

Coming:
RECREATING SOCIALISM
 By LEWIS COREY

Workers Age

Weekly Paper of the Independent Labor League of America

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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 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 prophecy and into the world of brutal reality. More and more, the regime 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 policy, but the genuine foes of war and its reactionary sweep are now feeling the ever-heavier hand of totalitarian savagery in France. Recently, 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 Combat Syndicaliste, Le Liberaire, La Revolution Proletarienne and Le Reveil Syndicaliste are among the papers suppressed by the French government that seeks support of its war on the allegation that it is fighting 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 International Revolutionary Marxist Center. It has been opposed to imperialist war from the very moment of its birth in the last great mass struggles in France. The P.S.O.P. paper (Jun '36) is allowed to appear occasionally but then it is censored to the marrow.

In the colonies, French "democracy" has instituted repression worthy only of the Nazis at their worst. All offices of colonial groups in Paris have been shut. Spokesmen of 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 leaders as Wallace Johnson and Uriah Butler.

In "normal" times of peace, the democracy in the policies of the French and British ruling classes is at best dubious. In war times, the reactionary character of these capitalist governing groups is only too obvious. One cannot stress too often and with sufficient emphasis the fact 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, rights weak and anemic before the war and murdered by the war.

Churchill Suggests Turning War Into 'Anti-Red' Crusade

Stalin Opens Way for Western Alliance to Smash Russia

London, Englan'

WINSTON CHURCHILL'S broadcast speech on Saturday, January 20, was the most dangerous utterance by a British government representative since the beginning of the war.

Summarized in a sentence, he invited the neutral nations of Europe to enter the war on the side of Britain and France against "Nazism 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 been well 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 blockade. They do not want German domination of Europe, but they also

do not want Anglo-French domination.

Churchill visualizes and encourages an all-in European war. The British people should clearly understand where the government is taking them. Churchill's words make it clear that step by step we are moving towards a conflagration which will bring destruction and death to all the peoples.

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

"Everyone can see how communism can rot the soul of a nation, ho it makes it abject and hungry in 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 Party 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 important visitor to Russia described how "communism" had saved the soul of Russia, given its people new hope, purpose and idealism.

It is not "communism" but Stalinism that has brought degradator

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 26 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 them with violation of the Sherman Anti-Trust Act.

The indictment, handed down on November 6, 1933, charged the officials of the fur union with alleged "acts of violence", including "boy-cotts and picketing", to restrain trade.

This is the first C.I.O. union to be affected by the government's anti-trust 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 Department of Justice have been affiliates of the A. F. of L., largely in the building-construction and trucking fields. The A. F. of L. from the first insisted that the anti-trust laws could not be legitimately used against labor organizations and that the government's crusade was a direct menace to labor's fundamental rights. The recent session of the A. F. of L.'s Executive Council unanimously adopted a resolution pledging to fight against this form of persecution with all the resources at its command. The C.I.O., on the other hand, took no action on the question and made little effort to conceal its glee at the fact that its hated rival, the A. F. of L., was being delivered blow after blow by the government.

Despite all this, the A. F. of L. would do well to avoid a retaliatory attitude. Even tho the furriers union is a C.I.O. affiliate and under the control of the Stalinists, the A. F. of L. should join the C.I.O. in protesting against the prosecution of Gold and his colleagues under the anti-trust laws. Labor solidarity must be the first consideration. Furthermore, the outcome of this trial may go a long way in affecting the results of future prosecutions.

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 violation of the Sherman Anti-Trust Act.

This is the third time Hutcheson has been indicted in the government's nation-wide drive against labor under the anti-trust laws. He previously had been indicted in St. 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 manufacturers, the carpenters union prevented use of the out-of-state products in Pittsburgh, the indictment charged.

and disaster to Soviet Russia and that has given Churchill the opportunity to arise popular preges of Stalinism that it should have brought real communism (which is real socialism) into reproach and given the Churchills and other reactionaries the present golden opportunity to rally the world against it.

