ARMS ECONOMY LEADS TO

5 CENTS

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Behind the Headlines:

The Progress of Chaos

By JAY LOVESTONE

WE have repeatedly underlined that no one can tell with sufficient certainty what will come after this war. Nonetheless, we have much to learn from the consequences of the preceding world war. Here we may find some cues to the possible and even probable results of the present conflagration. Furthermore, we stand a better chance of being correct in our estimates if we keep in mind that profounder changes are in the making—changes accelerated and let loose by the totalitarian character of today's conflict.

Anyone who has the remotest sense of realities will grant that the gravity of the economic crisis which began in 1929 was largely tied up with the effects of the 1914 holocaust. The depth of this crisis is graphically revealed in America's budgetary trends for the last ten years. When we speak of a decade of budgetary deficits, we, of course, are at least as much concerned with family as with governmental minuses. The last fiscal year to see a surplus in the United States Treasury ended on June 30, 1930. Every year since then, expenses have been bigger than incomes. Primarily because of the breakdown of private industry, the ensuing mass disemployment and similar social consequences, and the intensified imperialist rivalries demanding ever bigger armament expenditures, the federal government debt has increased by 27 billion dollars, or 169%. in ten years. The potential disturbances flowing out of this skyward public debt have immediate and continuous unsetfling economic, social and political effects.

Nor should it require a violent effort of intelligence to grasp the even more serious import of the last decade of rising family deficits. Here are unbalanced budgets for millions of human beings. When Roosevelt slashed the relief and boosted the armament provisions in his latest budgetary message to Congress, he evinced icy contempt for some painful facts, subsequently stressed at his own White House Conference on Children in a Democracy. These reports revealed woefully inadequate relief measures for our youth in distress, three to four mil lion unemployed youths in despair, more than a quarter of our families having a total annual income of less than 750 dollars, and two-thirds of them getting under fifteen hundred dollars per year. Roosevelt and his militarist mannequins might well ponder the declaration to the above conference emphasizing: "It is imperative to keep in mind that any degree of recovery which is based on the unsound foundation of foreign wars and price speculation will bring a deeper depression after-

There is nothing as disastrous as clinging to beliefs long after they have been demonstrated false. We cannot be too energetic in dispelling the lingering illusion that war necessarily spells increased employment and higher wages. Many will have to revise much of their thinking about the economics of war. Especially nowadays is the behavior of events contrary to loads of textbooks. It is in this sense that we have lots to learn from the latest British experience and analyses. The December Quarterly Journal of the Royal Economic Society finds that "some reduction of the real expenditures of the working class may tinguished statesmen, died last prove inescapable if the war is to be prosecuted with full intensity." This economic journal, an eminent authority in its field, further cal- P.M., at the age of 74. He had culates that, after allowing for new entrants into England's industry, there would be a net fall of 2,981,000 in male employment. Drawing in women six and half terms, thirty-three and children because of the demand for man power in the hell-holes at his honor. the front would only further depress the prevailing wage scales and general living standards.

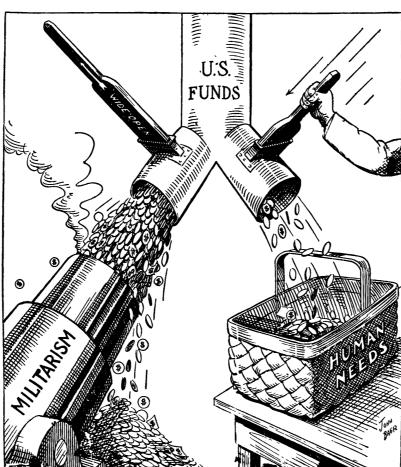
More than that, the Entente Financiere recently concluded between foreign policy that would keep this anti-Semitic and fascist agitators in France and England is providing additional excuses for lowering the country free from entangling alliwage levels of the British workers. Making a hypocritical cry for "equal-1 ances or involvements in war situaity of sacrifice" in united war efforts, the "democratic" overlords of tions abroad. On the same grounds, British industry and finance have already begun to demand that the he was a staunch supporter of the English wage scale shall go down to the lower level of the French. The establishment and maintenance of London Economist of December 16, 1939 thus gives a "scientific" normal diplomatic relations between coating to this brutal demand:

"But a further consideration which must now be given equal against the Versailles treaty and the precedence with purely domestic devolopments arises from the recent League of Nations pact, and comadvance which has been made in the tightening up of economic col- pletely routed President Wilson and laboration between this country and France . . . Henceforward, it will his adherents. In the years that folbe increasingly difficult to consider matters of wage policy without lowed, from the Senate Foreign Reconstant reference to parallel developments in France.

"The present position is that the French working class is making of Soviet Russia, but could not pregreater sacrifices than the British. . . . Five million Frenchmen are mobilized, and a proportion of these are employed on essential manu- trations then in power. In the last factures at military rates of pay only. The rest of the industry of France is being carried on by women, older men and boys, whose wages are at against President Roosevelt's foreign ate was an attack on dictatorship any time below the average level. These are facts which cannot be policy of involvement in foreign and a eulogy of the American Bill ignored in this country, if economic collaboration is to have any real quarrels and played a particularly of Rights, as well as a plea against

"A full explanation of the present French arrangements will contain some facts which will test to the uttermost the willingness of the British year. For over two decades, he was tions as follows: "Disress and abununions for continuous understanding. The Trades Union Congress re-(Continued on Page 4)

NEW DEAL "SPENDING" TODAY



Wm. E. Borah, 17 Christian

Great Statesman Led Long Struggle to Keep America Free of War Entanglement

Washington, D. C. William Edgar Borah, the "Lion of Idaho," dean of the Senate, one of America's most honored and disweek, Friday, January 19, 8:45 served as Senator from Idaho for

the United States and all other countries. Thus in 1919, he led the fight lations Committee, which he headed, he kept urging American recognition vail against the Republican administwo years, he took up the fight again the country in the conduct of for- our problem.

Held in Plot

Charged with a Conspiracy To Overthrow the Government, Massacre Jews

New York City Seventeen men, members of the Coughlinite Christian Front, were arrested last week by J. Edgar Hoover of the Federal Buro of Investigation on charges of seditious conspiracy and plotting to overthrow the United States government. According to Mr. Hoover, a small supply of arms, ami funition and exploop and John F. Cassidy, notorious

As federal agents described the plot, it included bombings of Jewish and communist institutions, sabotage, seizure of U S. gold in Man- dicted. hattan, massacre of all Jews, and the establishment of a fascist dictatorship. The details of this fantastic (Continued on Page 2)

eign affairs

Senator Borah was nominally a Republican but from earliest days was an independent and insurgent. "He always traveled alone," it was commonly said of him.

He hated oppression and arbitrary power. His last address in the Senoutstanding part in the great neu- any infringement of it. In one of his trality debate in the Senate during recent speeches, he enunciated his the course of the special session last attitude on social and economic quesone of the most influential men in dance, poverty and wealth-that is

Neutrals Face Growing Danger in War Crisis

Roosevelt Urges Loan To Finland

Strong Sentiment in Senate Against Proposal as Danger To Neutrality

Washington, D. C. President Roosevelt last week ransmitted to Congress a formal proposal that the United States make a non-military loan to Finland to aid it in its struggle against Russia. The President suggested no particular procedure and named no sum of money but it was understood that a loan of \$25,000,000 thru the Export-Import Bank, a federal loan agency, was what he had in mind.

It was clear that it would meet with strong opposition in both houses of Congress. By an unusual procedure, the measure was referred to two Senate committees, the Banking and Currency and the Foreign Relations groups. Objection was voiced to utilizing the Export-Import Bank for such purposes, but primarily the de-(Continued on page 2)

Churchill Calls on Them All to Join Britain; Threat of Reich Invasion of Belgium and Holland Is Renewed

an early end to the war in any form came the charge that the alarm had last week, the twentieth week since been instigated by the Allies "to the outbreak of hostilities last Sep- provoke Germany." In well-informed tember. On the contrary, there were circles, it was said that plans for an indications that other sections of offensive thru the Low Countries Europe, still officially at peace, were completed two months ago by

might soon be embroiled. countries, "in their own best interests," to join Britain and France in their war with Germany. Belgium, Holland and the Scandinavian lands were directly referred to. Otherwise, he Senate, it set off sharp debate. to "be divided between the opposite elsewhere, perhaps in the Balkans, the similar barbarisms of Nazidom where some joint Russo-German acand Bolshevism."

Tension in the Low Countries reached a high point last week. For the second time since the war broke out, there was a sudden alarm that a German invasion was imminent. bate revolved around the question of Emergency defense measures were taken by both Holland and Belgium,

There appeared to be no signs of but nothing happened. From Berlin the Reich but were then halted for Winston Churchill, speaking for some unknown reason. Amy land ofthe British government, made an fensive by Germany would have to important radio address in which he be thru Holland or Belgium, it was called upon the neutral European pointed out But whether offensive operations would be begun in the

West at all still appeared undecided. Certain French sources suggested that the entire invasion scare might have been a German feint, the Reich As soon as the proposal reached Churchill said, their fate would be really contemplating a decisive move tion was rumored.

The Scandinavian countries were drawn closer to war last week as both Norway and Sweden protested to Moscow against repeated violations of their neutrality in the course of the war with Finland. Moscow answered with an apology and the incident was declared to be closed. But in the controlled German and Russian press, violent denunciations of the two Scandmavian countries continued. In Stockholm, former Foreign Minister Rikhard Sandler, a social-democrat, criticized the social-democratic government and urged a Scandinavian "defense league" against Germany and Russıa. A German move against Sweden was feared to be imminent.

Russia's invasion of Finland, in its seventh week, met with fresh reverses It looked as if no serious offensives could be undertaken by the Russians until the return of Spring.

A diplomatic crisis of some importance arose last week as Great Bri-"safety zone" drawn around the Labor spokesmen vigorously de- Americas by the Pan-American Connounced the indictments and stressed ference but also Washington's proof conspiracy to establish restraint of the great danger inherent in the at- test against British interference tempt of the federal government to with American mails in connection make use of the anti-trust laws with the blockade Despite Secretary against trade unions. If it is unlaw- Hull's suggestion that the American Clipper might avoid calling at Bertinued, it was felt that in the end Washington would submit, since the entire policy of the State Department has been based on "Anglo-American cooperation."

Lovestone Talks On Russo-Finnish **Crisis at Forum**

New York City The keen interest in the Russian-Finnish situation was evidenced by the number of people that turned out during a driving rainstorm Sunday evening, January 14, to hear Jay Lovestone speak at the Community Church Forum. The topic of his discussion was "What Has Happened to the Russian Revolution-and Why?" Dr. John Haynes Holmes presided at this meeting.

