Coming: What's Happened to the **Russian Revolution?**

By Jay Lovestone

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STALIN IMPERIALISM DESTROYS GAINS OF REVOLUTION . . . by Will Herberg

LOCAL 22 PROGRESSIVES CONSOLI-DATE RANKS . . . page 2.

NEW YORK, N. Y., SATURDAY, JANUARY 13, 1940.

War Diplomacy in the Name of Peace

THE most dangerous moves in foreign policy are sometimes those that have the greatest apperance of innocence, those that seem to be hardly matters of politics at all but rather gestures of good-will and benevolence. A case in point, and one that vitally affects every American, is President Roosevelt's recent "peace" message to the Pope, followed up by his appointment of Myron C. Taylor as ambassador-without-portfolio on a mission to the Vatican.

On the surface, it all seems a noble gesture. The Pope is constantly praying and pleading for peace. What more natural than that the equally peace-loving President Roosevelt should establish close contact with the 'spiritual power" at Rome so as to join hands on behalf of mankind? Who could presume to cavil at such an effort? And, indeed, the President's actions have met with almost universal applause thruout the

Nevertheless, we believe that President Roosevelt's diplomatic approach to the Vatican is full of danger to the peace and welfare of the gular session. It is bound to be a ses-American people. For in this connection, the Vatican is not merely or sion in which foreign policy will primarily a spiritual force; it is a center of dark international diplomatic dominate all other issues. The actions intrigue with aims and purposes that are far from spiritual. A great deal of this Congress will go a long of light on these aims and purposes is cast by Robert S. Allen and Drew Pearson, informed Washington correspondents, in their "Washington-Merry-Go-Round" column of December 29, 1939:

"Certain powerful forces both in Germany and England would not be at all averse to patching up their own row and encouraging a politicoreligious war against Soviet Russia. This would meet with the very decided approval of Italy. And there are potent people in the U. S. State Department also who would welcome such a move. Whether the Myron Taylor mission to Rome, just initiated by Roosevelt, will take this turn remains to be seen-but it mav.

In short, the Vatican is working night and day to bring about a transformation of the present war into a joint assault on Soviet Russia as a "holy war" of Civilization and Religion against Barbarism and Atheism. And President Roosevelt's sudden resumption of direct diplomatic relations with the Vatican creates more than a suspicion that this precious scheme falls in line with his own plans and that he is already maneuvering to get the United States involved in this new adventure.

We have no sympathy whatever for the bloody Stalin dictatorship holding the millions of Russian people in its iron grip, and we detest and execrate the new Stalin imperialism, most recently exemplified in the invasion of Finland. But that does not mean that we want the United States involved in a war against Russia, any more than our execration He intends to go to bat again on this of Hitlerism and all it stands for means that we want this country to join the Allies against Germany. We do not believe that American bayonets can bring freedom to the Russians any more than Russian bayonets can bring socialism to the Finns. And we are quite certain that our involvement in war, whether against Germany or Russia, would bring down upon us an endless host of disasters, among which military dictatorship and jingo hysteria would be the first.

Keep America out of war still remains the guiding principle for everyone who has the best interests of the American people at heart. And it is from this standpoint that we issue a strong word of warning against the latest diplomatic maneuvers of the Administration.

Supreme Court Upholds Powers of Labor Board

Unanimous Ruling Limits Right of **Review by Courts**

Washington, D. C.

The United States Supreme Court unanimously upheld broad powers claimed by the National Labor Relations Board in a series of three important decisions rendered last week. federal court of appeals did not have the right to pass on the Board's certification of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Harry Bridges, as the exclusive collective-bargaining agency for all Pacific Coast longshoremen.

This opinion, a defeat for the A. F. of L., sustained a decision by the tleboro, Mass., to disestablish an em-United States Court of Appeals for ployees association, which the A. F. the District of Columbia that it could of L. charged was company-dominot review the Board's action in nated. lumping all West Coast longshoremen into one voting unit.

The A. F. of L. contended that the longshoremen of each individual employer should be permitted to determine their collective-bargaining rep-

But, while upholding the Board's order certifying the C.I.O. longshoremen as within the power of the Board under the law, the Supreme the 400 Swank Company employees Court's opinion remarked that "the had formed their own labor union effect of the certification" was that because they preferred it to either "in the case of some particular em- the A. F. of L. or the C.I.O. The ployers, their workers who are not Swank Products Employees Associaorganized or represented by the tion was formed in 1937. C.I.O. affiliate have been deprived of opportunity to secure bargaining lations Act)," Judge Biddle wrote representatives of their own choice." This effect, the opinion noted, was or so-called 'company' unions, ex-

The longshoremen's question was employer." one of the major clashes between the A. F. of L. and the C.I.O.

representation without interference by the federal circuit courts.

One of the decisions sustained a Board order placing the name of only one labor organization (a C.I.O. affiliate) on a ballot for a run-off election to determine the collectivebargaining representation for employees of the Consumers Power other sustained a Board order directing the complete disestablish-

(Continued on Page 3)

s a Congress that should be carefully watched by the great masses of people who desire to keep America out of war. There are four points on which you will want either to be watchful

THE WAR REFERENDUM

Representative Ludlow of Indiana. whose referendum resolution was prevented even from reaching the floor of the House for discussion two years ago by Administration steamroller tactics, in spite of a discharge petition carrying the signatures of 218 members who, when they signed, wanted the measure discussed has again filed a discharge petition. issue, as do other members. An identical measure was introduced last year in the Senate by Senator La Follette, where it is still pending.

Peace Issues

Loom Big in

Ludlow Amendment, War

Profits and Arms Expendi-

Washington, D. C.

tures Among Problems

As this is being written, Congress

is about to convene for its re-

this country will or will not become

involved in the European conflict. It

-and ready for action, or to take

action no matter what the program

announced when Congress opens.

Congress

The existence of the war in Europe is not an argument against the referendum but rather a strong argument for its urgency, for the danger of involvement in a foreign var is greater than ever.

In the last three years, the battle n Congress for war-profits legislation has resolved itself into a tug-ofwar between those who, on the one hand, would enact a law which, under the guise of taking the profits out of war, would really be legislation for key sections of the Industrial Mobilization Plan, and those who, on the other hand, really want a drastic tax schedule which will make exorbitant profits impossible.

The McSwain bill, the Hill-Sheppard bill, the May-Sheppard bill-all were spurious war-profits measures. the profits out of war but with getting ready for that "next war."

above \$1,000 (with a personal exemption of \$500, plus \$500 for a spouse, plus \$100 for each dependent), to a 93% tax on incomes above \$20,000. Corporation taxes would vary from 15% on net incomes not in excess of 2% of the declared value of the corporation, to on the entire Winter campaign. 100% of net income over 6% of the

value of the corporation. A continuous barrage of questions to Congressmen and Senators urging the adoption of a real war-profits measure, if widespread enough, may force its consideration at the 1940

ARMAMENT EXPENDITURES

The President has announced that he will ask for an authorization of \$2,250,000,000 for the army and the navy, an increase of \$500,000.000 over this year. (Already, it is reported, the War and Navy Departments are engaged in a tug-of-war for the major portion of that \$500,-000,000.) If the President wants it, he will probably get it. Every man, woman and child in the United States is to be assessed nearly \$1.50 a month for "defense" against Hit-

But every additional dollar that goes into our steadily expanding war structure means a dollar less spent on relieving distress, on constructive projects that are needed some value in return. Every addithe military machine that, when completed and put to use, will ride rough-shod over our democracy.

It is ironic that all the construc-Roosevelt Administration are threatments he has fostered.

So far, the most serious threats to our neutrality have come from shipcause it was started by supervisory ping interests. The clamor of public The circuit decision was regarded jected transfer of several United Company of Jackson, Mich. The in A. F. of L. and C.I.O. circles as States Lines ships to Panamanian Evidently, Mr. de Valera and his ed, first in Poland, now in Finland. a very serious blow to the effective- registry was abandoned. The Journal ness of the Wagner Act. Hope was of Commerce reports that "scarcity ment of an "independent" union of expressed that the Supreme Court of ocean freight space to virtually (Continued on Page 2)

AS CONGRESS CONVENES

FDR Calls for Big Rise in Arms Budget



But Proposes Slashes in WPA, Housing; Navy Asks War Power for President

preparations for war were the kevnote of the annual message on the "state of the Union" delivered by President Roosevelt to Congress last | the week at the opening of the new session. It was a message that, despite the President's own disclaimer in the opening paragraphs, concentrated high arms appropriations and to alvery largely on foreign affairs to the almost total neglect of vital domestic problems.

The President was most emphatic on the need for still greater arms expenditures for the coming year. Congress would be asked, Mr. Roosevelt indicated, "to levy sufficient additional taxes to meet the emergency spending for national de-

In contrast to the heavy increase of arms expenditures, there would be slashes in all other forms of spending, the President said. In the 1941 fall to the lowest level in New Deal budget, he stressed, "practically all other important items show a reduction." Unemployment relief, W.P.A. public works and housing would be among the fields of federal spending

Washington, D. C. I that would be drastically curtailed in

"National unity" and large-scale order to make possible the new super-armaments program. The Presidential message included a strong plea for the continuance of

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Administration's reciprocal trade-agreements policy. Obviously in order to counteract the effect of his request for skylay wide popular anxiety at the trend of his foreign policy, President Roosevelt devoted a considerable

Here's the New F.D.R. Budget

Washington, D. C. Military and naval expenditures

will reach an all-time high for days of peace and relief expenditures will history during the next fiscal year, according to the 1941 federal budget submitted to Congress by the President last week.

Total appropriations for 1941, according to this "economy" budget, will amount to \$8,424,000,000, altho the President suggested that some upward revision might prove necessary. The figure for the current fiscal year, which ends June 30, 1940, about \$9,000,000,000.

Public works, relief, farm aid, and other regular governmental functions for the coming fiscal year were reduced in cost to approximately a billion below the estimate for the current year. On the other hand, arms expenditures were increased by at least half a billion dollars over this year.

The President asked for direct In a momentous meeting of the military appropriations amounting Committee last week, the to \$1,839 000,000 and quasi-military American Labor Party administered appropriations of \$497,000,000 more —making a total of \$2,336,000,000, or more than one dollar in every the Stalinists in its ranks and took four proposed for federal spending organizational measures to protect in the next fiscal year. In the curthe party from Stalinist machina- rent year, military-naval expenditures will probably amount to \$1,734,000,000

No peace-time precedent exists for the huge arms expenditure pro-

Informed sources said that the \$2,300,000,000 figure would probabof neutrality. This resolution was ly turn out to be an underestimation; actual military expenditures, it was expected, would reach \$2,750,-000,000 or perhaps even \$3,000,000,lowed upon the condemnation of the 000. A fund of such magnitude will Hitler-Stalin alliance voiced by the be needed, it was pointed out, to finance the Administration program (Continued on Page 4)

Denounces Russian Attack Big Primary Battle New York City.

nother smashing political defeat to tions in the future.