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 American industry was producing

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 Bureau of the party; Emile Douis, administrative secretary; Chaplain, secretary of the youth organization; and Hess, another party leader. They were clapped into common jail and were refused political status. The charge against them was distribution of anti-war material.

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.

ACWR Refuses To Join City CIO Council

Declares Such Council "Unnecessary"; 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 become part of any C.I.O. council in New York City. The Amalgamated Clothing Workers, headed by Sidney Hillman, is the largest C.I.O. union in the city.

Officials of the Amalgamated contended that their stand did not imply 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 similar 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 February 10.

Observers in close touch with C.I.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, would fall under the control of the Stalinists. In New York City, for example, such Stalinist-controlled organizations as the transport workers, maritime workers, office workers, and government employees would dominate any central council of the C.I.O. It was regarded as significant that precisely these organizations were pressing for a city council while the Amalgamated Clothing Workers and the closely related Textile Workers Union were opposed to it.

In New York State, a C.I.O. Industrial Union Council was organized over a year and a half ago. Its two conventions were flooded with delegates directly or indirectly controlled by the Communist Party. At the last convention, sharp clashes took place between them and the forces under the influence of the Amalgamated, the most important occurring behind the scenes; it was only thru threats to leave the convention that Hillman managed to have non-Stalinist officers elected to head the State C.I.O.

Despite assurances of "loyalty" to the C.I.O. on the part of Amalgamated officials, there were indications that relations were very much strained between the Hillman organization and its parent body. In addition to resenting John L. Lewis's attacks on President Roosevelt, Amalgamated officials were said to be at odds with the C.I.O. leader over the latter's unwillingness to negotiate with the A. F. of L. for peace in the labor movement and over his toleration of communist infiltration in the C.I.O. In certain top C.I.O. circles, the Amalgamated was already being "written off" as a dead loss, just as David Dubinsky's I.L.G.W.U. had been during the last months of its affiliation with the C.I.O.

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

While production for January stood at 120, "the number of persons employed, excluding those working on relief projects, is slightly smaller than ten years ago and those with jobs are working much shorter hours," the Federal Reserve Board said. Why it used the term "slightly" in referring to a displacement of a million employed is not stated in the release.

The reduction of the number employed, despite the "much shorter hours" worked, is attributed by the F.R.B. to "continued technical progress during the decade."

Rapid Spread of War to New Fronts Imminent

THEY'LL BOTH LOSE



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 dribbles 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 Bessarabia.

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 before.

Informed observers believed that one of the chief objectives of the Allied 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 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 almost 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 course 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 significance occurring in the war, as far as military operations were concerned. There was quiet on the western front and a slight spurt of

Wagner Introduces New Federal Mediation Bill

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

Washington, D. C. A bill to create a federal mediation service on a par with the National Labor Relations Board was introduced in the Senate last week by Senator Robert F. Wagner, father of the federal labor-relations law. The new bill would leave the original Wagner Act and Labor Board intact in their exclusive field of protecting collective-bargaining rights. But it would create a three-man board in the Labor Department, expanding the present conciliation service, for voluntary mediation in labor disputes over wages, hours, working conditions, closed shop and other issues.

Altho the first Wagner Labor Board of N.R.A. days acted as a mediator, the present Board has no such authority. This differentiation was stressed by President Roosevelt in signing the Wagner Act.

"It is important," he said, "that the judicial function and the mediation function shall not be confused. Compromise, the essence of mediation, has no place in the interpretation and enforcement of the law."

Senator Wagner last week reverted to this quotation. In pointing out that most labor disputes—covering about 80% of the workers in 1939 strikes—were not over collective bargaining but over wages, hours and working conditions, the Senator said:

"Many of these strikes, for example, the Chrysler and bituminous coal disputes, have sometimes been mistakenly laid at the door of the labor relations law. Many others are mistakenly brought to the Labor Board, which is neither authorized nor equipped to resolve them."