The capacity audience remained beyond the usual hour set for closing to ask many questions and participate in the discussion from the floor. Lovestone's talk was frequently punctuated with applause. He explained why Stalin's venture in Finland was imperialistic rather than a move that would further socialism. He stressed the point that the ideals of the Russian Revolution must not be lost sight of, that they had brought tremendous advances for the Russian masses in the early stages of the revolution, and that they must continue to inspire those whose striving to fulfill those ideals.

He voiced his belief that the Ruslie dormant for eternity. As he expressed it, "the situation is not

(7av Lovestone's speech at the Community Church forum will be published

The California Animal Defense and Anti-Vivisection League has wired Secretary of State Hull urging an embargo on the shipment of animals to the warring nations. Sending horses and mules to war is cruelty, the League argued.

With men, of course, it is quite

Washington Continues **Drive Against Unions**

Labor Leaders Indicted in Two Cities

Washington, D. C since the Department of Justice be-A sudden move in the Department gan its drive last October. No case of Justice drive against organized has yet come to court altho Leo F. sives was found in the home of one labor by using the anti-trust laws Tierny, special assistant to the Atof the accused. Chief among the against trade unions came last week torney General, who directed the Senator Borah was best known for prisoners were William Gerald Bishas several score officials of A. F. of Chicago inquiry, said that he would tain rejected not only the so-called building-trades unions were in- ask for an dicted by federal grand juries in Chicago and New Orleans on charges trade in violation of the Sherman laws. A number of corporations and a trade association were also in-

> trade-union leaders, including the heads of the Building and Construction Trades Council and of most of were named in indictments. They material delivered by the C.I.O.'s United Transport Workers Union.

Local 67, an A. F. of L. affiliate, was acting "in furtherance of an illegal alleged that the union refused to

vere not on the "legitimate" list. These indictments brought up to trade-union officials, indicted their command.

ful for A. F of L. unions to refuse In New Orleans, twenty-four to handle goods delivered by a C.I.O. muda if the British practise conunion, as the Chicago indictment charges, then it must be equally unlawful for trade unions, A. F. of L. the city's building-trades unions, and C.IO alike, to refuse to handle goods manufactured or transported were accused of refusing to receive under scab conditions. Restraint of trade can be charged in one case as in the other. And in the Chicago sit-In Chicago, the Ceramic, Mosaic and Encaustic Tile Layers Union, if the maintenance of a "legitimate" list by unions is regarded as an unlawful "restraint of trade"

indicted with eight of its officers, for | because the Department of Justice doesn't happen to approve of the combination and conspiracy." It was purpose for which this "legitimate" list is kept, then all forms of tradesupply tile setters to contractors that union control are placed in jeopardy. Officials of the A. F. of L. de-

clared that they would fight the antiabout 400 the number of individuals labor campaign of the Justice Deand groups, including many unions partment with all the resources at

How Shall We Attain a Socialist Peace?

(We publish below a manifesto-appeal issued recently by | the International Workers Front Against War -Editor.) N the name of the International Workers Front

Against War, In the name of our brothers in all lands, plunged into bloodshed, slavery and death,

In the name of our wives and mothers. We, workers of Germany, England, France, the So viet Union, Italy, Spain, Scandinavia, America,

We, the colonial slaves of all parts of the earth, We declare: This war is only the continuation of the war of

1914-18.

The victors are trying to hold on to their spoils. The defeated powers are trying to regain what they They fight for the same territories, the same

markets, the same raw materials, led by the same old men on whose hands is the blood-guilt of the last war. All is the same in the new imperialist conflict, except the level of economic resources is far lower now, the level of destructive technique is far higher now, than in 1914.

For these reasons, all of us together, in all tongues,

THIS IS NOT OUR WAR! WE DEMAND IMMEDI-

This war can accomplish nothing but ruin. It destroys our liberties, our means of livelihood, our lives. We will not accept such sacrifices for a cause that

is not our own. With all our power we will struggle: In the neutral lands—to keep them out of this war. In the lands already involved—to force an immedi- lands. ate peacs.

Peace without annexations, without indemnities, without the partition of peoples who wish to remain united, without the subjection of peoples who wish to be free, without the oppression of minorities and colonial lands.

Peace thru the right of the peoples freely to decide

How Can This Be Done?

WE call for unity of action of all the workers, whether they call themselves socialist, pacifist, anarchist, syndicalist, communist or trade unionist—all those who, remaining faithful to themselves and their class, refuse to accept the responsibility for the crimes of their government, ruling class or burocracy.

Our International Workers Front Against War undertakes, with the support and under the constant control of all such workers, the task of restoring peace and putting an end to the causes of war.

We defend our liberties against dictatorship in our existence against our own exploiters.

We fight to take away from our rulers the right to dispose of our persons and our lives; we fight to take control of the questions of peace and war, life and death, to take control of our own destiny.

Our Main Enemy Is at Home

OUR struggle for peace, our opposition to the war, grows and will grow from week to week, in all

If the ruling classes persist in prolonging the war their accomplices.

an end to their rule and their war-breeding system. | are at the bottom of imperialist war, by the exposure To bring about hese things the first step is the fra- of their activities and international connections, by ternization of the wass of the soldiers and the mass of the collective appropriation of all the forces of prothe peoples, acres, all fronts.

We demand an end to this war! We demand an end

The men responsible for the last war and this one, cannot make an enduring peace. Even if, under our pressure, they bring about peace, it will be but a breathing spell between two wars.

Therefore, we must continue our struggle for immediate peace and for a permanent,

FOR A SOCIALIST PEACE! We must drive out the governments guilty of

plunging their peoples into war. We must put an end to the capitalist system which bears war in its womb as the sleeping cloud bears

the storm.' We must put an end to the Stalinist totalitarian regime, which bears a like blood-guilt on its hands own land. We fight to maintain our standards and and endangers what remains of the Russian Revolution.

> HOW CAN WE ATTAIN A SOCIALIST PEACE? By setting up of workers and farmers (peasants) governments directly controlled by the masses.

> By the control of all economic functions by the trade nions, under democratic procedure with universal suffrage, secret ballot and freedom of speech and press and association.

> By the liberation of the colonial peoples. By the meting out of justice to all dictators—Bonapartist, fascist, Nazist, Stalinist, Franquist . . . and all

despite our will, we must, we shall find a way to put | By the expropriation of the banks and trusts which duction by communities of free workers.

> A Socialist Peace Will Open a New Epoch

WITH a plan for international equipment: great air lines, rail and sea lines, libraries, universities, aboratories, hospitals, stadiums, labor communities—to experience had taught them that take the place of tanks, bombers, arsenals, battleships, progress can be achieved only by barracks, fortifications and bristling frontiers.

With a plan for the rational development of production and distribution: a sharing of the advantages erate the totalitarian regime into of privileged regions and raw materials, of modern which Stalin has perverted the Rustransport and technique, and a free distribution of the sian Revolution—just as he believed means of existence to the needy, the aged and the that the German masses would not

Thus the economic means and material wealth, established for the first time under a regime of freedom, will become the starting point for the united march of mankind towards social equality, cultural development and fraternal collaboration between all in an early issue of this paper - Editor) men and all peoples.

Let all those who, thruout the war-torn world, remain faithful to these aspirations for a higher civilization grasp hands despite all obstacles across all frontiers.

And then THE CANNONS WILL BE STILLED

AND A SOCIALIST WORLD WILL BE BUILT.

Wage Refund

Brooklyn, N. Y. decision ordering the Commo A dore Knitting Mills to make restitution of \$27,190 to home-workers in states from Maine to Pennsylvania, some of whom earned, it was charged, as low as 3 cents an hour, was handed down last week by Judge Robert A. Inch in federal court,

The action was the result of an investigation conducted by Murray George B. Kelly, regional director in and decency. New York of the Wage-and-Hour Division of the Unitd States Department of Labor, which enforces the Wage-and-Hour Act prohibiting the payment of less than 30 cents an hour to home-workers.

The investigation recently caused eleven other concerns engaged in the manufacture of knitted-outerwear garments to be enjoined from violating the wage act and to make restitution of more than \$250,000 to

The judgment restrains the Commodore concern from paying any home-worker less than 30 cents an hour and goes on to define homeworkers as "any person producing goods for or on behalf of the defendant in or about a home, whether the materials are furnished by the defendant or by others."

The Commodore concern was also charged with failure to keep proper and accurate home-work records, and the injunction makes it mandatory for the defendant to keep these

By WM. M. LEISERSON

THE procedures outlined in the

the Board's regulations work out in

An employee, or group of employ-

In many cases, the charges prove

to be unfounded, and they are then

dismissed by the regional director.

Provision is made for an appeal

from such a dismissal to the Board

in Washington. If it appears that

the law has been violated and at-

tempts to secure compliance are un-

successful, a full report is prepared

ization of a complaint which is for-

warded to the Board. In preparing

this report, the regional director has

examiner but also of attorneys on

his staff, and the request for author-

ization of a complaint is signed both

of the legal staff at the regional

charges. A trial examiner is then

assigned from Washington to con-

findings of fact and recommenda-

to one of his subordinates, known as Washington.

vassed, he is interviewed and given record in the case as well as the

an opportunity to tell his side of the findings of the trial examiner, the

story. Quite often, this brings about exceptions, and the briefs. On the

ment of the case without further ments, the Board makes its decision.

regional attorney who is in charge mit the whole record and all the

Washington, and if the Board finds so finds, it issues an enforcement

it has merit, the regional director is order. Then, if the employer refuses

authorized to issue a complaint and to obey, he may be cited for con-

to provide for a hearing of the tempt of court.

court that the decision is supported

Trade Commission, the Securities

ees, or a union, files a charge at any

the following manner.

procedure.

Wagner Act and elaborated in

Court Orders Have the C.I.O. Leaders Home-Work Really Come to This?

FROM the January 8 issue of the C.I.O. News, the official publication of the Congress of Industrial Organizations, we quote the following

"Naming a former Department of Justice attache as a staff member of the United Construction Workers Organizing Committee was an nounced by Chairman A. D. Lewis.

"Russel Turner Sr., who had had extensive experience in the construction industry, joined the U.C.W.O.C. staff as special organizer. For the past year, he has been on the staff of the Justice Department where he took part in the anti-trust law inquiries into the building trades."

