By LEWIS COREY

Workers Age

Weekly Paper of the Independent Labor League of America

THE A.L.P. HOUSING TAX PROGRAM. by M. S. Mautner . . . page 3.

THE FIGHT AGAINST CORRUPTION. by Rosa Luxemburg . . . page 4.

5 CENTS

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Behind the Headlines:

From Prophecy to Epitaph

By JAY LOVESTONE

TOO many people attach too much significance and permanence to certain differences between imperialist powers in conflict. That there are important differences in government structure, let us say between France and Germany as of 1938, none should attempt to deny. That these differences have real meaning to the great mass of the population is equally obvious. But—and this but looms very big and darkens the entire horizon—that such differences do or can persist once the countries go to war is a premise false to its core.

Our contention that present-day warfare inevitably brings totalitarianism to all participants is borne out to the hilt particularly by what them with violation of the Sherman is happening in France. To a lesser extent, it is confirmed by what has begun to happen in England and even in our own country. We will cite some painful facts which take our conclusion entirely out of the realm of November 6, 1933, charged the office prophecy and into the world of brutal reality. More and more, the re- cials of the fur union with alleged gime in France is becoming totalitarian in spirit, setup and practise. The expulsion of the Communist Party members from the Chamber of Deputies and the widespread persecution of those even suspected of being communists are not isolated, exceptional incidents. We condemn such persecution in all countries, tho we are, as we have been, diametrically opposed to Stalinism. In fact, we know of nothing that tends as much to extend the lease of life of the Stalinist movement as does such government persecution.

Not only Stalinists, who reflect and are guided by Russian foreign ment of Justice have been affiliates policy, but the genuine foes of war and its reactionary sweep are now of the A. F. of L., largely in the feeling the ever-heavier hand of totalitarian savagery in France. Recent- building-construction and trucking ly, Henri Roser, secretary of the International Fellowship of Reconstruction, was court-martialed and sentenced to four years in prison. The Daladier "democracy" has stopped even so meek a voice as La Voie Nouvelle, organ of the International Students League for Peace. Entirely non-Stalinist papers like L'Homme Libre, La Fleche, La Justice, Le rect menace to labor's fundamental Combat Syndicaliste, Le Libertaire, La Revolution Proletarienne and Le rights. The recent session of the A. Reveil Syndicaliste are among the papers suppressed by the French | F. of L.'s Executive Council unanigovernment that seeks support of its war on the allegation that it is mously adopted a resolution pledgfighting for democracy. Outrageous treatment is being accorded to political prisoners. If the La Sante prison is a sample, then the cells in which the political prisoners are kept are small and almost completely dark; the food is meager and foul.

In Paris alone, more than sixty local unions have been dissolved by the Daladier dictatorship.

And the Socialist Workers and Peasants Party (P.S.O.P.), the most effective and consistent opponent of Stalinism in France, has had all its offices raided and officers arrested. The P.S.O.P. is the most militant Marxist organization in France. The Independent Labor League of America is jointly affiliated with it to the International Workers Front Against War. Like our own organization, the P.S.O.P. is also an affiliate of the In- of L. should join the C.I.O. in proternational Revolutionary Marxist Center. It has been opposed to im- testing against the prosecution of perialist war from the very moment of its birth in the last great mass Gold and his colleagues under the struggles in France. The P.S.O.P. paper (Juin '36) is allowed to appear anti-trust laws. Labor solidarity occasionally but then it is consored to the marrow.

In the colonies, French "democracy" has instituted repression worthy may go a long way in affecting the only of the Nazis at their worst. All offices of colonial groups in Paris results of future prosecutions. nave been shut. Spokesmen ot colonial peoples have been rushed to prison. Of course, "espionage" is the charge.

British "democracy" has turned to its old trick of "emergency powers" and has employed these powers with deadly ruthlessness, especially in the colonies. In West Africa and the West Indies, the trade unions have been hamstrung. Not even the pretense of a trial was found necessary for the internment of such outstanding West Indian trade-union violation of the Sherman Anti-Trust leaders as Wallace Johnson and Uriah Butler.

In "normal" times of peace, the democracy in the policies of the has been indicted in the govern-French and British ruling classes is at best dubious. In war times, the re- ment's nation-wide drive against laactionary character of these capitalist governing groups is only too ob- bor under the anti-trust laws. He ers, and government employees vious. One cannot stress too often and with sufficient emphasis the fact previously had been indicted in St. that war obliterates whatever differences there once were between fascist and so-called "democratic" capitalist governments. Hence, one should not look to imperialist wars or render such war-makers any support. War is not the road to ruin for fascism in Germany or elsewhere. It only paves the road for fascist reaction everywhere.

What we long ago analyzed and forecast is no longer a subject for prophecy. It is now the object of an epitaph—an epitaph on the tombstone of the democratic rights of the great masses of the people, ducts in Pittsburgh, the indictment rights weak and anemic before the war and murdered by the war.

Fur Officials Tried Under Sherman Act

First CIO Union to Be Hit Under Anti-Trust Law; Outcome May Affect Others

New York City The federal drive against labor under cover of the anti-trust laws hit a C.I.O. union last week as Ben Gold and 25 other officials of the International Fur Workers Union, a C.I.O. affiliate, were brought to trial at a federal district court on a six-year old indictment charging Anti-Trust Act.

The indictment, handed down or "acts of violence", including "boycotts and picketing", to restrain

This is the first C.I.O. union to be affected by the government's antitrust campaign against the trade unions. Hitherto the only unions to feel the brunt of the drive conducted by Assistant Attorney-General Thurman Arnold and the Departfields. The A. F. of L. from the first insisted that the anti-trust laws could not be legitimately used against labor organizations and that ing to fight against this form of persecution with all the resources become part of any C.I.O. council in at its command. The C.I.O., on the New York City. The Amalgamated other hand, took no action on the question and made little effort to Hıllman, is the largest C I.O. union conceal its glee at the fact that its in the city. hated rival, the A. F. of L., was being delivered blow after blow by

Despite all this, the A. F. of L. would do well to avoid a retaliatory attitude. Even the the furriers union is a C.I.O. affiliate and under the control of the Stalinists, the A. F. must be the first consideration. Furthermore, the outcome of this trial

Pittsburgh, Pa. William L. Hutcheson, general president of the A. F. of L. carpenters union, and 49 other defendants were indicted last week on two counts of a conspiracy to restrain and monopolize interstate commerce in

Louis and Chicago.

Along with Hutcheson, two district councils of the carpenters union and eighteen union officials were included in the indictment.

By withholding the union label from out-of-state mill-work manufactures, the carpenters union prevented use of the out-of-state pro-

Mass Arrests of P.S.O.P. Leaders

ALMOST the entire leadership of the French Socialist Workers and Peasants Party (P.S.O.P.) was arrested here by the authorities towards the end of December. Those arrested include Maurice Jacquier, member of the Executive Buro of the party; Emile Douaix, administrative secretary; Chapelain, secretary of the youth organiza-tion; and Hass, another party leader. They were clapped into common jail and were refused political status. The charge against them was distribution of anti-war ma-

Also arrested were some leading officials of the anti-war movement, including Juin, secretary of the Trade Union Center Against War, who was condemned to five years in prison, and Mapioux, the treasurer, who, with his wife, was sentenced to four years.

ACW Refuses To Join City CIO Council

Declares Such Council "Un necessary"; Fear of Stalinist Domination is Factor

New York City The Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, one of the most important affiliates of the C.I O., announced last week that it would not Clothing Workers, headed by Sidney

Officials of the Amalgamated contended that their stand did not imoly any weakening of loyalty to the C.I.O. They said that they simply saw no necessity for a C.I.O. council in New York City and would therefore refuse to adhere. A simılar attitude, it was learned, was being taken by the Amalgamated in other parts of the country.

The matter of organizing a city industrial-union council is now before the national office of the C.I.O. in Washington, to which it was referred by a resolution of the executive committee of the State C.I.O., adopted at a session in Albany on

Observers in close touch with CI.O. affairs traced the opposition of the Amalgamated to the formation of city C.I.O. councils in New York and elsewhere to the fear that such local councils, if organized, intact in their exclusive field of proorganizations as the transport workers, maritime workers, office workwould dominate any central council of the C.I.O. It was regarded as other issues. significant that precisely these organizations were pressing for a city Board of NR.A. days acted as a

opposed to it. In New York State, a C.I.O. Industrial Union Council was organ- the judicial function and the mediaized over a year and a half ago. Its tion function shall not be confused. two conventions were flooded with Compromise, the essence of mediadelegates directly or indirectly con- tion, has no place in the interpretatrolled by the Communist Party. At tion and enforcement of the law." the last convention, sharp clashes took place between them and the for- verted to this quotation. In pointing ces under the influence of the Amal- out that most labor disputes-covgamated, the most important occur- ering about 80% of the workers in ring behind the scenes; it was only thru threats to leave the convention tive bargaining but over wages, that Hillman managed to have non-Stalinist officers elected to head the Senator said:

mated officials, there were indicadition to resenting John L. Lewis's nor equipped to resolve them." attacks on President Roosevelt, peace in the labor movement and he added. over his toleration of communist infiltration in the C.I.O. In certain top C.I.O. circles, the Amalgamated was

more goods than ever before but with one million persons less than ever before.

sons employed, excluding those working on relief projects, is slightly småller than ten years ago and those with jobs are working much Board said. Why it used the term "slightly" in referring to a displacement of a million employed is not

The reduction of the number employed, despite the "much shorter hours" worked, is attributed by the

Rapid Spread of War to New Fronts Imminent

THEY'LL BOTH LOSE



Wagner Introduces New Federal Mediation Bill

Plan Entirely Voluntary, Without Any Waiting Period; No Conflict With NLRA

diction of the N.L.R.B.

There were signs that when the

bill came before Congress an effort

would be made by Cogressmen hos-

tile to labor to inject a compulsory

element in the federal mediation sys-

tem proposed by Senator Wagner.