Doubtless impressed by these deflank there. It was even rumored debacle in Finland, Rumania adopt- resolution condemning Soviet Rusthat Britain had given definite ed a new tone towards Moscow last sia for the invasion of Finland, guarantees to Sweden against Ger-week. Whereas only recently Bespraising the Finns for their heroic praising the Finns for their heroic sarabia had been virtually evacuated sarabia had been virtually evacuate of military forces and left for the defense, and endorsing proposals for Russians to take, last week King material aid to Finland so far as

week, the eighteenth week of the general war in Europe was not military but political. It was the sudden The Bone bill proposes steeply by Russia; Premier Molotov made it shake-up of the Chamberlain cabinet graded taxes on individual incomes the subject of a "warning" during in Great Britain and the dropping ranging from a 6% tax on incomes a discussion with London's departing of Leslie Hore-Belisha as War Secretary, replaced by Oliver Stanley. Finland suffered new reverses last in which he had made many farreaching reforms, was generally asthat a conflict of attitude on a be involved. At any rate, the British press clamored for an explanation and stressed the view that Mr. Hore-Belisha was the victim of burocratic and social cliques dominant in army circles. A strong element of anti-Semitism (Hore-Belisha is a Jew) was said to enter into the situation.

The week was marked by no important change in the military deadlock that has continued since the end peal for German help. The Nazi pro- of the Polish Blitzkrieg. And there paganda apparatus was already busy was little prospect that any such preparing the German people for change would come in the near this. In return, it was said, Ger- future. Indeed, the official Nazi news agency in Berlin issued a statement last week that Germans could "expect only inaction on the western

> From the way events have been shaping up so far, the general course of the war seems to be developing

> The war actually began long before the official outbreak in September. It began in a series of apparently isolated and sporadic conflicts on the periphery-Ethiopia, Spain, the

center and soon settled down to a positional deadlock on the western front, accompanied by more mobile naval and acrial activity. As it stands today, the war at

is largely economic and diplomatic The repressive measure was adopt- Perhaps this phase is preparatory to war, but this is by no means certain. Meanwhile, the separate, isolated

—the Balkans, Turkey, even Asia—floor. after which he will sum up. criticism of the President's policies, seem indicated for the immediate Dr. John Haynes Holmes will preside domestic and foreign, and thus to

A.L.P. Girds For Fight on **Stalinists**

On Finland, Prepares for

The political decision came over a adopted by a vote of 321 to 61.

The stand taken on Finland fol-A.L.P. last October. It was after that action was taken that the Stalinists launched their attack on

Friction with the chiefs of the army, party, reported in detail on the on the "isolationists." The Adminisefforts of the Communist Party tration, he insisted, had a "clean and its allies and "fellow-travelers" record of peace and good-will" in signed as the main cause of Hore- to capture the A.L.P. He called foreign affairs, and a right to share Belisha's downfall, together with special attention to the April pri- the label "peace block" or "peace serious enough to have their effect differences on current military maries, at which, he stressed, the party." He scathingly criticized those policy, altho there was a strong hint Stalinists would make their decisive push. Mr. Rose's report was do is to mind our own business and possible peace with Germany might adopted by an overwhelming vote.

bring representation in party councils more evenly in line with actual party strength, and deprive the Stalinists of some of the fictitious strength they had hitherto had, especially in Manhattan. Henceforth, the State Committee will be made up of five members from each Assembly district instead of twenty at present. The changes adopted point out that the President's policy, would also permit voting by proxy at State Committee meetings and the fixing of delegate representations at state, judicial and national conventions.

An attempt of the Stalinists to prevent the holding of the State Committee meeting by a court injunction failed.

"The coming primary fight," Mr. Rose declared in conclusion, "will not be a fight between factions within the party but between the American Labor Party itself and the Communist Party, which has instructed its members to enroll in the A.L.P. and to work to destroy

Lovestone Speaks On Revolution In Russia

New York City. Jay Lovestone will speak at the Community Church Forum, 550 West 110 Street, Sunday night, January 14, at 8 o'clock. The subject of his talk will be "What Has Happened to country in a war mood where it the Russian Revolution?". His presentation will be followed by an hour of a hat," as the President once put of questions and discussion from the it, but also to stifle opposition and floor. after which he will sum up. criticism of the President's policies.

part of his message to a justifica-Alex Rose, state secretary of the | tion of his own course and an attack keep the nation out of war"; that The State Committee also changed was "oversimplifying" the issue, he some of the party rules in order to said, likening its advocates to "ostriches." He repeated his "hope and expectation" that "the United States will not become involved in military participation in the war." but went on to advocate diplomatic and economic participation—in other words, the familiar "measures short of war." now directed towards "encouraging" the "right kind" of peace. from each Congressional district as Anti-war spokesmen were quick to whatever his intentions, involved a dangerous contradiction, for diplomatic and economic participation in favor of one side in the European war could not be long continued without inevitably culminating in military participation. Thus, "measures short of war" were bound to lead directly to war. As if to underline the real mean-

ing of the President's policy behind all the fine phrases about peace, Secretary of the Navy Edison, one day after his appointment last week, called upon Congress to grant immediate war-time powers to President Roosevelt so as to enable him to commandeer factories, materials, ships and other resources. Secretary Edison's request was essentially a proposal to enact into law immediately important sections of the Industrial Mobilization Plan, hitherto reserved for enactment on M-Day. the day of the declaration of war.

Thruout the entire address, President Roosevelt laid the greatest stress on the need for "national unity" in this crisis of world affairs. Thru such appeals, Administration leaders hoped not only to get the would be ready to "fight at the drop

(Continued on Page 4)

Circuit Court Sets Aside Board Order

Philadelphia, Pa. "Independent" or company unions, provided they are not under employer domination, are as legal

and valid under the Wagner Act as the bona-fide labor organiza-In the first of these, it ruled that a tions, the Third Federal Circuit Court of Appeals ruled last week in a decision upsetting an order of the National Labor Relations Board. The decision was given in an opinion Union, a C.I.O. affiliate headed by by Judge Francis Biddle, former chairman of the N.L.R.B.

> The court set aside an order di recting the Swank Products Company, jewelry manufacturers of At-

Concurring with Judge Biddle were Judges Albert B. Maris and John Biggs, Jr. All are appointees of President Roosevelt.

The Second Circuit Court of Appeals, sitting in New York, handed lown a similar decision several weeks ago.

Judge Biddle asserted that the evidence in the case showed clearly that

"The act (the National Labor Re "does not purport to prohibit plant the one charged by the A. F. of L. | cept where they are linked with the

The National Labor Relations Board had sustained a complaint In two other decisions, the court of Local 18 of the International also unheld the contention of the Jewelry Workers Union, an A. F. of National Labor Relations Board that L. affiliate, that the employees it had the power to direct elections association was a "stooge" for the to determine collective-bargaining company because Thomas Stevenson, a foreman and production superintendent, was the moving figure in its organization.

The federal court refused to accept the Board's findings that the company union was illegitimate beemployees.

would eventually overturn it.

War Danger Looms Over Scandinavia Germany and Russia "Warn" Sweden;

Molotov Plans Trip to Berlin for Aid

The extension of the war to position continued to grow worse. In Scandinavia loomed as an imminent Italy, authoritative spokesmen re danger last week as both Britain peated their warnings against Rusand Germany made moves directed One of the results of the conference at strengthening their position in at Venice between Italian Foreign that region. In both London and Minister Ciano and Hungarian For-Berlin it was stressed that the de- eign Minister Csaky was said to be velopments in Finland were to be a mutual-assistance pact, with miliregarded as part of the general war. tary provisions, aimed against Russia. Allied quarters indicated that they were ready to fight to protect their velopments and by the Russian man, and perhaps also Russian, attack. The Swedish government with its strict neutrality but it was

widely credited in informed quarters. In Germany, the controlled press On Company Union Many of the supporters of these bills intensified its warnings to Sweden have been perfectly sincere but their and Norway, declaring that they intensified its warnings to Sweden chief concern was not with taking "risked becoming battlefields" if they allowed Allied aid to reach Finland. The same line was, of course, taken

> ambassador. Meanwhile, the Russian forces in week, the fifth week of the invasion. The extent of these setbacks was not

Last week's developments made it clear that a measure of "practical collaboration" was developing between Germany and Russia in the Finnish situation. This collaboration was reported as passing beyond the diplomatic phase. According to wellinformed quarters, Russian Premier-Foreign Minister Molotov was scheduled to visit Berlin in the near future to join in consultations, which, judging from German comments, would involve a Russian apmany would be able to draw on Russian economic resources.

Despite more outspoken German solidarity, Russia's international

Irish Dail Votes Concentration Camps for I.R.A.

Dublin, Ireland. Premier Eamon de Valera's Speand from which the people would get cial Powers bill designed to combat Far East. the outlawed Irish Republican Army tional dollar means another brick in was passed by Dail last week by a September, the war moved to the vote of 82 to 9. The bill gives the government power to arrest, imprison and interne indefinitely and without trial any person "whose libtive social achievements of the erty may be a menace to the public safety." Concentration camps, it was the center-that is, the war directly ened by the Frankenstein of arma- said, would be established as places between the Allies and Germany-

ed after government spokesmen had a later stage of large totalitarian pictured the I.R.A. as a "highly orprotest was so strong that the pro- ganized outlaw band with a war chest full of United States dollars." colleagues had forgotten the time when they, too, had led an "outlaw" movement well-financed with "United States dollars."

denied this report as inconsistent Carol delivered a public address consistent with the American policy warning the Moscow government that his country would resist any violation of its borders, particularly any invasion of Bessarabia. The main development of last

sian "intereference" in the Balkans

front.'

along the following lines:

With the official declarations last

wars at the periphery have continu-Further clashes at the periphery C.I.O. Out Against

