COMING
Series of Articles On Spain
By JULIAN GORKIN

Workers Age

Weekly Paper of the Independent Labor League of America

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7 P.S.O.P. Militants Sentenced to Heavy Prison Terms in France

(From the March 1, 1940 issue of Le Temps)

Paris, France

SEVEN members of the Socialist Workers and Peasants Party (P.S.O.P.), one of whose chiefs is Marceau Pivert, were prosecuted before the Second Military Tribunal of Paris for distributing leaflets dangerous to the national defense.

The tribunal condemned the former administrative secretaries of the P.S.O.P., Maurice Jacquier and Nestor Rouaix, as well as two militants, Lucien Preis and Lucien Chapelin, to five years in prison, a fine of 1,000 francs, and five years deprivation of political, civil and family rights.

(Read the article, "In the Land of the Rights of Man," on page 3.—Editor.)

Save the American Labor Party in the Primaries!

THIS is a last-minute appeal to every registered American Labor Party member to do his bit to save the party from falling into the hands of the Stalinist wreckers in the primaries on April 2.

We have discussed the issues of this struggle more than once in these columns. We have stressed that however many differences we may have had with the official leadership of the A.L.P. on policy, these differences count as nothing in the present situation. For in the present crisis, the issue is not one of policy or even of leadership; it is simply and solely this: Shall the American Labor Party remain a bona-fide labor organization, responsible to its membership and affiliates, or shall it be captured by the Stalinists and thereby be turned into an instrument of the Kremlin dictatorship? This is the real question, and to this question there can be only one answer for every honest, self-respecting A.L.P. member.

The Stalinists are resorting to the most frantic measures in their drive to rule or ruin the A.L.P. They have not hesitated to employ demagogic appeals to race prejudice quite in fascist fashion. They have not hesitated to pretend that the C.I.O. was officially on their side—indeed, that the fight was really on behalf of the C.I.O.—altho such a first-line C.I.O. union as the Amalgamated Clothing Workers has come out publicly against the Stalinist putsch and in support of the A.L.P. leadership. There is no device so rotten, so corrupt, so shameless—outright falsification is the least of them—which they have not called to their aid in their desperate crusade to make the A.L.P. safe for Stalin.

Yet all these frantic efforts will amount to nothing if all bona-fide A.L.P. members come out and vote in the primaries, for their numerical strength is overwhelming. That is the problem—to save the A.L.P. from falling into the hands of the Stalinists by default. Such a fatal disaster can be prevented if only the bona-fide A.L.P. membership is aroused to the point of taking action at the polls in the primaries.

We call upon every reader of this paper who is a registered member of the A.L.P.: Be sure to vote in the primaries on April 2 for the candidates of the State Committee of A.L.P.! And do your best to get every other member of the A.L.P. you know to do the same!

War Dictatorship Ready For Action in Canada

"Defense" Regulations Strike at Heart Of Democracy and Civil Liberties

TO the American accustomed to thinking of Europe's war as being confined to Europeans, the occasional realization that Canada is also at war comes as something of of a shock. Only when he learns that another troop transport has arrived in England from Halifax, or that another plane has been wheeled across from North Dakota, or that another Canadian citizen has been jailed for daring to criticize the war, is he aware that on the other side of Niagara Falls a nation is at war, However, since there is no danger that Adolf Hitler will send a squadron of bombers to destroy Montreal, the most important aspect of war-time Canada to Americans is what happens to civil liberty in a political democracy when it goes to war.

THE "LITTLE RED BOOK"

The stringent rules by which the citizen of war-time Canada must live are contained in a 57-page book bound in red called "Defense of Canada Regulations." The book can be bought from the King's Printer in Ottawa for 25 cents. Tho revised by a Committee on Emergency Legislation last July, its contents really date from the World War, when the Orders in Council (decrees) proclaimed under the War Measures Act of 1914 were consolidated into the Defence of Canada Regulations in 1917. The redrafted regulations are even more restrictive than they were twenty-three years ago. The revised regulations, which did not have the unanimous approval of the committee, have never been reviewed by the Canadian Parliament. They were put into operation last September by decree. In London, Parliament has reviewed and modified corresponding British regulations.

Because Prime Minister Mackenzie King in March 1939 opposed the Thorson bill which once and for all would have established Canada's domestic control over war and peace, Canada's participation in war in September was a foregone conclusion. Canada's poorly defined constitutional relationship to the Crown almost automatically commits her to belligerency when Britain goes to war. The Governor General, the late Lord Tweedsmuir, and Mackenzie King, on the basis of a national emergency, had the power to proclaim the War Measures Act which, in turn, enabled them to proclaim the Defense of Canada Regulations by an Order in Council. Such sudden centralization of authority is also possible in the United States. When he declared a national emergency last September, President Roosevelt automatically acquired powers under existing laws which can make him a virtual dictator.

When the Canadian Parliament convened September 7, the legislators were faced with a fait accompli; Tweedsmuir and Mackenzie King had already put them into war and set in motion the war machine. Parliament's declaration of war on September 10 was an anti-climax whose only effect was to invoke the U. S. arms embargo against Canada. The legislators—not to mention the Canadian people—had lost control of foreign affairs which were as much in the hands of Mackenzie King as American foreign affairs are in the hands of Franklin D. Roosevelt. On September 13, Parliament was prorogued before it could review the Defense of Canada Regulations. On January 25, it convened only to be dissolved by Prime Minister King the same day in his successful coup to force an election before his Liberal government's prosecution of the war could be aired by the Conservative and other oppositions and before such groups as the Co-operative Commonwealth Federation could force a debate on the tyrannical potentialities of the Defense of Canada Regulations.

WHAT THE RULES PROVIDE

The 64 regulations written down in the little red book are divided into six parts of which two strike at the heart of Canadian civil liberty: Part 2 dealing with Espionage and Acts Likely to Assist the Enemy, and Part 3 dealing with Public Safety and Order.

In Part 2, specific regulations provide for the setting up of censorships over publications, mail, telegraph and radio. (A censor of publications may enter and search premises without a warrant.) However, it is Regulation 21 which staunch defenders of civil liberty point to as the rule worthy of Adolf Hitler himself. Regulation 21, called by some members of the Committee on Emergency Legislation "an unnecessary interference with the liberty of the subject," is a protective-custody provision, which so far at least has not been used extensively. Under it, the Minister of Justice in his personal authority can prevent a person from acting "prejudicially to the public safety" by detaining him indefinitely and denying him the fundamental right of trial. Other regulations under Part 2 deal with sabotage and interference with the performance of the armed forces. Greatest danger lies in their possible abuse, but none of them possess so much of the substance of absolute tyranny as does Regulation 21. Under Britain's corresponding rule, the government must show cause why a person should be held without trial, but there is no such provision in Canada.