Reference was made in these circles

to the Railway Labor Act which has

compulsory features, especially to the obligatory "waiting period"

prescribed in this law. Senator Wag-

ner emphatically rejected these sug-

gestions and stressed that no legit-

imate analogy could be made with

the Railway Labor Act. Those who

pointed to the railway legislation as

an example, the Senator said, "lost

sight of the fact that absence of

strikes in the railroad industry was

explained by two factors: (1) the

existence of system-wide or national

collective bargaining contracts thru

out the industry; and (2) that the

Railway Labor Act was framed and

Washington, D. C. There was no conflict between the A bill to create a federal media-proposed bill and the N.L.R.A. Sention service on a par with the Na- ator Wagner stated, since the pretional Labor Relations Board was introduced in the Senate last week by the conduct of elections would still Senator Robert F. Wagner, father remain within the exclusive juris-

of the federal labor-relations law. The new bill would leave the original Wagner Act and Labor Board would fall under the control of the tecting collective-bargaining rights. Stallnists. In New York City, for But it would create a three-man example, such Stalinist-controlled board in the Labor Department, expanding the present conciliation service, for voluntary mediation in labor disputes over wages, hours, working conditions, closed shop and

Altho the first Wagner Labor council while the Amalgamated mediator, the present Board has no Clothing Workers and the closely re- such authority. This differentiation lated Textile Workers Union were was stressed by President Roosevelt in signing the Wagner Act.

"It is important," he said, "that

Senator Wagner last week re-1939 strikes—were not over collechours and working conditions, the

"Many of these strikes, for exam-Despite assurances of "loyalty" to ple, the Chrysler and bituminous the C.I.O. on the part of Amalga- coal disputes, have sometimes been mistakenly laid at the door of the tions that relations were very much labor relations law. Many others strained between the Hillman organ-ization and its parent body. In ad-Board, which is neither authorized

Unauthorized and indirect media-Amalgamated officials were said to tion activities of certain Labor be at odds with the C.I.O. leader Board agents, even when attempted over the latter's unwillingness to in good faith, have helped to multinegotiate with the A. F. of L. for ply charges of Board partisanship,

The new Wagner bill carries no penalties and no compulsions and already being "written off" as a Nor does it provide for a "waiting be an understatement. In reality, it dead loss, just as David Dubinsky's period" to stop strikes or lockouts. I.L.G.W.U. had been during the last Its processes would be entirely volessential step in the fullest development of federal machinery to achieve a maximum of industrial peace within the framework of the American system."

"I am unalterably opposed to compulsory mediation or arbitration in any guise," Wagner declared.

The services of the mediation board, under the bill, could be invoked by the parties to the dispute, or by either party, or the board might offer its services whenever a labor dispute involved a substantial after listening in a chill steady rain interruption to interstate commerce.

If mediation proved unsuccessful, the board would make a final attempt to persuade the parties to submit their controversy to voluntary

Balkans, Near East Loom as Crisis Spots

The European war last week threatened to spread to new fronts and to embroil new powers in the North, in the Balkans and in the Near East. In each of these situations, Soviet Russia was directly involved as a virtual belligerent.

In the Balkans and the Near East, tension seemed about at the breaking point. Under pressure from the Allies, Rumania banned the export of high-octane aviation gasoline to Germany thru a blanket prohibition on the export of all war supplies. This was a serious threat to the Nazis, for regular supplies of Rumanian oil are absolutely necessary to support any extended German war activities on land, sea or air, especially since, because of transport difficulties, Russian oil cannot be expected to reach Germany in anything more than driblets for some months at least.

Germany was aroused at the Rumanian action and promptly sent some special representatives to Bucharest 'for a showdown." Reich spokesmen stressed that increased shipments of Rumanian oil were "a matter of life and death" and that Germany would be compelled "to seek other methods" if Rumania failed to fulfill commitments made before its sudden change of policy under Allied pressure. In order to get at Rumania Germany would have to have the close cooperation of Russia, since the only access Germany has to the Balkan state is thru Russian-occupied Poland. Last week, it was apparent that arrangements had been worked out between Berlin and Moscow, so that should Germany initiate hostilities in that quarter, Russia would collaborate. The great likelihood was that under such circumstances Russia would move to seize

In the Near East, Turkey was another crisis point. Perhaps in order to support an Allied-backed Rumanian resistance to Germany, perhaps in order to counter threatening Russian moves along the Black Sea or perhaps for both reasons, Turkey placed itself on a war footing last week. The Turkish Supreme Defense Council proclaimed a state of emergency. Hundreds of Russian experts were ordered to return home, following their German colleagues, who had been expelled some weeks be-

Informed observers believed that one of the chief objectives of the Alhed concentration in the Near East was the seizure of the Caucasian oil fields the moment Russia became officially a belligerent. Moscow was reported seriously concerned with its defenses in that region.

The third front of expanding hostilities was the far North. Reports from Copenhagen indicated that an Anglo-French squadron of unknown strength had begun a blockade of the northern Russian coast. Rumors circulated that a clash with the Soviet Arctic navy had already taken place. At any rate, Moscow announced the departure of its Navy Commissar to Murmansk, which indicated the development of a critical situation on that quarter.

The British move was intended primarily to interrupt the transport of Russian supplies to Germany as well as to halt any possible attempt to deliver Russian submarines to the Reich. Reports have been current for several weeks that German submarines warring on Allied shipping were using Murmansk as a base. Aside from blocking trade between Germany and Russia, the Allies were said to be aiming to prevent any more German ships from taking refuge in Russia, as a number of merchantmen had done in earlier weeks.

Should hostilities break out in that quarter, the conflict would al-Young Communist League packed most certainly engulf the entire Scandinavian peninsula, with the Scandinavian states caught between the two jaws of the vise. Friction between these states and Russia has already reached a high point over the Finnish invasion. Last week, Sweden sent two sharp protests to Moscow against Russian bombings of Swedish border towns in the ourse of operations in Finland.

At each of these crisis points, a sudden extension of hostilities, with new fronts and new belligerents. seemed imminent last week, the twenty-fifth week of the war in Europe. Otherwise there was little of Stalinist speech. It was then that significance occurring in the war, as far as military operations were concerned. There was quiet on the western front and a slight spurt of (Continued on Page 2)

sponsored as a result of prolonged conferences between representative (Continued on Page 2) AYC "Institute" **Was Huge Fraud** As Youth Parley

By NAT COLEMAN

Washington, D. C. The American Youth Congress "Citizenship Institute," which assembled in Washington over the Lincoln's Birthday week-end, was only a bit more representative of American young people than it was of the Hottentots. It was stated that 2,800 of the 5,130 delegates were does not provide for subpoena power. | from New York. And that seemed to | was a jamboree of New York City Stalinists and their friends. The thor as having been designed as "an the convention with delegates from paper and phoney organizations. Y.C L. branches sent down as many as 20 delegates, representing greatly inflated memberships. Control of he whole set-up, including registration, made this easy. Those in charge of registration, for instance, were two Stalinists, formerly of City Col-

> The delegates returned to the convention hall in the Labor Department building Saturday afternoon with their spirits thoroly dampened to President Roosevelt's biting anti-John L. Lewis delivered his blistering attack on the President. His demagogic, ambiguous remarks con-(Continued on Page 2)

Churchill Suggests Turning War Into 'Anti-Red' Crusade

Stalin Opens Way for Western Alliance to Smash Russia

WINSTON CHURCHILL'S do not want Anglo-French domina- and disaster to Soviet Russia and tion. broadcast speech on Saturday, January 20, was the most dangerous utterance by a British government representative since the beginning

Summarized in a sentence, he in-Britain and France against "Nazısm and communism."

He told the neutrals that it was their duty to stand by the League of Nations Covenant together with Britain and France "against aggression." He was contemptuous of their present attitude of "bowing humbly and in fear to Germany's threats of violence," adding, in a phrase of scorn: "Each one hopes that if he feeds the crocodile enough the crocodile will eat him last.

He warned them that their hope that the storm would pass before their turn came to be devoured was a delusion.

"The storm will not pass. It will rage and roar ever more loudly, ever more widely. It will spread to the South. It will spread to the North."

Churchill's speech has not bewell received by the small neutrals. They fear and hate German Nazi imperialism, but they do not love British or French imperialism. They are bitter about the methods employed in the British-French block- hope, purpose and idealism. ade. They do not want German do

Churchill visualizes and encour-British people should clearly understand where the government is takvited the neutral nations of Europe clear that step by step we are movto enter the war on the side of ing towards a conflagration which actionaries the present golden opwill bring destruction and death to portunity to rally the world against all the peoples.

And for what purpose? The war began against Nazism Now communism is added. Soon destruction of communism will loom larger than the destruction Nazism

"Everyone can see how communism can rot the soul of a nation, ho it makes it abject and hungry is peace, and proves it base abominable in war," says Churchill referring to Soviet Russia.

Less than six months ago, the same Winston Churchill was urging that Britain should make Soviet Russia its ally and, pathetic and ironic memory, the Communist Pa was wanting a government with Churchill a leading figure in it.

Winston Churchill is wrong. "Communism" does not rot the soul of a nation. In Lenin's time, every impartial visitor to Russia described how "communism" had saved the soul of Russia, given its people new It is not "communism" but Stalin-

that has given Churchill the opportunity to arouse popular preages an all-in European war. The judice. It is one of the worst crimes of Stalinism that it should have brought real communism (which is ing them. Churchill's words make it real socialism) into reproach and given the Churchills and other re-

> The British workers, the workers of the world, must show that they will not fall into this trap.

> Churchill and his government and the capitalist and reactionary interests behind them are the "enemy at home" against whom we must unite as rapidly as possible.

> Unless we do so, we shall find that we are engaged in an all-European war to destroy not Hitlerism but socialism and labor.

Production Up, **Employment Declines**

Washington, D. C. A headline in the newspapers recently, "U. S. Produces More, Employs Fewer In 1940" should certainly interest those who have been figuring that technological advances do not cause unemployment.

A Federal Reserve Board statement is quoted to the effect that F.R.B. to "continued technical promination of Europe, but they also ism that has brought degradation American industry was producing gress during the decade."

months of its affiliation with the untary and are described by its au-

While production for January stood at 120, "the umber of pershorter hours," the Federal Reserve stated in the release.

State Hit for Aiding **Sweatshop Bosses**

Knitgoods Union Charges Lax Enforcement

New York State Ways and of their work. Means Committee at the recent budas little as \$1.50 a week, had no tion today. choice but to be on home relief This resulted in the expenditure of millions of dollars on relief. The state could save this money by appropriating sufficient funds to the Division of Women in Industry and Wage Minimums to enable it to enforce the minimum-wage law, the union's statement pointed out.

The Knitgoods Workers Union regarded the failure to grant the funds requested by the Industrial Commissioner for this division of the State firms in the state. This procedure Department of Labor a blow to the health and welfare of the people of New York State, it declared. Such "economy" would not save money for the state, but on the contrary would increase state expenditures in other fields such as health and relief, it added.