Unauthorized and indirect mediation activities of certain Labor Board agents, even when attempted in good faith, have helped to multiply charges of Board partisanship, he added.

The new Wagner bill carries no penalties and no compulsions and does not provide for subpoena power. Nor does it provide for a "waiting period" to stop strikes or lockouts. Its processes would be entirely voluntary and are described by its author as having been designed as "an essential 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 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 arbitration.

There was no conflict between the proposed bill and the N.L.R.A. Senator Wagner stated, since the prevention of unfair labor practices and the conduct of elections would still remain within the exclusive jurisdiction of the N.L.R.B.

There were signs that when the bill came before Congress an effort would be made by Congressmen hostile to labor to inject a compulsory element in the federal mediation system 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 Wagner emphatically rejected these suggestions and stressed that no legitimate 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 sponsored as a result of prolonged conferences between representative

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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 from New York. And that seemed to be an understatement. In reality, it was a jamboree of New York City Stalinists and their friends. The Young Communist League packed 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 the whole set-up, including registration, made this easy. Those in charge of registration, for instance, were two Stalinists, formerly of City College.

The delegates returned to the convention hall in the Labor Department building Saturday afternoon with their spirits thoroughly dampened after listening in a chill steady rain to President Roosevelt's biting anti-Stalinist speech. It was then that John L. Lewis delivered his blistering attack on the President. His demagogic, ambiguous remarks con-

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A.L.P. Housing Tax Program Based on False Foundation

Levies on Phone Bills, Rents, Medicines Hit Masses

By M. S. MAUTNER

IN the midst of a severe organizational crisis of the American Labor Party, its two City Councilmen have 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 follows:

Tax	Estimated Annual Yield
Residential occupancy	\$2,022,369
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 throughout the city, eliminating the present zones and establishing a standard five-cent call.

DANGEROUS GROUND

It has been the misfortune of the American Labor Party to be plunged into the mess of New York City financing from the very first moment of its political activity. B. 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 proposals are in the same unpopular tradition.

These schedules appear to be aimed at the middle and lower-middle income groups, that is, the majority of the city's population. 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 those affording the luxury of a telephone will be glad to make this contribution for the purpose of putting a roof over the heads of those needing it." Now the telephone, in this age of progress, is still a luxury—and to many a borderline luxury which, opened to consumer taxation,

must be soon dispensed with. Yet, even if we were to grant that a five-cent tax on the monthly phone bill would be viewed as a "contribution" gladly given, it is my opinion that it must be part of a progressive program of consumer aid. Specifically, the American Labor Party could justify such a tax as part of powerful campaign to substantially reduce telephone rates to private subscribers and thereby make possible the use of this "luxury" to greater numbers. That would mean a fight against the public utilities and a real service to the masses of the people. Investigations made and remade in the past years have produced various figures strikingly below present rates while still maintaining an enviable profit level. (Its costs about five dollars to install a phone now, and the monthly rate runs between four and five dollars.)

TWO OTHER BAD PROPOSALS

Two other tax proposals of the A.L.P. should be criticized. First, the extension of the occupancy tax to include the low category of \$50 rental per month. New York's rentals are so inflated now that skilled workers and many white-collar workers fall in this group.

Second, the tax on proprietary medicines, directly affecting the poorest elements in the population. The sale of proprietary medicines, as any pharmacist will tell you, is primarily to those who cannot and do not get a doctor's prescription because they cannot afford medical care. Thus, these two items increase the tax burden for groups to whom the A.L.P. makes it appeal and whose interests it should protect.

In politics, deeds tell the story. I believe that the American Labor Party's first civic duty is to represent labor and the people, not to become the elder statesmen of the city. Its representatives must find their first and closest tie to the workers and their bread-and-butter 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 sections of the population whose interests it declares its own. Especially in a city like New York, a labor party must be a constant guardian of the welfare of the middle groups and seek to enlist their sympathy and support. The proposed tax program, by which the American Labor Party

Civics Without Voting For Negroes in Dixie

Jackson, Miss.