In Part 3 are found the disaffection regulations, 39 and 39A, under

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State Court Voids Russell Appointment

Heavy Blow to Intellectual Freedom; Case Now Goes to State Court of Appeals

New York City.

Supreme Court Justice John E. McGeehan last week voided the appointment of Bertrand Russell as professor of mathematics at the College of the City of New York. The order was granted on application in a taxpayer's suit by Mrs. Jean Kay, Brooklyn housewife.

The decision was made on three grounds: (1) Russell is an alien and therefore ineligible to teach in the New York public schools; (2) the Board of Higher Education failed to examine him "properly" before appointment; and (3) his views, as expressed in published books and lectures, are "irreverent, salacious, immoral, aphorodisiac, lecherous and libidinous."

Bertrand Russell is one of the most distinguished thinkers in the world today, a profound student of mathematics, logic and philosophy, a writer of great courage and insight on social questions.

Leaders in liberal and academic circles of New York City expressed dismay at Justice McGeehan's ruling and condemned it as a severe blow to intellectual freedom and the entire public educational system.

The judge's order will be appealed by the city to the State Court of Appeals, the court of last resort.

State Legislature to "Probe" N. Y. Schools

Albany, N. Y.

A joint legislative "witch-hunting" expedition to investigate New York City's educational system, particularly in regard to "subversive" activities in the schools, was unanimously voted last week by both houses of the State Legislature.

Senator Dunningan, Democratic leader, a notorious reactionary, sponsored the probe with a denunciation of the New York City Board of Higher Education for its recent appointment of Bertrand Russell as professor of mathematics at the College of the City of New York.

Educational circles in New York City expressed great concern at the damage to academic standards and freedom of thought that they feared would result from the investigation.

New York's Five-Cent Fare Put in Danger by State

Albany, N. Y.

The way to possible increase of New York City's five-cent subway fare was opened when the State Senate last week passed and sent to Governor Lehman a bill permitting the city's Board of Estimate to "adjust" the rate following transit unification.

The bill was adopted on strictly party lines, 27 Republicans to 24 Democrats, after the same line-up defeated an amendment that would have required a referendum before a change in fare.

This action was one of the last taken before the State Legislature adjourned Friday night.

Unions Held Subject to Sherman Law

Judge Refuses to Quash Indictment Against Teamsters In Jurisdictional Fight

Washington, D. C.

Labor unions do not enjoy general exemption from prosecution under the anti-trust laws, Judge Pewton Gordon of the District of Columbia, Federal District Court ruled last week.

The ruling was regarded as an important victory for the government in its drive against the trade unions in the building and related industries. It upheld in its first test the use of the Sherman Act against labor organizations, particularly in connection with jurisdictional conflicts.

It sustained an indictment against a Washington local of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, an A. F. of L. union, and five of its officials, in a dispute with a local of the International Brotherhood of Operating Engineers, also of the A.F.L.

Judge Gordon overruled a demurrer to the indictment of the teamsters union and its officials and denied a motion to quash the charges. The defense received twenty days to plead to the indictment and counsel announced that plans would be made to go to trial soon.

Contentions of A. F. of L. lawyers that the Clayton Act freed labor from prosecution under the Sherman law were summarily swept aside by Judge Gordon.

The government accused the teamsters of a criminal conspiracy to restrain trade. It charged that the defendants tried to induce companies operating mixer-trucks to employ members of the teamsters union rather than members of the engineers union, that it "coerced" the companies to break contracts with the engineers local, that it "coerced" drivers to resign from the engineers local and join the teamsters, and that it called strikes on a number of construction projects for the same purpose.

The dispute between the two unions has been settled, the settlement transferring the drivers of the concrete mixers from the engineers union to the teamsters union, but the government announced that it would press the case nevertheless.

New York City.

Local 3 of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers last week joined the fast growing

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He Says 'No' and Means 'Yes'

"WITH the exception of appropriations for the army, the navy, and a few of the President's pet projects," writes the well-informed trade paper, Business Week, in its issue of March 9, 1940, "the Administration welcomes cuts in its own budget—enough cuts, at least, to stave off the $460,000,000 of new taxes which F.D.R. asked for but doesn't want before election.

"Congress will not pass new taxes this year, will not boost the debt limit. Roosevelt secretly approves but is pleased to have Congress take the responsibility for cutting his estimates."

Nazi "Expose" Hits U. S. Foreign Policy

German White Book Charges Kennedy, Bullitt With Pro-Ally Activities; Hull, Roosevelt Question Authenticity

Germany created an international sensation last week by issuing a series of sixteen diplomatic documents, said to have been found in the archives of the Polish Foreign Office at Warsaw, quoting reports of Polish diplomats which tended to show that United States Ambassadors Bullitt and Kennedy had played a significant role in the precipitation of the European war by prodding the Allies to action and by indicating eventual American intervention on their side. The authenticity of these documents was immediately challenged in the United States.

The documents were embodied in a White Book labeled "Polish Documents Bearing on Events That Led Up to the War." They comprise chiefly the purported exchange of correspondence of the Polish ambassadors in Washington, Paris, London and Stockholm with their home government, particularly with former Polish Foreign Minister Beck. Most of the material relates to the end of 1938 and the early part of 1939. The documents were presented in the White Book in facsimile (typewritten Polish) and in German translation.

One of the documents, dated November 21, 1938, represents Polish Ambassador to Washington, Count Jerzy Potocki, thus reporting a conversation with Ambassador Bullitt, then home on leave: "Answering my question whether America would participate in such a war (between the democratic states and Germany), he said: 'Undoubtedly, yes; but only after England and France had first stirred themselves?'" In another communication, dated February 1939, from Jules Lukasiewicz, Polish ambassador in Paris, Bullitt is described as saying: "Should a war break out, we certainly shall not participate at the beginning, but we shall finish it." "He (Bullitt)," Lukasiewicz continues, "gave expression to his conviction that the President surely had said he would sell airplanes to France, as the French army constituted the first line of defense for the United States."

Still another document, dated January 16, 1939, describes a second Potocki-Bullitt talk in which Mr. Bullitt is represented as relaying from White House a four-point plan of Administration policy as follows:

"First, activation of foreign policy under the leadership of President Roosevelt . . .