"We are particularly interested in this division since a preponderance of workers in our industry, over 80% consists of women, most of them young girls," the union's statement stressed.

"Thruout the state, there are many small shops where entire families are employed Production is carried on under unsanitary, sweatshop conditions which constitute a menace to the health of the producer and the ultimate consumer

"There are over 5,000 home-workers in the knitgoods industry in the state of New York. These homeworkers have been getting as little as 5 cents an hour. They work all day and night and still do not earn enough to live on. In most cases, the children work too. In the Empire State of the nation, there is the spectacle of small children doing homework, not on their school lessons, but paid work for a piece of bread. The federal court, as a result of an investigation by the Wage and Hour Administration, found a group of manufacturers, employing homeworkers, guilty of evading the wage-hour law and fined them a quarter of a million dollars. This was possible in cases involving interstate commerce, but what about the home-workers producing for the small shops within the state? For them, there is no protection unless our State Department of Labor 18 given the funds to go on with its

"This is not merely a matter of wages and hours but of the health consider undertaking directly the were made to workers education, of women and children. A recent free X-ray examination of knitgoods workers, conducted by our union in cooperation with the New York City Department of Health, showed many cases of tuberculosis among the workers. Even workers employed un-

Rapid Spread of War To New Fronts Imminent

(Continued from Page 1) activity, mostly German, on the sea and in the air. Increasingly it seemed that the only possibility of early action of a decisive character lay in the emergence of a new theater of war, most likely in the Balkans.

The Russian invasion if Finland in its twelfth week continued to make headway last week altho the drive was somewhat slackened. Russian troops had not yet taken their immediate objective, Viipuri (Viborg), Finland's second biggest city and a key railroad center, but they were reported about half a dozen miles distant. Their losses were said to be very heavy. In the air, Soviet activity was largely confined to areas to build a bridge between them and behind the Karelian front.

TN a statement presented to the of tuberculosis because of the nature

"The home-workers and those emget hearings in Albany, the Knit- ployed in the small sweatshops, goods Workers Union, Local 155, working all hours of the day and I.L.G.W.U., charged that the state night, need the protection of the was actually subsidizing unfair em- state of New York before it is too ployers. The union pointed out that late. We can save ourselves future thousands of home-workers, earning hospital expenses by preventive ac-

> "There is another aspect of this problem. How does a worker, earning \$150 a week, live? The answer is that most of them have to go on relief. Dorothy Dunbar Bromley, columnist of the New York Post, in her independent investigation, pointed out that because of small earnings, home-workers have to depend on home relief. New York State is actually subsidizing to the tune of millions of dollars, the illegitimate results in an actual penalty against the firms that carry on their business in a legitimate manner, paying their employees wages that make possible a decent, American standard the present A.L.P. leadership.

"Our opposition to inadequate appropriations stems from the fact that such 'economy' will not save money but will involve us in even greater expense. We are endangering the existence of legitimate firms and the health of the workers employed in the sweatshops and at

"If we are ready to pass state laws to safeguard the health and happiness of the people, we must be prepared to enforce them, else all law becomes a mockery. If we are going to have traffic laws, we must have police to direct traffic, and to enforce these laws.

"We have laws regulating working conditions. We favor adequate appropriation for the Division of Women in Industry and Minimum Wages so that the state will be able to enforce these laws.'

By MARK STARR

on by various bodies for the unions

makes it timely to compare the pro-

grams of workers education in the

two great English-speaking divisions

As might be expected, the move-

ment in Britain is older and more

developed. The great upsurge of the

C.I.O., under the favorable condi-

tions of the New Deal since 1935,

may well be compared with the New

Unionism of the 80's in Britain.

When the Workers Education Buro

(W.E.B.) was set up in 1921, it was

patterned after the Workers Educa-

tional Association (W.E.A.), with

Arthur Gleason importing the ideas

and methods of Albert Mansbridge.

However, the W.E.B. later became

the educational agency of the Amer-

ican Federation of Labor, Losing or

expelling the residential Brookwood

Labor College and the many local

educational groups. (For these and

many other details may we refer

the reader to "Workers Education in

the United States," Monthly Labor

Review, U. S. Department of La-

The W. E. B. like the W. E. A.

looked to the universities and tried

organized labor. It was financed

bor, Washington, D. C.)

STATE AID AND

INDEPENDENCE

educational activity

of the labor movement.

Belous Leaves Stalinist-Run Anti-ALP Group

Brooklyn, N. Y. der union conditions face the danger ORMER A. L. P. Councilman Charles Belous resigned last week as secretary of the so-called "Progressive Committee to Reorganize the American Labor Party," and capture control of the American La-

> bor Party. are conducting a knock-down and tion. drag-out fight to take over leadership of the A.L.P. and make it a front organization," Belous said.

"Progressive Committee," headed by Morris Watson and with Eugene P. Connolly and Hyman Glickstein as moving spirits, is attempting to organize a state-wide fight against the present A.L.P. leadership in the April primary, when a new state committee will be elected.

Belous said he had realized from the start that there were communists in the insurgent A.L.P. movement, but that he had been "willing to work along with them" for the common immediate objective of ousting

Later events convinced him, he said, that the real aim of the communists went much further, being no less than to make the A.L.P. the tail of the Communist Party kite. He said that altho he was secretary of the committee he had not been consulted in formation of many

of its policies. When the committee was first or ganized last December, he said, Professor Herman Gray of New York University and other recognized liberals were "supposed to be connected with it, but they pulled

"Quite a few others in Queens who were in the same position that was are going to follow suit in resigning from the committee," he said. The A.L.P., it was learned. probably will drop the charges of disloyalty on which it has been seeking expulsion of Belous from the union movement is busy fighting the

Britain and in America

Start Move to License Unity—the Biggest Officials of Unions

West Coast Leads in Restrictive Attempts

By J. ELWOOD

THE concluding sessions of hear-Ings on the West Coast concharged it was being used by the ducted by the LaFollette Civil Liber-Communist Party in an effort to ties Committee were devoted to a study of the movement for compulsory licensing of union organizers "It is clear that the communists as a device for preventing unioniza

> The Committee heard testimony alleging that the Associated Farmers, an employer organization devoted to the "regulation" of labor relations, put on a campaign for the adoption of such licensing ordinances in the principal agricultural counties in California. One such law has been adopted in Mendocino County.

Attention was called to a "model ounty ordinance, which in effect places complete control of all union organizational activities in the corias union organizers are required to pay a \$10 fee every 3 months. The application is published in the county and public hearings are held before the board of supervisors one week later. Each applicant must satisfy the supervisors that he is a bona-fide representative of his union and a person who "would not agitate violence or disruption of law and order." At the end of the threenonth period, the license may be extended upon a finding by the supervisors that the activities of the organizer have not resulted in "violations of law." Operation without a license may entail a fine of \$500 and a six-month prison term. It should be remembered that most county boards of supervisors are composed either in the whole or in part of members of the Associated Farmers. What is labor on the West Coast

doing about it? While one section of the tradeother, resulting in the general weakening of labor and the embitterment and alienation of public opinion, the employers are preparing all kinds of legislation to destroy the rights of the workers to organize and bargain collectively.

Thus a constitutional amendment on labor relations will be submitted as an initiative measure to the voters of California in November of

The measure provides for the reation of a Mediation Board which, upon failing to secure settlement of any labor dispute by its mediatory efforts, would prescribe a settlement enforceable by the courts!

The amendment would forbid employers to engage in eight specified 'unfair labor practises." The Board would have no part in preventing them, however. Injunctions against their commission would be issued by courts on proceedings instituted by any district attorney. Employees, ty board. All persons seeking to act under this amendment, are forbidden to take part in sit-down strikes, file application for a license and to to picket where there is no labor dispute or if the pickets are not emplayees of the concern picketed, or to exercise "compulsion" on other employees in regard to union membership. Thus, the measure may described as of the "equalizing type," following closely the amended Minnesota act.

The major part of the Board's work, however, would be compulsory mediation and arbitration. Under this section, in the event of any dispute, the Board is to be called in, or in the event of any "emergency," the Board may itself intervene. In case a dispute is not settled by agreement, the Board is required to make an award If any party fails to comply with the order, the one for whose benefit the order was made may seek an enforcement of the order in court.

The proposal forbids employers to grant the closed shop or the checkoff. Since the law is made part of all collective-bargaining contracts, no contract will be allowed which calls for these arrangements.

Workers Education in Great The trend of labor legislation in 1940, if it takes its cue from this proposal in California, will be towards restriction and curtailment of union activities.

What is labor going to do about

British Far Ahead But Some Progress Being Made Here sophy are futile unless related to immediate problems and tactics. Trade unions are exposed to critical eyes. Its public-relations work, its financing, organizing and negotiating must be as near perfection as possible Workers education, in new and varied forms of mass appeal, in consecutive serious study of social problems and in training for more effective union service, is indispensable on both sides of the Atlant

Wagner Frames New Federal Mediation Bill

(Continued from page 1) committees of railroad presidents and executives of the standard railroad labor organizations and embodied the agreement of a large maiority of both.

Thus, he said, both parties, by agreements made mandatory by law, meeting. Matters of immediate im- suspended their freedom of action by portance are studied without benefit substantial "waiting periods." Such agreements for compulsory mediation, he added, were to be found in collective-bargaining contracts es-

sence of the stable bargaining relatory of the union, techniques of tionships and the broad voluntary trade-union administration, struc- agreement of both sides at the basis of the Railway Labor Act, there is no justification for a blanket federal law imposing similar restraints on the freedom of employees and emplovers in all interstate industry." Transport and General Workers Wagner bill, Representative Howard Following the announcement of the Union, the courses of the London W. Smith head of the House committee investigating the National Labor Relations Board, introduced a bill into the House, ostensibly as an

conciliation commissioner with the Department of Labor.

(Read the editorial, "Labor and Federal Mediation," on page 4.—

66 LIRST OFF," writes Westbrook the top positions, there is no need to Muni would be assisted by artists

Issue Facing Labor

Herald, official publication of the Cen- | ment. But he was not just in failing tral Labor Union (A F of L) of to give Roosevelt credit for impor-Kansas City, Mo -Editor)

hurt. There are increasing indicacause of any weakness in the principle of unionism but because many fer not to be affiliated with either can have a job.

We are sure that this is why both the A. F. of L. and the C.I.O. suffered a bad defeat in the National Labor Board elections at the Endicott-Johnson shoe factories. It seems to have been the reason, too, for the decision of a large local of utility workers at the Consolidated Edison plant in New York to withdraw from the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers.

