton Arvin, Louise Bogan, Dorothy Dunbar Bromley, V. F. Calverton, John Chamberlain, Babette Deutsch, John Dewey, Max Eastman, James T. Farrell, Balcomb Greene, John Haynes Holmes, Quincy Howe, Suzanne LaFollette, Dwight Macdonald, Mary McCarthy, Ernest L. Meyer, Max Nomad, Kenneth Patchen, Lorine Pruette, Kenneth Rexroth, James Rorty, Paul Rosenfeld, Delmore Schwartz, Benjamin Stolberg, Pavel Tchelichev, Carlo Tresca, Eliseo Vivas, William Carlos Williams, Frances Winwar, Bertram D. Wolfe, League for Cultural Freedom and Socialism.

The facts in the Giono case are as follows:

Shortly after the war began, a group of thirty French intellectuals and trade-union leaders issued, over their signatures, a pamphlet denouncing the war. Among the signers were Jean Giono, author of Harvest, the novel on which the prize-winning French film is based; Alain, author of Les Propos d'Alain, Le Citoyen, Contre les Pouvoirs, and other books; Marceau Pivert, secretary of the Workers and Peasants Socialist Party (P.S.O.P.); Vigne, secretary of the Miners Union; Georges Yvetot, former secretary of the C.G.T.; Lecoin, secretary of the "Solidarite Internationale Anti-Fasciste" group; Robert Luzon, editor of La Revolution Proletarienne; and Victor Marguerite, the well-known poet and critic.

General Hering, the military governor of Paris, at once invoked the decree law of September 1, 1939 against the signers of this statement. This law forbids "all manifestations that might exercise an unfortunate influence on the morale of the army and the population." Giono was arrested on September 16 and since then has been confined in the municipal prison of Digne, Basses-Alpes. Lecoin has also been arrested and is now imprisoned at Angers. We do not know how many of the other signers have by now been found and put in prison.

Teachers Face Grave Duties in War-Time

Must Take Lead to Counteract War Hysteria

By GEORGE S. COUNTS

(These paragraphs are from an article by George S. Counts, president of the American Federation of Teachers, in the October 1939 issue of the American Teacher, official publication of the AFT—Editor)

AS OUR Federation begins its twenty-fourth year, we live in fear of a second world war. The press, the radio, our conversation and our thoughts are filled with the bitter and tragic struggle now unfolding in the Old World. Yet, even the Poland has been destroyed by overwhelming German might, even the Soviet armies have shared in this conquest and even the Britain and France have declared war upon the Third Reich, the issue of war and peace among the great powers is still undecided. The developments in the chancelleries of Europe and Asia remain far more important than the events of the battlefield. But, if the clash of armies should cease altogether, the resulting condition would scarcely be one of peace. That the present rulers of the world are capable or desirous of laying the foundations of international justice and order seems highly doubtful. We may, therefore, assume that during the coming year the struggle abroad will continue to cast its dark shadow over our lives.

RESPONSIBILITY OF TEACHERS

We in the American Federation of Teachers are American citizens. Being jealous of our civic rights we shall, like other citizens, think, feel and act according to the dictates of conscience. Also we are teachers. And as teachers, charged with the heavy responsibility of rearing the young in the ways of democracy, we are under obligation to be sensitive above others to the fate of our hard-won heritage of popular justice and freedom. Finally, we are members of a great fellowship which, being fully and frankly dedicated to the defense and advancement of democracy, is recruited inevitably from the most progressive ranks of the profession. All of these considerations make certain among us a deep concern over the course of international events.

But there is a danger to the Federation here. We might easily dissipate our energies over the immediate issues of the world struggle. Thru absorption in the controversies already raging and of others certain to come, we might find ourselves so hopelessly and bitterly divided that our work in the field of our special responsibility would be rendered ineffective. This responsibility is at least threefold: first, we must defend and improve public education; second, we must keep our minds focussed on the domestic tasks and problems of our democracy; and third, we must strive to keep the "lamps of reason" burning in the world and to prepare for the peace that is to come after the cannon have ceased their firing and the war planes have returned to their hangars.

DEFENSE OF PUBLIC EDUCATION

Our first responsibility is to defend and improve public education. Regardless of wars and rumors of wars, children come into the world and grow to maturity. The welfare of our society requires that these children be not neglected, that they receive the finest care we can give them, that they be prepared as fully

as possible to discharge the increasingly arduous duties of citizenship. We must therefore resist with all our power every effort to mutilate the educational budget, every effort to close the doors of the school, to rob children of their cultural birthright, to reduce either the physical or the spiritual stature of our people. With equal determination we must resist every attempt on the part of reactionary or unenlightened forces to close the doors of the school intellectually, to regiment the minds of teachers and children, to introduce the spirit and methods of totalitarianism into American public education. More than that, we must devote ourselves earnestly and without ceasing to the improvement of the curriculum, the methods of instruction and the patterns of administration employed in our schools. We must take with utter seriousness and apply with greatest wisdom our traditional slogan: Democracy in Education—Education for Democracy.

PEACE MEANS SOCIAL REFORM

Our second responsibility is to keep our minds focussed on the domestic tasks and problems of our democracy. We know that the rise of dictatorships in the contemporary world and the overthrow of free institutions are directly traceable to the injustices of the social order, the bitter frustration of individuals and classes, the fears and anxieties generated by widespread insecurity, uncertainty and misery. Certainly a major threat to our democracy today is that the attention of our people will be entirely deflected from the domestic to the international situation, from economic reform at home to the waging of war abroad. If this should actually occur, we would find ourselves at the end of the struggle confronted with the current problems in a more advanced and dangerous stage. No people in the world as yet has mastered the forces and factors released by the advance of science and technology. And no people will be at peace with itself and with others until it has done so. We must endeavor to keep this task perpetually before the minds of our citizens.

OUR HERITAGE ON REASON

Our third responsibility is to guard the great heritage of reason and to prepare for the peace. If the present war becomes full-blown, it will generate in all probability a spirit of hatred and savagery more intense and uncompromising than that developed in the last war. Yet, if such a spirit should dominate the peace, mankind would be preparing the way for a yet more terrifying and debasing catastrophe for a later generation. Because of our detachment from the Old World, because of our descent from the various peoples engaged in the conflict, and because of our peculiar identification historically with the liberal and humane traditions of Western Europe, we would seem to be especially fitted to bring both reason and good will to bear upon the problem of shaping the peace. Particularly should we of the Federation strive thru our own organs and thru all the agencies of public enlightenment in America to prepare the way for a just and generous settlement. If we cannot bring justice into the world, we shall ourselves become either the victims or the agents of injustice.