"Second, war preparations of the United States on sea, on the land, and in the air. . . .

"Third, the decided opinion of the President that France and Britain must put an end to all policy of compromise with the totalitarian states. . . .

"Fourth, the moral assurance that the United States will leave its isolationist policy and be prepared in the case of war to participate actively on the side of France and Britain. America is prepared to place her entire supply of war materails and finances at her disposal."

The German White Book depicts Mr. Bullitt as Washington's chief spokesman in Europe, with authority going far beyond his ambassadorial post in Paris. Mr. Kennedy is represented as playing a somewhat lesser but quite significant role, and is put on record in an interview in March 1939 with Count Edward Raczinski, Polish ambassador in London, as promising to press on British leaders "the necessity of helping Poland at once with cash."

The White Book met with immediate denials in Washington. Secretary Hull said that the reports should not be given "the slightest credence," but President Roosevelt merely said they should be taken with one, two and then three grains of salt. Ambassador Potocki and Bullitt made flat denials, while Ambassador Kennedy in London refused to make any statement.

Informed observers were of the opinion that, while it was impossible to determine the exact degree of authenticity of the White Paper documents and while undoubtedly they were issued to serve German propaganda purposes, yet there could be little doubt that they represented the attitude and activities of Administration spokesmen with substantial accuracy. Whatever Bullitt and Kennedy may or may not have said confidentially to Polish diplomats, their own public statements and activities—for example, Bullitt's notorious address at Bordeaux— as well as those of their superiors at Washington, have made perfectly clear the unneutral, pro-Ally, war-breeding foreign policy of the Administration. The mere fact that the Germans find it necessary to denounce the Roosevelt Administration in their propaganda does not

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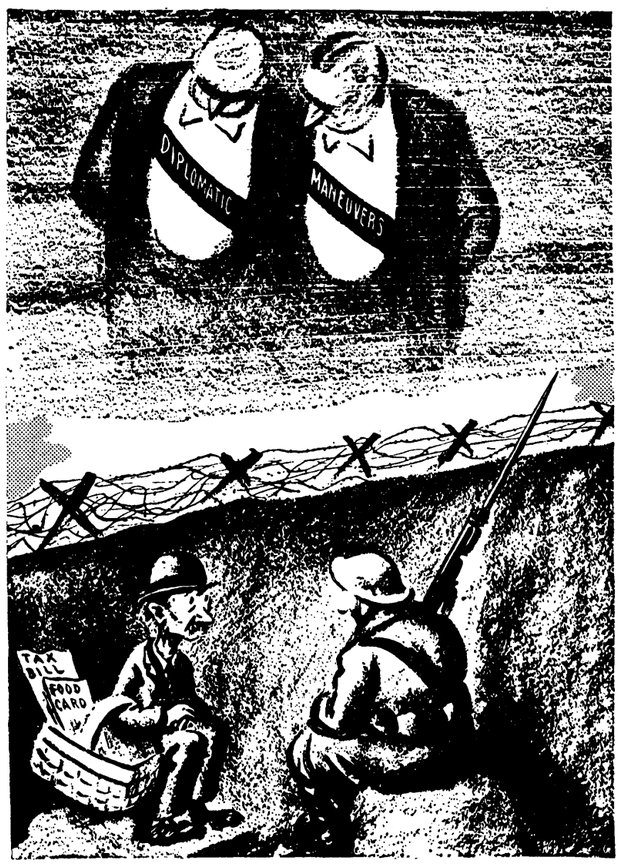
"THEIRS NOT TO REASON WHY"



—Fitzpatrick in the St. Louis Post-Dispatch

Gorkin Tells Of Stalinism In Spain

Describes How Russian GPU Managed to Acquire Power In Republican Spain

By FRANK HOWARD

Washington, D. C.

Julian Gorkin has been in the city for three days and has made a considerable impression on New Deal executives and others here whom he has met. His presentation of the Spanish situation—particularly the events leading up to the Franco insurrection against the Loyalist government and the manner in which the Stalinists introduced their totalitarian methods into Spain—have opened many eyes. The North American Committee and its Stalinist fellow-travelers have had almost an exclusive entree into the New Deal chambers. Altho it is true that many persons here were taking the Stalinist propaganda against the P.O.U.M. and Caballero with a grain of salt, they were not in possession of the kind of first-hand report which Gorkin has given to them.

The Labor Board will be fortunate if it emerges from the present attacks in the House with its budget and structure intact. Bets here are that the Board will be enlarged to five members with Leiserson placed in a dominant position by the type of persons added to the Board membership. To us who know the situation within the Board, it is a commentary on how stupid the New Deal can be about its own interests when someone or some group is allowed to center all of the fire of the opposition to the Board on one lone person and his department. I refer, of course, to David Saposs. Saposs can ably defend himself; no man in America is a better historian of the labor movement than he and no one knows as much as he about the intricate details of recent developments within the A. F. of L. and C.I.O. He will be able to stand on his record, in the final show-down. However, there are ugly rumors that Madden and others are not going out of their way to defend his research department (and these rumors are borne out by the lack of activity of the publicity department of the Board in behalf of Saposs—I have checked this point with numerous reporters). Could it be that this redirecting of criticism is an attempt to shield Stalinists and near-Stalinists of whom Saposs has always been frankly and openly critical?

House Slashes Funds for Wage Division, N.L.R.B.

Enforcement of Labor Laws Hampered By Drastic Cuts in Appropriations

Washington, D.C.

The House of Representatives majority showed its hostility to the Wages-and-Hours Act last week when, on the first test of its attitude towards this legislaion and towards the National Labor Relations Act, it voted overwhelmingly against an increase in travel funds for the Labor Department, which would be used in part by the Wages and Hours Administration.

The vote was 126 to 76 against an amendment offered by Representative Mary T. Norton, chairman of the House Labor Committee. Several speakers asserted that there should be no great expansion in the Wages and Hours Division until Congress had considered pending amendments to the act.

Mrs. Norton's amendment sought to add $140,000 to the Labor Department travel item, but it became the center of a pitched fight between the group headed by Mrs. Norton and that led by Representative Howard Smith, chairman of the committee investigating the N.L.R.B.

The Wages and Hours Administration had protested that the $5,105,000 allowed by the Appropriations Committee was not enough to enable it to enforce the law. The Wages and Hours Division received for the current year $3,461,200. The House Appropriations Committee approved an increase for next year of $1,643,800. This was $1,080,000 under the budget estimate.

