

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

# Workers Age

Weekly Paper of the Independent Labor League of America

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## War Diplomacy in the Name of Peace

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

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

Nevertheless, we believe that President Roosevelt's diplomatic approach to the Vatican is full of danger to the peace and welfare of the American people. For in this connection, the Vatican is not merely or primarily a spiritual force; it is a center of dark international diplomatic intrigue with aims and purposes that are far from spiritual. A great deal of light on these aims and purposes is cast by Robert S. Allen and Drew Pearson, informed Washington correspondents, in their "Washington-Merry-Go-Round" column of December 29, 1939:

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

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

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

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

## Supreme Court Upholds Powers of Labor Board

### Unanimous Ruling Limits Right of Review by Courts

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

This opinion, a defeat for the A. F. of L., sustained a decision by the United States Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia that it could not review the Board's action in lumping all West Coast longshoremen into one voting unit.

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

But, while upholding the Board's order certifying the C.I.O. longshoremen as within the power of the Board under the law, the Supreme Court's opinion remarked that "the effect of the certification" was that "in the case of some particular employers, their workers who are not organized or represented by the C.I.O. affiliate have been deprived of opportunity to secure bargaining representatives of their own choice." This effect, the opinion noted, was the one charged by the A. F. of L.

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

In two other decisions, the court also upheld the contention of the National Labor Relations Board that it had the power to direct elections to determine collective-bargaining representation without interference by the federal circuit courts.

One of the decisions sustained a Board order placing the name of only one labor organization (a C.I.O. affiliate) on a ballot for a run-off election to determine the collective-bargaining representation for employees of the Consumers Power Company of Jackson, Mich. The other sustained a Board order directing the complete disestablishment of an "independent" union of  
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### Circuit Court Sets Aside Board Order On Company Union

Philadelphia, Pa. "Independent" or company unions, provided they are not under employer domination, are as legal and valid under the Wagner Act as the bona-fide labor organizations, the Third Federal Circuit Court of Appeals ruled last week in a decision upsetting an order of the National Labor Relations Board. The decision was given in an opinion by Judge Francis Biddle, former chairman of the N.L.R.B.

The court set aside an order directing the Swank Products Company, jewelry manufacturers of Attleboro, Mass., to disestablish an employees' association, which the A. F. of L. charged was company-dominated.

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

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

Judge Biddle asserted that the evidence in the case showed clearly that the 400 Swank Company employees had formed their own labor union because they preferred it to either the A. F. of L. or the C.I.O. The Swank Products Employees Association was formed in 1937.

"The act (the National Labor Relations Act)," Judge Biddle wrote, "does not purport to prohibit plant, or so-called 'company' unions, except where they are linked with the employer."

The National Labor Relations Board had sustained a complaint of Local 18 of the International Jewelry Workers Union, an A. F. of L. affiliate, that the employees' association was a "stooge" for the company because Thomas Stevenson, a foreman and production superintendent, was the moving figure in its organization.

The federal court refused to accept the Board's findings that the company union was illegitimate because it was started by supervisory employees. The circuit decision was regarded in A. F. of L. and C.I.O. circles as a very serious blow to the effectiveness of the Wagner Act. Hope was expressed that the Supreme Court would eventually overturn it.

# FDR Calls for Big Rise in Arms Budget

## Peace Issues Loom Big in Congress

### Ludlow Amendment, War Profits and Arms Expenditures Among Problems

Washington, D. C. As this is being written, Congress is about to convene for its regular session. It is bound to be a session in which foreign policy will dominate all other issues. The actions of this Congress will go a long way towards determining whether this country will or will not become involved in the European conflict. It is a Congress that should be carefully watched by the great masses of people who desire to keep America out of war.

There are four points on which you will want either to be watchful—and ready for action, or to take action no matter what the program announced when Congress opens.

### THE WAR REFERENDUM

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

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

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

The McSwain bill, the Hill-Sheppard bill, the May-Sheppard bill—all were spurious war-profits measures. Many of the supporters of these bills have been perfectly sincere but their chief concern was not with taking the profits out of war but with getting ready for that "next war."

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

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

### ARMAMENT EXPENDITURES

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

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

It is ironic that all the constructive social achievements of the Roosevelt Administration are threatened by the Frankenstein of armaments he has fostered. So far, the most serious threats to our neutrality have come from shipping interests. The clamor of public protest was so strong that the projected transfer of several United States Lines ships to Panamanian registry was abandoned. The Journal of Commerce reports that "scarcity of ocean freight space to virtually  
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AS CONGRESS CONVENES



## War Danger Looms Over Scandinavia

### Germany and Russia "Warn" Sweden; Molotov Plans Trip to Berlin for Aid

The extension of the war to Scandinavia loomed as an imminent danger last week as both Britain and Germany made moves directed at strengthening their position in that region. In both London and Berlin it was stressed that the developments in Finland were to be regarded as part of the general war. Allied quarters indicated that they were ready to fight to protect their flank there. It was even rumored that Britain had given definite guarantees to Sweden against German, and perhaps also Russian, attack. The Swedish government denied this report as inconsistent with its strict neutrality but it was widely credited in informed quarters.

In Germany, the controlled press intensified its warnings to Sweden and Norway, declaring that they "risked becoming battlefields" if they allowed Allied aid to reach Finland. The same line was, of course, taken by Russia; Premier Molotov made a discussion with London's departing ambassador.

Meanwhile, the Russian forces in Finland suffered new reverses last week, the fifth week of the invasion. The extent of these setbacks was not certain but they were regarded as serious enough to have their effect on the entire Winter campaign.