It is doubtful if there is anything in the recent history of the labor movement to match this action of the C.I.O. in its utter shamelessness, in Baron under the supervision of its brazen flaunting of the most elementary standards of labor solidarity

> The Department of Justice, thru its Anti-Trust Division, is engaged in a ruthless attack on organized labor in the building trades. Under the obey orders after registration. A guidance of Assistant Attorney-General Thurman Arnold, it is attempting to revive the use of the Sherman and Clayton anti-trust laws against labor, a practise always sharply condemned by progressive legislators, liberal wages, rents, fuel, power, transporjurists and virtually all students of labor legislation. The union-busting crusade of the Justice Department is directed immediately against the building-trades unions of the A. F. of L., but in the long run it hangs "any product, foodstuff, material, as a menace over the entire labor movement, C.I.O. and A. F. of L. alike. If ever there was a cause in which labor solidarity and united doubtedly find the means to enforce action are mandatory, this is it. Anyone with a grain of loyalty to the cause of labor would be ready to put aside all differences, however grave, and join the A. F. of L. in beating back the common danger.

> But what has the C.I.O. done? Not content with plunging into a crassly dual-unionist adventure by setting up a competitive union in the building trades, which it has not the shadow of justification for invading: not content with keeping shamefully silent on the Department of Justice's assault on the rights of labor-the C.I.O. has now actually hired one of Thurman Arnold's specialists in union-busting to serve as a "special or- affecting management would also afganizer" for its dualist outfit! Evidently his training in the Justice Department is expected to stand the C.I.O. dual union in good stead in its war upon the A. F. of L. Why not hire operatives of strike-breaking Provisions. detective agencies? They might also prove "useful" against the A. F. of L.

> Only people who have lost all sense of decency in the bitterness of their factional hate could be guilty of so atrocious an act. Have the the opinion of the President, the leaders of the C.I.O. really come to this?

Labor Should Demand Red Caps Union CIO and AFL **End of M-Day Plans**

Dictatorship Is Aim of the War Department

By MATTHEW WOLL

(This is the concluding instalment of he address delivered on December 1, of the A F of L, before the Trenton, sulted in the very extensive and N J, Central Labor Union—Editor) complete study of the President's

THE wording of the Industrial as to the means which the War Department will use to enforce registration or the penalties to be imposed upon registrants who fail to government, however, which, under the provisions of the Industrial Mobilization Plan, can control prices, ment, and which can commandeer commodity or real property" will un-

TWO SINISTER **PROVISIONS**

Tho the following passage of the Industrial Mobilization Plan is entitled, "Industrial Management Provisions," it does not take much imagination to realize that regulation

"Title II-Industrial Management

"This title authorizes a draft of industrial management. When, in successful prosecution of the war requires it, he may establish rules and regulations for the registration of all persons in the management or control of industry. This is intended to apply to persons in executive positions who are unwilling to cooperate in the industrial war effort. In the discretion of the President, registered persons in any industrial plant or industry may be brought into the service of the government for the duration of the war and shall be subject to the jurisdiction of the War Department. However, the Secretary of War is not to interfere with the internal management of the industries. He may, in the public interest, transfer registrants to any civilian service within the jurisdiction of the War Department. The compensation of such persons industrially drafted will be paid by the government at rates to be fixed by the President, and they may not acany plant in which they render serregulations for the administration of this title would be made by the President and penalties are provided in

"Title III-War Resources Con-

"This title gives the President very broad powers to control all of the resources of the nation by price- Furriers appeared before the New elected administration of the union fixing, licensing, rationing, requisitioning, priorities—and other measures for directing and unifying the industrial war effort."

These two titles include provisions within them which call for the complete subjugation of every man, woman and child to the will of the Chief Executive and the War De- the U.P.F. partment. This is a picture of the one hundred percent totalitarian state which even Hitler and Stalin might well envy. And do not be deluded that because the above two titles do not refer specifically to labor that labor is to be excluded from the controls therein. One cannot bind industry without at the same time affecting labor likewise. The government makes little pretense that its controls over the nation's economic life will be anything less than dictatorial. It will rigidly control production, transportation, manufacturing, fuel and power, prices, trade, finance -and labor.

DICTATORSHIP AFTER THE WAR

According to the Industrial Mobilization Plan, the government will keep its iron grip on the nation's economic life and its dictatorial control over labor after the war is over. For how long? Apparently until "post-war readjustment" is complete. That may mean six months, ten years or forever. The World War 'post-war readjustment" has not yet been finished.

yet enacted into law, but as was is much more refined than the kind clearly brought out recently in the you used when you were in opposi-Senate, the whole Industrial Mobil- tion to the administration or than ization Plan exists on the theory the kind you use even now! agencies during war-time. The fact union money, carrying on dishonest that Congress has not yet granted elections, generally leading the union these powers is of only minor con- in the most undemocratic fashion cern. We must remember that the permitting the bosses to be charit-President, as Commander-in-Chief able on the sweat of the workers, all of the armed forces, in addition to this for the interests of a political powers already delegated to him by party, are only a part of the accusaspecific acts of Congress during war- tions we are making against you in time, has what is commonly called our daily fight. the "war powers of the President." These powers have not been completely defined in law or in the expressions of the courts, and as a feel that the intentions of calling us matter of actual fact are not only on the same charges in both places indefinable but are beyond practical were insincere. Because, if the Joint limits. The war-time powers as ex- Council is to act as the trial commitercised by President Wilson would tee, then the Grievance Board, which have been adequate to insure the is only a sub-committee, certainly immediate and complete application commands less power than the Counof the Industrial Mobilization Plan cil as a whole. And, if the Grievance in all of its details without a single | Board is to try us, then our appear- | that you will be prepared to produce

deemed necessary or desirable in an emergency.

learn what are the present war-time 1939 by Matthew Woll, vice-president powers of the President. This recomplete study of the President's war powers now on the statute books. There has come to my hands, ⚠ Mobilization Plan is also vague in the Congressional Record of October 25, 1939, a study of the emergency powers of the President, and I am compelled to agree with others who contend that the Chief Executive's present war powers are sufficient for him to put the Industrial Mobilization Plan into effect upon his declaration of a national emergency due to the "imminence of

> We must not forget that on September 9 last, the President did declare a state of national emergency but did not base that emergency on the imminence of war. Later, he informed the press that what he had declared was a "limited emergency." So far as I have been able to determine, there is no statugency." Apparently, the President regarded the emergency as "limited" simply because he did not base the declaration of the emergency on the imminence of war."

CONGRESS SHOULD ACT NOW

What, then, is the immediate situation which confronts American labor and the civilian population generally? We know that there exists in Washington a plan known as the Industrial Mobilization Plan under which the nation will be controlled and regulated in time of war or in an emergency due to the imminence of war. We know that the President course of action is clear. We must such projects. has already declared a state of insist, thru our duly elected represenemergency to exist and that he has tatives, that a full discussion on the already invoked certain emergency floor of Congress be held on those powers. We know that the Plan in provisions and details of the Indusquestion has been approved jointly trial Mobilization Plan which affect of unemployment-compensation regby the Acting Secretary of War and the civilian population. We must inthe Acting Secretary of the Navy, sist that the rights of forty million ty tax collections for benefit payand we are justified in believing that working men and women in the the plan is familiar to the President, United States be fully represented, if not approved by him. We have that the rights of collective bargainseen that whereas the Plan vitally ing by trade unions be held inviolate, affects the rights of labor and even and that labor laws designed to prothe every-day lives of every work- tect, benefit and advance the rights ance legislation and standardization ing man's family, labor has been ac- and interests of working men, wocorded practically no representation men and children of our land shall ulations.

Holds Decisive Convention

New York City. THE International Brotherhood of Red Caps met in their second annual convention here last week Recently, an attempt was made to Delegates from railroad terminals in many parts of the country assembled to deal with a series of pressing problems facing their organization the most important of which was wages. On almost all railroad systerms, red-caps receive no wages at all; their only income is derived from tips.

Willard S. Townsend, president of the union, reported on the fight his organization was making to have the cailroads pay minimum wage scales inder the law aside from tips. He reported good progress in this struggle, both Interstate Commerce Com mission and the Wages and Hours Division having rendered favorable rulings. The convention authorized continuation of this fight.

The delegates endorsed the Wag ner-Gavagan anti-lynching bill and the LaFollette-Ludlow war-referen dum proposal.

The convention decided to change the name of the organization to the tory provision for a "limited emer-| United Transport Service Employees of America.

All officers and delegates stressed the great strides the union had made in recent months in organizing the 5,200 red-caps in this country.

whereas the Plan has not yet been put in motion, eternal vigilance and independence on the part of Congress is essential lest the necessary validating acts be rushed thru under

cover of an emergency. Believing, as we must, that if the Industrial Mobilization Plan is put into effect, it will spell the doom of organized labor in America and des- ing wages be made a requisite for troy the liberties of our people, our on the regulatory boards envisaged not be abrogated or nullified under in the Plan. We have seen that any pretext.

Progressives Challenge Fur Union Burocracy

Ask for Impartial Labor Committee

New York City. of charges against the administra-

The spokesman for the progressives was Benjamin Baraz, who read a statement giving the position of

After the statement was read. Ir ving Potash, manager of the Joint Council, tried to put over a demagogic proposal that the "workers should be the judges" The progressives welcomed the presence of workers but pressed their demand for an impartial committee of the labor movement to hear and try the case. The statement of the United Pro-

gressive Furriers, signed by Ben Antonoff, Nathan Kramer, Benjamin Baraz, Sam Glassman, Michael Intrator, and Sam Kass, follows in

"We, the, undersigned, members of the Furriers Joint Council, have been called by the Joint Council to present proof of charges made in a leaflet issued by the United Progressive Furriers some time in Novem

"To this we collectively wish to make the following statement in re

ply: "This is not the first time that we are called on charges for these alleged offenses. We are convinced that the real reason for calling us is we are constantly bringing to the The point has been raised that the fur workers. There is no doubt that

"We consider the act of calling us to the Joint Council and the Griev ance Board an irresponsible one. We

considered no more than a show. O^N Tuesday, January 9, six members of the United Progressive | However, in spite of the fact that we do not consider you the honestly-York Joint Council of the Furriers | we have appeared. We are here be-Union to answer for issuing a leaflet | cause we consider the union as our in which were enumerated a series organization, and because we do not think in the same terms as you do. namely, that the union is your private property.