WHITE and Negro school children in Mississippi will have separate sets of civics text-books if bills enacted by the State Legislature become law.

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 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 said that different books in these subjects could be provided "for the several types of schools." Officials said "Negro civics" would deal mostly with history.

Senator H. L. Davis of Oxford, a planter and one of the Legislature's 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.

Prices Rise to Record High in Britain at War

London, England.

Living costs continued to mount in Great Britain during January, the fifth month of the war, to an all-time high.

Food costs during the month rose six pence in each twenty shillings or 2½% despite the fact that the government claims it is spending £1,000,000 a week in pegging down the prices of such staples as bread, flour, meat and milk.

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

The general cost of living index climbed three points, or 1¼%, 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 of clothing.

Does Fascism Menace America?

Fascist Groups in the U.S.A.

By WILL HERBERG

Of the wide variety of fascist groups cropping up in various parts of this country today, little need be said here. Their names, leaders, programs and hateful preachings are in themselves of little account, even tho a few crack-brained fanatics may be plotting to overthrow the United States government tomorrow 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 stillied 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, although it is said to have a relatively wide following among Protestants

yet constitute a formidable force on a national scale. But for that reason they must not be ignored. Their importance lies in the fact that they, or others like them yet to arise, may well become the crystallizing center for the emergence of a dangerous nation-wide fascist movement, should the appropriate social conditions appear. Even in 1928 the Hitler organization was of 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 historical 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 labor movement, losing all trust and confidence in it, the insurgent masses follow the lead of rabble-rousing demagogues and power-hungry political adventurers in the direction of fascism and totalitarian dictatorship.

Fascism Born Of Failure

Fascism, it has been well said, 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 maladjustments 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 capitalist 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?" by Lillian Symes, in Harpers Magazine, June 1939.

Read—Spread

WORKERS AGE



—from Justice

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, although Smith himself has his headquarters in Michigan, where he is trying to establish contact with the many thousands of ex-hill billies lately turned auto 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

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

Toss Billions Round, Promising Everything to Everybody

By DONALD GRAHAM

PANACEA-MONGERING is a disease that has plagued the American workers and farmers for generations. No movement imbued with socialist consciousness can develop any roots in this country without the previous dissipation of all get-rich-quick schemes under capitalism. So long as great masses of people are deluded by the fantasy that poverty can be eliminated by a cheap money scheme, a plentiful supply of Greenback currency, the free coinage of cheap silver money, "\$300 every Thursday" or even the more modest reformist policy of pure-and-simple trade unionism, "a fair day's wages for a fair day's work," so long will the masses be fed to that system of production which is the cause of their poverty and increasing misery. Only the economic reconstruction of society can provide the possibility of plenty, thru the destruction of the barriers that capitalism places in the path of expansion of production. Only thru the social planning of production and the elimination of the contradiction between production and distribution resulting from the private ownership of the means of production, in short, only thru the establishment of a socialist society, is it possible to bring about any substantial and lasting improvement in the conditions of the masses.

SOCIALISM NOT PANACEAS

This is the most elementary basis of the Marxist socialist movement. Marx points out and proves that "the general tendency of capitalist production is not to raise, but to sink the average standard of wages." Marx further states that, while resisting this general tendency of capitalism to reduce wages to the minimum limit, and "quite apart from

the general servitude involved in the wages system, the working class ought not to exaggerate to themselves the ultimate effect of these every-day struggles. They ought not to forget that they are fighting with effects, not with the causes of those effects; that they are retarding the downward movement, but not changing its direction; that they are applying palliatives, not curing the malady."