Revision of State

New York City

NQUALIFIED opposition to any
amendments to the State V

Relations Act was expressed last

The position taken by the CIO

inions in their legislative program

for 1940 was diametrically opposed

to that of the State Federation of

Labor, the A. F. of L body, which

recently announced its intention of

seeking to limit the powers vested in

The C I.O. group urged the Legis-

lature to pass a bill prohibiting state

loans, grants or contract to violators

of the federal or state labor-rela-

the rights of organization of govern-

ment employees and providing for

tions was another point in the CIO

The Industrial Union Council ad-

ments" be abolished as a condition

from 40% to 60% and to make pro-

Restoration of full state aid for

Act. If one is unfair or one-sided, the

other is equally unfair and one-sided

If we consider it one-sided to have

a law confined to dealing with labor's

is more one-sided than the Wagne

Act, for it prohibits employers from

petitioning for elections among em-

ployees. Indeed, it excludes them

even from being parties to represen-

tation disputes among employees

The Wagner Act is more lenient in

this respect The National Labor Re-

representation cases before the

Board, and it is permissible for the

Board to accept petitions from em-

ployers for employee elections If

Congress is to amend the Wagner

Act, so as to relax or to abolish any

of the protection it affords to em-

ployees, then it will have to adopt

Labor Act, and perhaps also modify

the declared policy in the Norris-La

As I had occasion to state to the

Senate Committee on Education and

laws—Norris-LaGuardia Act, Rail-

way Labor Act, and National Labor

Relations Act—are not disconnected

statutes They are related, built one

upon another, and together they con-

stitute one solid structure of Con-

gressional policy for the protection

of legal and property rights of em-

will also have to be changed, and the

declaration of the public labor policy

of the United States contained in the

Norris-LaGuardia Act will have to

I think it would be a very serious

error if Congress were to change its

declared labor-relations policy and

Guardia Act.

be modified.

from the C I.O

the State Labor Relations Board.

the C.I.O unions in this state

amendments to the State Labor

New York City

"Wagner Act"

Local 22 Progressives Program of **Consolidate Ranks**

Call to Reestablish Group in Dress Union

(We publish below an appeal issued the constructive, progressive ele-last week by the Dressmakers Progres- ments in our Local to reestablish the sive Group of Local 22, ILGW U-

New York City TN accordance with the constitu-L tion of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union, which permits the formation of groups in locals three months before elections, we issue this call for the reestablishment of the Dressmakers Progressive Group of Local 22 I.L G.W.U.

RECORD OF **PROGRESSIVES**

It is surely unnecessary to remind the dressmakers of what the Progressive Group is and what it stands for. Its record thru the of constructive achievement on behalf of our union and its membership. Way back in the dark days before 1933, in the face of incredible OF SERVICE difficulties, it was the progressive movement which preached loyalty to the union. It was the progressive movement which constantly urged militancy and watchfulness in taking advantage of every opportunity to improve the conditions of the workers. During and after the great general strike, the progressives stood in the forefront in helping to build up a powerful organization, in raising and maintaining standards in the shops, in bringing to an end the disastrous condition of dual unionism among the dressmakers. Every constructive advance on the part of the union, every forward move in union policy and organization, found a stalwart champion in the progressive movement.

ACHIEVEMENTS OF ADMINISTRATION

The administration of our Local, headed by Brother Zimmerman, has made an earnest and effective effort to carry these progressive principles into practise. In a period of widespread unemployment and economic distress, particularly severe in our industry, it has rallied the dressmakers in a militant fight to hold on the Board This statement, with slight to their gains and beat back the efforts of the employers to undermine eral articles of which the following is conditions. It has played an outstanding part in the life of the Inter- subsequent issues of this paper -Ed) national and as a progressive force in the general labor movement. It has always been the staunch champion of unity in our ranks. Thru great effort, it succeeded in establishing such unity and in maintaining it as long as possible, until political upheavals outside our ranks, over which we have no control, arose and interfered. The record of the ployers enjoy in their manufacturers the corporate and other forms of ployees" Extension of the labor act creased appropriations for the S.L. progressive movement, as expressed associations, chambers of commerce, ownership association, the individual to employees of non-profit organizain the program and achievements of our administration, is one that we believe every dressmaker will approve and support.

BIG TASKS

But our work is not over by any means; it has only just begun. Economic conditions in our industry are at present very bad and the pressure of the employers is growing more ed in any important respect. intense. Many of the jobbers are trying to run away from New York and get their production done outside under sub-standard, open-shop conditions, thus undermining standards all around. The big task before us is that made it necessary for Congress to bring these jobbers back into line not to permit any open-shop centers to be established anywhere. In various parts of the country, furthermore, large cotton shops are beginning to produce regular dresses, in destructive, unfair competition with the dress industry. This must be stopped. Today more than ever, the only reliance of the dressmakers is their own organized might, a powerful, militant and vigilant union. Today more than ever is the progressive spirit needed to build up the strength and effectiveness of our union in protection of our interests. Today more than ever must the dressmakers rally around the Progressive Group to prevent any elements from bringing confusion and dissension into our ranks.

That is why we issue this call to

(Continued from page 1)

all ports of Europe is creating a

critical situation among Texas cot-

ton exporters." At the same time,

there is "an excellent demand for

spot cotton among Texas shippers."

Ocean freight rates are advancing.

The pressure to loosen the shipping

restrictions in the neutrality law can

The expected war boom has not

yet become a serious reality. After

a temporary increase in September

in the placing of war orders, foreign

buying here has subsided. But indus-

try is still hopeful. The Annalist,

well-known commercial publication, in one place points out that "the war

in Europe appears to be on the verge

of becoming active." In another, it

says: "That the Allies can expect

military operations on a large scale

and at the same time refrain from

be expected only to increase.

Peace Issues Loom Big as

Congress Session Opens

Dressmakers Progressive Group. Now is the time to mobilize all forces in our Local in order:

1. To meet the serious economic problems that confront us at this time and that require the maximum unity and vigilance if they are to be effectively met.

2. To protect the unity of our Local against outside political domination and disruption

3. To maintain sound, constructive and democratic policies in the ad-

ministration of our Local. 4 To play an effective role in the general labor movement as a force for progressivism. The year 1940 will prove a very decisive one for labor, doubly important for us because a convention of the Internayears speaks for itself. It is a record tional will take place next May at which many vital issues will arise.

NEW PERIOD

Dressmakers! The Progressive Group has done much in the past for confront us at the present time. We the welfare of our union and the call upon all those who have been workers in our industry. It has es- members of the Progressive Group tablished a record of which every- in the past, upon all those who agree one may well be proud. The past with its principles, upon all those accomplishments of our administra- who support the progressive admintion were possible only because of istration of our Local, to join with the loyal and undivided support of us in reestablishing the Progressive the progressives in our union. But Group and preparing it for a new even greater opportunities of con- period of responsible, useful service structive service lie ahead in rally- in the interests of the dressmakers

Progressive **Dressmakers**

(The seven points listed below con stitute the general programmatic aims of the Dressmakers Progressive Group of Local 22, ILGWU, as given on ats official card of affiliation -Editor

1. For a policy of constructive militancy and vigilance in maintaining and improving the economic conditions of the dressmakers.

2. For democracy in our union and the labor movement. 3. For economical, efficient admin-

4. For unity in the ranks of our

5. Against all attempts to sow dissension or disunion in our ranks in the interests of outside political organızations. Agaınst outside political control and domination of the affairs of our union

6. For unity in the labor movement. For the immediate reunification of the A. F. of L. and C.I.O. 7. For independent labor political

ing all sincere, progressive elements in our Local to meet with united effort the many grave problems that

Wagner Act Fills Vital Need of American Labor

Leiserson Opposes Major Amendment

By WM. M. LEISERSON

(On December 11, 1939, William M Leiserson, member of the National Labor Relations Board, presented to the Smith Committee investigating the NLRB an important statement on the Wagner Act and the functioning of omissions, we have broken up into sevhe first The other articles will appear in

Washington, D. C. THE National Labor Relations Act is a simple law, designed to accomplish a simple purpose. It is intended to afford to employees the same right of human association, the same freedom to associate with their fellows for common benefit that emand trade associations

is a good law. We shall be proud of labor, and thereby to obtain acceptit in the future, just as we now are able terms and conditions of employsory education, and workmen's compensation acts, all of which were vigorously denounced when they were first advocated and when the first steps were being taken to put them into practical effect. I do not think that the act needs to be amend-

WHY THE LAW IS NECESSARY

It is indeed regrettable that we should ever have reached a condition to enact the National Labor Relations Act. Most of the great industrial nations of the world do not have any statutes of this kind. The reason is, apparently, that in those countries, it did not occur to the great body of employers that they had the right to deny to their employees the freedom of organization

which they claimed for themselves In this country, however, employers who enjoyed the right of associated activity took it upon themselves to restrain and to interfere with any similar activities on the part of their employees; they felt it was a management prerogative to destroy their employees organizations. They even appealed to the courts to protect what they thought was their constitutional right to restrain organizational activities of their employ-

purchasing all the war material pos-

After Congress convenes, pressure

for loosening of provisions of the

existing neutrality law can be ex-

pected. Inadequate as the present

law is, any loosening of the safe-

guards it does set up means a step

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sible hardly seems sensible."

in the direction of war.

ees, so that it was necessary for Chief Justice Hughes in the Texas week by the New York State Indusand New Orleans case to pronounce trial Union Council, representing that employers had no constitutional right to interfere with the right of employees to have organizations represent them in dealing with manazement

This decision was made in 1930, and it upheld the constitutionality of the Railway Labor Act of 1926. Two years later, Congress found it necessary to declare the public policy of the United States with respect to organization rights of employees It did this in the following

"Whereas, under prevailing economic conditions, developed with the aid of governmental authority for unorganized worker is commonly I think the Labor Relations Act helpless to exercise his freedom of program. fellows, it is necessary that he have ent state-wide average is under \$30 ganization and designation of repre- from any benefits. The CI.O. counsentatives of his own choosing, to cil called for further liberalization negotiate the terms and conditions of the relief program for the aged of his employment, and that he shall by suggesting that "pauper requirebe free from the interference, restraint or coercion of employers of la- for aid. ber or their agents, in the designation of such representatives or in self-organization or in other concerted activities for the purpose of collective bargaining or other mutual aid or protection . . .

It is to be noted that this declaration was adopted before there was any New Deal Administration, and that its wording was later incorporated in the National Labor Relations Act

But the Norris-LaGuardia Act was primarily concerned with prac- rights only, then the Railway Act tises of labor organizations, not with practises by employers. The courts had developed a body of law to restrain improper concerted activities by employees and union leaders which they enforced by injunctions Many union people have gone to jail for improper conduct under this law, and whatever may be our opinion of lations Board makes them parties to the Wagner Act, it is well to remember that no employer has yet gone to jail for violating it, altho many have been guilty of violations. I mention this here because of the charges that are frequently made that the Wagner Act is one-sided and does not protect the employer There is plenty of law dealing with unfair practises by labor organizations. But in enforcing this law by the injunction process, the courts had developed policies and procedures which Congress saw fit to modify and clarify. It did not, however, take away the right of the courts to restrain improper conduct by labor organiza-

IMPLEMENTING

LABOR'S RIGHTS Altho the Norris-LaGuardia Act declared the rights of employees to be free from interference and restraint in their organizational activities, it did not implement any administrative machinery by which workers rights might be protected against trespass by their employers. This Congress undertook in 1934 when it amended the Railway Labor Act of 1926 to afford a full measure of protection to railroad employees. A year later the Wagner Act was adopted extending the same protection to employees in other interstate industries.