> "We resterate the statements we have made time and again and the accusations we have constantly repeated against you. We are convinced that if an impartial committee would get a chance to look into the character of the charges and counter-charges, the entire situation in our union would look much different. Honestly, what are you quarreling about? Your claim is that you are the most honest and most democratic leadership We, on the contrary, believe that you have installed a dictatorship in our union, that you have used the union in order to justify Stalin and Stalinism. We believe that your entire conduct is unbecoming to union

"If you are so righteous and just, if you are the true leaders with the backing of the workers, then it is not only proper but it is imperative for prove again to the fur workers and you to bring this entire case to the light of day. Logically, this entire case should be put before an impar- | justified. It will prove again that tial committee chosen from within your persecutions against us have the labor movement, and settled no ground." once and for all.

"Honestly speaking, can any person with common-sense believe that ended twenty-one years ago and not because of language used, but in we who are charging you with comorder to conceal the real issues which | mitting all kinds of crimes, can be tried by you, that we can trust you to be prosecutor, judge and jury and Industrial Mobilization Plan is not the language we used in our leaflets still expect to get justice from you? We are convinced that you yourselves don't believe it!

"From previous experience, we know that your aim is to prosecute that the powers provided for within "The accusations we have made and persecute the opposition, to still it will promptly be placed in the against you that you are collaborat- our voices, to use your dictatorial hands of the necessary super- ing with the bosses, squandering whip over us to the extent of starving us and driving us out of the fur

"Of course, you want a free hand in all your machinations and collaborations with the bosses. You put the interests of your party people above the interests of the entire membership of the union. When we object but that it had been repeatedly and expose these evils, you call us to trial and you insist on being our judges. No, we cannot submit to such

"In conclusion, we wish to state that we are prepared to produce proof before an impartial committee of the labor movement of the accusations we have made against you. We hope you will see eye to eye with us on this matter, that you will at last agree to such a committee and self from it."

Put Demands To Congsess

Washington, D. C. THE Congress of Industrial Or-L ganizations and the American Federation of Labor presented to Congress widely divergent 1940 legislative programs last week, but they agreed on two issues-that the United States must keep out of war and that unemployment is the foremost domestic problem.

They were particularly opposed with respect to the Wagner Act. The C.I.O praised it as "one of the greatest achievements for organized labor" and urged adoption of three strengthening amendments. The A. F. of L. assailed the "biased Board" and demanded a new five-man body to replace it.

The C I.O. asked amendments to provide criminal penalties for violations of the act, to bar awarding of government contracts to violators, and to prohibit the N.L.R.B. "from carving up any industrial units established by the industrial unions of the C.I.O." The Federation urged enactment of the Walsh-Barden amendments to change the Board, permit workers to choose their own bargaining units and "check the present tendency of the Board to attempt to shape the form and character of the trade-unich movement."

The C I.O program was transmitted by John L. Lewis, in identical letters to all Congressmen. William Green, A. F. of L. president, sent up the Federation program after meeting with his legislative commit-

Both programs recommended expansion of the government's housing programs, but the A. F. of L. also demanded that payment of prevailgranting of government aid to any

Both programs urged expansion of the social-security program. The C.I O., however, urged adoption of its \$60-at-60 plank, standardization ulations and use of all social-securiments instead of for creation of a reserve fund. The Federation urged establishment of an advisory council to recommend improvements in the program, enactment of health-insurof unemployment-compensation reg-

Relative to unemployment, the C.I.O. called for convocation of "the responsible leaders from the government, industry, labor and agriculture, who should be commandeered by the government to work at this problem until some concrete plans have been formulated" and appropriation of suffic ent funds to give work relief jobs for at least 3,000,000 persons. It also recommended expansion of the National Youth Administration program "to employ all young people who are out of work and out of school."

The A. F. of L. declared its unwillingness to "tolerate the idea of permanent unemployment," and recommended creation of a National Advisory Council to co-ordinate restoration of the idle plants to operation to absorb unemployed, extension of the six-hour day and five-day week, restoration of the prevailing wage principle to all relief projects, creation of a permanent publicworks program and "an adequate

appropriation" for relief. Other C.I.O. points were:

Extension of the wage-hour act and expansion of its administration. Enactment of a government health program, including a federal hospital-building program, expansion of the Public Health Service, establishment of a medical-care program for lower-paid brackets, and authorization of a Labor Department industrial disease-control program.

of the libelous and irresponsible accusations which you are continuously makıng agaınst us.

"Failing to agree to our proposition to have the charges tested before an impartial committee will only to the labor movement in general that our accusations against you are

17 "Fronters" Are Held in Plot

(Continued from page 1) conspiracy were rather vague, above all as to the means by which the handful of plotters with a dozen rifles and eighteen cans of cordite powder expected to accomplish their rather ambitious aims.

At first, Father Coughlin denied vigorously that the seventeen plotters were associated with him or his movement, calling attention to the fact that he had some weeks before returned a \$100 contribution from the New York Christian Fronters. But it was pointed out that not only was the Christian Front a direct offspring of the Coughlin movement, praised in Father Coughlin's paper, Social Justice. One of Coughlin's lieutenants, moreover, had addressed a recent rally of the Christian Front in New York at which a collection was taken up for Social Justice.

In last Sunday's radio address, Coughlin therefore shifted his position and declared that altho he was "not a member of the Christian Front," he did not "dissociate him-

(Read the editorial, "Creatures of enactment of Congress if this were ance before the Joint Council is to be proofs before this same committee Decay" on page 4.—Editor.)

Roosevelt Proposes Loan to Finland

(Continued from Page 1) reviving foreign loans to belligerents in violation of America's neutrality policy, in spirit if not in letter. Certain Senators pointed out that even the the loan would be officially for non-military purposes Finland could arrange to have the "civilian supplies" traded for arms and the restriction would thus be evaded anyway.

Opposition to the President's proposal as a danger to American neutrality was not limited to the socalled "isolationist" or "peace" block in the Senate but was widespread among those who ordinarily support the Administration's foreign policies. Even Vice-President Garner expressed himself as not very enthusiastic about the idea. Reports from various parts of the country indicated that there was a strong fear among the people that the Finnish loan might become an entering wedge in breaking down the whole system of neutrality safeguards against war involvement.

(Read the editorial, "Let's Watch Our Step!", on page 4.—Editor.)

How the Wagner Act Is Court Decides Written Pact Is Administered by NLRB Not Mandatory

Aims to Eliminate Unfair Practises the employer has engaged in unfair RULING that the Wagner Act does not require an employer to labor practises, he recommends such sign a contract with a labor union, affirmative action as will effectuate the federal circuit court of appeals the policies of the act. here recently reversed the National This report is then served upon all Labor Relations Board's order that the parties to the case. If the em- the Inland Steel Co. recognize the ployer complies with the trial ex- C.I.O. Steel Workers Organizing aminer's recommendations, the Board Committee as sole bargaining agent

one of the twenty-two regional of- ordinarily closes the case. Similarly, for its employees. fices maintained by the Board cover- if the trial examiner finds that the The court sustained the company's ing all parts of the country. The employer has not engaged in unfair contention that it had not received a charge must be in writing, and the practises and no exceptions are filed, full hearing before Charles A. Wood, cept any other compensation from allegations that an employer has en- the case is considered closed. All N.L.R.B. trial examiner, and sharpgaged in or is engaging in any unparties are afforded opportunity to ly criticized Mr Wood's conduct in vices during the war. Rules and fair labor practises must be sworn file exceptions to the intermediate the hearing which led to the order.

to. This charge is then assigned for report, and any party may request The court sent back to the N.L.R.B. investigation by the regional director oral argument before the Board in for a new hearing all phases of the board's order of November 12, 1938, the bill for violations of such rules a field examiner. The employer is There is a Review Division in the in which, among other things, the and regulations." notified, and after the evidence in Legal Department of the Board company was required to cease domsupport of the charge has been can- which carefully reviews the whole nating a company union

It was the court's ruling that under the Wagner Act, collective-bargaining procedure is "mandatory" conferences which result in a settle- basis of all this and the oral argubut the "result is not." But in its decisions the Board has

"The statute is barren of any exno authority to punish an employer; press language requiring a signed or any of his agents. It may only or- agreement and it must be held that der those whom it has found to have no such agreement is required unviolated the law to cease and desist less we are authorized to read into from their violations. If, however, an the term 'collective bargaining' the employer has illegally punished em- the condition that all agreements, ployees by loss of employment or not some, must be reduced to writ-

wages, the Board may order rein- ing," the court declared. The order by the N.L.R.B. was statement of such employees and rein the form of a request for author- fund to them the wages they have the first in which it directed a company to sign a contract covering an When the decisions and orders of agreement with a union. Labor leadthe Board are issued, there are no ers hailed the order, which attracted the assistance not only of the field penalties imposed on the employer wide attention, because the S.W.O.C. f he does not obey them. He may demand for a written agreement disregard them if he sees fit. Then it was the paramount issue in the becomes necessary for the Board to strike against Inland and three other "little steel" companies in 1937. by the regional director and by the go to a circuit court of appeals, sub-

papers in the case, and show the tional Labor Relations Act should be subject to such furious attacks, as if This request is then reviewed in by substantial evidence. If the court they were new and unique in our system of law. When it is remembered, however, that the Interstate Commerce Act and the Federal Trade Commission Act in the early These procedures, it seems to me, days of their existence were subsafeguard the rights of employers jected to exactly the same kind of duct the hearing, and a record is at every step. They are the same attacks and criticisms, then perhaps made. On the basis of the record, procedures that Congress has pro- the explanation is to be found in the the trial examiner issues an inter- vided for the elimination of unfair fact that those who enjoy special mediate report in which he makes practises against shippers by the privileges from the government railroads, for the prevention of never learn anything from history. tions as to what disposition should monopolistic practises and restraints. They resent the loss of their be made of the case. If he finds that of trade by combinations and trusts, privileges, and they always use the and for the abolition of fraud and same arguments against every efdeceit in the sale of securities and fort of the government to provide foods and drugs. The Interstate equal protection of the laws for all Commerce Commission, the Federal its citizens.

(This article is part of a memoran and Exchange Commission, and many other administrative agencies dum recently submitted by Dr. Leiser are governed by the same kind of son to the Smith Committee investigalaw that governs the activities of ting the NLRB Other sections of this the National Labor Relations Board. memorandum appeared in previous is-It is difficult to understand, therefore, why the procedures of the Nafuture issue — Editor)

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Armaments Economy Leads To Industrial, Social Ruin

Socialist Production for Use Is Only Alternative

By LYMAN FRASER

TATIONS and peoples may commit social suicide. They may do so when they come to a stage in history where, for one reason or another, pressing economic and political problems are not solved in a progressive fashion.

The capitalist world is now in that stage. Even before the war broke out, this suicidal tendency was there, manifested most clearly in the increasing resort to the system of armament economics—that is, a system which makes production of armaments the primary purpose of economic activity.