Tho the A. F. of L. has steadily strengthened itself during the past two years, and has in most respects been more responsive to unity proposals than has the C.I.O., all is not harmoninous within its own ranks. Dan Tobin of the teamsters is not satisfied that President Green and the majority on the Executive Council have done as much they might have for unity.

The machinists monthly journal, tho not quite as blunt as Tobin, voices similar views in its current issue.

The suspension of the International Typographical Union, announced last week by the A. F. of L. Executive Council, will help no one, and it will deprive many local central bodies and state federations of valuable officers who are printers. The Executive Council might bet-

ter spend its time dealing with a cost of living. few unsavory characters who have obtained the leadership of a few unions, and whose dictatorial and racketeering tactics give reactionary newspapers a chance to attack the whole labor movement. Within the C.I.O., there are also

serious problems For some months t has been known that John L Lewis and Sidney Hillman were drifting apart. Hillman wants unity, and has differed with Lewis on how to get it. He is also reported to believe that Lewis is not proceeding fast enough in purging communists from control of some unions.

Some of their differences became public last week when Hillman defended Roosevelt and the New Deal after Lewis's blistering attack.

Lewis was right in saying that the New Deal, after seven years, has not

(This article is taken from the Labor solved the problem of unemploytant labor and social legislation that has greatly helped labor's status. THE inexcusable quarrel in la- His true criticism of the New Deal's L bor's own ranks continues to worst failure would have carried more weight if Lewis had backed it tions here and there that the tide is up with specific proposals for putturning against unionism—not be- ting everybody to work. As yet, he has not indicated that he is himself ready for the important changes in workers, while the fight between the our economic system that are neces-A. F. of L. and the C.I O. lasts, pre- sary if everybody who wants work

The need for unity in the labor movement has never been more urgent. And as a step toward unity, both the A. F. of L. and the C.I.O. would do well to devote less time to exposing each other and more to putting their own houses in orderthe A. F. of L., by ousting its few racketeers, and the C.I.O., its agents of Russian imperialism.

Production Rises. But National Income Still Below 1929

Washington, D. C. PRODUCTION of goods and services in 1939 nearly equaled the 1929 record, but national income was \$14,000,000,000 lower, the Commerce Department said last week.

National income—the net value of goods and services produced-in 1939 aggregated \$68,000,000,000, a gain of \$4,500,000,000, or 7%, over the previous year. The dollar total of income produced in 1929 was \$82,700,-000,000.

"The \$14,000,000,000 difference between 1929 and 1939 income," the Commerce Department said, "was accompanied by differences of 19% in wholesale prices and 15% in the

"In comparing income at both ends of the decade, it is necessary to keep in mind the 8% gain in population in 1939, which means that real income (the dollar total adjusted for price changes) per capita was smaller in 1939 that in 1929."

The Commerce Department described 1939 as a "year of progress", but cautioned that the high rate of industrial activity recorded in December 1939, would decline in the early part of this year as the rate of inventory accumulation fell off.

Read — Spread

WORKERS AGE

Union Leaders | A.Y.C. Meet

New York City.

TEN outstanding labor leaders including David Dubinsky, president of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union, Joseph Schlossberg, secretary of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, and A. Phillip Randolph, president of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, have joined with nearly eighty other prominent Americans in the sponsorship of the fourth annual National Share-Croppers Week which will be observed in 1940 from March 4 to March 10, it was announced last week by Pauli Murray, secretary of the campaign committee.

Other well-know personalities in abor circles included among the national sponsors of the move were Joseph Baskin, secretary of the wigs like Abbott Simon who pre-Workmen's Circle; David L. Clendenin, secretary of the Workers Defense League; Frank R. Crosswaith of the Negro Labor Committee; Dr. George S. Counts, president of the American Federation of Teachers; Adolph Held, president of the Amalgamated Bank of New York; Spencer Miller, Jr., secretary of the Workers Education Buro; and John H. Bosch of Minneapolis, noted farm and cooperative leader.

Miss Murray described National Share-Croppers Week as an effort to acquaint the public with the sharecropper problem and to raise fund to finance a program of remedial a tion. She explained that it is conducted under the auspices of the Southern Tenant Farmers Union, the independent share-cropper labor organization, and the Workers De fense League, its official defens agency.

Other sponsers include Mayor L Guardia of New York, Carrie Chap man Catt, Theodore Dreiser, Pres ident Frank P. Graham of the Uni-Pegler in telling the A. F. of versity of North Carolina, President Emeritus William Allen Neilson of eration of Labor so as to permit the Thomas, Walter White, Rabbi Stephen S. Wise, and William Allen

> Miss Murray also announced that and impresarios of the rank of Talluhah Bankhead, Angna Enters, the director of Labor Stage.

(Mark Starr is educational director of the ILGW.U. This article first appeared in the January 1940 issue of the Call, official paper of the Young Circle Leasue—Editor) Back ShareBack ShareCropper Week Big Fraud As Youth Parley

(Continued from Page 1)

cerning Finland were taken by the Y.C.L.ers as a defense of their stand. He was wildly cheered by the same crowd who only yesterday licked Roosevelt's boots and whooped it up in swing rhythm for "collective security" against "aggressor nations." Lewis's picture has replaced Roosevelt's in the Stalinist ikon corner. But this can't remain for any length of time because Stalin is in the habit of changing his mind quite frequently.

Tho the Stalinists had complete control, the chairman ruled with an iron hand and the few lonely voices of liberals and socialists were quickly squelched. A resolution presented to the "Legislative Assembly" by Robin Myers, a socialist delegate, condemning all forms of totalitarianism was howled down and ruled out of order. Talk about Finland was taboo for all but the Stalinist big-

sented the line. The Y.C.L.ers had a swell time, visiting the sights and attending numerous parties. Few delegates paid serious attention to the proceedings. One of the few people who did was Mrs. Roosevelt. Among those to whom the convention meant something were the few innocents. They went home thoroly disgusted.

The Cooper Union group, which, with one exception, was non-Stalinist, stayed up all night attempting to clarify its position. Many of this group vowed never to go to another Youth Congress meeting. They were ashamed of their participation in the first place. A Swarthmore delegate said that he came to Washington a liberal and was returning a conservatice.

The American Youth Congress stands today exposed more clearly than ever as an open Stalinist front. And it is today no more of a mass organization of American youth than the Trade Union Unity League ever was of American labor.

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dress at the recent British Trade pendence" and "state aid" was ar-Union Congress at Bridlington in gued in the U.S.A. in other terms. September, that the General Council When federal government grants they came under the W.I relief for teachers, and the active unions of the C.I.O. were most prominent in utilizing the facilities provided. The general workers educations movement has never been as Marxist as the National Council of Labor Colleges in Britain.

Whether the precedent created under W.P.A. will lead to permanent federal, state or city grants remains to be seen. Progressive W1sconsin's state subsidy has been ended by the reactionary majority in the 1939 legislature. Undoubtedly, the appetite created by the W.P.A. facilities will influence the active unions to finance such work with or

without state or federal subsidy. Some of the American universities have set up institutes and special conferences. Trade-union leaders and representatives are invited to participate in seminars and meetings. Columbia University in August 1939 invited Ernest Bevin to discuss education for democracy. The organization of the professors and teachers has reinforced the radical tendencies of the colleges and, as in Britain, outstanding educators and scientists are anxious to cooperate with organized labor despite the more open control by vested interests of the institutions of higher learning.

EXTENT OF WORKERS EDUCATION

There is nothing in the U.S. A. to compare with the British W.E.A. with its 600 local branches, its 3,117 grant-earning classes attended by 61,032 students, or with the National Council of Labor Colleges, reporting for the year 1938-39 an enrollment from trade unions of 15,543 students in its classes, 26,414 union members attending branch lectures and 14,317 correspondence-course

students. No subdivision of the W.E.B. such as the Workers Educational Trade Union Committee is necessary in America because the W.E.B. is directly controlled by the American

Federation of Labor. The American movement is not ates, made when W.P.A. assistance International Ladies Garment Workeducational department since 1917. reported in 1939 over 25,000 regisout the country. Its yearly expen-However, these classes include a

largely by grants from the Carnegie | program altho there has been a con-THE suggestion of Mr. Halls- Corporation and similar bodies. The siderable increase particularly by worth in his presidential ad- old-time controversy about "inde- the C.I.O. unions. The Amalgamated Clothing Workers now provides correspondence courses in five subjects with enrollment of 900 students.

The outstanding American labor was closed in 1937 because of the prolonged economic depression and lack of union financial support. So far, none of the remaining colleges and summer schools receive any substantial and regular financial aid by way of such scholarship as the British Trades Union Congress provides for Ruskin College.

Noteworthy in both countries is the tendency to make a greater practical application of workers education. In the U.S.A., this means training for the many new members and preparation for union officers. The provision of popular lectures, movies, musical, dramatic and radio programs. hikes and recreational activities, aims to attract and retain the interest and loyalty of new and old members who would not usually attend study classes. Parliamentary law is taught in the actual union

of formal syllabus. The I.L.G.W.U. has pioneered by setting up "officers qualification courses" which must be taken by all new candidates for paid office. Economics of the garment industry, histure and function of the union were among the subjects included.

Comparable are the courses and esson manual "The Union: Its Work and Problems" issued by the youth section in the Tailor and Garment Workers Union, the W.C.L.C. courses in electioneering and tradeunion administration, the lectures and classes on trade-union problems and procedures at the summer schools run by the T.U.C. and the International Federation of Trade Unions. Such opportunities for training for union service become daily more necessary as the power and responsibility of organized labor grows.

Whatever the methods used in the two countries, as determined to differences in location, structure and well enough organized to compile personnel, there is a similarity of adequate general statistics. Estim- purpose. Uniques in both countries have to combat neglect and miswas at its peak, ranged from education too often found in the 75,000 to 100,0000 students, but this ordinary schools. They have to in-W.E.A. figures, many classes not particularly for their new and confined to the social sciences. The young members, by balanced programs of recreation and study. They ers Union, which has had an active have to discover and develop latent leadership and give to their membership the ideals and aims of labor, tered students in 620 classes and national and international. This groups scattered in 58 cities thru- means an insight into the past and diture amounts to about \$200,000. respective members and of the general labor movement. And a knowwide variety of music, dramatics and ledge of the economics of the workers A fine bit of "democratic" reasonrecreational groups. As yet, no other particular industry and of the ecoling! It's just what Hitler and Stalin celebrated mime, and Louis Schaffer, union undertakes such an extensive nomic system. But ideals and philo- might say-and do!

tablished in some industries. "But," he continued, "in the ab-

amendment to the N.L.R.B., providing for a system of compulsory mediation and arbitration, including a "waiting period" and restrictions on the right to strike. The bill was drafted by Charles G. Wood, a former

A Bright Idea

L. how to handle the problem of included, as do also the British troduce color and scope for activity, racketeering, "I would rewrite the Smith College, Bishop Edward I constitution of the American Fed- Parsons of San Francisco, Norman national body to govern its component units. It may be argued that White. this would centralize power, but, after all, in any organization er Paul Muni, the distinguished screen state there must be responsibility and stage star, had accepted the and authority at the top, and if you chairmanship of a Theatre Commitpresent history of each union by its have able and conscientious men in tee for the campaign, and that Mr.

be alarmed."