It is for this reason that any movement that seriously sets forth a program for working-class freedom must, as Marx says, "inscribe on its banner the revolutionary watchword: Abolition of the wages system." While supporting the every-day struggles of the workers to resist the encroachments of capital, it must ruthlessly expose the fanciful schemes of salvation based upon the preservation of the private ownership of the means of production. So long as the workers continue to feel that salvation is possible for them within the framework of capitalism, by means of some patent-medicine panacea, it is a foregone conclusion that they will reject the only real path to freedom, the path of socialism.

FROM SOCIALISM TO HAM-AND-EGGS

The policy of both the Stalinists and the Trotskyists, of supporting the Ham-and-Eggs movement in California, has, therefore, nothing in common with socialism. It only indicates that again and once again 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 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 demagogues of all stripes.

There is no shortage of candidates for the demagogue's role. The Trotskyists, fresh from their excursion into the adventurous campaign for Ham-and-Eggs, have laid their claim to it. In the Socialist Appeal of February 3, 1940, the Trotskyists come out with the following program:

- "We propose that the regular 1940 session of the Congress of the United States shall enact emergency legislation to put into immediate effect the following:
 - "1. Appropriation of \$10,000,000,000 to provide, at once, jobs on housing and other public-works projects for all employable workers.
 - "2. Amendment of the Wages and Hours Act to provide thruout private industry and public works a maximum work week of 30 hours and a minimum weekly pay of \$30.
 - "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 of Congress, and without the unquestionably difficult recourse to the construction of a new social order, would indeed be a clever trick—if it

worked. But it is rather like the rope trick supposed to be performed by Indian fakirs. The fakir throws the rope up into the air, and then has a lad climb the rope until he disappears in the clouds. That is a very clever trick. The only drawback is that no one has ever really seen it done.

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, then 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 bill alone would amount to about \$15.6 billion. But there must surely be an additional amount for tools and building materials. Here I am only guessing, but one-third for materials is not a large proportion—so that an additional expenditure of \$5.2 billion would have to be made under Point 1 of the Trotskyist platform. Similarly, under the nationwide Ham-and-Eggs plan of Point 3, approximately \$15 billion would have to be appropriated for the aged and disabled. Moreover, if the youth are to receive three billions, the 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 practical 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 present federal income of about \$5 billion.

WHERE'S IT COMING FROM?

However, a major source of government income today is the taxation of the upper-income groups. If the minimum wage of all workers is raised immediately to \$30 per week, this will surely cut into the income of these groups. In fact, it may wipe it out entirely—undoubtedly an excellent and eminently desirable result of the Trotskyist legislation. But, we must then inquire, where is the approximately \$50 billion to pay for the government expenditures to 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-fourths of it in taxation. The workers would take a cut in real wages of 50%!

In the meantime, the capitalists are not going to expand production with profitless operation. The number of unemployed would increase by leaps and bounds, and the national

(Continued on Page 4)

Here's What They Say:

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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 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 capital. In the long run, the only weapon labor has with which to meet the 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 strike is rendered formidable by strong organization, solidarity and discipline, 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 be in theory, in fact they do imply some sort of restriction of the freedom of labor to strike at the most opportune moment, under the most favorable 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 while the employer makes his preparations and the workers lose their big 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 interests and in an effort to overcome 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 "coordination" and control.

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 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 the war.

"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 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 constitutional liberty that need be left standing in war time. If so fundamental 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.

"It 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

(The letter below was sent to a friend in America by a German anti-fascist who has managed to maintain contact with Germany while himself residing in one of the countries neighboring on the Reich. He is a man who has had unusual political experience in his native land—Editor.)

December 28, 1939. WHAT a pity that I cannot have a real talk with you. I wish I could tell you what I think without any fear of incorrect "definitions" or formulas or sentimental exaggeration. Most people seem to be afraid of this. Or they do not trust each other. Everyone has his rubber-stamp opinion. . . . Everybody is always thinking of being shot for "wrong" ideas. However, if things go wrong again, we shall be shot by 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 bureaucrats. 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; this will be quite all right from the point of view of the reestablishment of the revolutionary forces.