Mrs Norton said the Appropriations Committee's reductions below budget estimates would interfere with enforcement of the law, and that the reduction was an attempt of its enemies to do indirectly what they had been unable to do directly.

Washington, D. C.

Running counter to President Roosevelt's budget plans, the House of Representatives last week passed a $1,021,639,700 appropriation for labor-social security activities after making the following major changes:

1. A $337,000 cut in the $3,180,000 budget estimate for the N.L.R.B.—a reduction expected to force a slash in the agency's staff if the Senate concurs.

2. A $1,080,000 cut in the appropriations for the Wage-Hour Administration.

3. A $50,000,000 increase in the President's $230,000,000 budget for the C.C.C. Corps.

4. A $17,450,000 addition to the President's request for $85,000,000 for the N.Y.A.

When the House finished with the measure and sent it to the Senate, it was $55,651,058 more than the President had sought and $67,450,000 above the recommendations of the House Appropriations Committee.

SYMPOSIUM "THE NEGRO AND THE WAR" Sunday, April 7 — 3:00 P. M. *See Ad Page 4*

Progressives Win Sweeping Victory in Local 22 Poll

Zimmerman Gets 83% Of Vote; Full Slate Heavily Endorsed

New York City.

FINAL figures made available last week indicated that the progressive administration of Dressmakers Union Local 22, I.L.G.W.U., headed by Charles S. Zimmerman, scored a smashing victory in the local elections held on March 21. Not only was every candidate on the progressive ticket swept into office by wide margins but the percentage by which the progressives carried was the biggest on record.

Of the 26,000 members of Local 22, just over 18,400 came out to vote, about 70%, a proportion virtually unmatched in trade-union experience. Owing to the length and complexity of the ballot—90 people in four groups had to be chosen from among 184 candidates—nearly 2,000

CHAS. S. ZIMMERMAN

ballots, or about 11%, were invalid in one form or another.

Charles S. Zimmerman, leader of the progressive forces, was unopposed for manager-secretary, but the ballot made it possible to vote either for or against him. He received 10,367 affirmative votes and 2,106 nagative, 83% to 17%, a magnificent tribute.

All other progressive candidates were elected by margins that never fell below about 2,000 and reached above 5,000. These included 27 Executive Board members, 25 delegates to the I.L.G.W.U. convention to be held next May, 31 business agents, and 5 members of the Sick Benefit and Relief Committe. Of the valid votes, the general run was about 65% for the progressives and 35% for the opposition elements. The progressive lead was higher in votes and in percentage than at any previous election except that of 1937, when there was a "united" ticket.

In this year's election, the Zimmerman administration faced two oppositions, the Stalinist Left Group and a so-called Independent Progressive Group, a nondescript outfit with little support. The administration ticket was put forward and sponsored by the Dressmakers Progressive Group.

When the results of the elections became known, Zimmerman expressed great satisfaction with the splendid turnout and with the overwhelming vote of confidence received by his administration. "The results of the elections mark the defeat of Stalinist intrigue in our union," he declared.

"We also regard the vote as approval of the attitude taken by the I.L.G.W.U. on the question of the conflict between the A. F. of L. and C.I.O. and the restoration of unity in the labor movement," he said. "The I.L.G.W.U. continues to stand for peace in organized labor. The C.I.O. and its leader, John L. Lewis, have shown they don't want peace. The results of the Local 22 elections strengthen the hand of the International in its intention to reaffiliate with the A. F. of L. if Mr. Lewis continues his present line of making a joke of the serious schism in organized labor.

"The membership of Local 22, like that of the I.L.G.W.U. as a whole, is seeking peace in the labor movement and will not tolerate any group that would impose political control upon our organization. The members feel that with the wave of anti-labor reaction now sweeping the country the thing to do is to end the labor feud. The communists favor its continuation."

Zimmerman concluded his statement with a strong call to unity. "The smoke of the elections has now cleared away and so should all the factionalism and hostilities engendered by it," he said emphatically. "The administration intends to tackle the big industrial problems facing the dressmakers at the present time with the same spirit of militancy and determination as in the past. These problems are serious and our tasks difficult. This is no time for chronic oppositionism. On its part, the administration pledges itself to do everything in its power to rally all constructive forces in a united effort for the welfare of the dressmakers."

Some Lessons of the Local 22 Elections

THE recent election in Dressmakers Union Local 22, I.L.G.W.U., reported in detail elsewhere on this page, deserves the attention of all thinking workers not only because of the importance of this outstanding organization of 26,000 workers but particularly because of the many valuable lessons that may be drawn from the results.

One of the big problems facing a large section of the labor movement today is how to get rid of the deadly poison of Stalinism. Well, Local 22 has more Stalinists, numerically speaking, in its ranks than all other locals of the I.L.G.W.U. combined. And yet in the elections held two weeks ago, the Stalinists were so completely snowed under that not one of their candidates came within two thousand votes of being elected. Remember, in the Local 22 elections, there were 90 candidates to choose from among 184 on the ballot. Every single candidate elected was a progressive, a supporter of the progressive Zimmerman administration.

And this annihilating defeat was administered to the Stalinists without any "organizational" measures being taken, without any "disciplining," uling off the ballot or the like, without resorting to any of the dubious methods only too common in our labor movement. In fact the instrument thru which this shattering blow was dealt to the Stalinists was the exercise of the broadest, most unrestricted democracy within the union.

This is the real secret of Local 22's progressive administration. In our considered opinion, the great strength of the progressives in Local 22 is their ability to make a direct appeal to the big mass of the rank-and-file dressmakers and have their appeal heard and answered. It is their ability to bridge, or rather destroy, the chasm that only too often separates the men in office from the men in the shop in even the better type of trade unions. It is a source of strength rooted in the conviction of the average dressmaker that Zimmerman and the other progressives in the administration are in office, many in paid office, because he, the rank-and-file dressmaker, has put them there and he has put them there because they have proved themselves sincerely and loyally devoted to his interests and his welfare.

Perhaps the most significant fact about the elections is that nearly 18,500 of the 26,000 members of the union turned out to vote—a proportion virtually without precedent for a labor organization of such size. The special significance lies in the fact that it is precisely to these thousands of "ordinary" dressmakers, hard-working men and women but little concerned with the usual run of union "politics," that the progressive administration owes its sensational victory. It was a rank-and-file victory, if there ever was one, and this time this well-worn phrase really means something.