WHY FASCISTS TURN TO ARMS

Fascist governments early adopted the system of armament economics for two reasons: they imagined it would solve the problem of increasing the utilization of economic resources and ending unemployment by an increasing production of armaments, and they hoped thru war, conquest and annexation to solve their economic problems at the expense of other peoples.

And now, with definite adoption of an American system of armament economics, there are forces developing which drive our own country and our own people toward social

All sorts of ideological and political reasons are being used to justify an American system of armament economics, and they are all significant. But the underlying reason, the most pressing force, is the inability to solve our economic crisis in a progressive fashion.

The American economic crisis has become permanent. It is now over ten years since the breakdown of prosperity in 1929, a breakdown interrupted only by the incomplete and short-lived "prosperity" of 1936-37. During the nine years 1930-38, there was an economic loss of \$300 billion in additional goods and services that might have been produced if all our economic resources and labor had been used-an economic loss equal to more than seven times the total wages and salaries earned in 1937, the most prosperous year since 1930. All the New Deal philosophy and all the New Deal activities have been unable to solve the crisis: a huge proportion of our capacity to produce goods and services is still unused and 10,000,000 employable workers are still unemployed.

It is a simple matter to solve the economic crisis in a progressive fashion. All it requires is putting to work all our economic resources and our labor regardless of profit.

PROFIT THE STUMBLING BLOCK

But that phrase "regardless of profit" is the stumbling block. Capitalism insists there can be no production without profit. But capitalist industry is becoming increasingly unprofitable: in the effort to save profits, capitalism permits unused capacity to mount, which in turn circle-and the only way to break thru the circle is to insist that work. the production of useful goods and serves the community regardless of what happens to the money profits to gigantic dimensions.

of the capitalist owners of industry. In the desperate effort to save profits, capitalism resorts to the desperation of armament economics.

It is desperation. For the system of armament economics is a confession of capitalist breakdown. It is unprofitable to build more houses for the masses of the people, but it is profitable to build more battleships. It is unprofitable to produce more automobiles with which to enjoy life, but it is profitable to produce more tanks with which to destroy life. It is unprofitable to produce more useful goods and services for the constructive purposes of peace, but it is profitable to produce more useless goods and services for the destructive purposes of war.

That is an insanity, arising out of capitalist decline and decay, which drives toward social suicide and the stifling of progress.

Not so long ago, the reactionary defenders of an American system of armament economics were saying: Look at Germany; it has at least solved the problem of unemployment.

Yes, look at Germany! The totalitarian state has crushed all democracy and civil rights. It has destroved the labor unions, transforming workers into slaves of the state. It has trampled upon life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. It has uprooted progressive forces and ideals and erected a new tower of barbarism from which reaction is let loose upon the world.

Yes, look at Germany! The totalitarian state has reduced unemployment by constantly increasing the statement of Jay Franklin in his production of munitions. It has re- column of December 31, concerning press, to say nothing of the violen duced unemployment by driving wo- a new relationship in world politics factionalists on the New Leader. men from their jobs, by sending mil- which Franklin endorses to the hilt? lions of workers into the armies and The statement: "The new relationthe labor camps. It has decreased ship between Mr. Roosevelt and Germany's capacity to produce use- Pope Pius XII is almost as potent ful goods and services by increasing a moral alliance as that between the the capacity to produce munitions Papacy and Charlemagne a thousfor the destructive purposes of war. and years ago."

hearted reactionary can look at Germany and ask us to imitate its barbarism. The progressive looks at Germany and resolves uncompromisingly to avoid its reactionary "solution" of the economic crisis.

An American system of armament economics must produce the same poisonous fruit upon which the German people are compelled to feed Armament economics is like the

use of drugs, which requires increasing doses to produce their stimulus. The armament program now being proposed for this country will produce a stimulus, which will then wear off and can be regained only by still larger production of munitions. And inevitably it all ends in

The reactionary interests accept armament economics because profits are protected. But, since an increasing proportion of resources and labor are used to produce useless goods in the form of armaments, the profits can be maintained only by lowering wages and mass standards of

And those lower standards of livreaction, because the system of for war; democracy and civil rights the hell of war.

Only the tough-minded and tough-| must be limited to permit reaction to secure its profits without progres sive opposition; labor unions must be increasingly "coordinated" into the armament program and deprived of their independence.

ALTERNATIVES

What are the alternatives to a program that drives toward social suicide?

The immediate alternative is to ınsıst upon government using our resources for purposes of peace Not only must the ruthless slashes of unemployment relief be stopped there must be a larger and transformed W.P A, with a planned pro gram of social-economic betterment which provides work at prevailing wages. There must be increasing appropriations for low-cost housing. There must be constructive work on the innumerable projects (including agricultural) which are useful and which would stimulate renewal of economic activity and employment.

The final alternative is socialism. For the resort to armament economics is a confession that capitaling are accompanied by increasing ism has reached the end of its rope. There must be a new social orderarmament economics has within it- the order of socialism-if humanity self the seeds of totalitarianism. In- is not to fall back into degrading dustry and labor must be mobilized barbarism or to be swallowed up in

The Road to Suicide

Year	Arms Budget
1933	\$ 667,893,000
1934	479,694,000
1935 .	533,598,000
1936	764,437,000
1937	856,112,000
1938	1,027,842,000
1939	1,162,575,000
1940	1,760,000,000
1941	2.336.000.000

(The 1941 figure is the official budget estimate. Actual expenditures will certainly be higher, probably reaching \$3,000,000,000.) Declared President Roosevelt at the Pan-American Conference

"We know that vast armaments are arising on every side and that the work of creating them employs men and women by the million. It is natural, however, for us to conclude that such employment is false employment, that it builds no permanent structures and creates no consumers goods for the maintenance of lasting prosperity. Nations guilty of these follies face the day when their weapons of destruction must be used against their neighbors or when an unsound economy like a house of cards must fall apart."

Letters from Our Readers:

at Buenos Aires in 1936:

On Socialist Unity

New York City.

Editor, Workers Age: TT is now some months since socialist unity was a burning topic in cuts down on profits. It is a vicious the columns of the Workers Age. Yet, with the campaign for unity attracting less attention than it did half a year ago, the need for unity, services, is never "unprofitable" if it the objective conditions that make it desirable and possible, have grown

> Everywhere one goes, ex-Stalinists and ex-Stalinist sympathizers have washed their hands of the C.P.; yet few of them indeed have found a new home. They may be scattered, independent, drifting, and in many cases, having confused communism and Stalinism and radicalism, they have turned their backs on the whole concept of socialism.

> The disintegration of the Stalinists proceeds, among certain sectors more quickly than among others, but at a steady pace; yet no other party is able to attract and hold these elements. People who but yesterday were ready to make great sacrifices for the class struggle are being lost to the movement.

Is it not clear that, after two decades of splits, secessions and expulsions, a movement of reconciliation would put new life into our strug-

Who stands in the way of unity? What are the various parties waiting for? Do they expect to proceed with unity after war is declared in America? Are they waiting until everything that is left of the movement has disintegrated?

EDWARD SAGARIN

F.D.R.'s Historical Inspiration

Chicago, Ill. Editor, Workers Age:

MAY I call the attention of your readers to a highly significant

It has increased economic activity in Only those who are weak in their Editor, Workers Age: general while decreasing the output heads or their spines could, firstly, THE first editorial and Will Her of useful goods and services, thus designate the alliance between the lowering the standards of living of Papacy and Charlemagne as a perialism are the best things I have And then it threw Germany into the modern alliance of the Papacy express my congratulations. and the ruling class of today as a

bulwark of defense of the "fundamental principles of culture and

cıvilizatıon.'

To set the history of Mr. Frankin's allusion aright and to shed some light on the possible significance of the "new" alliance, I quote from Charles Seignobos's "The Rise of ghanistan, in itself no easy task, European Civilization":

"The two authorities (secular and

religious-H. D.) were to render the bishop was to compel the faithful to obey the count by the threat ends at Khyber Pass. of spiritual penalties. Thus the king's material power of compulsion, in China, where Soviet Russia has in his capacity as military leader, undoubtedly established military and was placed at the service of the religious leaders to make the faithful submissive to the orders of the reds of miles of trekking over some Church, as well as to give effect to of the most inhospitable desert sentences pronounced by the clergy. region in the world before ending In return, the clergy placed its up at the unscalable Himalayas. spiritual power of excommunication at the sovereign's service to compel the faithful to obey him. This is the tions of Russian troops in Siberia origin of the system of collaboration, adopted by all governments, which lasted all over Europe down to the Sino-Japanese events. Under these nineteenth century.

"To secure the material subsistence of the clergy, Charlemagne laid down the rule that every church must possess a domain cultivated by peasants, the revenues of which were to provide the priest's maintenance, and ordered all his subjects to pay the parish priest a tenth of their produce, crops and herds."

"Workers Age Is A Great Relief . . . "

Editor, Workers Age: ENCLOSED find one dollar. I solo a subscription.

ter the violent vituperations of Stalinist and Trotskyist (majority

On Finland

movement for independence. Jinnah and his Moslem League do real war will start with Spring. He the masses of the German people. "moral alliance" and, secondly, hail read on the subject. Just a line to India, of course. The League re- will of necessity become a supply not represent all the Moslems in is informed that the United States presents middle-class and upper-

I RAISE YOU TWO NEUTRALS"

Is Stalin Planning to Strike at India?

Russia Would Face Vast Natural Obstacles

By J. CORK

DECENTLY, there appeared in I the Italian press the sensational accusation that Russia was massing troops in appropriate places not (Iraq and Iran) but also for an attack upon India itself. Tho a shrewd observer of international politics has evaluated this as merely an attempt on the part of Mussolini to frighten England into sending more troops to these regions and so thin out and weaken her defenses in the West, the question should be considered on its merits. Certainly, the imperialistic adventures of Stalin in the Baltic and Finland indicate that similar attempts elsewhere are not in principle repugnant to the politics of the Kremlin as practiced today. It is a practical question and should be so considered. On such grounds, the writer thinks the chances of Russia's attacking India are mighty slim. There are four possible ways for

Russia to approach India. 1. From the Caucasus across Iran to the western frontier of India. 2. From southern Siberia across Afghanistan to the northwest frontier. From the point in southern Siberia bordering directly on India northern boundary of India.