Last week's developments made it clear that a measure of "practical collaboration" was developing between Germany and Russia in the Finnish situation. This collaboration was reported as passing beyond the diplomatic phase. According to well-informed quarters, Russian Premier-Foreign Minister Molotov was scheduled to visit Berlin in the near future to join in consultations, which, judging from German comments, would involve a Russian agreement to provide a Russian aid program for German help. The Nazi propaganda apparatus was already busy preparing the German people for this. In return, it was said, Germany would be able to draw on Russian economic resources.

Despite more outspoken German solidarity, Russia's international position continued to grow worse. In Italy, authoritative spokesmen repeated their warnings against Russian "interference" in the Balkans. One of the results of the conference at Venice between Italian Foreign Minister Ciano and Hungarian Foreign Minister Csaky was said to be a mutual-assistance pact, with military provisions, aimed against Russia.

Doubtless impressed by these developments and by the Russian debacle in Finland, Rumania adopted a new tone towards Moscow last week. Whereas only recently Bessarabia had been virtually evacuated of military forces and left for the Russians to take, last week King Carol delivered a public address warning the Moscow government that his country would resist any violation of its borders, particularly any invasion of Bessarabia.

The main development of last week, the eighteenth week of the general war in Europe was not military but political. It was the sudden shake-up of the Chamberlain cabinet in Great Britain and the dropping of Leslie Hore-Belisha as War Secretary, replaced by Oliver Stanley. Friction with the chiefs of the army, in which he had made many far-reaching reforms, was generally assigned as the main cause of Hore-Belisha's downfall, together with differences on current military policy, although there was a strong hint that a conflict of attitude on a possible peace with Germany might be involved. At any rate, the British press clamored for an explanation and stressed the view that Mr. Hore-Belisha was the victim of bureaucratic and social cliques dominant in army circles. A strong element of anti-Semitism (Hore-Belisha is a Jew) was said to enter into the situation.

The week was marked by no important change in the military deadlock that has continued since the end of the Polish Blitzkrieg. And there was little prospect that any such change would come in the near future. Indeed, the official Nazi news agency in Berlin issued a statement last week that Germans could "expect only inaction on the western front."

From the way events have been shaping up so far, the general course of the war seems to be developing along the following lines:

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

With the official declarations last September, the war moved to the center and soon settled down to a positional deadlock on the western front, accompanied by more mobile naval and aerial activity. As it stands today, the war at the center—that is, the war directly between the Allies and Germany—is largely economic and diplomatic. Perhaps this phase is preparatory to a later stage of large totalitarian war, but this is by no means certain.

Meanwhile, the separate, isolated wars at the periphery have continued, first in Poland, now in Finland. Further clashes at the periphery—the Balkans, Turkey, even Asia—seem indicated for the immediate future.

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

Washington, D. C. "National unity" and large-scale preparations for war were the keynote of the annual message on the "state of the Union" delivered by President Roosevelt to Congress last week at the opening of the new session. It was a message that, despite the President's own disclaimer in the opening paragraphs, concentrated very largely on foreign affairs to the almost total neglect of vital domestic problems.

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

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

that would be drastically curtailed in order to make possible the new super-armaments program. The Presidential message included a strong plea for the continuance of the Administration's reciprocal trade-agreements policy. Obviously in order to counteract the effect of his request for sky-high arms appropriations and to allay wide popular anxiety at the trend of his foreign policy, President Roosevelt devoted a considerable

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

Washington, D. C. Military and naval expenditures will reach an all-time high for days of peace and relief expenditures will fall to the lowest level in New Deal history during the next fiscal year, according to the 1941 federal budget submitted to Congress by the President last week.

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

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

The President asked for direct military appropriations amounting to \$1,838,000,000 and quasi-military appropriations of \$497,000,000 more—making a total of \$2,335,000,000, or more than one dollar in every four proposed for federal spending in the next fiscal year. In the current year, military-naval expenditures will probably amount to \$1,734,000,000.

No peace-time precedent exists for the huge arms expenditure proposed in the new budget. Only in the war years 1918, 1919 and 1920 were bigger sums spent for military purposes.

Informed sources said that the \$2,300,000,000 figure would probably turn out to be an underestimation; actual military expenditures, it was expected, would reach \$2,750,000,000 or perhaps even \$3,000,000,000. A fund of such magnitude will be needed, it was pointed out, to finance the Administration program  
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part of his message to a justification of his own course and an attack on the "isolationists." The Administration, he insisted, had a "clean record of peace and good-will" in foreign affairs, and a right to share the label "peace block" or "peace party." He scathingly criticized those who maintained that "all we have to do is to mind our own business and keep the nation out of war"; that was "oversimplifying" the issue, he said, likening its advocates to "ostriches." He repeated his "hope and expectation" that "the United States will not become involved in military participation in the war," but went on to advocate diplomatic and economic participation—in other words, the familiar "measures short of war," now directed towards "encouraging" the "right kind" of peace. Anti-war spokesmen were quick to point out that the President's policy, whatever his intentions, involved a dangerous contradiction, for diplomatic and economic participation in favor of one side in the European war could not be long continued without inevitably culminating in military participation. Thus, "measures short of war" were bound to lead directly to war.

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

Throughout the entire address, President Roosevelt laid the greatest stress on the need for "national unity" in this crisis of world affairs. Thus such appeals, Administration leaders hoped not only to get the country in a war mood where it would be ready to "fight at the drop of a hat," as the President once put it, but also to stifle opposition and criticism of the President's policies, domestic and foreign, and thus to  
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## A.L.P. Girds For Fight on Stalinists

### Denounces Russian Attack On Finland, Prepares for Big Primary Battle

New York City. In a momentous meeting of the State Committee last week, the American Labor Party administered another smashing political defeat to the Stalinists in its ranks and took organizational measures to protect the party from Stalinist machinations in the future.