The kind of campaign that the progressives waged is also worth close consideration. It was a sober, factual, constructive campaign, sticking close to industrial and union problems of direct concern to the dressmakers and avoiding every extraneous issue or tendency towards extravagance or hysteria. In fact, some thought the campaign rather too sober and restrained, too "colorless," tor real effectiveness. That it was not, the results show. For it was precisely the sort of responsible, constructive approach that the dressmakers could appreciate—and did appreciate to the tune of thousands of votes.

Those who desire to understand the nature of progressive leadership in a trade union would do well to study Dressmakers Union Local 22, especially its recent election campaign.

What Every Unionist Can Do to Fight War—

(From the March issue of Labor's Anti-War News, published by Labor's Anti-War Council, an affiliate of the K.A.O.W.C.)

TRADE unionists have tremendous responsibilities these days. They can steer the thinking of thousands of Americans who only know what they read in the newspapers.

Here are some suggestions for action of an anti-war nature for your union:

1. TAKE A STAND: Put your union on record as opposing the entrance of this country into any foreign war. When everything in this paper is added up it means: Keep America Out of War! It pays in jobs, higher wages, and more goods bought for the money you get.

2. ELECT A COMMITTEE: Your union—every union—ought to have an anti-war or peace committee. It should be the job of this committee to carry on the anti-war work of your union.

3. GET SPEAKERS: Get some good speakers before your union members on what is happening. If you want a speaker for a meeting let us know and perhaps we can suggest someone who will fill the bill.

4. EDUCATE YOURSELF AND THE MEMBERS: Propaganda is flooding the country. Some of it even seeps into the unions. It comes from England, from Germany, from the Stalinists, from the Nazis. Get the facts before your members.

Keep America Out Of War!

War Dictatorship Ready For Action in Canada

"Defense" Laws Strike at Democracy

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which most offenders have been charged. So loaded with power are these two regulations that, coupled with Regulation 21, they give the Canadian government almost as much power over the private lives of citizens as any dictator in Europe can boast.

"Regulation 39. No person shall by word of mouth: a) spread reports or make statements, false or otherwise, intended or likely to cause disaffection to His Majesty or to interfere with the success of His Majesty's force, or of the force of any allied or associated powers to the prejudice of His Majesty's relations with foreign powers; or b) spread reports or make statements, false or otherwise, intended or likely to prejudice the recruiting, training, discipline or administration of any of His Majesty's forces."

"Regulation 39A. No person shall print, circulate or distribute any book, newspaper, periodical, pamphlet, picture, paper, circular, card, letter, writing, print, publication or document of any kind containing any material report or statement, false or otherwise, a) intended or likely to . . . (see Regulation 39)."

In January, the government tossed a bone to critics by deleting the words "false or otherwise" from 39 and 39A but the deletion was meaningless since even true statements can still be interpreted as causing disaffection. A member of Parliament can denounce the war in the House but no paper can report the speech. A point to note is that an offender need not have the intention to cause disaffection; an innocent expression of opinion may, if "likely to cause disaffection," land the speaker in jail.

Part 6 contains administrative and enforcement regulations. Any constable or member of the forces can arrest without warrant any person he suspects of having committed a war offense. The intention alone to commit an offense comprises guilt. A court trying a war offense can exclude the public from all proceedings except the passing of sentence. If any offense against 39 or 39A is committed by an organization of any kind, each officer of the organization will be held guilty unless he can prove the offense to have been committed without his knowledge or consent—a reversal of the basic Anglo-Saxon concept that a man is innocent until proven guilty.

Penalties are more severe than in Britain. Any person convicted before a magistrate's court may be fined up to $500 or imprisoned not more than 12 months, or both. If the Minister of Justice permits a jury trial—the prisoner cannot demand it—the fine may be as much as $5,000, imprisonment as much as five years.

PERSECUTIONS BEGIN

So far, communists, who are opposing the war for Joseph Stalin's reasons, have suffered most from the Defense of Canada Regulations. Their papers have been suppressed; their quarters have been repeatedly raided by the Canadian Mounted Police; all over Canada communists have been jailed for possessing and distributing anti-war literature and making seditious remarks in public. The Toronto Globe and Mail has already suggested putting all communists in concentration camps. Since Moscow's influence in Canada reportedly has reached an all-time low, the cry of "communist" is becoming the excuse for widespread suppression of any shade of war criticism. Pacifists and a part of the strongly anti-Stalinist Cooperative Commonwealth Federation oppose the war. The balance of the C.C.F. and a few other minority groups back the war but oppose the tactics of the King government. These elements, who already feel some of the effects of the regulations, think they may be next. Today, it is the communists; tomorrow it may be the C.C.F. or the Jews.

Best example of this is the case of Charles H. Millard, World War veteran and Sunday School teacher in Oshawa, Ontario, who led the C.I.O. strike against General Motors in 1937. Because of the strike, Ontario's Prime Minister Mitchell Hepburn was returned by the Ontario electorate on an anti-C.I.O. platform. On December 6, 1939, Millard, who was trying to organize Ontario's gold- miners, was arrested in Toronto on the charge of violating Regulation 39 in a speech he had made in Timmins 500 miles away. A week later, he was arraigned. The bill of particulars demanded by his attorney contained no direct quotations from his speech. Millard was charged with saying: 1) there would be war profiteering; 2) that men join the army to be sure of eating regularly, or "words to that effect"; 3) we should have democracy in Canada before we go to Europe to fight for it; 4) there is not much sense in going to Europe to fight Hitlerism when we have Hitlerism right here; and 5) that the last war had not helped living conditions in Canada. Charges 1 and 5 were dropped when Millard's attorney came before a magistrate on January 9 (under the Regulations he could not demand a trial by jury) and his case was adjourned until he should recover from an operation. Liberals and Conservatives alike felt that Mitchell Hepburn was using war Regulation 39 as a political weapon to break a political opponent.

To-date, enforcement of the regulations has been fitful. Some Canadians have been jailed on flimsy charges; others who committed open violations have been ignored. Little military news appears in Canadian papers but Canadians can buy U. S. papers. The press is allowed considerable range of criticism, but editors cannot oppose the war. Many foreign publications have been barred—some permanently (notably Look), some only in special editions. The Fellowship of Reconciliation's Pacifist Handbook is on the forbidden list. Officials of the Canadian Broadcasting Company (government-controlled) bend so far backward that radio censorship is now mostly left to the individual stations; but U. S. stations can still be heard.