Everything that is prohibited to back to the days when labor law was employers by the Wagner Act also class legislation in favor of employis prohibited by the Railway labor ers only.

Labor to Fight for Relief Reforms

THE five DuQoin boys, whose release from prison has been requested by a joint A. F. of L.-

union struggle. Left to right: Olis Battaglia, Sam Ferro, Robert Shingleton, Emery Albers, Barney

New York Labor Advances

Broad Legislative Program

C.I.O. committee. They were convicted in 1933 on charges growing out of the Illinois mine-

THE FIVE DU QUOIN BOYS

66 A N early disturbance in Congress promises to develop from organized labor's effort to eliminate from the W.P.A. act the provision inserted last Summer establishing the 'security wage' and requiring all workers to labor 130 hours a month to attain that wage. Both A. F. of L. and C.I.O. strongly favor restoration of the prevailing-wage basis of payment and it is contended that wage levels for private labor are being injured by the W.P.A. change." -United States News, Dec.

words of the Norris-LaGuardia Act: tions acts and another "protecting education, repeal of the city and state cigarette taxes and substitution of a hank-in-ome or compensaeffective methods of collective nego- tory use tax, opposition to any move owners of property to organize in tiation and bargaining for such em- to establish a state sales tax, and in- of insurance payments for the unemment, were among the legislative objects of the C.I.O council.

Like the State Federation of Lavocated establishment of a minimum bor, it put ratification of the Child proud of our public schools, compul- ment, wherefore, tho he should be old-age relief allowance of \$60 a Labor Amendment at the head of its free to decline to associate with his month for persons over 60 The pres-, list Second was establishment of a minimum work-week of forty hours full freedom of association, self-or- and persons under 65 are excluded and a minimum hourly wage of 40 cents

A compulsory health-insurance program and broadening of the unemployment-insurance system to provide twenty weeks of benefits instead of thirteen, a shorter waiting period The state was advised to increase before benefits begin, payments for its contribution to local relief costs part-time joblessness, removal of penalties against workers locked out vision for at least two labor repreby their employers and reduction in sentatives on the State Board of Sothe period of disqualification for cial Welfare, one of whom was to be strikers, were recommended by the CIO It expressed unalterable opposition to any form of merit rating n unemployment-insurance taxation.

Still other suggested measures would forbid the bringing into New or National Labor Relations Board York of products of runaway shops, repeal the Ives loyalty-oath law, the criminal-anarchy laws and the Devany law, outlaw suits seeking to enjoin peaceful picketing, curb racial discrimination, protect civil rights, regulate fee-charging employment to provide services and protection agencies and set up legislative com- for the average consumer in the mittees to investigate the anti-labor state; (b) protection of instalment practises of the Metropolitan Life buyers and small-loan borrowers by Insurance Company and "other com- providing for strict state regulation panies operating under franchises or of instalment sellers and credit grants from the state"

In a preamble the C.I.O. council condemned both Democratic and Republican parties for the enactment of reactionary legislation at the 1939 session of the State Legislature.

similar amendments to the Railway Mik Drivers Union Heads Are Ousted Labor some months ago, the three

Chicago, Ill. THE Chicago Milk Wagon Drivers Union last week refused to re-

elect to office two men who had ruled it for nearly forty years. The two men were Robert G. Fitchie, 74, ployees. If one is changed, the others president since 1906, and Steve Sumner, 90, who began as business agent when the union was founded in 1902 and held the office of secretary-treasurere for nearly twenty years. Henry Weber, a wholesale driver, was elected president, and Thomas J. Hagerty, secretary-treasurer.

to amend the Wagner Act in any This was the first election held in vital respect. Such a course would involve turning back the pages of our eighteen years, since 1921. During history, retracing the progressive the past two years, an insurgent steps we have taken, and going movement developed in the union, demanding elections, a new regime and cuts in officers salaries.

Labor Pleads For DuQuoin **Miners**

Chicago, Ill. PRESSING hard for the early re-lease of the five Du Quoin boys, a delegation of trade-union leaders recently made a personal appeal to Governor Horner for pardons for the youthful victims of the Illinois mine-union struggle

The five boys—Alis Battaglia, Sam Ferro, Robert Shingleton, Emery Albers and Barney Bossetto-were convicted in 1933 of complicity in the shooting of Laverne Miller, Du Quoin (Ill.) schoolgirl, who was killed by a stray bullet during street fighting between striking and nonstriking miners.

Accompanying A. F. of L. and CIO. leaders to the governor's office was Vernon Miller, father of the slain girl, who summed up the situa-

"I think the boys have served long enough If they are freed now, it may have a good effect in bringing about permanent peace in the miners

On the union committee were Rueben Soderstrom, president, and Victor Olander, secretary, of the Illinois Federation of Labor; Ray Edmundson, head of the Illinois C.I.O. and president of District 12, United Mine Workers; John O'Leary, International representative of the United Mine Workers; and Dave Reed, president, and John Battuello, Board member, of the Progressive Miners of America.

Following the conference, Governor Horner announced he would ask for a complete record of the case and observers felt this meant he would give early consideration to the pardon plea. In the meantime, Loren Norman, director of the Du Quoin Miners Defense Committee, announced that there would be no letup in the committee's campaign for trade-union petitions and resolutions to the governor asking the release of

A.L.P. Urges Wage

Law for N. Y. State,

A N 18-point program for the forthcoming session of the

State Legislature was announced

last week by the American Labor

Party thru Alex Rose, state secre-

tary Heading the list is a state

wage-hour law that would set up a

maximum 40-hour work-week and a

minimum pay rate of 40 cents an

"A state wage-hour law is a key-

stone in the march of social legisla-

tion designed to bring about a meas-

ure of security for the working peo-

ple of the state," it was said in a

statement accompanying the pro-

The other points of the program

Unemployment insurance: Far-

reaching extension of insurance ben

efits, with provision for 20 full weeks

Education: Restoration of all cuts

made in state aid for education and

full state aid for education in the

Unemployment and relief: In-

crease the rate of reimbursement by

municipalities from 40% to 60%.

now permitted under the constitu-

\$2,500,000 per year, (b) extend the

Minkoff rent-control law for another

Child labor: Ratification of the

Health: A compulsory health-in

surance plan to provide health se

curity to wage earners with contri-

butions by the employer, employed

Labor: (a) A measure to bar

'runaway". employers from operat-

ing within the state; (b) amend the

labor law to compel state contractors

to abide by the orders of the State

(c) protect workers from indiscrim-

mate picketing arrests; (d) strict

state regulation and licensing of fee-

Consumer (a) Establishment of

Milk: Authorize construction of

Power: (a) A bill to vest in the

municipal milk plants by localities.

people of the state the water-

power sites on the St. Lawrence and

Niagara rivers and to prohibit the

lease or sale of water power and

water-power sites to other than pub-

he corporations or agencies; (b) a

measure to authorize municipalities

to construct municipally owned and

Civil liberties: (a) A bill to bar

the use of illegally obtained evidence

in any trial, proceeding or hearing

and also to prohibit wire-tapping;

(b) establishment of a division of

operated power yardstick plants.

a new Department of the Consumer

charging employment agencies.

agencies.

and the state to cover the cost.

child-labor amendment.

are:

ployed

New York City.

Bigger Budget

Ex-Movie Union Czar Reelected To Executive

New York City. SAM KAPLAN, whose name six years ago was synonymous with everything rotten and corrupt in the trade-union movement, was reelected last week to the Executive Board of Local 306, Motion Picture Machine Operators Union, an A. F. of L. af-

Kaplan was ousted as president of Local 306 in 1932. In 1933, he was sentenced to the penitentiary on a long series of charges, which included terrorization of an opposition in his union, coercion, misuse of union funds, hiring gunmen and failing to give a proper financial account of funds in his charge

Early last year, Kaplan began to the state for relief to cities and lay plans for a comeback, which bore fruit in last week's elections. Run-Housing (a) Increase the subsidy ning on a "fusion" and "independent" slate, Kaplan was elected tional amendment from \$1,000,000 to member of the board with 810 votes, first among 64 candidates for the ten positions on the board His running mates captured three other Executive Board seats and four out of eight other offices Kaplan's cohorts were unable, however, to unseat Joseph D. Basson, president for four years.

In the election, 1,987 of 2.155 eligible members voted.

civil liberties in the executive department to ferret out and prosecute violations of civil liberties thruout the state.

State budget: Adequate budgetary appropriations in 1940 to carry on effectively the social and welfare activities of the state government. Civil service: (a) Restoration of

nandatory and time-service increments suspended by 1939 session of the Legislature; (b) extend civilservice provisions to cover employees of election boards thruout the state. Workmen's compensation: (a) Exclusive state insurance fund as a sole carrier of compensation insurance under the workmen's compensation law: (b) increase workmen's compensation benefits for the victims

of silicosis and other occupational dust diseases. Farmers: (a) Legislation to secure to farmers the right of genuine collective bargaining in marketing their products; (b) extension of rural electric service at low rates; (c) improve rural schools, increase rural health services and expand activities of Department of Agriculture to protect interests of farmers. Youth: Establish youth commission to survey youth needs and prob-

steps to aid youth. Middle-aged workers: Legislation to protect workers from discrimination because of age.

lems and to recommend concrete



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Trotskyites in the Service of Stalinism

THE Trotskyist Socialist Appeal of December 23, 1939 reports some remarks made by John Brophy, the C.I.O. leader, in a manner that is most revealing. Writes the Socialist Appeal:

"A few days ago, Brophy turned up at a convention of the C.I.O. United Retail and Wholesale Employees in Detroit and denounced the Soviet Union and Nazi Germany in the same breath. Speaking as representative of John L. Lewis, he said: 'We condemn the brutality of a Nazi Germany on the march and we condemn a Soviet Union turned great revolution of 1917? imperialistic.'

These remarks of John Brophy the Socialist Appeal characterizes as 'jingo statement''; Brophy himself it denounces in the headline for "ioining the witch-hunt."

Of course, the Appeal article is full of the routine Trotskyist attacks on Stalin, but when a conclusion such as this is reached, is it not obvious that Trotskyism today is in fact functioning as the unpaid, unsolicited and unthanked defender of Stalinism?

What's wrong with Brophy's remarks as quoted? They represent the sentiments of every decent socialist, of every decent progressive, who takes his own principles seriously. Any one who refuses to "condemn a Soviet Union turned imperialistic" has no right whatever to speak in the name of socialism or the cause of labor.