The political decision came over a resolution condemning Soviet Russia for the invasion of Finland, praising the Finns for their heroic defense, and endorsing proposals for material aid to Finland so far as consistent with the American policy of neutrality. This resolution was adopted by a vote of 321 to 61.

# Local 22 Progressives Consolidate Ranks

### Call to Reestablish Group in Dress Union

(We publish below an appeal issued last week by the Dressmakers Progressive Group of Local 22, I.L.G.W.U.—Editor)

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

#### RECORD OF PROGRESSIVES

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

#### ACHIEVEMENTS OF ADMINISTRATION

The administration of our Local, headed by Brother Zimmerman, has made an earnest and effective effort to carry these progressive principles into practice. In a period of widespread unemployment and economic distress, particularly severe in our industry, it has rallied the dressmakers in a militant fight to hold on to their gains and beat back the efforts of the employers to undermine conditions. It has played an outstanding part in the life of the International and as a progressive force in the general labor movement. It has always been the staunch champion of unity in our ranks. Through great effort, it succeeded in establishing such unity and in maintaining it as long as possible, until political upheavals outside our ranks, over which we have no control, arose and interfered. The record of the progressive movement, as expressed in the program and achievements of our administration, is one that we believe every dressmaker will approve and support.

#### BIG TASKS AHEAD

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

That is why we issue this call to

the constructive, progressive elements in our Local to reestablish the Dressmakers Progressive Group. Now is the time to mobilize all forces in our Local in order:

1. To meet the serious economic problems that confront us at this time and that require the maximum unity and vigilance if they are to be effectively met.
2. To protect the unity of our Local against outside political domination and disruption.
3. To maintain sound, constructive and democratic policies in the administration of our Local.
4. To play an effective role in the general labor movement as a force for progressivism. The year 1940 will prove a very decisive one for labor, doubly important for us because a convention of the International will take place next May at which many vital issues will arise.

#### NEW PERIOD OF SERVICE

Dressmakers! The Progressive Group has done much in the past for the welfare of our union and the workers in our industry. It has established a record of which everyone may well be proud. The past accomplishments of our administration were possible only because of the loyal and undivided support of the progressives in our union. But even greater opportunities of constructive service lie ahead in rally-

# Wagner Act Fills Vital Need of American Labor

### Leiserson Opposes Major Amendment

By WM. M. LEISERSON

(On December 11, 1939, William M. Leiserson, member of the National Labor Relations Board, presented to the Smith Committee investigating the NLRB an important statement on the Wagner Act and the functioning of the Board. This statement, with slight omissions, we have broken up into several articles of which the following is the first. The other articles will appear in subsequent issues of this paper.—Ed.)

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

I think the Labor Relations Act is a good law. We shall be proud of it in the future, just as we now are proud of our public schools, compulsory education, and workmen's compensation acts, all of which were vigorously denounced when they were first advocated and when the first steps were being taken to put them into practical effect. I do not think that the act needs to be amended in any important respect.

#### WHY THE LAW IS NECESSARY

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

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

# Program of Progressive Dressmakers

(The seven points listed below constitute the general programmatic aims of the Dressmakers Progressive Group of Local 22, I.L.G.W.U., as given on its official card of affiliation.—Editor)

1. For a policy of constructive militancy and vigilance in maintaining and improving the economic conditions of the dressmakers.
2. For democracy in our union and the labor movement.
3. For economical, efficient administration.
4. For unity in the ranks of our union.
5. Against all attempts to sow dissension or disunion in our ranks in the interests of outside political organizations. Against outside political control and domination of the affairs of our union.
6. For unity in the labor movement. For the immediate reunification of the A. F. of L. and C.I.O.
7. For independent labor political action.

ing all sincere, progressive elements in our Local to meet with united effort the many grave problems that confront us at the present time. We call upon all those who have been members of the Progressive Group in the past, upon all those who agree with its principles, upon all those who support the progressive administration of our Local, to join with us in reestablishing the Progressive Group and preparing it for a new period of responsible, useful service in the interests of the dressmakers.

# THE FIVE DU QUOIN BOYS



THE five DuQuoin boys, whose release from prison has been requested by a joint A. F. of L.-C.I.O. committee. They were convicted in 1933 on charges growing out of the Illinois mine-union struggle. Left to right: Ollis Battaglia, Sam Ferro, Robert Shingleton, Emery Albers, Barney Bossetto.

# Labor Pleads For DuQuoin Miners

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

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

Accompanying A. F. of L. and C.I.O. leaders to the governor's office was Vernon Miller, father of the slain girl, who summed up the situation thus:

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

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

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

# Ex-Movie Union Czar Reelected To Executive

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

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

Early last year, Kaplan began to lay plans for a comeback, which bore fruit in last week's elections. Running on a "fusion" and "independent" slate, Kaplan was elected member of the board with 81½ votes, first among 64 candidates for the ten positions on the board. His running mates captured three other Executive Board seats and four out of eight other offices. Kaplan's cohorts were unable, however, to unseat Joseph D. Basson, president for four years.

In the election, 1,987 of 2,155 eligible members voted.

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

State budget: Adequate budgetary appropriations in 1940 to carry on effectively the social and welfare activities of the state government.

Civil service: (a) Restoration of mandatory and time-service increments suspended by 1939 session of the Legislature; (b) extend civil-service provisions to cover employees of election boards throughout the state.

Workmen's compensation: (a) Exclusive state insurance fund as a sole carrier of compensation insurance under the workmen's compensation law; (b) increase workmen's compensation benefits for the victims of silicosis and other occupational dust diseases.