In all four cases, the geographical gle against England. difficulties are so great as to give India a natural defense as formidable as the Maginot Line. The Caucasus route across Iran crosses 1,500 miles of salt desert and bare plateaus, to come up finally against a series of barren highlands and mountain gullies stretching for 400 miles. Every vantage point is well

The Afghanistan route, after covering over 1,000 miles of Afends in two famous Indian passes, the Khyber and Shandur, both practically impassable to a mechanized each other support. The count was to compel the king's subjects to obey the clergy by material force; the bushes was to render army, narrow, flanked by mountains and guarded at their most important points by forts and air bases. The route from southern Siberia also

The fourth route from Sinkiang

Russia still has the Finnish nut to crack in the West. The concentraand Sinkiang are necessary to meet all emergencies connected with the circumstances a Russian attack on India is practically out of the ques-

In India, the feud of the two main

sections of the Indian people contin-

vantage of it, of course. A cable to

Delhi dated December 10 reports M.

A. Jinnah, president of the Moslem

lems thruout India to observe De-

and thanksgiving, as a mark of re-

lief that the Congress governments

have at last ceased to function." On

from Bombay, Jinnah reiterated his

Moslem grievances against the Con-

gress ministries, and demanded the

appointment of a Royal Commission

by Great Britain to investigate them.

Nehru has charged Jinnah with be-

ing desirous of preserving English

dominion over India, a charge which

Jinnah has denied with heat as

"unwarranted and mean." In the

meantime, every action of Jinnah's

plays into the hands of England and

cember 22 "as a day of deliverance

the Manchester Guardian from New

HINDU-MOSLEM

ues to boil and England is taking ad- vising that may lie ahead.

Gloversville, N. Y.

Workers Age is a great relief af

Praises Our Stand

New York City.

L berg's article on Stalin im-FRANK D. SLOCUM

lems, who fear for their privileges and would rather play ball with England than take chances with an independent India. In some places, the Moslem masses are opposed to the League and follow the Indian only for action in the Near East National Congress. The interesting deal with the relation of war to soreport of Kamaladevi in the Nation ciety in any real sense, in the sense of January 1, 1940 shows that in in which, for example, Silas B. Bengal, predominantly Moslem ter- McKinley's pioneering "Democracy ritory, the Peasant Party won a and Military Power" does. It has no majority in the last general election central unity of theme, and no unifor the Provincial Legislature, op- form point of view; a few odd scraps posing and routing the Moslem of undigested "Marxism" are made League. In the Northwest Frontier to do service for that. On the whole Province, another Moslem region, a this book may not inaccurately be National Congress ministry was functioning until its recent resignation. Nevertheless, Jinnah and his Moslem League command enough support to make difficulties.

> SITUATION IN CONGRESS ITSELF

The situation inside the Indian National Congress, from the scanty evidence available here, seems hardly encouraging, to say the least. The right-wing leadership around Gandhi is continually searching for a face- plainer language, a secret, disguised saving compromise to lead out or undercover Stalinist. (What he is of the present stalemate with Eng- now, after the Stalin-Hitler pact, I leash, and Gandhi and his lieute- book the vehicle of all the historical, at the famous Khyber Pass. 4. From nants spend more time attacking political and even technical falsifica-Sinkiang in northwest China to the them and attempting to keep them tion that is of the essence of Stalinin line than in deve eloping the strug- ism. In his shameless distortion of

A recent resolution of the Con- surpasses the official Stalinist press gress Working Committee contains which he has apparently taken as his the following ominous passage: "The model and from which he has learn-Committee, however, reminds Con- ed his wisdom. His lies against Cagressmen that passive resistance ballero, the P.O.U.M.ists and the necessitates continuous effort to anarchists are so extravagant as to achieve an honorable settlement. . . . The Committee is therefore willing to explore the possibilities of a set- proportions. He, of course, swallows tlement even tho the government has banged the door in the face of Congress. . . . " Such attitudes explain Russian is ever mentioned that is the dilatory do-nothing tactics on other than marvelous, that is less

United States News, January 12, 1940

FOR the first time in eight years, President Roosevelt is offering

For the first time in the same

eight years, Mr. Roosevelt is prepar-

ing to alter some of his old experi-

This shift of position is not only

revealed to Congress. The same shift

is stressed to White House visitors;

it is impressed upon New Dealers

themselves; it is a hint that the time

is at hand for revising the New

THE GOAL: To win back party

conservatives. To regain White

House leadership. To get set for a

coming election. To try in this way

Specifically, shifts in emphasis and

definite revision are to center in the

PUMP-PRIMING: A basic New

by spending borrowed money, can

Word support will continue to be

given to this theory. Actual support

passing by the 5 billion dollar lend-

spend plan that he tried to sell to

This is not only revision but aban-

donment of a New Deal plan for

government-directed investment

banking that was most important in

Real reason for this abandonment

lies in one fact. The fact: President

Roosevelt is confident that war de-

mands are going to prime the pump

ahead. The President is told that

base once the heavy bombing starts

Congress only six months ago.

on any broad scale will be denied. . .

to keep control of any New Deal re-

Congress no new experiment.

ments. . . .

following fields:

its implications.

bolster private business.

League, as having invited all Mos- Deal theory is that the government

December 13, it is further reported Mr. Roosevelt, in his right turn, is

puts obstacles in the path of the of American business in the period

class elements amongst the Mos- His advisers suggest that war will

The "Fourth New Deal"

cle, "Revising the New Deal," in the the period ahead.

(These paragraphs are from an arti- change the whole business picture in

(Continued on page 4)

By REGINALD REYNOLDS them, chiefly because hardly anyone in England would have believed London, England. them. Of course, I could have point-ONSISTENT with its present ed to the sheer weight of Indian opolicy, the government has evidence, to the essential connection given us a White Paper on "The between imperialism and repression. Treatment of German Nationals in But these stories would have been Germany." There is nothing new in disbelieved in England just because, it. It does not even give us better in the words of the White Paper, evidence than we had before. It just they were reminiscent "of the darktells us the sort of things one would est ages in the history of man." expect to happen under any dictatorship-fascist or imperialist. It doesn't matter whether each individual atrocity reported is true or

Wanted: White Paper

Hitlerites Have Nothing on "White Sahibs"

On British Atrocities

spirit of fascism, with the propa-

But I remember, when I was writ-

ing my "White Sahibs in India,"

testimony, but all the stories either

matically denied by the British

vestigation had been demanded and

I decided it was useless to publish

Books

=by Jim Cork=

WARFARE: The Relation of War to

University Press, New York.

nomer for the book does not

THE title of this book is a mis-

described as composed of some pieces

of interesting information, a little

instructive comment, much intermin-

able discussion of altogether second-

ary matters, a great many common-

places, a great deal more dubious

speculation and jumping at con-

clusions, all heavily interlarded with

rather absurd grotesqueries result-

ing from political ignorance and

When he wrote this book, Mr.

Renn was a crypto-Stalınist—in

events in the Spanish Civil War, he

whole the sham-"revolutionary"

than perfect. In all his remarks on

LABOR LAWS: . . . The Pres-

ident is prepared to accept some

change in the law that governs col-

lective bargaining and the law that

FARM CONTROLS: . . . Control

in agrıculture ıs based almost wholly

upon the use of subsidies to induce

individual farmers to comply with

government regulations. Mr. Roose-

velt now proposes to reduce some of

Here President Roosevelt appears

ready to go farther than his party in

TRADE AGREEMENTS:... New

Dealers are not at all friendly to

embraces them as a basic tenet of his

is abandoning his long-held idea of

change New Deal reform taxes...

limits hours in industry.

these subsidies. . . .

new policy.

prejudice.

ganda of the Nazı press.

I therefore confined myself to the published measures promulgated by the government, to reports of the maintenance of "law and order" as not All are in keeping with the they appeared in the British capitalist press, and occasionally I supplemented these with eye-witness accounts by Englishmen and Europeans, who, unfortunately, were unnow I looked at a whole drawer-full able to tell what went on behind of atrocities in India in 1930-32. prison walls or in places where no There was overwhelming Indian white observers were present. We often and again asked for inquiries. had been or would have been auto- Why was there no White Paper on the treatment of Indian nationals in authorities. In numerous cases, in- India?

You know the answer as well as I do, but there was never a time when it needed to be said more plainly. The White Paper is just part of the stream of propaganda, begun by the communists and others about 1934, to convince the world that Nazi Germany is "the enemy." Conversely, it must be assumed that we, who are "democratic," do not do these things. I attacked this type of propaganda as early as 1934 for its Society, by Ludwig Renn. Oxford vicious discrimination. We are now seeing precisely where it leads.

There are a few White Papers

we might ask for right now. Why not a White Paper on the charges of flogging and torture in Sierre Leone, a British colony which achieved some notoriety last Summer? There is plenty of evidence for the government to investigate.

Why not a White Paper on repression in Palestine? I have piles of evidence about shooting, flogging, torture and all the usual stuff, and there must be plenty more obtainable on the spot.

Why not some White Papers on our allies, the French? I have allegations from Annamites bayonetted to death for distributing literature Names, dates, places, every detail is supplied; and this is said to have happened more than once. I have charges of torture from Morocco.

Or better still, why not a White Paper on the administrative activities of Sir John Anderson, first in Ireland and later in Bengal? We did not think in those days that we should have the pleasure of his com-

land. The left is straining at the do not know.) Therefore he made his lain, we can almost wait now until Hitler or someone has material for a White Paper on "The Treatment of British Nationals in Britain." It won't be long now!

> Russian military affairs, he never so much as mentions the dreadful "purges" of the officer cadres: nor is there the slightest hint of any of the other grievous deficiencies and weaknesses of the Russian war machine, refute themselves. His Russiawhich most students of the subject worship reaches positively fantastic have been aware of all along and which have now become so obvious in the course of the invasion of Finmythology of Stalinism; nothing land. It would, by the way, be very interesting to have Mr. Renn's comments on the Finnish campaign and its lessons, especially in connection with the picture of the Red Army he gives in these pages.

> > Since this book was written in the Popular Front period, Nazi Germany is Mr. Renn's particular devil. (How does he feel about it now?) When he discusses anything German, as when he discusses anything Russian. he seems to lose all semblance of rationality—but in the opposite direction. Just as everything Russian in military affairs is just too perfect for words, so everything German in military affairs is all wrong, mere "fascist illusions" (the "Blitzkrieg," for example). Mr. Renn's comments on the Polish campaign should prove amusing. From a military standpoint, there

is little in this book worth notice. It is altogether outside the main current of contemporary military discussion and controversy. The author's feeble attempts at independent thinking—the moonshine of "open-front strategy," the supertrade agreements; yet Mr. Roosevelt ficial and one-sided theory of "similarity"—are entirely negligible.