What's wrong with denouncing "the Soviet Union and Nazi Germany in the same breath"? How many breaths are necessary to denounce atrocities that, however they may differ in historical background and to a degree in motivation, are in their practical significance as alike as two peas in a pod?

We hold no brief for John Brophy. We believe his activities in the C.I.O. in recent years as Stalinist stooge and fellow-traveler have been uniformly detrimental to the interests of the labor movement. But we see no reason for abusing him on the occasion of the first decent thing he has said in many months.

The Trotskyist formula these days seems to be: Criticize Stalin's atrocious policies but support his atrocious actions the moment he sets his army in motion to enforce them. Criticize the invasion of Finland, but support the Russian invader. And above all, heap abuse upon every one who dares to denounce Stalinism consistently and in words that

Never was it clearer that Trotskyism and Stalinism are Siamese twins the former being no more than a frustrated, inverted form of the latter. Fortunately, the present attitude of the Trotskyites on the new Russian imperialism is exposing their essential Stalinism so thoroly that it bids fair to wipe out completely the slim influence they may still have in certain sections of the labor movement.

Books

=by Jim Cork=

THE VAMPIRE ECONOMY: Doing

Business Under Fascism, by Guen-

and peasants, causes widespread

grumbling among the very capital-

ists who believed it to be their

savior?—which regiments and ex-

Such is the problem which moti-

into the nature of doing business

delineates with great clarity the dif-

ference between the well-being of

of the workers, the peasants, the

urban middle-classes, but at the ex-

pense of the ruling bourgeoisie it-

paradox for the German employers,

results in the utter uprooting of all

with the independent trade unions.

hamper the employer—but now in

of the qualities which made up the

successful business man or tycoon.

He is important because he knows

the right people-in the Nazi par-

ty; because, at a high price, he can

help the industrialist get, in one

Casting its shadow over the whole

distortion of "normal" business pro-

once proud German industrialism.

man and capitalist. For what

new burocratic set-up.

tion he has been used to.

for conducting business.

This strange phenomenon, a bitter

Stalin Imperialism Destroys Is a New Anti-Russian Gains of Russian Revolution Block in the Offing?

will undoubtedly be serious.

"Defense of Soviet Union" Is Deprived of Meaning

By WILL HERBERG

IN the Russia of the new Stalinist I imperialism, what is left of the

In the first place there are the economic foundations. The transition from private capitalism to a nationalized ("statified") economy is of vast historical significance and is one of the lasting achievements of the Russian Revolution. Nationalized the Russian "constitution," bear economy is not in itself socialism; about as much relation to existing far from it. But it is a necessary economic foundation for socialism, or rather a basis on which—given freedom, democracy and self-administration-socialism may be erected 1

RUSSIAN SET-UP

The foundations of a nationalized economy remain in Russia, but they are being increasingly undermined by Stalinism. The dangerously false economic policies which the clique in the Kremlin has followed for the past few years have done untold harm. Perhaps even more damage has been done by the effects on the economic structure of the widening stratification of Soviet society manifested in the consolidation of a privileged caste of functionaries, and by the regime of political totalitarianism with its police methods of economic administration and its incessant "purges" and repressions. The economic consequences of the new

1 Of course, the development of socialism would involve immense modifications of the existing economic foundations particularly in the way of decentralization of control, devolution, etc

take effect, we will overnight find

Every person from age sixteen

The price of every article and

Factories will produce only what

Food, and all other necessities of

All business will be licensed.

and personal liberties detroyed.

government will take over.

LABOR IN

gimented

Emergency Act.

A STRAIT-JACKET

This is no Wellsian dream of life

on Mars. This is what will happen to

you and me and every American the

day war is declared. The proof now

buros of our government, are the of-

ficial documents which comprise the

On the subject of labor, the Indus-

trial Mobilization Plan presents a

There is no question of employee

against employer, no hint of labor's

rights or labor's preference, no dis-

of C.I.O. or A. F. of L. The govern-

ment merely takes over. Only in the

fascist nations of Europe and in So-

viet Russia is labor similarly re-

Still another part of the Indus-

vith "new legislation required," the

measures being classified as follows

Industrial Management Act, War

Resources Control Act, War Secur-

ties Exchange Control Act. War

Finance Control Act, and War

Each of these measures is drafted

in full, with blank spaces prepared

for the insertion of dates and the

President's signature. The day we

Congress and to the White House,

in reality. Under their terms, a

acts, thoughts and lives of every

The the Industrial Mobilization

Plan vitally effects the lives of all

men, women and children in the

United States, whether they be en-

of the Plan which directly concern

organized labor and the American

Under the Industrial Mobilization

Plan, it is proposed to create a War

(Continued on Page 4)

HOW IT WILL

WORK

commodity will be fixed by the gov-

upward will be at the command of

ourselves living in a land where:

the government.

the government orders.

life, will be rationed.

dential proclamation.

ernment.

to existing political reality in Ger many. Yet these institutions are by no means completely dead; they are rather in a state of suspended animation and, if they can be revived soon enough, they may yet come to play a decisive role in Russian life. In the third place, there is the historical tradition of the November Revolution and the political ideology of Leninist communism. Both have been so unscrupulously disfigured, so utterly corrupted, so systematically falsified, that it may well be questioned whether they can still be regarded as active forces. Yet I believe

forms These institutions of early

Soviet political life, still recorded in

political reality in Russia as the

Weimar Constitution, which has not

yet been nullified or repealed, bears

earn in a future not too distant. Upon the foundations of the nationalized economy, there has been erected, for reasons that cannot be ture of totalitarian military-police dictatorship, ruled by a privileged burocratic caste organized in a hierarchical party-state structure topped by the personal dictatorship of The Leader. This is the Stalin regime.

that there is still considerable power

in them, as we may perhaps come to

The ruling burocratic caste normally frames its policies with an eye primarily to its own narrow caste interests. Of course, to a certain degree, it is also compelled to defend the economic foundations against the restoration of private capitalism, since the nationalized economy is the soil out of which it draws its sustenance, its power and privileges But since its caste interests stand in irreconcilable and growing contradiction to the imperative demands of the economic system, the Stalin regime, thru its very efforts to maintain and perpetuate itself, systematically undermines and corrodes the nationalized economy on which it rests. In fact, the nationalist economy finds in Stalinism its most dangerous foe.

Such, in brief outline, is the pres-Labor will be deprived of the right ent set-up in Soviet Russia What kind of set-up is it? It is not capitalism; nor is it socialism. It is not action. proletarian dictatorship as conceived by Marx, Lenin or Luxemburg; All wages will be fixed by Presnor is it the fascism that prevails in Germany and Italy, altho it shares Civil rights will be violated; the with fascism its totalitarianism and press, radio and movies censored; Leader cult, and some claim to see a convergence of economic structure In brief, every person and every As a matter of fact, the present-day enterprise in the United States will Russian economy and Russian state automatically become a part of a simply cannot be described in tradigiant war machine, the control of tional terminology. They constitute study the desirability of proposing which will rest in the hands of the an essentially new historical phe-President alone. Congress will abnomenon describable only in its own jectly surrender its power. A super-

MEANING OF "DEFENSE" SLOGAN

From this point of view, what meaning has the formula, "defense of the Soviet Union," today? To speak of the "unconditional defense of the Soviet Union," as do the Trotskyites (S.W.P. statement), is little short of farcical. It is of a piece with the rest of the Trotskyist system of Stalinist apologetics.

What do we want to "defend" in present-day Soviet Russia? Certainly not the political system of totalitarian dictatorship; certainly not the government in the Kremlin; certainly not the Stalin regime. We want to defend what remains of the Russian Revolution, the economic foundations, the nationalized econ-

foreign policy of imperalism are yet | of private capitalism. Defend how and against whom to make themselves felt but they Of course, against invaders and forces of restoration. But also In the second place, contemporary against the Stalin dictatorship. For Russia has inherited from the revonot only is the overthrow of the lutionary Russia of former days a Stalin regime necessary in order to system of institutions that drag on save what can still be saved of the a sort of half-existence in the sha-Russian Revolution; the overthrow dow-land of vestigial and atrophied of the Kremlin dictatorship is an essential prerequisite for an effective defense against a foreign enemy Stalinism must be swept away if the Russian people are to be in a position to master the dangers that are

confronting them at home and

Easy victory for the Russian invader in Finland-which hardly seems possible any longer—would immensely strengthen the totalitarıan dictatorship in Russia; any sort of victory would operate to some degree in the same direction. Victory for the Russian invader would greatly stimulate the predatory appetites of the new Stalin imperialism and would further demolish what remains of the Russian Revolution. Hence a Stalin victory in Finland would most emphatically not serve the best interests of the Russian peo ple or of world socialism.

The inescapable conclusion of all this is that the "defense of the Soviet Union" has no meaning whatever for international socialism at the present moment, in connection with the invasion of Finland. It may mocracy but a political superstructomorrow, or it may not Certainly, it has no significance today.

> (The final article in this series by Will Herberg will deal with the tasks of the Finnish masses and the attitude of international socialism -Editor)

Supreme Court Backs Labor **Board Powers**

(Continued from page 1) employees of the Falk Corporation of Milwaukee.

In the Consumers Power case, the Board directed the employees to one, for example, proposes declaring killed in the defense of markets, vote for or against representation war against Russia to restore the dividends and Empire. by the Utility Workers Organizing former Polish state. Committee of the C.I.O.

This was challenged by the Inter-Workers of the A. F. of L. The Sixth Federation affiliate should be on the ballot and it set aside the Board's despite their protests.

Saying its action was in accord with its practise, the Board contended that the Federation affiliate had no right to appeal to the circuit court because no "final order" had been issued. Justice Stone's decision upheld this contention. In the Falk Corporation case, Jus-

tice Black held that the Seventh Circuit Court had erred in modifying the Board's order for the complete disestablishment of the company

The opinion also overruled the circuit court's ruling in holding that threat to their trade, their naval the "independent" union should be placed on the ballot in an election to determine the collective-bargaining representation of the employees.

The N.L.R.B. had contended that its action in such circumstances was not subject to review by the federal circuit court, again because no final order had yet been issued. by Section 7 (of the act), the inde-Justice Black sustained this contention. Aside from the procedural question, Justice Black pointed out lot." that the Board had "reached the conclusion that full protection of the employees right freely to choose bargaining representatives required complete disestablishment, effecting elimination of the independent (union) as a candidate.'

The Board "justifiably drew the

(These paragraphs are from Drew Pearson and Robert S Allen's "Washington Merry-Go-Round" column of December 29, 1939 - Editor)

ERTAIN powerful forces both in Germany and England would not be at all averse to patching up their own row and then encouraging a politico-religious war against Soviet Russia.