Farmers: (a) Legislation to secure to farmers the right of genuine collective bargaining in marketing their products; (b) extension of rural electric service at low rates; (c) improve rural schools, increase rural health services and expand activities of Department of Agriculture to protect interests of farmers.

Youth: Establish youth commission to survey youth needs and problems and to recommend concrete steps to aid youth.

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

# New York Labor Advances Broad Legislative Program

## C.I.O. Out Against Revision of State "Wagner Act"

New York City  
UNQUALIFIED opposition to any amendments to the State Labor Relations Act was expressed last week by the New York State Industrial Union Council, representing the C.I.O. unions in this state.

The position taken by the C.I.O. unions in their legislative program for 1940 was diametrically opposed to that of the State Federation of Labor, the A. F. of L. body, which recently announced its intention of seeking to limit the powers vested in the State Labor Relations Board.

The C.I.O. group urged the Legislature to pass a bill prohibiting state loans, grants or contract to violators of the federal or state labor-relations acts and another "protecting the rights of organization of government employees and providing for effective methods of collective negotiation and bargaining for such employees." Extension of the labor act to employees of non-profit organizations was another point in the C.I.O. program.

The Industrial Union Council advocated establishment of a minimum old-age relief allowance of \$60 a month for persons over 60. The present state-wide average is under \$30 and persons under 65 are excluded from any benefits. The C.I.O. council called for further liberalization of the relief program for the aged by suggesting that "pauper requirements" be abolished as a condition for aid.

The state was advised to increase its contribution to local relief costs from 40% to 60% and to make provision for at least two labor representatives on the State Board of Social Welfare, one of whom was to be from the C.I.O.

Restoration of full state aid for

education, repeal of the city and state cigarette taxes and substitution of a bank-income or compensatory use tax, opposition to any move to establish a state sales tax, and increased appropriations for the S.L.R.B. and the State Labor Department, were among the legislative objects of the C.I.O. council.

Like the State Federation of Labor, it put ratification of the Child Labor Amendment at the head of its list. Second was establishment of a minimum work-week of forty hours and a minimum hourly wage of 40 cents.

A compulsory health-insurance program and broadening of the unemployment-insurance system to provide twenty weeks of benefits instead of thirteen, shorter waiting period before benefits begin, payments for part-time joblessness, removal of penalties against workers locked out by their employers and reduction in the period of disqualification for strikers, were recommended by the C.I.O. It expressed unalterable opposition to any form of merit rating in unemployment-insurance taxation.

Still other suggested measures would forbid the bringing into New York of products of runaway shops, repeal the Ives loyalty-oath law, the criminal-anarchy laws and the Denjoy law, outlaw suits seeking to enjoin peaceful picketing, curb racial discrimination, protect civil rights, regulate fee-charging employment agencies and set up legislative committees to investigate the anti-labor practices of the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company and "other companies operating under franchises or grants from the state."

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

Milk Drivers Union Heads Are Ousted

Chicago, Ill.  
THE Chicago Milk Wagon Drivers Union last week refused to reelect to office two men who had ruled it for nearly forty years. The two men were Robert G. Fitchie, 74, president since 1906, and Steve Sumner, 90, who began as business agent when the union was founded in 1902 and held the office of secretary-treasurer for nearly twenty years. Henry Weber, a wholesale driver, was elected president, and Thomas J. Hagerty, secretary-treasurer.

This was the first election held in eighteen years, since 1921. During the past two years, an insurgent movement developed in the union, demanding elections, a new regime and cuts in officers salaries.

## Labor to Fight for Relief Reforms

"AN early disturbance in Congress promises to develop from organized labor's effort to eliminate from the W.P.A. act the provision inserted last Summer establishing the 'security wage' and requiring all workers to labor 130 hours a month to attain that wage. Both A. F. of L. and C.I.O. strongly favor restoration of the prevailing-wage basis of payment and it is contended that wage levels for private labor are being injured by the W.P.A. change."  
—United States News, Dec. 26, 1939.

## A.L.P. Urges Wage Law for N. Y. State, Bigger Budget

New York City.  
AN 18-point program for the forthcoming session of the State Legislature was announced last week by the American Labor Party thru Alex Rose, state secretary. Heading the list is a state wage-hour law that would set up a maximum 40-hour work-week and a minimum pay rate of 40 cents an hour.

"A state wage-hour law is a keystone in the march of social legislation designed to bring about a measure of security for the working people of the state," it was said in a statement accompanying the program.

The other points of the program are:

Unemployment insurance: Far-reaching extension of insurance benefits, with provision for 20 full weeks of insurance payments for the unemployed.

Education: Restoration of all cuts made in state aid for education and full state aid for education in the coming year.

Unemployment and relief: Increase the rate of reimbursement by the state for relief to cities and municipalities from 40% to 60%.

Housing: (a) Increase the subsidy now permitted under the constitutional amendment from \$1,000,000 to \$2,500,000 per year, (b) extend the Minkoff rent-control law for another year.

Child labor: Ratification of the child-labor amendment.

Health: A compulsory health-insurance plan to provide health security to wage-earners with contributions by the employer, employee and the state to cover the cost.

Labor: (a) A measure to bar "runaway" employers from operating within the state; (b) amend the labor law to compel state contractors to abide by the orders of the State or National Labor Relations Board;

(c) protect workers from indiscriminate picketing arrests; (d) strict state regulation and licensing of fee-charging employment agencies.

Consumer: (a) Establishment of a new Department of the Consumer to provide services and protection for the average consumer in the state; (b) protection of installment buyers and small-loan borrowers by providing for strict state regulation of installment sellers and credit agencies.