How strictly the Defense of Canada Regulations are being enforced now—particularly with the fighting hardly begun and a national election campaign in progress—is less important than the fact that they exist and can be used and abused by any official from the Prime Minister down, any time that it suits his political convenience.

Green Attacks "Merit" Plan In Unemployment Insurance

Brands Employer Proposal Scheme to Slash Benefit Fund

By WILLIAM GREEN

(We publish below a communication to the press by William Green, president of the A. F. of L., on the subject of the merit or experience system of rating in unemployment insurance. The nature of the so-called merit system, as embodied in the Young-Wadsworth bill now before the New York State Legislature, was explained in an article in the March 16 issue of this paper as a scheme in accordance with which "employers whose employment is less stable would be taxed at higher rates for unemployment insurance, while employers who can spread their employment over a wider period of the year would be taxed at lower rates." For reasons pointed out in that article and in Mr. Green's communication, the issue presented in the merit-system proposals is of major importance to labor.—Editor.)

Washington, D. C.

THE American Federation of Labor opposes all forms of merit or experience rating in unemployment-compensation laws. A statement on the proposed Young-Wadsworth bill released recently by Timothy J. Mahoney, chairman of the New York State Employers Conference, a group dedicated to the promotion of an experience-rating system in unemployment-compensation laws, undertakes to state the position of organized labor to show that it has no real objection to such a system. He says:

"Diligent effort has been made to determine the position of organized labor in this state and of the national federation with reference to the proposed system of experience rating, but no real objection to the system has been clearly defined."

While Mr. Mahoney may be authorized to argue on behalf of a few large employers in stable industries who want tax cuts for themselves under experience-rating laws, he is in no way competent to speak for organized labor. The fact that he has persistently closed his mind to the objections raised by bona-fide labor organizations disqualifies him for the role which he has undertaken as interpreter of labor's interests.

BENEFIT FUND REDUCED

The A. F. of L. objects to experience rating as proposed by the Young-Wadsworth bill because it is simply a device to reduce the income of the unemployment-compensation fund. If the income were excessive in relation to the need for it, tax reductions could be justified.

The plain fact is that this is not the case. The benefits paid under the New York unemployment-compensation law are pitifully inadequate to provide reasonably for unemployed workers during the usual periods of temporary unemployment. The required waiting period is too long, the duration of benefits too short, and the amount of the benefit check too small for reasonable protection for many workers.

Mr. Altmeyer, chairman of the Social Security Board, has recommended that waiting periods be reduced to one week, that maximum weekly benefits be raised to at least $20 and that the weekly rate be set at 66⅔% of full time earnings in states whose funds are sufficient. New York requires a waiting period of three weeks and still retains a $15 maximum and a benefit rate roughly approximating 50% of full-time weekly wages. Mr. Altmeyer recommended that every state provide for partial unemployment benefits. The New York law lacks this provision. He recommended that the duration of benefits be increased to a uniform period of at least sixteen weeks. New York provides for only thirteen weeks.

The large percentage of workers who exhaust their benefit rights while they are still unemployed, even in a year of improving business such as 1939, shows clearly the inadequacy of the duration provision of New York's law. The unused reserves which have been increasing, and which Mr. Mahoney believes labor has forgotten, should have been used to pay reasonable benefits. Every dollar so used would have returned promptly to business men thru the channel of consumers demand for goods. That is the channel best able to stimulate business activiti and provide more employment and more profits.

HIGHER BENEFITS PROPOSED

It is no fault of organized labor that the laws have been so miserly and have provided so inadequately the benefits needed to make the unemployment - compensation system adequate. From the beginning of the study which led to the enactment of the Social Security Act, I pointed out the need for reasonable federal standards for unemployment-compensation benefits. A large minority of the Advisory Committee in 1934 voted for a 5% tax in order to insure funds sufficient to establish adequate benefits. The committee tied on the vote for a 4% tax. Three percent was adopted simply because it was believed industry should not be asked to assume a larger tax burden.

The benefit scale which it was estimated a 3% tax could support was admittedly meager. Now that it is apparent from our experience to-date that the income from a 3% tax (2.7% for New York State) can support a more adequate benefit structure, it is imperative that this needed improvement be made. To propose that the income be reduced, as it would be under the Young-Wadsworth bill, before adequate benefits have been paid, is to waste our opportunity to establish a reasonable unemployment-compensation system without adding a cent to the present tax bill.

Mr. Mahoney professes to be unable to understand how experience rating would interfere with better benefit standards. It is obvious that if the tax rate is designed only to replace the amount spent each year for benefits, as it would be under the Young-Wadsworth bill, employers would be directly concerned

(Continued on page 4)

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Progressives Appeal To Knitgood Workers

Issue Program for Local 155 Poll on April 4

(We publish below the program presented by the Knitgoods Workers Progressive Group of Local 155, I.L.G.W.U., in the election to choose delegates to the 24th biennial convention of the I.L.G.W.U. to be held towards the end of May. The Local 155 elections will take place on April 4.—Editor.)

TO ALL MEMBERS OF LOCAL 155, I.L.G.W.U.:

YOU have already been informed that the twenty-fourth biennial convention of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union will be held the month of May 1940. This convention will be of historic significance for the members of our International Union, and particularly for the knitgoods workers. It will be the first time in the history of the knitgoods industry that ten local unions of knitgoods workers will be represented at a convention of the I L.G.W.U.

You are aware of the problems confronting our International Union and the labor movement generally. You will have to elect delegates to this convention. The convention is the highest authority, the highest body governing our International Union. Therefore, you will have to be very careful in selecting the delegates to the convention. Upon the deliberations and decisions of these delegates will depend not only the future of the knitgoods workers but also the lives and welfare of thousands of families directly connected with our International Union.

Many candidates, under different emblems and names, will ask you to vote for them. As in the past you decided in an intelligent way who should lead your local union, we are certain that at this time also you will make the proper selection of delegates to formulate policy for the entire International Union.

The Progressive Group of knitgoods workers which has been on guard from the very inception of our union, never made promises to the knitgoods workers which could not be carried thru in life and lived up to. The Progressive Group again calls upon you as loyal and devoted members of our International and local union, and as trade unionists, to analyze our program for the delegates to the 24th convention, which, if adopted at the convention, will serve the interests of the knitgoods workers as well as of the entire labor movement.