This would meet with the very decided approval of Italy. And there are potent people in the U.S. State Department also who would welcome such a move. Whether the Myron Taylor mission to Rome, just initiated by Roosevelt, will take this turn remains to be seen-but it may.

For some time now the State Department and the White House have been getting informal suggestions from Germany that the Hitler government would be glad to see Roosevelt step in to arrange a peace. These suggestions always have come so informally that they could not be pinned directly upon Hitler, but most of them could be traced back to the No. 2 Nazi, Hermann Goering. . . . It seems doubful that these peace suggestions would come without Hitler's knoweldge and consent. . .

The situation in Great Britain is highlighted by a consuming fear of revolution. If the war drags on a year or so, most leaders of the Conservative government agree it can only end in revolution on both sides.

This was the report which Ambassador Kennedy brought back to the President—and probably he is right. Therefore, British industrialists and at least three members of the British government (Chamberlain, Simon, and Hoare) lean anxiously to-

ward any peace which would stave off the dread spectre of radical labor rule in England. Also, it is important to recall that in October 1938, just after Munich, the British tactfully suggested to Hitler that he might satisfy his territorial hunger at the expense of the Russian Ukraine, rather than

disturb the peace of Europe over Poland. So now it is quite consistent for the British to fall in with any revival of this idea, especially if the Germans now admit they made a mis-

The outcome of all this is going to depend a lot on Rome and a lot on the United States. And that's why Roosevelt's appointment of Myron

Taylor as special envoy to the Pope can be so important.

What Are the British Fighting For?

I.L.P. Leader Brands War as Imperialistic

By C. A. SMITH

(C A Smith is chairman of the Independent Labor Party of Great Britain —Editor)

London, England. WHAT are the British fighting

Not for Poland, as Churchill and

Not for democracy. There is no effective democracy in the British and national Brotherhood of Electrical French empires outside the few million whites. India has been declared Federal Circuit Court held that the a belligerent country without even gernaut wheel of the war machine, consulting the Indian people and

Nor is there effective democracy at home. Two of the three organs The power to declare war lies not with Parliament, but with the Exlegislation is destroying most of their tune. our liberties.

Not to destroy "Hitlerism" The Independent Labor Party strongly opposes Hitlerism, but the British ruling class for long supported Hitler. It was only when our capitalists became alarmed by the German power and their colonies, that they suddenly began to denounce Hitler.

pany-created union could not emancipate itself from habitual subservience to its creator, and that in order to insure employees that complete freedom of choice guaranteed pendent (union) must be completely disestablished and kept off the bal-

"Congress has intrusted the power and not to the courts," Justice Black

Justice Black's decision sustained the Board's contention that it has power "to require the permanent disestablishment of a company-dominated union.

The decision applied specifically to a Board order directing the Falk Corporation to withdraw recognition from the Independent Union of Falk Employees. The federal circuit court sustained this order but required the disestablished company union to be placed on the ballot whereas the N.L.R.B. ruled that only the A. F. of position.

All three decisions were unani-Justice Stone delivered the opin-

ions in the longshoremen and Consumers Power cases. Justice Black delivered the third opinion, in which it was announced Justice McReynolds had not participated.

Not for peace. There can be no peace in a world divided into national states and cursed by imperialist rivalries. The most we can hope for is a truce. Real peace requires socialism, and this the British government does not want.

The British government is fighting for the threatened economic interests of the British ruling class. Hore-Belisha have both stated. No It is asking workers to kill and be

The Labor Party leadership has repeated the stupidity and treachery of 1914. It supports such libertydestroying measures as the Emergency Powers Act. Bound to the jugthe Labor Party leadership in no way represents the real interests of the working class.

The Communist Party has no moral or political principles at all. Its policy is not determined by British workers or for British workers. Whatever Stalin does is right. ecutive. A network of repressive He pays his British pipers and calls

The I.L.P. has consistently and unswervingly opposed this war and will continue to do so. Nothing will prevent the party from doing all in its power to prevent the slaughter of millions of British, French and Ger-

Its members refuse to be cogs in the wheel of British imperialism.

They deny the right of our rulers to hold colored workers in bondage abroad or British workers in bondage at home. The LL P. supports the demands of India and of other subject peoples for national freedom. It works for the ending of all empires,

including the British. To our imperialists who ask us to defend their property we reply: 'Do your own dirty work and defend your own investments with your own to draw such inferences to the Board lives. You and Hitler are rival gangsters, and this is not a workers quarrel."

There are gallant socialists in the neutral countries, in France and in Germany, who are taking the same stand as the ILP. These socialists are our allies, and with them we shall yet build a real Socialist International.

Attention!

BECAUSE a number of the people who indicated interest in the famous Isaac Soyer painting, "The Young Girl," could not be present at our New Year's affair at which time the selection of the winner was to be made, we have decided to postpone choosing the winner until our February 24 Musicale and Social. All those interested please take

A.F.L. Leader Warns Against Despotism dinated Mobilization Day measures

ter Reimann. Vanguard Press. New York, 1939.

THE departure of Herr Thyssen L leader of the Ruhr industrialists and patron of Nazism, from that Germany which he helped create, has brought to the fore, even more sharply than hitherto, the problem of the relationship between fascism and the capitalists. None save the conservative bourgeoiste of this paper —Editor.)

Germany itself, with perhaps a few echoes in other lands, talk of fas-THERE is one significant addition eism as a form of real socialism, I in the 1939 version which does i.e., as putting an end to the profit not appear in the 1936 Plan. The system. Yet, what is happening in 1936 Industrial Mobilization Plan

> discussion are not and should not be exercised in peace. The emergency organization would automatically terminate after war."

propriates these capitalists, even "The War Resources Administra such tycoons as Thyssen and tor, as the termination of the emer gency is approached, might well vates Guenter Reimann's inquiry the creation of a new and entirely separate agency to deal with the reunder fascism. Thus the author, who habilitation problem. On the other had previously studied the broader hand, it may be considered advissocial aspects of fascism as the preable, upon the termination of the ventive counter-revolution against emergency, to continue the War Rethe workers socialist aspirations, sources Administration as a postwar readjustment agency. Decision lies in Washington. There, in the as to the organization and composithe capitalists and the welfare of tion of such an agency will depend the capitalist system. For the upon personalities, the degree of program, the Industrial Mobilization decline of capitalism, seeking polirehabilitation required, the political Plan, the National Defense Act, and tical refuge under fascism, calls for and economic factors which would four bills, now before Congress. salvation not merely at the expense then obtain.'

Recent experiences have demon-

the sense of relationships with those vious factors are determined. that count in the Nazi party. For without good relationships, the industrialist cannot hope for materials, for sales outlets, for export and import permits, for the type of produc-In the new set-up, a new type of function and functionary appear—the contact man. He is indispensable,

> For our purpose, however, we must examine the 1936 Plan and must not be deluded by the reticence of the later plan.

What, then, does it embrace and what will be its resultant effects? When the full force of the coorfashion or another, the necessaries

> availeth it such a man if he gaineth fascism, but loseth his own business? And for those elements who look enviously at fascism as a way out from the labor movement, this book provides indeed serious food for thought. For us of the labor movement, if we shed no bitter tears at the plight of the fascist capital ists, it is an equally important docu ment for our understanding of economic development at work in the

Reviewed by M. S. M.

M-Day Dictatorship Will Last Beyond War

By MATTHEW WOLL

(We continue below publication of he most important sections of the address delivered by Matthew Woll, vicepresident of the A F. of L, on December 1, 1939 before the Trenton, N 7 Central Labor Union Other portions will appear in the following issues of

Nazi Germany? What is this says specifically:

strange economy which, oppressing "The controls and functions under "The controls and should not be"

But the 1939 version says:

DICTATORSHIP

WILL CONTINUE

strated the folly of attempting to picture of the American working end emergency legislation within a man in a strait-jacket. fixed period of time. Then, again, received traditions of conducting note that the termination of all war business, commercially and induspowers are to be dependent first trially. The employer may have sucupon personalities—and yet this is cussion of open shop or closed shop, ceeded in ending his relationship said to be a government of law: second, upon the degree of rehabilitabut the author presents evidence to tion to be required, to be determined the effect that many already look by the War Resources Administraback to classic capitalism with its tion; third, upon political factors, to trade unions as to a lesser evil in be determined, I presume, by the comparison with dealing with the President, a political leader of the political party then in power; and Relationships with workers still last, upon the economic factorwhatever that may be after the pre-

We may therefore expect that the owers granted to the President and the War Department during war may be retained indefinitely after hostilities have ceased, always re membering that while a bare majority of Congress can bestow these powers, it takes a two-thirds majority to repeal them, that is, to overnot because he is acquainted with ride a Presidential veto. the nature of an industry or has any

of German economy and hence over the ind vidual capitalists, is the German war machine, with its complete cedure, both in the type of production permitted and the type of materials used. The substitute materials (ersatz) are working havoc, from a technical point of view, with the The author addresses himself primarily to the American business-

omy, from the danger of restoration inference," he added, "that this com-

The A.S.U. Unmasks BY a vote of 322 to 49, the fifth convention of the American Student rial Mobilization Plan is concerned Union, meeting at Madison, Wisc., last week, deliberately rejected a proposal to express "no sympathy for the Russian attack on Finland" and to "specifically condemn it as a clear act of aggression," altho this condemnation was linked up, quite properly too, with a reassertion of L. and C.I.O. unions should be listed. American neutrality and a determination to keep out of war. Joseph The high court upheld the Board's Lash, executive director of the A. S. U., and Molly Yard, national chairman, both urged the passage of the resolution but without avail.

In other words, the overwhelming majority of the delegates at the A.S.U. convention demonstratively expressed their approval and support of the Stalinist dictatorship in Russia in its new venture at predatory imperialism and ruthless conquest. So much is plainly on record.

enter war, they will be sped thru Do the somewhat tarnished "liberals" of the Nation and New Republic still insist that the A.S.U. is not a Stalinist "false-front" organizawhere a flourish of the pen will tion? Does Mrs. Roosevelt still believe that the A.S.U. is just a highnake of America a totalitarian state minded campus fraternity devoted to the best ideals of American student single individual will control the

It is rather curious, isn't it? Six months ago, the American Student | SIIRSCRIRE NOW! Union was all for "collective security," for condemning "aggressors," for a "common front of democratic powers against fascism." Then Stali changed his foreign policy and clasped hands with Hitler. Immediately the A.S.U. leaders forgot all about "collective security"; they eve gaged in agriculture, manufacturing, branded the "democratic-front" idea as outright war-mongering. Nov banking or any other industry, I | that Stalin's new foreign policy has led him to an attack on Finland, the shall confine my remaining remarks A.S.U. has lost its ability to distinguish aggressors; in fact, it has los more particularly to those sections all interest in the subject. Is it "Red-baiting," is it "witch-hunting," Mrs Roosevelt and the editors of the Nation and New Republic, to see some connection between Stalin's abrupt shifts in Moscow and the strang antics of the A.S.U. in this country?