Milk: Authorize construction of municipal milk plants by localities.

Power: (a) A bill to vest in the people of the state the water-power sites on the St. Lawrence and Niagara rivers and to prohibit the lease or sale of water power and water-power sites to other than public corporations or agencies; (b) a measure to authorize municipalities to construct municipally owned and operated power yardstick plants.

Civil liberties: (a) A bill to bar the use of illegally obtained evidence in any trial, proceeding or hearing and also to prohibit wire-tapping; (b) establishment of a division of

# Peace Issues Loom Big as Congress Session Opens

(Continued from page 1)

all ports of Europe is creating a critical situation among Texas cotton exporters." At the same time, there is "an excellent demand for spot cotton among Texas shippers." Ocean freight rates are advancing. The pressure to loosen the shipping restrictions in the neutrality law can be expected only to increase.

The expected war boom has not yet become a serious reality. After a temporary increase in September in the placing of war orders, foreign buying here has subsided. But industry is still hopeful. The Annalist, well-known commercial publication, in one place points out that "the war in Europe appears to be on the verge of becoming active." In another, it says: "That the Allies can expect military operations on a large scale and at the same time refrain from

purchasing all the war material possible hardly seems sensible."

After Congress convenes, pressure for loosening of provisions of the existing neutrality law can be expected. Inadequate as the present law is, any loosening of the safeguards it does set up means a step in the direction of war.

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# Trotskyites in the Service of Stalinism

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The Trotskyist formula these days seems to be: Criticize Stalin's atrocious policies but support his atrocious actions the moment he sets his army in motion to enforce them. Criticize the invasion of Finland, but support the Russian invader. And above all, heap abuse upon every one who dares to denounce Stalinism consistently and in words that pull no punches.

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

# Stalin Imperialism Destroys Gains of Russian Revolution

## "Defense of Soviet Union" Is Deprived of Meaning

By WILL HERBERG

IN the Russia of the new Stalinist imperialism, what is left of the great revolution of 1917? In the first place there are the economic foundations. The transition from private capitalism to a nationalized ("stafified") economy is of vast historical significance and is one of the lasting achievements of the Russian Revolution. Nationalized economy is not in itself socialism; far from it. But it is a necessary economic foundation for socialism, or rather a basis on which—given freedom, democracy and self-administration—socialism may be erected!

### RUSSIAN SET-UP TODAY

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

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

foreign policy of imperialism are yet to make themselves felt but they will undoubtedly be serious.

In the second place, contemporary Russia has inherited from the revolutionary Russia of former days a system of institutions that drag on a sort of half-existence in the shambled-land of vestigial and atrophied forms. These institutions of early Soviet political life, still recorded in the Russian "constitution," bear about as much relation to existing political reality in Russia as the Weimar Constitution, which has not yet been nullified or repealed, bears to existing political reality in Germany. Yet these institutions are by no means completely dead; they are rather in a state of suspended animation and, if they can be revived soon enough, they may yet come to play a decisive role in Russian life.

In the third place, there is the historical tradition of the November Revolution and the political ideology of Leninist communism. Both have been so unscrupulously disfigured, so utterly corrupted, so systematically falsified, that it may well be questioned whether they can still be regarded as active forces. Yet I believe that there is still considerable power in them, as we may perhaps come to learn in a future not too distant.

Upon the foundations of the nationalized economy, there has been erected here, not a socialist democracy but a political superstructure of totalitarian military-police dictatorship, ruled by a privileged bureaucratic caste organized in a hierarchical party-state structure topped by the personal dictatorship of The Leader. This is the Stalin regime.

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

Such, in brief outline, is the present set-up in Soviet Russia. What kind of set-up is it? It is not capitalism; nor is it socialism. It is not proletarian dictatorship as conceived by Marx, Lenin or Luxemburg; nor is it the fascism that prevails in Germany and Italy, altho it shares with fascism its totalitarianism and Leader cult, and some claim to see a convergence of economic structure. As a matter of fact, the present-day Russian economy and Russian state simply cannot be described in traditional terminology. They constitute an essentially new historical phenomenon describable only in its own terms.

### MEANING OF "DEFENSE" SLOGAN

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

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

of private capitalism.

Defend how and against whom? Of course, against invaders and forces of restoration. But also against the Stalin dictatorship. For not only is the overthrow of the Stalin regime necessary in order to save what can still be saved of the Russian Revolution; the overthrow of the Kremlin dictatorship is an essential prerequisite for an effective defense against a foreign enemy. Stalinism must be swept away if the Russian people are to be in a position to master the dangers that are confronting them at home and abroad.

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

The inescapable conclusion of all this is that the "defense of the Soviet Union" has no meaning whatever for international socialism at the present moment, in connection with the invasion of Finland. It may arise again as a significant slogan tomorrow, or it may not. Certainly, it has no significance today.

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

# Is a New Anti-Russian Block in the Offing?

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

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

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

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

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

This was the report which Ambassador Kennedy brought back to the President—and probably he is right.

Therefore, British industrialists and at least three members of the British government (Chamberlain, Simon, and Hoare) lean anxiously toward any peace which would stave off the dread spectre of radical labor rule in England.

Also, it is important to recall that in October 1938, just after Munich, the British tactfully suggested to Hitler that he might satisfy his territorial hunger at the expense of the Russian Ukraine, rather than disturb the peace of Europe over Poland.

So now it is quite consistent for the British to fall in with any revival of this idea, especially if the Germans now admit they made a mistake. . . .

The outcome of all this is going to depend a lot on Rome and a lot on the United States. And that's why Roosevelt's appointment of Myron Taylor as special envoy to the Pope can be so important.