A.L.P. Housing Tax Program Based on False Foundation For Negroes in Dixie

Levies on Phone Bills, Rents, Medicines Hit Masses WHITE and Negro school children in Mississippi will have separated by the State Legislature here.

By M. S. MAUTNER

N the midst of a severe organiza-I tional crisis of the American Lahave introduced a taxation scheme to aid slum clearance which must have a grave effect upon the future of the party itself. According to statements made public, Councilmen Laidler and Ninfo, after consultation with various experts and month-long study of city taxation possibilities, advocate a long-range tax program whose initial feature is a flat five-cents monthly tax on telephone bills. The rest of the suggested taxation is as

Estimated Annual Yield Tax \$2,022,369 Residential occupancy Amusements 3.283.740 Vending machines 590,000 Proprietary medicines 330,000

Under the contemplated tax program, apartment house dwellers would be divided into four groups in accordance with the monthly rents they paid, as follows: \$50 to \$74.99, \$75 to \$99.99; \$100 to \$149.99, and \$150 and over. In Manhattan alone, it is said, there are 18,000 tenants paying \$150 or more a month.

The amusement tax would be collected on a basis either of seating capacity or of gross receipts. It is estimated that the total seating capacity of theaters, movie houses, concert halls, night clubs and other amusement places in the city is 900,000, and that a tax of 50 cents per seat would yield \$450,000 annually. More favored is a plan to tax gross receipts. A 2% tax would yield \$2,189,160 annually, and a 3% tax \$3,283,740. The latter figure is given in the tax program above.

The tax on vending machines would be \$2 yearly on each of the 50,000 machines selling articles at five cents or less and \$10 each on 25,000 machines selling articles priced at more than 5 cents. A \$20 tax each would be levied on 12,000 cigarette vending machines.

On a basis of an estimated annual sale of \$11,000,000 worth of proprietary medicines in this city, a 2% tax would yield \$220,000 and a 3% tax \$330,000.

The telephone-bill tax, it is estimated, would yield approximately one million dollars annually. It is further proposed that the telephone rates be made uniform thruout the city, eliminating the present zones and establishing a standard five-cent

DANGEROUS

It has been the misfortune of the American Labor Party to be plunged into the mess of New York City economic reconstruction of society financing from the very first mo- can provide the possibility of plenty, ment of its political activity. B thru the destruction of the barriers Charney Vladeck fathered the first cigarette tax. The party as such supported the sales-tax on all consumers goods save foods. And we very much fear that the new tax tion between production and distribuproposals are in the same unpopular

These schedules appear to be aimed at the middle and lower-middle income groups, that is, the majority of the city's population. tial and lasting improvement in the Perhaps even more important is the lack of an accompanying program for decreasing rents, telephone rates, etc., which might tend to soften the blow. In their joint statement announcing this plan, Councilmen Ninfo and Laidler say: "It is felt that of the Marxist socialist movement. those affording the luxury of a tele- | Marx points out and proves that "the phone will be glad to make this con- general tendency of capitalist protribution for the purpose of putting duction is not to raise, but to sink a roof over the heads of those needing it." Now the telephone, in this Marx further states that, while age of progress, is still a luxury— resisting this general tendency of and to many a borderline luxury capitalism to reduce wages to the which, opened to consumer taxation, minimum limit, and "quite apart from

must be soon dispensed with. Yet, | Second, the tax on proprietary meeven if we were to grant that a five- dicines, directly affecting the poorest cent tax on the monthly phone bill elements in the population. The sale would be viewed as a "contribution" of proprietary medicines, as any bor Party, its two City Councilmen gladly given, it is my opinion that pharmacist will tell you, is primariit must be part of a progressive pro- ly to those who cannot and do not gram of consumer aid. Specifically, get a doctor's prescription because the American Labor Party could they cannot afford medical care. justify such a tax as part of power- Thus, these two items increase the ful campaign to substantially re- tax burden for groups to whom duce telephone rates to private sub- the A L.P. makes it appeal and scribers and thereby make possible whose interests it should protect. the use of this "luxury" to greater numbers. That would mean a fight believe that the American Labor against the public utilities and a Party's first civic duty is to reprereal service to the masses of the sent labor and the people, not to bepeople. Investigations made and renade in the past years have produced various figures strikingly their first and closest tie to the below resent rates while still main- workers and their bread-and-butter taining an enviable profit level. (It costs about five dollars to install a phone now, and the monthly rate runs between four and five dollars)

> TWO OTHER BAD PROPOSALS

rentals are so inflated now that and seek to enlist their sympathetic skilled workers and many white- support. The proposed tax program, collar workers fall in this group. by which the American Labor Party such a party must face.

By DONALD GRAHAM

American workers and farmers for

conditions of the masses.

SOCIALISM

NOT PANACEAS

In politics, deeds tell the story. I

come the elder statesmen of the city. Its representatives must find interests, not to the abstraction of "city government" which assumes concrete form as a menace to the burdened budgets of the people. If the A.L.P. is to grow into the force it hopes to become, it cannot afford to alienate precisely those Two other tax proposals of the sections of the population whose in-A.L.P. should be criticized. First, terests it declares its own. Especialthe extension of the occupancy tax, ly in a city like New York, a labor to include the low category of \$50 party must be a constant guardian rental per month. New York's of the welfare of the middle groups

Civics Without Voting

Jackson, Miss.

sets of civics text-books if bills enacted by the State Legislature be-

The Senate last week passed, 37 to 9, a measure providing free text books in the first eight grades but adopted an amendment which its Education Committee said would eliminate from the civics texts for Negroes instruction in such principles as voting.

The Senate voted also to keep free textbooks for Negroes in separate warehouses. The alleged "prevalence of syphilis and tuberculosis among brothers in Germany with patriotic the Negro population" was referred to as justification for this provision.

The Senate bill was a rewritten version of one passed by the House. The textbook measure now goes to conference to iron out minor differences, and then to the governor. The amendment providing two sets of civic books was not specific. It

several types of schools." Officials said "Negro civics" would deal mostly Senator H. L. Davis of Oxford, a planter and one of the Legislature's

said that different books in these subjects could be provided "for the

oldest members, said:

"Under the Constitution, the Negro is a citizen, and of course we know and accept that. But he can never expect to be given the same educational and social privileges with the white man and he doesn't expect them. The best education we can give him is to use his hands, because that's how he must earn his living. It always has and it always will be."

Negroes slightly outnumber whites in Mississippi; they still provide most of the field labor.

places itself in the position of initiator of new consumer-tax burdens, will not serve this purpose, for where the tax is not unjust, it only

Britain at War Trotskyites Put Forward Own

Living costs continued to mount in Great Britain during January, the

Food costs during the month rose the prices of such staples as bread

An increase in the price of meat, the principal factor responsible for the jump, was followed by higher prices for fish, potatoes, cheese and

climbed three points, or 1%%, to a record level of 177, compared with 100 in 1914 and 155 when the war began. Apart from food, the principal increase was in the price

Prices Rise to Record High in

six pence in each twenty shillings or 21/2 % despite the fact that the government claims it is spending £1,000,000 a week in pegging down flour, meat and milk.

The general cost of living index

of clothing.

Comes to Business?

Patrioteers Continue Trading With "Enemy"

What's War When It

usual despite the fact that these nations are presumed to be at war.

This business of mass murder of the masses is embroidered with golden profits. While workers of France are called upon to hate their hate, and while workers of Germany are called upon to develop a patriotic murder lust against their brothers in France, exploiters in both nations continue to make profits.

More than that, business men of these warring countries are trading with one another.

From the New York Times of December 21 we quote the following: "According to a dispatch from Copenhagen, to Iron Age, written by Paul Fidrmuc, editorial correspondent of the steel-trade magazine, France and Germany appear to have agreed upon an exchange of coal and iron ore thru Belgium. The part | quote: of the dispatch referring to this

transaction follows: "'One of the most extraordinary transactions is the recent sale of France and 6,000,000 tons of French iron ore to Belgium, which was transacted by a group of French iron-ore mining companies and the Belgian coal cartel. The exchange should be completed within nine months beginning December 1.

"'It is easily established that Belgium can neither consume this quantity of ores nor supply the 4,000,000 tons of coal. Belgian iron production is only about 230,000 tons average in ores needed for this production come from national resources. The import demand is therefore rather small.

"'Six million tons of iron ore represent far more, on the average than the total Belgian production of nine months. On the other side, Belgium suffers a lack of coal and coke. "'How can Belgium supply 4,000, 000 tons of coal and coke and absorb 6,000,000 tons of ore? Your correspondent is not entitled to draw positive conclusions, but the assumption is that most of the coal will come from Germany and the iron ore will go to Germany, the former French-German iron ore-coke exchange (or barter) thus furnishing another example of the many abnormalities in this curious war.

"That there is also another not unimportant trade (machinery, tools,

FRANCE and Germany continue implements, etc.) via Belgium beto do business just about as tween France and Germany has but recently been confirmed by Belgian

"Where Iron Is There Is The Fatherland" is the title of an interesting book that maintains that Germans with interests in French munition factories and Frenchmen with interests in German munition factories received their dividends over the border during the last world war while French and German workers were slain by the hundreds of thousands.

It is maintained that France refused to wrest from the Germans the iron-laden Brieu basin which it could have done at any time during the last war, until General Pershing arrived on the scene and insisted that the French take this source of iron supply from Germany.