Fortunately, the whole thing is just a tempest in a teapot. Th A.S.U. never amounted to very much except on a few isolated campuses and in the last few months whatever slim influence it once had has bee melting away very fast. There is good reason to hope that the actio of the Madison convention will happily complete this process.

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WILL HERBERG. Editor Editorial Board Lyman D. Fraser, Jay Lovestone, M. S. Mautner, Bertram D. Wolfe, Charles S. Zimmerman.

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Your New Year's Resolution

THE year ahead of us is bound to prove of decisive importance to mankind. In this country, too, it will be a crucial one. Unless labor succeeds in uniting its ranks, stemming reaction and the forces making for war, and cleansing itself of the agents of the Stalin-Hitler block, will be a dark year indeed and whatever progress has been made towards a better America, a better world, will be lost for a long time.

Our fight is a fight that it shall not be lost, that labor may measure up to the tasks confronting it. Our fight is a slow and hard one, bound to become harder in the year ahead. And yet it is a fight that must be

The Independent Labor League of America again appeals to its friends and sympathizers for assistance in carrying on this fight. Because this appeal follows on the heels of so many others does not mean it is less urgent. On the contrary, it is more urgent, much more urgent.

You have received numerous appeals to aid the "Neediest Hundred." We appeal to you to aid us so that we and others who are work ing with us can aid the "Neediest Millions" to help themselves.

Start the New Year right by a contribution to the Workers Age and the I.L.L.A.—which means a contribution to help bring about a better America and a better world.

DIPLOMATIC DOUBLE-CROSS

WHAT reliance can the Finnish masses place on England and France for effective support in their struggle for independence against dentalism and of America's long line of utopian the Russian invader? The New York World-Telegram of December 27, 1939 publishes a report from its Paris correspondent, John T. Whitaker, that goes a long way towards answering this vital question.

The full-page headline under which the report is run, reads: "French Try to Aid Finns Without Driving Stalin Closer to Hitler." And the story makes it plain that while France may "sympathize" with the Finns, "French help to Finland is not receiving much publicity here these days." In fact, French government circles are more than restrained in their enthusiasm for Finnish independence. "Certain neutrals, like the United States," Mr. Whitaker reports them as insisting, "might find it easier to help the Finns." They themselves can do very little for fear of "driving Stalin closer to Hitler" and "unloosing a German-Russian invasion of the Scandinavian countries."

"These French preoccupations," Mr. Whitaker adds, "are even more real to their British allies. . . .

These words are plain enough and carry their own meaning.

They mean that for England and France Finland is no more than pawn in the game of diplomatic intrigue. If the interests of Anglo-French imperialism require it, and it is easy to see how they may, Finland will be sacrificed to Stalin or to Hitler without a qualm. This is the gist of the whole matter in plain words.

The British Foreign Office, of which the French government is to day hardly more than an auxiliary, seems to be operating along two alternative lines: on the one hand, it is seriously contemplating the possibility of transforming the present war, thru a truce with Germany, into a joint assault on Soviet Russia; on the other, it is plotting to break Stalin away from Hitler so as to make possible an annihilating blow at the Reich. It was in accordance with the latter perspective that only a few weeks ago Chamberlain and Lord Halifax virtually offered to let Stalin keep his share of the Polish spoils with British blessings if only he would abandon his German ally. In other words, the British go ready to acquiesce in the overrunning and partition of Poland as far capitalism. (I do not use "capitalism" as a term either tion of the great war. . . . " as Russia was concerned in order to advance its own diplomatic ends. of abuse or approbation; it is a term descriptive of a We are still at peace and pledged to remain so, but outstanding citizen who is thoroly familiar with the problems entering (Great Britain and France entered the war, you may remember, to protect the integrity of Poland and other "small nations"!)

And now London and Paris are announcing that they stand ready to make the same sort of bargain with Stalin on Finland. Whatever they may or may not do for the Finns, they are determined to avoid "driving Stalin closer to Hitler." In short—and it would be folly to expect any thing else—their own particular imperialistic interests are paramount.

Until England and France can make the proper arrangements with Germany, they cannot afford to do anything that will aggravate their relations with Stalin. In fact, they must do their best to "appease" him. Under such circumstances, Anglo-French "sympathv" for Finland is as treacherous as quicksand. It would be suicide for the Finnish people to place any real confidence in the "friendship" of the government circles in London and Paris. At the decisive moment, such "friendship" is only too likely to prove worse than a broken reed—a knife in the back!

There are rumors that contacts have already been established between Germany and the Allies for the purpose of discussing terms on which the present war could be ended and a joint four-power attack launched on Soviet Russia by England, France, Germany and Italy. At the same time, we are convinced, the British Foreign Office is sounding out Moscow on a deal at the expense of the Finns and the Poles. This is imperialist diplomacy, and imperialist diplomacy is poison to any people sincerely striving to preserve or regain its independence.

WHO'S LOONEY NOW?

ROM Cambridge, Mass., and Chicago, Ill., there comes news that convinces us of the now popular theory that the whole world's gone

In Cambridge, the high and mighty City Council recently passed a resolution calling down all the thunders of the law upon anyone uttering or causing to be uttered or possessing in written or graphic form the dread name "Lenin" in any of its combinations. For a time, it looked as if the libraries of Harvard, Radcliffe and M.I.T. would have to be 'purged" of offending histories and atlases, which would then be consigned to the flames. That was how the city fathers of a great center

of light and learning showed what they thought of Stalin. In Chicago, at about the same time, James C. Petrillo, head of the Chicago Federation of Musicians, threatened to stop a number of shows, including George White's "Scandals" and "The Man Who Came to Dinner," unless they eliminated every reference to John L. Lewis in word or representation. That was Mr. Petrillo's way of showing that he disliked John L. Lewis and his arbitrary, dictatorial ways.

We are accustomed to the grotesque antics of bar-room politicians turned loose in the city hall or the county court house. But we cannot pass by as lightly the outrageous conduct of a labor leader such as Mr. Petrillo. The labor movement is dedicated to democracy and freedom of expression, and for one who is high in its ranks to take upon himself the arbitrary power of a censor is an intolerable presumption that goes far to discredit the whole movement in the eyes of the public.

Fortunately, the mayor of Cambridge refused to put his signature to the screwball resolution of his City Council and a somewhat abashed Mr. Petrillo allowed his ukase to lapse unobserved. The incidents are trifles in themselves but they are trifles that cannot be ignored.

WRPHY says Roosevelt will run only in a national emergency."—Press report.

Well, all that's necessary now is a good-sized "national emergency."

Surely there ought be no difficulty in providing that!

FORGOTTEN WORDS: "The Soviet Union does not covet one inch of the soil of other states, but will defend every inch of her own soil." -Joseph Stalin.

Towards A Better America:

Socialism the Only Road

By BERTRAM D. WOLFE

(We publish below the address delivered by Bertran D Wolfe at the symposium, "Towards A Better America," held recently in New York under the auspices of the Indebendent Labor Institute -Editor.)

ANY discussion of the road to a better America begins with two fundamental assumptions:

First, that there is much in America that is good much that should be jealously guarded, conserved and

Second, that there is much in America that is evil much that is outworn and inadequate to the needs of our time and our people, much that should be overhauled, altered, improved or uprooted.

We are neither devoid of pride in the worthy things in the life of our country, nor blind to the things that are unworthy.

We are proud of the traditions of the American Revolution, which gave this country freedom to work out its own destiny, and opened up a cycle of struggles for freedom in Europe. We are proud of the principle of subordination of government to the will and interests of the people embodied in the Declaration of Independence We are proud of the Bill of Rights, but not proud of its frequent infringement. We are proud of those sections of the Constitution which safeguard civil liberties and democratic discussion, and grudgingly permit of the Constitution's alteration. We are not proud of the rigidity, the privilege, property, and slavery, and obvious mistrust of the people, imbedded in that document.

We are proud of the generous purposes of transcenidealists; proud of the anti-burocratic spirit of Jeffer son, and the anti-plutocratic spirit of the Populists proud of the Abolitionists and of the fearless if illinformed opposition of the muckrakers to the giant monopolies; proud of many bright, and ashamed of a few dark, pages in the history of American labor. We are proud, too, of the fruitful genius and plentyproducing marvels of American science and inventiveness aided by rich favors of nature, which make it possible for America to lead the world, once her people set to it, in blazing a trail out of the social jungle.

By the same token do we hate and scorn all that is slavish and corrupt in our national life, all that is incompatible with the bright hopes and generous America, all that is stagnant and outworn, all that threatens to block further progress and to destroy our hard-won modicum of freedom, all that makes man the slave of the marvelous machinery he himself has created, all that perpetuates hateful, body-and-soul destroying poverty and ignorance in the midst of cultural and material riches, all the "hoggish, cheating, and bedbug qualities," as Walt Whitman called them, in the past of America, all that disfigures her present and threatens to blight her future.

struments and their products). America can isolate herself in part for a time from the flames that are consuming Europe, but she cannot check the decay that is manifest in the heart of her economy—unless our people develop the understanding, the organization, and the power to transform our outgrown social

course of the nineteenth century. Even in this healthi- ures of participation "short of war," attempts to smear est and wealthiest land, each advancing year of the the millions who have written and telegraphed to twentieth makes clearer the signs of decay in the heart of that system. Monopoly and imperialism are the twin symptoms of aging; longer and deeper depressions, more widespread and destructive wars, warn that death is approaching.

Here as elsewhere, the time is one of change; either general decay of our order and the civilization that rests on it, or preservation of its achievements and enlargement of its possibilities in a new social order. The alternative is not towards a better America or stay as you were; the alternative is forward towards a better America or backward towards the edge of a precipice.

If we go forward, our amazing productive capacity, our democratic traditions and wide diffusion of certain elements of culture will make the road shorter and easier to follow.

Today--in America more than elsewhere just because our productive capacity is greater—man's power to produce plenty outgrows the social limitations of capitalism. For the better part of a decade, our government has had to introduce curtailment and destruction as instruments of economic policy. We have paid premiums for not growing crops and for plowing under what was planted; premiums for not cultivating fields, for not extracting natural resources; we have encouraged the non-use of existing machines and the consequent non-employment of human labor. These premiums for curtailing production have been accompanied by the payment of a precarious and constantly threatened subsistence to an

army of unemployed and "boondoggled" workers, whose talents and capacities are permitted to waste and wither. They have been accompanied, too, by the slow starvation of the bodies and souls of millions of our people.