# What Are the British Fighting For?

## I.L.P. Leader Brands War as Imperialistic

By C. A. SMITH

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

London, England.

WHAT are the British fighting for?

Not for Poland, as Churchill and Hore-Belisha have both stated. No one, for example, proposes declaring war against Russia to restore the former Polish state.

Not for democracy. There is no effective democracy in the British and French empires outside the few million whites. India has been declared a belligerent country without even consulting the Indian people and despite their protests.

Nor is there effective democracy at home. Two of the three organs of Parliament—the Crown and the House of Lords—are not elected. The power to declare war lies not with Parliament, but with the Executive. A network of repressive legislation is destroying most of our liberties.

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

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

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

The Board "justifiably drew the inference," he added, "that this com-

pany-created union could not emancipate itself from habitual subservience to its creator, and that in order to insure employees that complete freedom of choice guaranteed by Section 7 (of the act), the independent union must be completely disestablished and kept off the ballot."

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

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

All three decisions were unanimous. Justice Stone delivered the opinions in the longshoremen and Consumers Power cases. Justice Black delivered the third opinion, in which it was announced Justice McReynolds had not participated.

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

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

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

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

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

# Books

THE VAMPIRE ECONOMY: Doing Business Under Fascism, by Guenter Reimann. Vanguard Press, New York, 1939.

THE departure of Herr Thyssen, leader of the Ruhr industrialists and patron of Nazism, from that Germany which he helped create, has brought to the fore, even more sharply than hitherto, the problem of the relationship between fascism and the capitalists. None save the conservative bourgeoisie of Germany itself, with perhaps a few echoes in other lands, talk of fascism as a form of real socialism, i.e., as putting an end to the profit system. Yet, what is happening in Nazi Germany? What is this strange economy which, oppressing even more than ever the workers and peasants, causes widespread grumbling among the very capitalists who believed it to be their savior?—which regiments and expropriates these capitalists, even such tycoons as Thyssen and Krupp?

Such is the problem which motivates Guenter Reimann's inquiry into the nature of doing business under fascism. Thus the author, who had previously studied the broader social aspects of fascism as the preventive counter-revolution against the workers socialist aspirations, delineates with great clarity the difference between the well-being of the capitalists and the welfare of the capitalist system. For the decline of capitalism, seeking political refuge under fascism, calls for salvation not merely at the expense of the workers, the peasants, the urban middle-classes, but at the expense of the ruling bourgeoisie itself!

This strange phenomenon, a bitter paradox for the German employers, results in the utter uprooting of all received traditions of conducting business, commercially and industrially. The employer may have succeeded in ending his relationship with the independent trade unions, but the author presents evidence to the effect that many already look back to classic capitalism with its trade unions as to a lesser evil in comparison with dealing with the new bureaucratic set-up.

Relationships with workers still hamper the employer—but now in the sense of relationships with those that count in the Nazi party. For without good relationships, the industrialist cannot hope for materials, for sales outlets, for export and import permits, for the type of production he has been used to.

In the new set-up, a new type of function and functionary appear—the contact man. He is indispensable, not because he is acquainted with the nature of an industry or has any of the qualities which made up the successful business man or tycoon. He is important because he knows the right people—in the Nazi party; because, at a high price, he can help the industrialist get, in one fashion or another, the necessities for conducting business.

Casting its shadow over the whole of German economy and hence over the individual capitalists, is the German war machine, with its complete distortion of "normal" business procedure, both in the type of production permitted and the type of materials used. The substitute materials (ersatz) are working havoc, from a technical point of view, with the once proud German industrialism.

The author addresses himself primarily to the American businessman and capitalist. For what

# M-Day Dictatorship Will Last Beyond War

## A.F.L. Leader Warns Against Despotism

By MATTHEW WOLL

(We continue below publication of the most important sections of the address delivered by Matthew Woll, vice-president of the A. F. of L., on December 1, 1939 before the Trenton, N. J. Central Labor Union. Other portions will appear in the following issues of this paper—Editor.)

THERE is one significant addition in the 1939 version which does not appear in the 1936 Plan. The 1936 Industrial Mobilization Plan says specifically:

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

But the 1939 version says: "The War Resources Administrator, as the termination of the emergency is approached, might well study the desirability of proposing the creation of a new and entirely separate agency to deal with the rehabilitation problem. On the other hand, it may be considered advisable, upon the termination of the emergency, to continue the War Resources Administration as a post-war readjustment agency. Decision as to the organization and composition of such an agency will depend upon personalities, the degree of rehabilitation required, the political and economic factors which would then obtain."

### DICTATORSHIP WILL CONTINUE

Recent experiences have demonstrated the folly of attempting to end emergency legislation within a fixed period of time. Then, again, note that the termination of all war powers are to be dependent first upon personalities—and yet this is said to be a government of law; second, upon the degree of rehabilitation to be required, to be determined by the War Resources Administration; third, upon political factors, to be determined, I presume, by the political party then in power; and last, upon the economic factor—whatever that may be after the previous factors are determined.

We may therefore expect that the powers granted to the President and the War Department during war may be retained indefinitely after hostilities have ceased, always remembering that while a bare majority of Congress can bestow these powers, it takes a two-thirds majority to repeal them, that is, to override a Presidential veto.

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

What, then, does it embrace and what will be its resultant effects?