We are certain that in the campaign for the election of delegates to the next convention of our International, elements will appear that were disruptive in the past, are destructive today, will be destructive in the future because they do not serve the interests of the members of our union—their interest lies with political parties which are dominated by foreign interests. And we are certain that you will elect the delegates endorsed by the progressive forces who have proven themselves in the past to be constructive, reliable and honest elements in our union, and who will serve the interests of the knitgoods workers.

PROGRAM

INDUSTRIAL PROGRAM

1. Upon the adjournment of this convention, a national organization drive to organize the unorganized knitgoods workers.
2. Uniform agreements for all knitted-outerwear markets.
3. Dues payments to be in accordance with earnings and not uniform dues payments as we have at present.
4. The abolition of night-shifts in knitted and textile industries.
5. Endorsement of a general strike for the New York market by our convention in the event an amicable agreement is not reached thru conferences with our employers at the expiration of our agreement in July 1940.
6. The formation of a Knitgoods Department in our International Union,

GENERAL LABOR PROGRAM

1. Unity in the trade-union movement. If all attempts for unifying the C.I O. and A.F. of L. fail, the I.L.G.W.U., upon the adjournment of this convention, is to reaffiliate itself with the A. F. of L.
2. For industrial unionism against craft unionism.
3. The amalgamation of all needle trades into one union.
4. For the legalization of groups in local unions of our International.
5. Against government control of and interference with trade unions.
6. For the building of a national farmer-labor party.

LABOR LEGISLATION

1. Old-age pensions to be paid from 55 years instead of 65 years as at present.
2. An increase in the payments to the aged for whom it is difficult to obtain jobs in industry.
3. Against applying the Sherman anti-trust law to trade unions.
4. More funds to be appropriated by Congress for housing, public works, education, and more relief for the unemployed.
5. Against the entanglement of the United States in foreign wars.
6. Against spending millions of dollars for armaments and the building of war industries.

This minimum program the candidates of the Progressive Group pledge to introduce at the 24th biennial convention of the I.L.G.W.U.

With Pride and Humility...

New York City.

RIVERA Murals Hall has been the scene of many inspiring demonstrations of international socialist solidarity—we can all recall them: the P.O.U.M. delegation headed by Rebull, Bob Edwards, Marceau Pivert. And it can be truly said that the reception tendered to Julian Gorkin, leader of the P.O.U.M. and secretary of the International Revolutionary Marxist Center, on Saturday evening, March 23, was fully worthy of its predecessors.

Gorkin had just arrived from Europe, direct from the arena of war, full of the inspiration of the magnificent struggle of the Spanish masses, fresh from his harrowing experiences in the prisons both of Franco and of the Russian G.P.U. in Spain (he was defendant in the notorious Barcelona frame-up "trial"). The reception tendered him reflected the genuine spirit of working-class solidarity and internationalism. Among the speakers, in addition to Gorkin himself, were Marceau Pivert, leader of the French Socialist Workers and Peasants Party (P.S.O.P.); Norman Thomas, chairman of the Socialist Party of the United States; Carlo Tresca, anarchist leader; a spokesman of the Italian Socialist Party (Maximalists); Charles S. Zimmerman and Louis Nelson, outstanding trade-union leaders in New York; and Jay Lovestone and Bertram D. Wolfe, for the I.L.L.A.

The splendid spirit of international brotherhood was by no means confined to the speakers table. In the audience were to be found former trade-union and socialist leaders from Germany, Austria and Czecho-Slovakia, mingled with the members and friends of the I L.L.A. active in the American labor movement, all united in a common bond of socialist internationalism.

The fine entertainment presented after the speeches brought the evening to a perfect close. It was truly an inspiring event!

It is with great pride that we record this event—pride in the participation of the I.L.L.A., in an international movement of so sound and healthy a character, pride in the moral and material support we have given to our European brother organizations whose struggle for existence is so infinitely more difficult than ours.

But it is also with deep humility that we record this event. Our humility stems from the profound appreciation of the unending sacrifices that our comrades in other lands must make to continue their fight for socialism, of the immense difficulties overcome by those spokesmen of European revolutionary socialism who come to our shores with their message of inspiration and solidarity.

SPRING is here.....

See Ad on Page 4

"In the Land of the Rights of Man...."

(We publish below the leading article in the February 6, 1940 issue of Juin 36, the official paper of the French Socialist Workers and Peasants Party (P.S.O.P.). For raising its voice in protest against the suppression of freedom and democracy by a government ostensibly engaged in a war for democracy, the P.S.O.P. paper was immediately banned; hitherto, it had been permitted to appear irregularly, altho greatly mangled by the censor.—Editor.)

OUR readers must not remain ignorant of the situation any longer... The facts that we are about to relate must not be regarded as mere news.

Public opinion must also be made aware.

We will not allow ourselves to fall back on invective; we want to let the facts speak for themselves. Here they are:

On December 9th, in a cafe in the Rue Rochechouart, near our old headquarters, the police commissioner of Boulogne seized our comrade, Emile R., former administrative secretary of the party, and asked him to open up the headquarters of the P.S.O.P. He went there at once and found our friend, Ch., secretary of the youth organization, who had also been arrested by two inspectors of police. The commissioner and the inspectors searched the place, without result. Surprised by this arrest, which was in violation of the law, our comrades demanded to know the reason. The commissioner told them that, since some stickers published by the P.S.O.P. BEFORE THE WAR had been put up on the walls of Boulogne by some young men, the police had ordered a raid on our headquarters.

This is not all! At the same cafe, Comrade P., of the 18th section, and Comrade H. were arrested, doubtless for the serious crime of taking a drink on Saturday afternoon!

But they went further! Anyone who, on that fatal afternoon, seemed about to enter No. 42 (our office) was immediately arrested, searched and taken away!

All were taken to the police commissariat of Boulogne, where they spent the night. And, after being confronted with a few young men, some of whom were not even members of the P.S.O.P., but who were

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Un poing, c'est tout !

JUIN 36

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ORGANE DU PARTI SOCIALISTE OUVRIER ET PAYSAN

Sommes-nous encore en Démocratie ?

M. BONNEVAY (Séance du 9 janv. 1940)

Collaboration — Dans le pays des Droits de l'Homme ! — L'Affaire Zoretti

SALOMON-EZ, CALOMNIEZ

Above is reproduced the front page of the issue of Juin 36 containing the article, "In the Land of the Rights of Man," published here. Because of this article, the paper was banned by the French authorities.

accused of putting up the incriminating stickers, they were then handcuffed and taken off to the Sante prison. The younger ones (and one of them was just 16 years old) were sent to Fresnes.