Mr. Renn is a veteran of two wars, TAXES: The President definitely the World War and the Spanish Civil War, and a "keen student of militaxation for reform. He is accept- | tary history," according to the pubing the revisions of past years that lishers. But as Frederick once pointed out, army mules-and certain ARMAMENT: New Dealers have | "keen students"—may go thru many feared most of all that armament campaigns without learning anywould become a major factor in gov- thing—and this is particularly true ernment policy. Mr. Roosevelt is if they are of the Stalinist breed.

stressing armament in his new plans.

Reviewed by WILL HERBERG

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SATURDAY, JANUARY 27, 1940 Vol. 9.

LET'S WATCH OUR STEP!

OUR attitude towards the Russian invasion of Finland has been made clear more than once in these columns in the last month or so. We have denounced Stalin's assault on the Finns in terms of unreserved con demnation and we have expressed our sympathy for the Finnish masses fighting against a brutal invader. We have stressed that any support the American people can give them should certainly be forthcoming with a generous hand-provided only it does not endanger our neutrality or draw us closer to the maelstrom of war.

We must repeat and underline this point, for we believe that President Roosevelt's proposal for a U.S. government loan to Finland falls under the proviso thus expressed. We believe that building up loans to any country engaged in hostilities is building up pressure for war. Finland is a belligerent in fact if not in technical form. If American loans are to be advanced to Finland, why not to other countries that also claim, with how much right it will not be for us to determine, to be victims of aggression. First, non-military loans; then loans for arms; and

We had better not start it. The ban on loans to belligerents is the bulwark of our system of neutrality legislation. We cannot afford to let it be broken down or nibbled away.

To keep Amrica out of war is the first and paramount duty of every American, President Roosevelt and his Administration included.

CREATURES OF DECAY

UNDOUBTEDLY there are crackpot fascist groups scattered thruout the country plotting to usher in the totalitarian millenium by setting up a dictatorship, massacring the Jews, reenslaving the Negroes and instituting a reign of police terror, in fond imitation of their beloved Fuehrer. And very likely the seventeen Christian Fronters whom Mr. Hoover's G-men claim to have caught in a plot to overthrow the government with twelve rifles and eighteen bombs are of this kind. Perhaps the trial will bring to light some accurate information about these Coughlinite crusaders of hate who thrive on their very mystery and on the fantastically exaggerated rumors of their power, influence and connec

These crackpots are dangerous, precisely because they are crack pots. But it would be well for us not to lose our sense of reality and proportion or to let the arrests lull us into a false security. Let us hold fast to the profound truth enunciated by Professor Counts in his article in the December 1939 issue of the American Teacher: "We are convinced that the greatest threat to American democracy comes, not from doctrines or movements imported from beyond the seas, but rather from our failures at home." In a healthy society, fascist demagogues and hatemongers would be hardly more than offensive nuisances or cranks to be classed with other psychopaths. It is only in a society that is itself far gone in decay, that creatures of this sort can become a serious menace to freedom and civilization.

If we want to drive out the devil of fascism, let us turn our attention to an economic system that depends for its very existence on the persistence of distress and want in the midst of plenty, that condemns in creasing millions of men to the indescribable misery of permanent unemployment, that drives mankind to periodical outbursts of frenzied selfdestruction. In a social order allowing the mass of human beings to live a decent and peaceful existence there would be no possibility of a as Kautsky's Neue Zeit put it, the Lubinskys and fascist menace.

If we want to save ourselves from the scourge of dictatorship, let Mannerheims of Finland, and the Baltic barons, us turn our attention to keeping America out of war. For the moment this would never have gotten the better of the socialist country is involved in a large-scale foreign war, it will inevitably be saddled with a rigid, cast-iron military dictatorship that for authoritarianism and ruthless destruction of democracy will have little to learn from fascism abroad. A glance at the M-Day Industrial Mobilization Plan should be enough to convince us of that.

Yes, the menace of fascism is real and serious. But let us not lose sight of the basic source of this menace—a decaying social order, a contracting economy of scarcity and need. The crackpot "hate" groups are really only the noisome maggots that infest the decaying carcass of capitalism; they may and should be crushed, but they can hardly be stamped out as long as the decay continues.

THE HORE-BELISHA RESIGNATION

THE forced resignation of Leslie Hore-Belisha as British War Secretary has aroused world-wide speculation. And, indeed, it seems to be an event of major significance as a straw in the cross-currents of European diplomacy.

Doubtless the fact that Hore-Belisha is a Jew entered into the situation, but only in a secondary degree; after all he was a Jew also when he was appointed War Secretary and when he put thru his drastic army reforms. Resentment at these reforms in conservative army circles is probably another element, as well as differences in strategy to be followed in the present war. But at bottom, it seems to us, the issue goes deeper. It touches the fundamental question of an early truce with Germany.

Perhaps more light is cast on the mystery if we approach it from the point of view not so much of who was removed as of who was behind the removal and who replaced the removed minister. The chief wirepullers behind the removal, we learn from well-informed quarters, were Sir John Simon and Sir Samuel Hoare. The two are leaders of the "appeasemer!" faction in the Chamberlain cabinet; their pressure for an 'underst, nding" with Germany, thru such a man as Marshal Goering, is an open secret, and has been commented on more than once in these they shadow-box, England goes columns a recent weeks. Oliver Stanley, who replaces Hore-Belisha, is one 11ts way. While they proclaim that of England's outstanding Munich-men. His father-in-law is the notorious no Indian should fight England's Lord Landonderry. He himself is best remembered perhaps for his effort. on the very eve of the outbreak of the war, to put over a huge British loan to Nazi Germany as a last effort at "appeasement." It failed, but the orientation of Londonderry, Stanley, Simon, Hoare and their crowd remains the same.

What does all this add up to? There seems but little doubt that the British Foreign Office is exploring the way to an early truce with Germany amounting to another gigantic act of "appeasement," naturally tricked out with all sorts of face-saving trimmings (some internal changes in Germany, a token "independent Poland," etc.). The main things the following: "Strange as it icea seems to be to break Berlin away from Moscow and to transform may appear, my sympathies are the present war into a joint assault upon Russia. Signs are multiplying this war is resolving itself into one that informal contact has already been established and unofficial talks are already under way. The ousting of Hore-Belisha and his replacement by Oliver Stanley points emphatically in the same direction.

THE PROGRESS OF CHAOS

(Continued from page 1)

presentatives will be unable to escape the conclusion that sacrifices will have to be made by the British working class before equality of effort with France is reached."

These are among the forces at work that cannot be talked out of existence or hidden by patrioteers of any stripe. Here are devitalizing the December 1, 1939 issue of the Manchester Guardian quotes him as forces let loose by war efforts and arrangements. These forces may be unseen by the unobservant, but they are nevertheless fatal to the welfare of those left behind to produce the means of life and destruction. No country or continent is immune to these forces making only for the progress of devastation and chaos. Russia's workers and farmers are guarantee to do it myself. In the last beginning to pay a crushing price for Stalin's anti-peace policy. In far war, there was a doubt about your off Japan, the acute slump in agricultural output is the most alarming characteristic of her war economy. This sorry picture is made all the sadder by the resulting psychological effects. In short, the first and best way to halt the march of chaos and to insure sacial advance is to keep them may be serious and there will out of war and discard war as an instrument of policy.

By Rosa Luxemburg:

The Nationalities Question

(Continued from last week)

In Finland, so long as the socialist proletariat fought as a part of the closed Russian revolutionary phalanx, it possessed a position of dominant power: it had the majority in the Finnish parliament, in the army; it had reduced its own bourgeoisie to complete impotence, and was master of the situation within its borders.

Or take the Ukraine. At the beginning of the century, before the tomfoolery of "Ukrainian nationalism" with its silver rubles and its "Universals"10 and Lenin's hobby of an "independent Ukraine" had been invented, the Ukraine was the stronghold of the Russian revolutionary movement. From there, from Rostov, from Odessa, from the Donetz region, flowed out the first lava-streams of the revolution (as early as 1902-04) which kindled all South Russia into a sca of flame, thereby preparing the uprising of 1905. The same thing was repeated in the present revolution, in which the South Russian proletariat supplied the picked troops of the proletarian phalanx. Poland and the Baltic lands have been since 1905 the mightiest and most dependable hearths of revolution, and in them the socialist proletariat has played an outstanding role.

How does it happen then that in all these lands the counter-revolution suddenly triumphs? The nationalist movement, just because it tore the proletariat loose from Russia, crippled it thereby, and delivered it into the hands of the bourgeoisie of the border

Instead of acting in the same spirit of genuine other matters, instead of working for the most compact union of the revolutionary forces throughout the area of the Empire, instead of defending tooth and nail the integrity of the Russian Empire as an area of revolution and opposing to all forms of separatism the solidarity and inseparability of the proletarians in all lands within the sphere of the Russian Revolution as the highest command of politics, the Bolsheviks, by their hollow nationalistic phraseology concerning the "right of self-determination to the point of separation," have accomplished quite the contrary and supplied the bourgeoisic in all border states with the finest, the most desirable pretext, the very banner of the counter-revolutionary efforts Instead of warning the proletariat in the border countries against all forms of separatism as mere bour geois traps, they did nothing but confuse the masses in all the border countries by their slogan and delivered them up to the demagogy of the bourgeois classes. By this nationalistic demand they brought on the disintegration of Russia itself, pressed into the enemy's hand the knife which it was to thrust into the heart of the Russian Revolution.

To be sure, without the help of German imperial ism, without "the German rifle butts in German fists," other little scoundrels of the Ukraine, the Erichs and masses of the workers in their respective lands. But national separatism was the Trojan horse inside which the German "comrades," bayonet in hand, made their entrance into all those lands. The real class antagonisms and relations of military force brought about German intervention. But the Bolsheviks provided the ideology which masked this campaign of counter-revolution, they strengthened the position of

the bourgeoisie and weakened that of the proletariat. The best proof is the Ukraine, which was to play so frightful a role in the fate of the Russian Revolution Ukrainian nationalism in Russia was something

The manuscript speaks of Karbowentzen, which I ake to be a Germanization of the Russian word for "silver ruble," probably referring to a special Ukrainian coinage, and of "Universals," the name applied to certain manifestoes or declarations of the Ukrainian Rada (national assembly)

I quite different from, let us say, Czechish, Polish or Finnish nationalism in that the former was a mere whim, a folly of a few dozen petty-bourgeois intellectuals without the slightest roots in the economic, political or psychological relationships of the country; it was without any historical tradition, since the Ukraine never formed a nation or government, was without any national culture, except for the reactionary-romantic poems of Shevschenko. It is exactly as if, one fine day, the people living in the Wasserkante¹¹ should want to found a new Low-German (Plattdeutsche) nation and government! And this ridiculous pose of a few university professors and students was inflated into a political force by Lenin and his comrades through their doctrinaire agitation concerning the "right of self-determination including etc." To what was at first a mere farce they lent such importance that the farce became a matter of the most deadly seriousness-not as a serious national movement for which, afterward as before, there are no roots at all, but as a shingle and rallying flag of counter-revolution! At Brest, out of this addled egg crept the German bayonets.