When the full force of the coordinated Mobilization Day measures take effect, we will overnight find ourselves living in a land where: Every person from age sixteen upward will be at the command of the government. The price of every article and commodity will be fixed by the government. Factories will produce only what the government orders. Labor will be deprived of the right to strike. Food, and all other necessities of life, will be rationed. All wages will be fixed by Presidential proclamation. All business will be licensed. Civil rights will be violated; the press, radio and movies censored; and personal liberties destroyed. In brief, every person and every enterprise in the United States will automatically become a part of a giant war machine, the control of which will rest in the hands of the President alone. Congress will abjectly surrender its power. A super-government will take over. This is no Wellesian dream of life on Mars. This is what will happen to you and me and every American the day war is declared. The proof now lies in Washington. There, in the files of our government, are the official documents which comprise the program, the Industrial Mobilization Plan, the National Defense Act, and four bills, now before Congress.

### LABOR IN A STRAIT-JACKET

On the subject of labor, the Industrial Mobilization Plan presents a picture of the American working man in a strait-jacket.

There is no question of employee against employer, no hint of labor's rights or labor's preference, no discussion of open shop or closed shop, of C.I.O. or A. F. of L. The government merely takes over. Only in the fascist nations of Europe and in Soviet Russia is labor similarly regimented.

Still another part of the Industrial Mobilization Plan is concerned with "new legislation required," the measures being classified as follows: Industrial Management Act, War Resources Control Act, War Securities Exchange Control Act, War Finance Control Act, and War Emergency Act.

Each of these measures is drafted in full, with blank spaces prepared for the insertion of dates and the President's signature. The day we enter war, they will be sped thru Congress and to the White House, where a flourish of the pen will make of America a totalitarian state in reality. Under their terms, a single individual will control the acts, thoughts and lives of every citizen. . . .

The Industrial Mobilization Plan vitally affects the lives of all men, women and children in the United States, whether they be engaged in agriculture, manufacturing, banking or any other industry. I shall confine my remaining remarks more particularly to those sections of the Plan which directly concern organized labor and the American worker.

### HOW IT WILL WORK

Under the Industrial Mobilization Plan, it is proposed to create a War (Continued on Page 4)

# The A.S.U. Unmasks

By a vote of 322 to 49, the fifth convention of the American Student Union, meeting at Madison, Wisc., last week, deliberately rejected a proposal to express "no sympathy for the Russian attack on Finland" and to "specifically condemn it as a clear act of aggression," altho this condemnation was linked up, quite properly too, with a reassertion of American neutrality and a determination to keep out of war. Joseph Lash, executive director of the A. S. U., and Molly Yard, national chairman, both urged the passage of the resolution but without avail.

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

Do the somewhat tarnished "liberals" of the Nation and New Republic still insist that the A.S.U. is not a Stalinist "false-front" organization? Does Mrs. Roosevelt still believe that the A.S.U. is just a high-minded campus fraternity devoted to the best ideals of American student youth?

It is rather curious, isn't it? Six months ago, the American Student Union was all for "collective security," for condemning "aggressors," for a "common front of democratic powers against fascism." Then Stalin changed his foreign policy and clasped hands with Hitler. Immediately the A.S.U. leaders forgot all about "collective security"; they even branded the "democratic-front" idea as outright war-mongering. Now that Stalin's new foreign policy has led him to an attack on Finland, the A.S.U. has lost its ability to distinguish aggressors; in fact, it has lost all interest in the subject. Is it "Red-baiting," is it "witch-hunting," Mrs. Roosevelt and the editors of the Nation and New Republic, to see some connection between Stalin's abrupt shifts in Moscow and the strange antics of the A.S.U. in this country?

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

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Reviewed by M. S. M.

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Your New Year's Resolution

THE year ahead of us is bound to prove of decisive importance to mankind. In this country, too, it will be a crucial one.

Our fight is a fight that it shall not be lost, that labor may measure up to the tasks confronting it.

The Independent Labor League of America again appeals to its friends and sympathizers for assistance in carrying on this fight.

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

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

DIPLOMATIC DOUBLE-CROSS

WHAT reliance can the Finnish masses place on England and France for effective support in their struggle for independence against the Russian invader?

The full-page headline under which the report is run, reads: "French Try to Aid Finns Without Driving Stalin Closer to Hitler."

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

They mean that for England and France Finland is no more than a pawn in the game of diplomatic intrigue.

The British Foreign Office, of which the French government is today hardly more than an auxiliary, seems to be operating along two alternative lines: on the one hand, it is seriously contemplating the possibility of transforming the present war, thru a truce with Germany, into a joint assault on Soviet Russia.

And now London and Paris are announcing that they stand ready to make the same sort of bargain with Stalin in Finland.

Until England and France can make the proper arrangements with Germany, they cannot afford to do anything that will aggravate their relations with Stalin.

There are rumors that contacts have already been established between Germany and the Allies for the purpose of discussing terms on which the present war could be ended.

WHO'S LOONEY NOW?

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

In Cambridge, the high and mighty City Council recently passed a resolution calling down all the thunders of the law upon anyone uttering or causing to be uttered or possessing in written or graphic form the dread name "Lenin" in any of its combinations.

In Chicago, at about the same time, James C. Petrillo, head of the Chicago Federation of Musicians, threatened to stop a number of shows, including George White's "Scandals" and "The Man Who Came to Dinner," unless they eliminated every reference to John L. Lewis in word or representation.

We are accustomed to the grotesque antics of bar-room politicians turned loose in the city hall or the county court house.

Fortunately, the mayor of Cambridge refused to put his signature to the screwball resolution of his City Council.

MURPHY says Roosevelt will run only in a national emergency.

Well, all that's necessary now is a good-sized "national emergency." Surely there ought to be no difficulty in providing that!

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

Towards A Better America:

Socialism the Only Road

By BERTRAM D. WOLFE

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

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

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

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

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

We are proud of the traditions of the American Revolution, which gave this country freedom to work out its own destiny, and opened up a cycle of struggles for freedom in Europe.