From Pierre Van Passen's brilliant "Days of Our Years," we

"While the eyes of the world were riveted on Geneva, where the interminable debate went on and on, few were aware that, from 1925 onward, 4,000,000 tons of Belgian coal to representatives of French and German heavy industry were meeting regularly, now in Paris, then in Berlin. Both the German and French metal industries were incurring serious losses as a result of the suspension of armament contracts, and were desperately seeking ways and means to set business in motion again. This could not be done without intimate collaboration. In May 1925, Arnold Rechberg, public-relations counsel of the Hugenberg and fifth month of the war, to an all- its best months. About 85% of the Thyssen trusts, came to Paris to propose the equipment by France of a German army of 800,000 which was to march into Russia and destroy the Bolshevik regime. Marshal Foch and President Poincare received the German emissary in the company of Robert Pinaud and Charles Laurent, directors of the Comite des Forges, the French steel cartel. They approved the plan which had been vorked out by General von Hoffman. After days of negotiations, Francois Coty announced triumphantly in his newspaper Figaro that Poincare had approved a scheme which would have established a Franco-German 'comdominium' over the vast Russian market. He did not add, however, that this would have obviated the necessity of continuing the talk of general disarmament in Geneva. (Continued on page 4)

Does Fascism Menace America?

Fascist Groups in the U.S.A.

By WILL HERBERG

in various parts of this country today, little need be them yet to arise, may well become the crystalizing under Point 1 of the Trotskyist plat- said here. Their names, leaders, programs and hatefilled preachings are in themselves of little account, even tho a few crack-brained fanatics may be plotting | tions appear. Even in 1928 the Hitler organization was to overthrow the United States government tomorrow have to be appropriated for the aged or the day after. The foreign groups, such as the German-American Bund, can be discounted immediately; by no stretch of the imagination can they be conceived as playing a decisive role in American political life, any more than the Russian-dominated group called the Communist Party. Of the native fascist organizations, the Coughlin movement is probably the most significant since Huey Long's voice was stilled by death. Thru Social Justice and thru its various fronts—the Social Justice clubs, the Christian Front, the Christian Mobilizers-it exerts a measurable influence in certain parts of the country. It is Catholic at the top, altho it is said to have a relatively wide following among Protestants

THIS GUY ??!! NEVER SAW HIM BEFORE IN MY LIFE! BUT-ER-ER - THE FACE IS FAMILIAR -- SO'S THE BODY WHY FR - IT'S ME

as well. It is urban, concentrated in industrial regions influencing predominantly workers and middle-class people of the cities, farmers hardly at all.

Gerald L. K. Smith's movement, operating under various names and fronts, is largely rural and Protestant, altho Smith himself has his headquarters in Michigan, where he is trying to establish contact with workers. Smith was once Huey Long's chief henchman as "Share-the-Wealth" agitator. When the Kingfish died, his successors in control of the Louisiana state machine quickly got rid of Huey's fascist dreams and told Smith to get out. He did, and since then he has been trying to don the Kingfish's mantle and recapture some of his magic, with very indifferent success. He has some sort of movement going; of what account it is or how far it extends, it is impossible to tell.

It is not necessary to list separately the dozens of fascist sects known by the names of Silver Shirts, Crusaders, Knights of this or that, and the like. They are all predominantly rural or small-town, and seem to flourish best in the West or Northwest. The Ku Klux Klan may legitimately claim to be the original of them all, with its hate-drenched racialism, its super-patriotism, its terrorism and mystical mumbo-jumbo. It is still strong in many parts of the South.

None of these groups, nor all of them together, as

vet constitute a formidable force on a national scale. But for that reason they must not be ignored. Their Of the wide variety of fascist groups cropping up importance lies in the fact that they, or others like center for the emergence of a dangerous nation-wide fascist movement, should the appropriate social condiof little account, and in itself certainly no danger to the German republic. Yet two years later, with the sudden appearance of a new social and economic situation, it became the vehicle of a powerful fascist mass movement sweeping everything before it.

Conditions of Fascist Upsurge

Under what conditions, then, could fascism become a formidable force in this country? Under conditions of deep, nation-wide political crisis. This might come as the result of a sudden worsening of the economic situation beyond even the depths of 1929-1932, bringing acute distress and a widespread wave of unrest. Or as the result of a sudden collapse of confidence in the New Deal, whether following in the wake of another deep-going "recession" or not. Whatever be the way in which it might appear, its most significant feature would be a sudden loosening of large masses of people thruout the country from their traditional political moorings, a sudden stirring from their traditional political apathy.

Then, at that critical moment, would come the great nistorical alternative: Either the labor movement, strong, militant, united, proves able to win the confidence and support of the rebellious masses for a constructive departure in the direction of socialism and a higher form of democracy-or else, alienated from the fabor movement, losing all trust and confidence in it, the insurgent masses follow the lead of rabblerousing demagogues and power-hungry political adventurers in the direction of fascism and totalitarian dictatorship.

Fascism Born Of Failure

Fascism, it has been well said,9 is the measure of democracy's failure to solve the major economic problems of our time-poverty and insecurity in the midst of potential plenty and the international maladiustments that are the fruits of "democratic" imperialism. And, it should be added, of the failure, the incapacity, of labor and socialism to lead society out of the hell of capitalism in crisis towards the salvation of socialism. The failure of capitalist democracy—that is, of democratic institutions within the framework of the capitalthe many thousands of ex-hill billies lately turned auto ist economy—is inherent and inescapable. But the failure of the labor movement is of another order entirely: it is a failure of vision, of program, of policy, of leadership. It is a failure that need not be, that must not be, if America is to escape the scourge of fascism.

> (This is the fifth article in a series by Will Herberg on "Fascism in America." The next article will deal with the danger of war dictatorship and fascism "from above" as it affects this country.—Editor.)

9 "Fascism for America—Threat or Scarehead?" Lillian Symes, in Harpers Magazine, June 1939.

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Super-"Ham-and-Eggs" Plan Toss Billions Round, Promising Everything to Everybody the general servitude involved in the worked. But it is rather like the rope wages system, the working class MANACEA-MONGERING is a ought not to exaggerate to themdisease that has plagued the selves the ultimate effect of these

generations. No movement imbued with socialist consciousness can effects, not with the causes of those develop any roots in this country without the previous dissipation of downward movement, but not changall get-rich-quick schemes under ing its direction; that they are capitalism. So long as great masses applying palliatives, not curing the of people are deluded by the fantasy that poverty can be eliminated by a It is for this reason that any cheap money scheme, a plentiful movement that seriously sets forth supply of Greenback currency, the a program for working-class freefree comage of cheap silver money, dom must, as Marx says, "inscribe "\$30.00 every Thursday" or even the on its banner the revolutionary more modest reformist policy of watchword: Abolition of the wages pure-and-simple trade unionism, "a system." While supporting the fair day's wages for a fair day's every-day struggles of the workers work," so long will the masses be to resist the encroachments of tied to that system of production capital, it must ruthlessly expose the which is the cause of their poverty and increasing misery. Only the tion So long as the workers continue to feel that salvation is posthat capitalism places in the path of sible for them within the framework expansion of production. Only thru of capitalism, by means of some the social planning of production patent-medicine panacea, it is a and the elimination of the contradicforegone conclusion that they will reject the only real path to freedom, tion resulting from the private the path of socialism. ownership of the means of production, in short, only thru the establishment of a socialist society, is it

FROM SOCIALISM

TO HAM-AND-EGGS possible to bring about any substanthe Ham-and-Eggs movement in California, has, therefore, nothing in common with socialism. It only in-This is the most elementary basis the Stalinists and Trotskyists have something in common—an unprincipled and demagogic appeal to the backwardness and illusions of the masses. But the beneficiaries of this the average standard of wages." unprincipledness and rank opportunism have been and will continue to be neither the Trotskyists nor the Stalinists, but those who are much more proficient in the art of selling phoney earthly paradises, such as Townsend, the spiritual descendants of Huey Long, the crackpot dema-

gogues of all stripes. There is no shortage of candidates for the demagogue's role. The Trotskyists, fresh from their excursion into the adventurous camtheir claim to it. In the Socialist billion. Appeal of February 3, 1940, the Trotskyists come out with the fol-

lowing program: "We propose that the regular 1940 session of the Congress of the

effect the following: "3. A \$30-weekly old-age and

disability pension. "4. Appropriation of \$3,000.000. 000 to guarantee either maintenance

at school or jobs for all youth." This program is one of the most amazing ever concocted by any radical workers group in this country. The Trotskyists sling not merely billions but tens of billions of dollars around as if they were marbles. It must give one quite a thrill to spend, in one's imagination at least, ten billion on this and ten billion on that, not to speak of ten billions for the farmers, whom the Trotskyists, in some inexplicable fit of parsimony, overlooked entirely. To accomplish all this in 1940 merely by an act are not going to expand production of Congress, and without the un- with profitless operation. The number questionably difficult recourse to the of unemployed would increase by construction of a new social order, leaps and bounds, and the national would indeed be a clever trick-if it

trick supposed to be performed by Indian fakirs. The fakir throws the rope up into the air, and then has a every-day struggles. They ought not | lad climb the rope until he disapto forget that they are fighting with pears in the clouds. That is a very clever trick. The only drawback is effects; that they are retarding the that no one has ever really seen it

ASTRONOMICAL ECONOMICS

Let us examine the Trotskyist figures. If a minimum wage of \$30 per week is to be established, and certainly this should hold good on public works, ther the appropriation of ten billion dollars to put all unemployed to work on public works projects and housing is not nearly enough. There are ten million unemployed in this country. The wages fanciful schemes of salvation based bill alone would amount to about upon the preservation of the private \$15.6 billion. But there must surely ownership of the means of produc- be an additional amount for tools and building materials. Here only guessing, but one-third for materials is not a large proportionso that an additional expenditure of \$5.2 billion would have to be made form. Similarly, under the nationwide Ham-and-Eggs plan of Point 3, approximately \$15 billion would and disabled. Moreover, if the youth The policy of both the Stalinists are to receive three billions, the and the Trotskyists, of supporting farmers of this country are not going to permit themselves to be left out in the cold. They will demand ten billions at least. As pracdicates that again and once again tical politicians, the Trotskyists know this, and will come to terms with them, let us say on a 50-50 basis. But this is not all. There are at present almost a million people in the government employ. The vast extension in federal agencies required by the Trotskyist scheme will triple, at the very least, the number of government employees. This might reduce the number of unemployed, momentarily, I admit, but the fact remains that even with the elimination of all arms expenditures, the cost of running the government apparatus would be not less than about five billions. The Trotskyist budget for 1940 would therefore be \$48.9 billion. This compares with the paign for Ham-and-Eggs, have laid present federal income of about \$5

COMING FROM?