Altogether, the facts quite confirm our own calculations about the aspects of another revolutionary crisis in Europe, more profound than ever before, a crisis which will become really acute only some time after the downfall of the totalitarian dictators.

On the surface, it seems as if all of Scandinavia will become a war area in the next few weeks. All the sins of Nazi Germany have been forgotten in the face of the "strategy" of Stalin. Everyone is waiting for a change in Germany's policy not only because of British propaganda or as a result of wishful thinking, but also because even the average man on the street understands that the present policy must finally break Hitler's neck.

STALIN INVITES "HOLY WAR"

The general attitude here (in Scandinavia) is that the Finns are putting up a marvelous fight. Sympathy for them is passionate. In the

newspapers "neutrality" is criticized as "shameful". Stalin has lost his most devoted followers; they used to be quite numerous. He is completely discredited. The military defeats are so obvious that I myself—like most people here—am convinced that this open revelation of administrative, political and social weakness and ineffectiveness has altered the face of European power combinations. Stalin has created an ideology of fantastic proportions for the "holy war" against him. He appears as everyone's evil enemy. . . . The disappointment of those whose sympathy was once with Soviet Russia tremendously intensifies this new hatred.

What fools there must be in Moscow, or how profound must be the bankruptcy of the bureaucracy! The final touch would be if "der schoene Adolf" made a turn, declared himself "Savior of Civilization" and, financed by British money, marched against brother Stalin in order to "avenge the vile abuse of Germanic trust". I am almost afraid that those who are today decried as "barbarians" will again become the "knights of German humanism." Heaven protect us from such a turn!

Everything is developing according to our analysis. . . . You may remember our last talk when we were discussing "the explosive nature" of the fascist system, the aspects of war and of a new world revolutionary crisis as a result of another world war. The internal weakness of Germany has a tremendous influence upon its military strategy. The new German army can no longer stand the strain of a "permanent offensive" as it did in 1914-1918. Therefore—"All quiet on the western front" . . . Yet, Hitler will have to make some new move.

TOWARDS CHAOS

We approach real chaos, not to be controlled by any party or organized power. All those who to-

day regard themselves as future "leaders" of a defeated Germany will have to deal with forces they will not be able to subdue as easily as they did those of 1919. A new order will arise from this chaos; but only a fool would try to predict any concrete stages or the resulting developments. The old ties and social relations of the present vampire state will cease to learn from books—the force of circumstances will compel them to act. . . . They will be driven to radical measures and attempts to build up something new because they will not be able to continue to live in the old fashion, and so much hatred has been accumulated. Those who stick to the old order will be without real strength; demoralized, they will have to rely on foreign powers in order to get another 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 appointed in all the left-wing parties when Hitler came to power—as we were—and therefore very sceptical about the future. For three years, she was in a Nazi prison and was often beaten by the Gestapo. After her release, she remained in Berlin for a year and then she came here. She quite recently spoke to many friends in Berlin. All those who are still thinking are against Stalin, all our former friends and hers. The general tone is that whoever makes a deal with Adolf is a rascal. She believes that an essential section of the bourgeoisie would not oppose a "holy war against the East". But the general attitude is that the future of the Nazis is so definitely hopeless that she does not think it worthwhile even to discuss a long perspective in connection with Hitler's overthrow. Anyhow, important and surprising changes are to be expected in the near future. This is the general feeling at home (in Berlin).

My friend B. (a former social democrat), whom you know too and who was a "front-fighter" in 1914-

1918, has been conscripted. The same happened to all the "old front-fighters". But the active Nazis remain at home. You can imagine what the feeling is amongst those who were conscripted. . . . No, they are not able to conduct a serious war on the western front. But against the East. . . . ?

The end will not be another 1918. . . . I have spoken to several very trustworthy men who have just come from Germany. They are very sceptical. One of them, a big business man, said that in spite of everything, he did not believe a revolution would come in Germany. I said to him: "According to our calculations, Germany entered this war as of 1917 (the third year of the World War) . . ." He spontaneously answered: "No, after 1918."