We are proud of the generous purposes of transcendentalism and of America's long line of utopian idealists; proud of the anti-bureaucratic spirit of Jefferson, and the anti-plutocratic spirit of the Populists.

By the same token we hate and scorn all that is slavish and corrupt in our national life, all that is incompatible with the bright hopes and generous dreams which brought out people from all lands to America.

We cannot move towards a better America without considering the present state of the nation and the character of our social order.

Capitalism reached its vigorous maturity in the course of the nineteenth century. Even in this healthiest and wealthiest land, each advancing year of the twentieth makes clearer the signs of decay in the heart of that system.

Here as elsewhere, the time is one of change; either general decay of our order and the civilization that rests on it, or preservation of its achievements and enlargement of its possibilities in a new social order.

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

Those who attempt to combine foreign war with a dream of a better America must answer the question: What will we leave as a heritage to our children, when to our forty-billion deficit is added another forty billion and yet other forty billions, to the unpaid debts of the last war yet other debts, to the disorganized economy which that war left us further disorganized?

Notice FOR technical reasons, it was impossible to run the regular instalment of Rosa Luxemburg's "The Russian Revolution" in this issue.

Here's the New Arms Budget (Continued from page 1) of the simultaneous construction of 10 new battleships and the boosting of the air fleet to almost 10,000 planes.

was set at a flat billion dollars, enough to maintain 1,350,000 persons on the rolls.

W.P.A.: \$1,000,000,000, a reduction of \$400,000,000 below the current year.

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

C.C.C.: \$225,000,000, a reduction of \$60,000,000.

army of unemployed and "boondoggled" workers, whose talents and capacities are permitted to waste and wither.

The New Deal has had some positive achievements to its credit; but at its heart there has gnawed this canker. Fundamentally, as the President himself has said, it is a method of preserving capitalism—at a time when mankind in its development has outgrown it.

"To lead out many to the Holy Land, Lest rest and lying still might make them look Too near unto my state..."

He plays with the idea of adopting the advice of the dying Henry IV to his son:

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

May waste the memory of the former days." And, alas, that action would waste far more than the memory of the former days!

I am sorry to have to record that even in the trade-union movement, in the Labor Party, among liberals, in the Committee for Cultural Freedom, even, it seems, on this platform tonight, there are minds that can be thus busied with foreign quarrels to waste the substance of our hope of progress.

"If we go to war," Woodrow Wilson told Frank Cobb back in 1915, "we shall lose our heads along with the rest and stop weighing right and wrong... When a war gets going, it is just war, and there aren't two kinds of it."

"Personal liberty and free economic life are not built for modern war. A great war today is a mobilization of the whole people. That means democracy must temporarily surrender to dictatorship..."

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

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We Are NOT Given To Overstatement!

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

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

Under any other circumstances, we would have to apologize for the floor show not having been given in its entirety. However, on this occasion, we don't have to because it was the fault of the merry-makers that we couldn't go on with it.

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

It is indeed with great pleasure that we look back upon this evening of warm hearty enjoyment and merriment. And while we're engaged in pleasant reminiscences, let's indulge in some pleasant anticipations.

And may we wish you all of the best!

M-Day Dictatorship Will Last Beyond War

A.F.L. Leader Warns Against Despotism

(Continued from page 2) Resources Administration appointed by and under the direct control of the President. It will consist of over fifteen sub-boards directly under the jurisdiction of the War Resources Administrator; of these, one will be the War Labor Administration.

The War Labor Administration itself is headed by an administrator appointed by the President, who, in the words of the Plan, "should be an outstanding citizen who is thoroughly familiar with the problems entering into the relationship between employer and employee and who is capable of dispassionate judgment in their solution."

It is, of course, self-evident that the qualifications thus set forth are designed to fit but one class, and that is the military.

Under this administrator is a deputy, appointed by him, and twenty-nine sub-divisions or bureaus. I have been unable to discover anywhere in the Plan that organized or unorganized labor is to be represented on these sub-divisions or boards.

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Just Published! "In Stalin's Secret Service" By W. G. Krivitsky \$3.00 (including postage)

WORKERS AGE BOOKSHOP 131 W. 33rd St., N. Y. C.

visory Council consisting of ten members, four of whom shall represent industry, four labor, and two the general public. Members of the Advisory Council are appointed by the President.

FDR Calls for Big Rise In Arms Costs

(Continued from Page 1) recoup the Administration's waning political fortunes.

The traditional New Deal policies of social welfare and reform were hardly mentioned in the message; it was clear that they had been definitely relegated to the background as far as the Administration was concerned.

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

Congressional reaction to the President's message was mixed and not well-defined last week. A sharp fight was expected on the reciprocal trade-agreements policy. In general, the conservative elements seemed to be pleased with what the President said and with his "unusually conciliatory" manner. Thus Senator Glass, rock-ribbed reactionary from Virginia, not only declared the message to be "pretty good" but predicted "increased Democratic harmony" in 1940.

Just a Bit of Fraud

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

In accordance with the "line," this journal sets out to prove that Finland is a fascist state, which presumably would justify the Russian invasion. (But isn't there some sort of Russian "non-aggression" pact with Germany which, in certain circles, is regarded as a fascist state?)

That in these eight years, a number of things have happened in Finland; that the parliament of the Finland that Stalin attacked was composed of 85 Social-Democrats and Socialists, 64 Agrarians, 25 Conservatives and only 8 fascists; that the socialist forces received nearly 45% of the vote in the last Finnish elections—all that the New Masses does not see fit to mention. It might spoil the picture!