However, a major source of gov ernment income today is the taxation United States shall enact emergency of the upper-income groups. If the legislation to put into immediate minimum wage of all workers is raised immediately to \$30 per week "1. Appropriation of \$10,000,000,- this will surely cut into the income 000 to provide, at once, jobs on of these groups. In fact, it may wipe housing and other public-works it out entirely—undoubtedly an exprojects for all employable workers. cellent and eminently desirable "2. Amendment of the Wages and result of the Trotskyist legislation. Hours Act to provide thruout But, we must then inquire, where is private industry and public works a the approximately \$50 billion to pay maximum work week of 30 hours for the government expenditures to and a minimum weekly pay of \$30. come from? On this the Trotskyists are as silent as the tomb. The entire national income for 1939 was \$69 billion. If the wages of the entire working-class are doubled in 1940, that alone would require more than the entire income of the country—an obvious impossibility. But granting that the workers get the entire \$69 billions, the scores of billions of dollars of government expenditures would then have to come from the workers. So that the government, which had so kindly doubled the workers wages would then take back three-fouths of it in taxation. The workers would take a cut in real

wages of 50%! In the meantime, the capitalists (Continued on Page 4)

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LABOR AND THE MEDIATION BILL

ORGANIZED labor would do well to think twice or three times before hailing Senator Wagner's new federal mediation bill as another "magna charta of labor."

It is true that Senator Wagner's bill is hedged in with all sorts of safeguards. According to its author, it specifically excludes all elements go wrong again, we shall be shot by of compulsion. Mediation is to be entirely voluntary, no obligatory "waiting period" is contemplated, and there are to be no binding decisions or awards. Yet there is something in the very nature of official governmental mediation, no matter how it is set up, that seems to imply outside interference and compulsion and has therefore made it traditionally suspect in labor circles.

All the rantings of reactionary politicians and the gaudy fantasies of cartoonists to the contrary notwithstanding, labor still finds itself in a very disadvantageous and precarious position in the industrial struggle; most of the advantages are still emphatically on the side of corporate this will be quite all right from capital. In the long run, the only weapon labor has with which to meet the point of view of the reestablishthe vast economic power of the owners of the means of production is the power to strike. Without the power to strike, organization and numerical strength are not of much consequence. Where the power to firm our own calculations about the strike is rendered formidable by strong organization, solidarity and dis- aspects of another revolutionary cipline, actual resort to striking is usually unnecessary; the mere threat, backed up by the show of organized might, is generally sufficient to bring the employers to reason. This is the road along which lies the "industrial peace" that is apparently so much sought after in Congress.

But the power to strike is no real power at all unless organized labor retains its full freedom of action. A strike may be effective at a certain moment if it comes as a surprise but may lose most of its effect if long delayed or if the employers are sufficiently forewarned. It is in this respect that governmental mediation or arbitration schemes give rise to uneasiness. However free from compulsory features such schemes may for a change in Germany's policy be in theory, in fact they do imply some sort of restriction of the freedom not only because of British propaof labor to strike at the most opportune moment, under the most favor- ganda or as a result of wishful able conditions. Strikes are rarely resorted to unless negotiations between the union and the employer have proved futile; in such cases, effective strike action is often the only way in which the employer can be brought to a more compliant frame of mind. But in such cases, mediation in place of prompt strike action may well prove a prolongation of talk STALIN INVITES while the employer makes his preparations and the workers lose their big | "HOLY WAR" opportunity and with it a great deal of their morale and fighting spirit.

Of course, it may be objected that in mediation such as Senator Wagner proposes there is nothing compulsory. The federal mediation service is not to intervene unless requested to do so by both sides. But this appearance of voluntariness is to some extent deceptive, for once the system of governmental mediation is established, there develops a strong pressure of public opinion often more irresistible than law itself. In addition, there is the regular tendency of governmental mediation, originally entirely voluntary tho it may be, to become more and more compulsory as time goes on, largely under pressure of reactionary in terests and in an effort to evercome the inevitable failures of the voluntary system. Already a bill has been introduced in the House by Representative Howard W. Smith pointing towards a compulsory system. Compulsory mediation under the law exists today in the railroad industry, and while short-sighted people may hail it as the harbinger of a "new era" in labor relations, we believe that the future will show how ill-advised labor on the railroads was in accepting it. At any rate, for labor as a whole, any compulsory form of mediation or arbitration would be veritable slavery, a big step towards totalitarian

Senator Wagner has high standing with labor thruout the country. But his name should not be enough to stampede the labor movement into taking a position it may well come to rue before long. Better give the matter plenty of calm, realistic thought now while there is still time.

DEMOCRACY IN WAR TIME

WHAT happens to democracy in war time, even in that "mother of democracies," Great Britain, is graphically illustrated in a report from London last week that received only moderate attention in the American press but deserves to be blazoned over all front pages with banner headlines. The report runs:

"LONDON, Feb. 20.—Even the British Parliament will not know how much the war costs until it is over. The government has introduced a burglary and robbery, flow into one another in such system of token votes for £100, each one of which when passed by Parliament will authorize the expenditure of hundreds of millions of pounds annually for the fighting services. . . .

"The government defends this apparent encroachment on democratic rights by saying it would be possible for Germany to deduce from detailed estimates the nature and scope of Britain's naval and air-force building program, the number of men in the navy and other valuable information. The system of £100 votes will apply to the navy, army, air force, Supply Ministry and other departments concerned with fighting

"Not until the war is over and the peace is signed will a detailed bill be presented to the country. Then the members of Parliament will learn how much they voted every time they blindly passed a token vote for £100."

Every schoolboy knows—at least, so he has been taught—that the "power of the purse" is the keystone of constitutional liberties. Only if the representatives of the people in Parliament jealously retain their full control over governmental finances, it has been stressed with a good deal of force and justice, can the power of the Executive be held in check, the danger of arbitrary government averted, and popular rights safeguarded.

But what has happened to the "power of the purse" in war-time Britain? The government introduces its appropriation bills for parliamentary approval but blandly refuses to indicate the sums requested. It asks Parliament, under cover of a "token appropriation" of £100, to vote blindly the amounts Mr. Chamberlain has in mind. In short, Parliament becomes a rubber stamp in the most literal sense of the word. Its control tunity to enter into the social organism as producers, may over finances is virtually gone.

And why? Because governmental expenditures have now become a military secret! On this flimsy ground, there isn't a democratic right or of the Lumpenproletariat are enormously swelled by ruined constitutional liberty that need be left standing in war time. If so funda- and declassed elements from all layers of a disintegrating mental and time-honored a right as parliamentary control over finances is to go by the board, what is there that can hope to remain untouched? "Military necessity"—which, under modern conditions, means totalitarian control over every aspect and feature of national life-rides roughshod over the bleeding, mangled corpse of democratic freedom.

T is not the business of lovers of free speech to fight for liars, knaves, and spies! wrote Miss Dorothy Thompson last week in a column getting right down to the basic principles of free speech. It is a strong argument, tho a little different from Voltaire's. The opinion that Miss Thompson hates . . . can only be held by knaves and liars; it has no right to ask for the protection of democratic law. The trouble is that the sentence stirs up ugly echoes. Someone else has said that the rights of knaves and liars are entitled to no protection under the law. The definition of a knave was broader in his case, including all racial and political minorities, but essentially the argument is the same. Reading Miss Thompson's column, we thought for a minute we could hear another voice, from over the sea."-New Yorker, January 20, 1940.

German Tells of Deep Crisis in Reich

who has managed to maintain contact with Germany while himself residing in "locders" of a defeated Grant Plant of the led and taken to police headquarters one of the countries neighboring on the Reich He is a man who has had unusual political experience in his native land -Editor)

hatred.

exaggeration. Most people seem to be afraid of this. Or they do not rubber-stamp opinion. . . Everybody is always thinking of being shot for 'wrong" ideas. However, if things some Stalinist or some other political gangster anyhow. So, let us go on with our thinking.

I see the coming of a great Goetterdaemmerung for all dictators and sia tremendously intensifies this new foreign powers in order to get anburocrats. Their role is so profoundly discredited that even the wife of a Nazi party member understands it without explanation. A "democratic" or "neo-liberal" period may follow as a reaction to totalitarianism;

ment of the revolutionary forces. Altogether, the facts quite concrisis in Europe, more profound than ever before, a crisis which will become really acute only some time after the downfall of the totalitar-

ian dictators. On the surface, it seems as if all forgotten in the face of the "strategy" of Stalin. Everyone is waiting thinking, but also because even the average man on the street understands that the present policy must finally break Hitler's neck.

The general attitude here (in CHAOS Scandinavia) is that the Finns are We approach real chaos, not to putting up a marvelous fight. Sym- be controlled by any party or any democrat), whom you know too and pathy for them is passionate. In the organized power. All those who to-who was a "front-fighter" in 1914-

vinced that this open revelation of tered the face of European power pears as everyone's evil enemy . .

What fools there must be in Mossow, or how profound must be the bankruptcy of the burocracy! The final touch would be if "der schoene Adolf" made a turn, declared himself "Savior of Civilization" and,

to make some new move.

TOWARDS

as they did those of 1919. A new or-December 28, 1939. | newspapers "neutrality" is criticized der will arise from this chaos; but were conscripted . . . No, they are tem produces its own enemies. No WHAT a pity that I cannot have as "shameful". Stalin has lost his only a fool would try to predict any not able to conduct a serious war a real talk with you. I wish most devoted followers; they used concrete stages or the resulting de- on the western front. But against pete with what the Nazis themselves I could tell you what I think with- to be quite numerous. He is com- velopments. The old ties and social the East . . . ? out any fear of incorrect "defini- pletely discredited. The military de- relations of the present vampire tions" or formulas or sentimental feats are so obvious that I myself state will be destroyed. Human be--like most people here-am con-lings will cease to learn from books trustworthy men who have just come -the force of circumstances will from Germany. They are very sceptrust each other. Everyone has his administrative, political and social compel them to act . . . They will be tical. One of them, a big business weakness and meffectiveness has al- driven to radical measures and attempts to build up something new thing, he did not believe a revolucombinations. Stalin has created an because they will not be able to con- tion would come in Germany. I said ideology of fantastic proportions for tinue to live in the old fashion, and to him: "According to our calcuthe "holy war" against him. He ap so much hatred has been accumulated lations, Germany entered this war ed. Those who stick to the old order as of 1917 (the third year of the The disappointment of those whose sympathy was once with Soviet Rus-moralized, they will have to rely on ly answered: "No, after 1918."

other chance.