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 an instance in 1916, when he was 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 foundries. He knows of many cases where German export goods were returned because the raw material was ersatz (substitutes). Factories in Germany have had to curtail production or even stop altogether because of the scarcity of raw materials. . . . Artificial legs, for example, can no longer be manufactured in the old way because a kind of rubber powder is not available. Everything has been rationed—and to a far greater extent than during the worst times of the World War. But, according to the opinion of this business man, the German people can bear this situation for many years—unless things become much worse suddenly.

In Berlin there are lines of households waiting for potatoes, which are scarce because of transportation difficulties. More than once all the women waiting in line were arrest-

ed and taken to police headquarters "because they have too much time for standing in the street." They were compelled to peel potatoes for the police. . . . In this way, the system produces its own enemies. No oppositional propaganda can compete with what the Nazis themselves are doing.

The small business men are more irritated than anyone else. No money, no goods, terrible bureaucratic 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 62½ grams (less than one seventh of a pound) of fat. In order to obtain smoked 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 War. Jewish physicians are conscripted as medical "assistants", but they are treated as colleagues by the "Aryan" doctors.

Since the introduction of blackouts in Berlin, inscriptions have been scrawled on the walls and buildings: "Murderer Hitler," "Mass-Slaughterer Hitler," "There are rumors that Thaelmann is free along with other communists, but I do not believe this is true. During a recent propaganda lecture in a chemical factory in Central Germany, the Nazi speaker said: "The anti-Comintern pact is still in existence and has nothing to do with the present alliance with Russia."

Life is by no means comfortable in Germany. Above all, there are no illusions about the chances of victory. I am really curious as to what Hitler's new turn will be—or what 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.)

A PROBLEM which is of great importance in every revolution is that of the struggle with the Lumpenproletariat.¹⁹ We in Germany too, as everywhere 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, burglary and robbery, flow into one another in such fashion that the boundary line between honorable citizenry and the penitentiary has disappeared. In this 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 hand.

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 degenerated, degraded or degenerated elements. In times of prolonged crisis, innumerable young people also, who cannot find an opportunity to enter into the social organism as producers, may be recruited into this limbo of the outcast. Here demagogues and fascists of various stripes find some of their mass base in time of struggle and social breakdown, when the ranks of the Lumpenproletariat are enormously swelled by ruined and declassed elements from all layers of a disintegrating society.

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 regime of martial law leads inevitably to arbitrariness, and every form of arbitrariness tends to deprave society. In this regard also, the only effective means in 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 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 it.

Proofs:

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 union leaders.

Against this, draconian measures of terror are powerless. 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 sheet of paper.

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

(Continued from Page 3) income would fall. Very soon, twenty, thirty million unemployed would be demanding their \$30 a week from the government. Congress, and all the fantastic schemes of the Trotskyists, would then collapse like a house of cards—if things could conceivably ever get to such a point.

FANTASY AND FACT

The Trotskyist platform is not even a fantasy. It is sheer unadulterated 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 unable to tell the difference between 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 super-armaments 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

Act, and to keep America out of war. This is by no means a complete or detailed program but it does show what sort of tasks we are immediately confronted with. Undoubtedly, it is much more pleasant to dream of distributing forty or fifty billions in the next fiscal year—provided you had these billions to distribute. It is also pleasant to indulge in opium pipe dreams.

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 Reebger 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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KEEP AMERICA OUT OF WAR By Norman Thomas and Bertram D. Wolfe \$1.50 WORKERS AGE BOOKSHOP 131 W. 33rd St., N. Y. C.

JAY LOVESTONE will speak on "Road to Labor and Socialist Unity" Thursday, March 28, 6 P. M. RIVERA MURALS HALL 131 W. 33rd St., (7th floor) Admission Free Auspices: Dressmakers Branch, Independent Labor League of America

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 dress-makers 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, seventh floor.

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