There are times when such phrases have a very real meaning in the history of class struggles. It is the unhappy lot of socialism that in this World War it was given to it to supply the ideological screens for counter-revolutionary policy. At the outbreak of the war, German Social-Democracy hastened to deck the predatory expedition of German imperialism with an ideological shield from the lumber-room of Marxism by declaring it to be a liberating expedition international class policy which they represented in against Russian Czarism, such as our old teachers (Marx and Engels) had longed for. And to the lot of the Bolsheviks, who were the very antipodes of our government socialists, did it fall to supply gust for the mill of counter-revolution with their phrases about self-determination of peoples, and thereby to supply not alone the ideology for the strangling of the Russian Revolution itself, but even for the plans for settling the entire crisis arising out of the World War.

We have good reason to examine very carefully the policies of the Bolsheviks in this regard. The "right" of self-determination of peoples," coupled with the league of nations and disarmament by the grace of President Wilson, constitute the battle-cry under which the coming reckoning of international socialism with the bourgeoisie is to be settled. It is obvious that the phrases concerning self-determination and the entire nationalist movement, which at present constitute the greatest danger for international socialism. have experienced an extraordinary strengthening from the Russian Revolution and the Brest negotiations We shall yet have to go into this platform thoroughly The tragic fate of these phrases in the Russian Revolution, on the thorns of which the Bolsheviks were themselves destined to be caught and bloodily scratched, must serve the international proletariat as a warning and lesson.

And from all this there followed the dictatorship of Germany from the time of the Brest treaty to the time of the "supplementary treaty." The two hundred explatory sacrifices in Moscow. From this situation arose the terror and the suppression of democracy.12

11 A region in Germany where the German dialect known as Plattdeutsch is spoken

12 Six weeks after the signing of the Brest-Litovsk hundred expiatory sacrifices" may refer to the execution of persons charged with complicity in the assassination of the German ambassador, Count von Mirbach He was shot by terrorists of the Socialist-Revolutionary party, which had cooperated with the Bolsheviks until the signing of the Brest treaty and then went into opposition and tried to prevent the signing of the treaty From then on, the Russian goveinment was a one-paity government

(The next section of Rosa Luxemburg's work, "The Russian Revolution," written in 1918, will appear in the coming issue of this paper -Editor)

Is Stalin Planning to Strike at India?

Russia Would Face Vast Natural Obstacles

(Continued from Page 3) the part of the leadership While good."

war, England lands Indian troops in France. In truth, what does England have to fear when the two outstanding leaders of India, Gandhi and Nehru, proclaim themselves in agreement with England's war aims. An article by Gandhi in Liberty of January 13, 1940 says among other wholly with the Allies. Willy-nilly, between such democracy as the West has evolved and totalitarianism as

it is typified in Herr Hitler. . . . In assessing their present merits, the past misdeeds of England are irrelevant. . . . I have come to the comclusion that Herr Hitler is responsible for the war. . . . This war may

be used to end all wars. . . . As to Nehru, Edward Thompson in an article on India and the war ın the December 1, 1939 issue of the declaring: "Many say that it is not possible to make India enthusiastic on your (i.e. England's—J. C.) side. I know they are wrong. I would cause, and every time you had a reverse there was rejoicing secretly. Now it is different. You will have reverses, of course, and some of be the old temptation to feel pleased.

but everyone knows your cause is

If this report is true, the outlook is discouraging indeed. England need fear no serious fight in India, at least while the present leadership maintains its hold over Congress. What is the real left-wing in Congress doing in this situation? This becomes decisive Unfortunately, there is no information trickling What Next?

66 ONE other piece of bad news I must give. It is widely believed in responsible circles in Germany that part of the bargain with Stalin calls for the application of the Nurnberg laws to Russian Jews, and that this will be done within six months from the signing of the pact. It is not thought that such laws will actually be put on the statute books. Stalin will simply give certain orders; that will be enough."-Oswald Garrison Villard, in the Nation, December 30, 1939.

We've been talking about and promising you an interesting and enjoyable

EVENING OF MUSIC

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Canada at War

By STANLEY G. THOMPSON

(These paragraphs describing Canada at war are from the series of articles by Stanley G Thompson that ran recently in the New York Post It is interesting to note that the Canadian customs authorities have stopped the sale of issues of the New York Post containing these articles Copies of the paper were also removed from stands in Canada and the Post's distributing agent telegraphed to New York. "Please stop shipments"-Editor)

■ ET us look at this war in Canada thru the eyes of an ordinary private citizen of that country and see what it has done to him.

Suppose, for instance, you were a bank clerk or bookkeeper living n Toronto and working regularly for a fixed salary.

What difference would the war have made in your life?

First of all, you would be paying more money for almost everything

The cost of food went up 9.1% in November. The only food items still unaffected by the war are milk and vinegar, according to the Labor

Fuel and clothing are up around 4%, and the official index on all items shows an increase from 130 in September to 135 in November. During the first year of the World War, the index figure went up only

You would pay 52 cents a pound for coffee which sells for 23 to 25 cents in New York City.

Your electric and gas bills would be exactly 8% higher than they were before the war.

Your clothing would cost at least 4% more.

Every time you bought any of the hundreds of things Canada imports from the United States, your bill would be at least 10% higher. . . .

You are considerably worried about high prices and the problem of making ends meet, and you consider asking your boss for a raise. But you don't do it. You know what he's going to tell you: that he is even worse off than you are, that the increased corporation tax is added to all his other burdens and that, of course, you understand that this is the time when we must all make sacrifices—that Canada has a big, unpleasant job to do and we must forget our personal interests and all get together and do it.

You wonder what the government is doing to help you out, and you learn that there is a War Prices Board, which you are assured is keeping careful watch on business and will prevent profiteering. The board has the power to peg prices-some agency of the government has the power to do anything you can think of-but hasn't found it necessary to do so yet.

Now suppose that you are one of the 541,000 Canadians who were on relief last September. You have a wife and three children. If you are in one of the more generous cities, you are getting around \$50 a month.

When war came, you expected to get a job. The chances are that you didn't. Relief rolls dropped less than 3%. Why didn't you get a job? Officials explain it this way: "People on relief are the last to be hired in a

There is no discrepancy between the failure of the war to reduce relief rolls materially and the large number of soldiers applying for aid tor dependents. The fact is that the recruits are unemployed men not on relief or younger members of relief families.

DEMOCRACY ABOLISHED

IN short, you learn (in Canada) that many of the rights, privileges and protections of democracy have been abolished because the government believes that is the best way to handle things at home while the nation is helping to defend democracy in Europe. . . .

The official regulations certainly are theoretically as oppressive as any that could be thought up by a dictator-are, in fact, considerably more oppressive and take away considerably more of the citizens rights than those in England.

But enforcement is erratic-sometimes mild, sometimes stern and sometimes, it seems to me, just plain crazy. .

The enforcement of the laws forbidding freedom of speech has been even more erratic than the censorship, partly because it is largely in the hands of local officials.

Some of the authorities don't seem to care if John Jones gets a few beers and remarks that it's a queer government which can't find money for adequate relief, but can pay soldiers \$1.30 a day.

In one Ontario town, however, a citizen got six months for making the remark on the ground that it was "intended or likely" to "cause disaftreaty, there was a codicil or supplement signed. The "two fection to His Majesty" or to "prejudice recruiting." . . .

The erratic and often mild enforcement of the war-time regulations might be attributed to the ineptness of democratically trained officials who were called upon suddenly to wield autocratic power. . . . If the casualty lists begin to come in and the pinch of high taxes is felt more severely—the full force of the law may be invoked.

Asks Aid to Resettle Spanish Refugees

Agency Set Up to Help Anti-Fascist Exiles

New York City.

Editor, Workers Age:

WE ask you please to give your attention for a moment to a practical plan for saving the lives of hundreds of Spaniards now cooped up behind barbed wire in war-time France where they face slow death by starvation and inanition. All assurances from the present Spanish regime to the contrary, no man who values liberty can return to Spain. They can't stay in France. America this is a thoroly feasible plan. is their only hope.

The New World Resettlement Fund is in the position to establish an agricultural colony in Ecuador which offers, to as many Spanish Republicans as you will help us take families to a place where they will care of, a chance to build a new life for themselves and their families.

the French have their own refugees to help. Thousands of Spanish women and children who had found temporary shelter in abandoned chateaus and empty barracks in northern France have been driven back to the old concentration camps had been given up as not fit to live in. The French refugees are largely taken care of by their own government and by their friends and relatives. The Spaniards have neither government, friends nor relatives in France to help them. They are facing Winter in the cardboard and tincan shacks their fathers and brothers put up when they first escaped across the border.

For the men the choice is to rot in concentration camps or to work in labor battalions under chain-gang conditions. Many have volunteered to fight for France as soldiers, but so far none have been accepted in the regular army. Only a long term of enlistment in the Foreign Legion

, is open to them. America is their cally hope.

Resettlement is an intensely difficult business. Our plan is to start a first colony of about fifty families. Once they are established and working for themselves another group can be brought over. We hope, with your help, to bring over increasingly larger numbers. We have worked over every detail for months. We have consulted with the best people in the field, and are convinced that

To go ahead we need your help at once. Won't you please send your donation by return mail? The sooner we collect the funds the sooner we can start bringing these desperate have a chance to work for their livelihood and to build up anew their With war on their morth frontier faith in themselves and humankind.

JOHN DOS PASSOS National Secretary

The offices of the New World Resettlement Fund are at 20 Vesey St., Room 310, New York City, Oswald Garrison Villard is national chairof Argeles and Saint Cyprien that man, John Dos Passos, national secretary, Margaret De Silver, treasurer, and America Gonzalez, executive secretary. On the advisory council of the Fund are: Mildred Adams, Franz Boas, William E. Bohn, Dorothy Dunbar Bromley, John Dewey, Abraham Epstein, Paul Hays, Louis Hacker, Ferdinand Lundberg, Norman Thomas, Carlo Tresca, Mary Abell Watson, and Theresa Wolfson.

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