The New Deal has had some positive achievements to its credit; but at its heart there has gnawed this canker. Fundamentally, as the President himself has said, it is a method of preserving capitalism—at a time when mankind in its development has outgrown it We are witnessing the systematic gearing of production to scarcity because capitalism has become incompatible with the plenty which it has itself made possible. And since the organization of decay is no solution of the problems it engenders, today the President speculates with another and more fearful "new deal," which seeks, in the words of Shakespeare:

"To lead out many to the Holy Land, Lest rest and lying still might make them look

Too near unto my state. . . ' He plays with the idea of adopting the advice of the dying Henry IV to his son:

"Be it thy course, to busy giddy minds With foreign quarrels; that action, hence borne

May waste the memory of the former days." And, alas, that action would waste far more than the memory of the former days! It would waste the blood of our people, the substance of our resources, the remnants of our freedoms, the foundations of our culture, the very possibility of aiding the peoples of war-torn Europe or of ourselves going forward towards a better America and a better world.

I am sorry to have to record that even in the tradeunion movement, in the Labor Party, among liberals in the Committee for Cultural Freedom, even, it seems, on this platform tonight, there are minds that can be thus busied with foreign quarrels to waste the substance of our hope of progress. For there can be no possibility of a "better America" for a long time to come if America goes to war! This is one difference we cannot minimize.

"If we go to war," Woodrow Wilson told Frank Cobb back in 1915, "we shall lose our heads along with the rest and stop weighing right and wrong. . . When a war gets going, it is just war, and there aren't two kinds of it. It requires illiberalism at home to reinforce the men at the front. We can't fight Germany and maintain the ideals of government that all dreams which brought out people from all lands to thinking men have We would try, but it would be too much for us. . Once lead this people into war and they will forget that there ever was such a thing as tolerance."

> Or if you prefer Republican testimony, I give you Herbert Hoover:

"Personal liberty and free economic life are not built for modern war. A great war today is a mobilization of the whole people. That means democracy must temporarily surrender to dictatorship. . . . It means that our country must be mobilized into prac-We cannot move towards a better America without | tically a fascist state. It went some distance in the last considering the present state of the nation and the great war ... It would have gone farther if the war character of our social order. The United States is had extended longer. I speak this not from hearsay, self is headed by an administrator today the most powerful, the most vigorous, land of but as one who participated in the economic organiza-

system of society in which production is widely social already our government has devised a plan to con- into the relationship between embut ownership is basically private—where, by and large, the means of production are not owned by the large, the means of production are not owned by the control speech, press and radio, to decide what shall their solution."

Big Rise In mass of producer-consumers who must use those in- be produced and what not, who work and who fight, what be said, what thought, what done.

We are still at peace and pledged to remain so, but already the President declares a "state of emergency," arrogates unto himself the power to control the radio, talks of curbs on speech and press, lets loose a plague of spies and snoopers, builds up an armed force that can only have meaning in terms of overseas war, fights Capitalism reached its vigorous maturity in the to break down the embargo on arms, proposes meas-Washington with the label of pro-Hitler or pro-Stalin!

The first victim of a war atmosphere is truth. The first death in a war allegedly to stop totalitarianism in Europe would be the death of what there is of democracy here in America.

Those who advocate "measures short of war" must answer the question: And what if those measures are policies and the adoption of means to not enough to guarantee victory to the side you have

Those who advocate joining England and France to "stop totalitarianism" must answer the question: And how will we smash the totalitarianism that will automatically infest America?

Those who attempt to combine foreign war with a dream of a better America must answer the question: What will we leave as a heritage to our children, when to our forty-billion deficit is added another forty billion and yet other forty billions, to the unpaid debts of the last war yet other debts, to the disorganized economy which that war left us further disorganization? There can be no "better America" unless we keep the present none-too-good America out of another war. (Concluded in the next issue)

Notice

POR technical reasons, it was impossible to run the regular instalment of Rosa Luxemburg's "The Russian Revolution" in this issue. It will appear in the next issue of this paper.—Editor.

Here's the New Arms Budget

(Continued from page 1) of the simultaneaus construction of 10 new battleships and the boosting at least another half a million to of the air fleet to almost 10,000 planes.

Relief and other welfare expenditures, on the other hand, were chopped to the lowest level in the budget. Relief costs for 1941 were set at \$1,433,000,000, a reduction of the President's budget, substantial- taling \$460,000,000 are followed, the \$503,000,000 from the current ly less than in any other budgetary deficit will be cut further

was set at a flat billion dollars, lows enough to maintain 1,350,000 persons on the rolls. The present \$1,400,000,000 fund provides for a rent year. 1,850,000 average, after more than half a million persons were dropped from the rolls in the course of the past year. The new budget dooms

loss of their work-relief jobs. The outlay for agricultural programs was set at \$900,000,000, a decrease of about \$400,000,000 from the

current year. The relief spending proposed in spending level. The W.P.A. budget year since 1933, breaks down as fol- \$1,716,000,000.

W.P.A.: \$1,000,000,000, a reduc tion of \$400,000,000 below the cur-

N.Y.A.: \$83,000,000, a reduction of \$12,000,000. C.C.C.: \$225,000,000, a reduction

of \$60,000,000. Farm Security Administration \$125,000,000, a reduction of \$31, 000,000.

The net deficit for the fiscal year 1941, the President estimated, will amount to \$2,176,000,000. If the President's tax recommendations to

We Are NOT Given To Overstatement!

WE assured you that we would have a good time at our New Year's Eve party and we did have it! It was a merry, gay, colorful affair with everybody at one with the crowd.

It was heartening, too, to see so many old friends turn up. Some even came from long distances, to be with us and meet old comrades and friends,

Under any other circumstances, we would have to apologize for the floor show not having been given in its entirety. However, on this occasion, we don't have to because it was the fault of the merrymakers that we couldn't go on with it. They were having such a good time they didn't feel like letting up (in less delicate language, they refused to shut up!). Two of our star performers almost lost their voices trying to make themselves heard above the din; our rhumba and tango dancers, and that little "chiquita" of a Spanish dancer, barely had room to do their stuff. So we had to resign ourselves to the mood of the fun-havers and give up all thought of going on with the show. Our regrets must therefore be tendered not to our guests, but to the performers who were kind enough to be with us and who were such good sports about not having been called upon to add to the enjoyment of the evening.

By the way, they have accepted to entertain at a musical we are planning to run very soon. Watch the Workers Age for details.

It is indeed with great pleasure that we look back upon this evening of warm hearty enjoyment and merriment. And while we're engaged in pleasant reminiscences, let's indulge in some pleasant anticipations. Let all of us, right now, make a mental note to spend next New Year's Eve together-if New Year's Eve parties are still in vogue. If they are, then rest assured that we will have a bigger and better party! You know by this time that we're not given to

And may we wish you all of the best!

M-Day Dictatorship Will Last Beyond War

A.F.L. Leader Warns Against Despotism

(Continued from page 2) Resources Administration appointed members, four of whom shall reby and under the direct control of present industry, four labor, and the President. It will consist of over two the general public. Members of fifteen sub-boards directly under the the Advisory Council are appointed jurisdiction of the War Resources by the President. I call your atten-Administrator; of these, one will be tion, therefore, to the astonishing the War Labor Administration. The fact that labor's representation in War Labor Administration, however, the part of the Industrial Mobilizais to have no representation on the tion Plan which directly affects the Advisory Council. This commission is lives of every working man and significant particularly as the personnel of the War Resources Administration is heavily represented | ten on the Advisory Council, and by management. I quote from the Plan in this connection:

"The personnel to fill positions of the President so willed, he might responsibility in the War Resources well ignore the American Federa-Administration should be obtained tion of Labor or any other group in from the patriotic business leaders of the nation. They must be men who command the respect of the to understand why labor was not re-American people, as well as capable presented on the President's recentexecutives, thoroly familiar with our ly disbanded War Resource Board,

the words of the Plan, "should be an

It is, of course, self-evident that the qualifications thus set forth are designed to fit but one class, and that is the military. Even a fairminded and fairly-disposed business recoup the Administration's waning man would hardly be "capable of dis- political fortunes. passionate judgment" to solve industrial problems during a state of war. exercised lest virtually any power be left to civil-minded persons.

Under this administrator is a twenty-nine sub-divisions or buros. I have been unable to discover anyor unorganized labor is to be represented on these sub-divisions or boards. However, the Administrator is assisted in the formulation of administer such policies by an Ad-

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| visory Council consisting of ten woman in the United States consists of four representatives out of that even these four need not be representatives of organized labor. If his selection of a "representative of labor." Indeed, it has been difficult and why since 1931, no representa-The War Labor Administration it- tives of labor have been asked to

FDR Calls for **Arms Costs**

(Continued from Page 1)

The traditional New Deal policies of social welfare and reform were Extreme care seems to have been hardly mentioned in the message; it was clear that they had been definitely relegated to the background as far as the Administration was deputy, appointed by him, and concerned. The President made some reference to the persistence of unemployment on a mass scale but sugwhere in the Plan that organized gested no way of meeting the prob-

> Mr. Roosevelt included in his address a denunciation of those who raise "rabble-rousing slogans," evidently referring to the Townsend, "ham-and-eggs" and similar pension movements; of "apologists for foreign aggression," here pointing to the Stalinist and Nazi elements in this country; and of "groups who wrap themselves in the false mantle of Americanism to promote their own advantage," with reference to the various semi-fascist, patrioteering outfits operating in various parts

> of the land. Congressional reaction to the President's message was mixed and not well-defined last week. A sharp fight was expected on the reciprocal trade-agreements policy. In general, the conservative elements seemed to be pleased with what the President said and with his "unusually conciliatory" manner. Thus Senator Glass, rock-ribbed reactionary from Virginia, not only declared the message to be "pretty good" but predicted "increased Democratic harmony" in

Just a Bit of Fraud

THE New Masses of December 19, 1939 contains as pretty an example of Stalinist fraud as you are likely to find in a month of Sundays.

In accordance with the "line," this journal sets out to prove that Finland is a fascist state, which presumably would justify the Russian invasion. (But isn't there some sort of Russian "non-aggression" pact with Germany which, in certain circles, is regarded as a fascist state?) To prove this, the New Masses refers to a report of the Foreigh Policy Association dated . . . May 27, 1931, over eight years ago!

That in these eight years, a number of things have happened in Finland; that the parliament of the Finland that Stalin attacked was composed of 85 Social-Democrats and Socialists, 54 Agrarians, 25 Conservatives and only 8 fascists; that the socialist forces received nearly 45% of the vote in the last Finnish elections—all that the New Masses does not see fit to mention. It might spoil the picture!