An old friend recently arrived from Berlin. She is a friend of H., whom you know too. She is about thirty-five years old, a former medical student, very individualistic, yet interested in socialism. She was disfinanced by British money, marched appointed in all the left-wing paragainst brother Stalin in order ties when Hitler came to powerto "avenge the vile abuse of Ger- as we were - and therefore very manic trust". I am almost afraid sceptical about the future. For three that those who are today decried as | years, she was in a Nazi prison and "barbarians" will again become the was often beaten by the Gestapo. "knights of German humanism." After her release, she remained in Heaven protect us from such a turn! Berlin for a year and then she came where German export goods were Everything is developing accord- here. She quite recently spoke to returned because the raw material ng to our analysis . . . You may re- many friends in Berlin. All those was ersatz (substitutes). Factories member our last talk when we were who are still thinking are against of Scandinavia will become a war discussing "the explosive nature" of Stalin, all our former friends and duction or even stop altogether bearea in the next few weeks. All the the fascist system, the aspects of hers. The general tone is that who- cause of the scarcity of raw matersins of Nazi Germany have been war and of a new world revolution- ever makes a deal with Adolf is a lials . . . Artificial legs, for example, ary crisis as a result of another rascal. She believes that an essential can no longer be manufactured in world war. The internal weakness of section of the bourgeoisie would not the old way because a kind of rub-Germany has a tremendous influ- oppose a "holy war against the ber powder is not available. Every- but I do not believe this is true. ence upon its military strategy. The East". But the general attitude is thing has been rationed—and to a During a recent propaganda lecture new German army can no longer that the future of the Nazis is so far greater extent than during the in a chemical factory in Central stand the strain of a "permanent definitely hopeless that she does not worst times of the World war. But, offensive" as it did in 1914-1918. think it worthwhile even to discuss according to the opinion of this bus-Therefore—"All quiet on the west- a long perspective in connection with iness man, the German people can ern front" . . . Yet, Hitler will have Hitler's overthrow. Anyhow, important and surprising changes are to unless things become much worse be expected in the near future. This is the general feeling at home (in Berlin).

My friend B. (a former social-

The end will not be another 1918.

. . I have spoken to several very man, said that in spite of every-

ECONOMIC CONDITIONS

In speaking about the raw-material situation, a big business man who was an officer in the German army during the World War, told of of fat. In order to obtain smoked offered an iron stove for the cafeteria in his barracks. The offer was not accepted, because they didn't need the stove. Today, in Germany, iron fences and iron ornaments are taken from buildings and sent to the War. Jewish physicians are confoundries. He knows of many cases in Germany have had to curtail probear this situation for many yearssuddenly.

In Berlin there are lines of housewives waiting for potatoes, which illusions about the chances of vicare scarce because of transportation tory. I am really curious as to what difficulties. More than once all the Hitler's new turn will be-or what

"leaders" of a defeated Germany same happened to all the "old front- "because they have too much time will have to deal with forces they fighters". But the active Nazis re- for standing in the street." They will not be able to subdue as easily main at home. You can imagine what were compelled to peel potatoes for the feeling is amongst those who the police . . . In this way, the sysoppositional propaganda can com-

are doing. The small business men are more irritated than anyone else. No money, no goods, terrible burocratic formalities, and terrible penalties

. There are many bankruptcies. But the picture you get while walking on the street is quite different; everything seems to be available, for business men are compelled on instructions from police headquarters to put good and attractive wares in their window displays. But in reality-you can obtain four pairs of socks a year if you can prove to the satisfaction of the authorities that you have none in reserve. And as to rations-one pound of meat (with bones) per week, and 621/2 grams (less than one seventh of a pound) an instance in 1916, when he was herring, housewives have to register for two or three months in advance.

> In one case, a Jew of 41 was conscripted because he had been a "front-fighter" during the World scripted as medical "assistants". but they are treated as colleagues by the "Aryan" doctors.

> Since the introcution of blackouts in Berlin, inscriptions have been scrawled on the walls and buildings: "Murderer

> "Mass-Slaughterer Hitler." There are rumors that Thaelmann is free along with other communists, Germany, the Nazi speaker said: "The anti-Comintern pact is still in existence and has nothing to do with the present alliance with Rus-

Life is by no means comfortable in Germany. Above all, there are no women waiting in line were arrest- the turn will be without Hitler.

By Rosa Luxemburg:

Fight Against Corruption

(We continue publication of Rosa Luxemburg's "The Russian Revolution," written in 1918 and now for the first time translated in full into English Another section will appear in the next issue of this paper.—Editor.)

PROBLEM which is of great importance in Lumpenproletariat. 19 We in Germany too, as every where else, will have this problem to reckon with The Lumpenproletarian element is deeply embedded in bourgeois society. It is not merely a special section, a sort of social wastage which grows enormously when the walls of the social order are falling down, but rather an integral part of the social whole. Events in Germany—and more or less in other countries—have shown how easily all sections of bourgeois society are subject to such degeneration. The gradations between commercial profiteering, fictitious deals, adulteration of foodstuffs, cheating, official embezzlement, theft, fashion that the boundary line between honorable citizenry and the penitentiary has disappeared In this the same phenomenon is repeated as in the regular and rapid degeneration of bourgeois dignitaries when they are transplanted to an alien social soil in an overseas colonial setting. With the stripping off of conventional barriers and props for morality and law, bourgeois society itself falls victim to direct and limitless degeneration (Verlumpung), for its innermost law of life is the profoundest of immoralities, namely, the exploitation of man by man The proletarian revolution will have to struggle with this enemy and instrument of counter-revolution on every

19 Roughly translatable as slum proletariat, the term covers the outcast, degenerated and submerged elements that make up a considerable section of the population of the great industrial centers of all modern lands. It includes beggars, prostitutes, gangsters, racketeers, swindlers, petty criminals, tramps, chronic unemployed or unemployables, persons broken in health or advanced in years who have been cast out by industry, and all sorts of declassed, degraded or degenerated elements In times of prolonged crisis, innumerable young people also, who cannot find an opporbe recruited into this limbo of the outcast. Here demagogue and fascists of various stripes find some of their mass base in time of struggle and social breakdown, when the ranks

And yet, in this connection too, terror is a dull, nay, a two-edged sword. The harshest measures of martial law are impotent against outbreaks of the lumpenproletarian sickness. Indeed, every persistent every revolution is that of the struggle with the regime of martial law leads inevitably to arbitrariness, of the Trotskyists, would then collings like a bayes of and an one laneasure schemes at 18 much more pleasant to dream of the Trotskyists, would then collings like a bayes of and an one laneasure schemes at 18 much more pleasant to dream of the trotskyists, would then collings like a bayes of and an one laneasure schemes at 18 much more pleasant to dream of the trotskyists, would then collings like a bayes of and an one laneasure schemes. and every form of arbitrariness tends to deprave society. In this regard also, the only effective means in a point. the hands of the proletarian revolution are: radical measures of a political and social character, the speediest possible transformation of the social guarantees of the life of the masses—the kindling of revolutionary idealism, which can be maintained over any length of time only through the intensively active life of the masses themselves under conditions of unlimited political freedom.

> As the free action of the sun's rays is the most effective purifying and healing remedy against infections and disease germs, so the only healing and purifying sun is the revolution itself and its renovating principle, the spiritual life, activity and initiative of the masses which is called into being by it and which unable to tell the difference between takes the form of the broadest political freedom.²⁰

In our case as everywhere else, anarchy will be unavoidable. The lumpenproletarian element is deeply embedded in bourgeois society and inseparable from

1. East Prussia, the "Cossack" robberies.

2. The general outbreak of robbery and theft in Germany. (Profiteering, postal and railway personnel, police, complete dissolution of the boundaries between well-ordered society and the penitentiary)

3. The rapid degeneration (Verlumpung) of the Against this, draconian measures of terror are pow-

erless. On the contrary, they cause still further corruption. The only anti-toxin: the idealism and social activity of the masses, unlimited political freedom. That is an overpowering objective law from which

no party can be exempt.

20 The above passages on the Lumpenproletariat are apparently an elaboration of the following paragraphs which repeat substantially the same ideas in more schematic form and were found in the original manuscript on a separate

seventh floor.

Trotskyites Put Forward Super-"Ham-and-Eggs" Plan

(Continued from Page 3) lapse like a house of cards—if things the next fiscal year—provided you could conceivably ever get to such

FANTASY

The Trotskyist platform is not even a fantasy. It is sheer un adulterated nonsense, and dangerous nonsense, too. Only under socialism with its planned increase of the productive forces and the elimination of exploitation, would such an income for the masses be possible, a real income beyond even the sacred figure of \$30 a week. But to propose the Socialist Appeal's platform as emergency legislation in 1940 is possible only for a Congressman who has just escaped from a lunatic asylum. Or is it possible that the Trotskyists, for obvious reasons, are a dollar and a rouble?

Certainly, the workers can get nowhere by falling for the ridiculous Ham-and-Eggs-plus-Caviar plan of the Trotskyists. The tasks of labor in connection with the present session of Congress are infinitely more modest but also infinitely more realistic. They center around a fight to defeat the Administration's superarmaments program and to restore and extend W.P.A.-relief appropriations, to resist the trend towards governmental interference in the trade unions, to protect the rights of self-organization and collective bargaining embodied in the Wagner

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Act, and to keep America out of income would fall. Very soon, war. This is by no means a complete twenty, thirty million unemployed or detailed program but it does show would be demanding their \$30 a what sort of tasks we are immediweek from the government. Con-ately confronted with. Undoubtedly. gress, and all the fantastic schemes | it is much more pleasant to dream of had these billions to distribute. It is also pleasant to indulge in opium

What Is War When It Comes To Business?

(Continued from Page 3) Foch approved in turn, and Tardieu sent Paul Reynaud to Berlin to arrange the final details. The plan was wrecked, said Herr Rechberg later, by Lloyd George, who feared a still greater French influence in Europe.

"But contact between the French and German cannon-makers had been established. It was never again broken. The French metal industry agreed to the rearmament of Germany as early as 1925, as being the only condition for the stimulation of the inner French market."

It might be added that the contact between the cannon-makers of the world has never again been broken. They are the business internationalists who maintain it is treason for workers to be internationalists.

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ATTENTION!

THE meeting with Jay Lovestone in New York dress market has been postponed until, Thursday March 28. (See the advertisement on this page.) This postponement was made necessary by the great number of activities in which the dressmakers are engaged at this time and the difficulty of finding an appropriate day for the meeting. The meeting will therefore be held on Thursday, March 28, 6:00 P. M., at Rivera Murals Hall, 131 West 33rd Street,