They have remained there since, except for Comrade H., on whom they could get nothing, and who has just been freed, after weeks of detention. Two of the youth were also freed very recently.

For days, our friends were without any contact with their families and their lawyer, as the judge has not yet been designated. FOR TWO MONTHS, they have been in the common jail, like thieves or criminals. The physical conditions of their imprisonment are horrible. During these weeks of terrible cold, their cells have been unheated, as cold as ice. They never get any hot food, just an incredible mess that they call soup. The walls stream with humidity and their straw beds are always damp. The toilet poisons the air. Even the milk, paid for by the pennies of the prisoners themselves, is so cold that it chills the teeth of those who drink it. And Comrade Emile R., who is suffering from a double pulmonary tuberculosis, has been refused the temporary freedom which his condition might receive from more humane judges.

We remember and ponder the recent remark which M. Bonnevay Made to his colleagues in the Chamber. [Bonnevay had asked in the Chamber: "Are we still living in a democracy?"—Editor.]

Is it not characteristic of the situation that even the moderate deputy from the Rhone has become a prey to anxiety? Don't people realize that it is acts like these which provide examples for those who might be inclined to think that France is no longer the country of the rights of man?

What can we say of the dishonesty of trying to identify our people with the Stalinists, when even the worst-informed man in the street knows very well that we have always been the implacable enemies of Stalinism, even at a time when it was dangerous to be so!

But we are not among those who demand the persecution of those who are as yet blind to the genuine meaning of Stalinism. And when sincere communists are subjected to such cruel imprisonment as are our comrades, we also protest, in the name of humanity and justice.

True, we know well enough that they would not do the same for us. A short time ago, a leading Stalinist was promising to put bullets thru M. Pivert. We disregard this, for this is the difference between our idea of socialism and theirs!

We know that our cry of alarm will be heard even by those who do not share our political views, but who insist on remaining faithful to the Declaration of the Rights of Man, that is, to the Republic.

We are appealing here not only to the members of our party, but to all those who believe that a free nation cannot allow the war to deprive the individual of his rights and to replace justice by arbitrary interference!

Some Remarks on Our Policy On the Russo-Finnish War

Critical Questions in Symonds Article Considered

By WILL HERBERG

THE points raised by J. Symonds in his article in the last issue of this paper on the socialist attitude to the recent Russo-Finnish war are of some importance, but, since they are not really new, it does not seem to be necessary to deal with them at any great length. I will therefore limit myself to a few remarks which, I think, will sufficiently illustrate the basic unsoundness of the positions developed in that article.

CHARACTER OF THE WAR

Symonds's root error, it seems to me, is to be found in his estimation of the character of the Russo-Finnish war. In that war, as he correctly points out, there were two elements—the struggle for national independence against foreign invasion and the maneuvers of the rival imperialist powers in the background—just as there were in the Italo-Ethiopian war some years ago and as there are in the Sino-Japanese war under way today. But Symonds is obviously mistaken in his view that in the Finnish war the latter (imperialist) element was far more dominant than in the Ethiopian conflict, thus giving an allegedly reactionary character to the Finnish resistance to Russian invasion in contrast to the progressive character of the Ethiopian resistance to Italian invasion. This is simply not so. Anyone thinking back a few years will readily recognize that if there ever was a "small war" in which larger imperialistic antagonisms played a dominant role, it was the Italo-Ethiopian war. Recall the sudden sharpening of Anglo-Italian relations virtually to the point of open war, the voting of sanctions by the League of Nations, the feverish maneuvering in every European Foreign Office. Why, from the standpoint of international politics, the issue of Ethiopian independence became an altogether secondary factor. Yet, for all that, socialists regarded the struggle of the Ethiopian people against Italian invasion—a struggle led by a slave-owning feudal nobility, mind you—as progressive and worthy of sympathy and support. I cannot see how we can refuse to grant at least that much to the struggle of the Finnish people against Russian invasion, even tho that struggle was led by a bourgeois regime.*

CONCEPT OF "SELF-DETERMINATION"

Symonds is also way off, it seems to me, on the question of self-determination, and quotes Rosa Luxemburg to no good purpose. In the first place, Rosa Luxemburg, for all her sharp disagreement with Lenin on the political wisdom of driving the issue of self-determination forward as the very central democratic issue of the Russian Revolution, never for a moment questioned the right of a people to its independence from a foreign yoke. In the very section of her pamphlet which Symonds quotes (Workers Age, Jan. 20, 1940), she writes: "It belongs to the ABC of socialist policy that socialism opposes every form of oppression, including also that of one nation by another." Her criticism of Bolshevik policy takes another tack entirely.

What is self-determination, Symonds asks; and he answers: "To me, it means the right of people to determine their cultural, political and economic conditions. Obviously, in a class society, it is not the people but the ruling classes which, to a decisive degree, determine the fate and conditions of all."

Does that mean that "self-determination" is a hollow mockery as long as the producing classes are not in power? Then how about Ethiopia, China, Loyalist Spain? In each of these countries, a bourgeois or even feudal ruling class was in power, "determining, to a decisive degree, the fate and conditions of all." Yet, we insist that the right of self-determination of the Ethiopian or Chinese or Spanish people means something, even tho under a feudal or bourgeois regime. And obviously it does mean something, or else there would be no sense in saying that national struggles for independence against imperialist aggression are just and progressive struggles, worthy of our sympathy and support. Well, the concept of self-determination means exactly the same thing in the Finnish situation. What that is, is so obvious that it does not require elaboration.

PROBLEM OF "JACOBIN DEFENSE"

Symonds seems to be most puzzled by the idea, of "Jacobin defense." Yet the notion is not a difficult one. "Jacobin defense" is the policy you follow when you endorse the cause in which the war is being fought but have no confidence whatever in—indeed, have a marked distrust of—the regime that is conducting the war. It means military and material support of the war, but uncompromising political opposition to the regime. You oppose the regime, and aim to replace it, not because you are against the war it is waging, but precisely because you are convinced that, owing to its social and political character, it cannot wage an effective and victorious war. Political struggle against the regime is therefore a necessity from the point of view of achieving victory.

That such a two-front fight is possible has been shown many times in history, above all in the experience of the great French Revolution in 1792-93, from which indeed the phrase, "Jacobin defense," is taken. That it can be applied under modern conditions, the brilliant revolutionary activities of the P.O.U.M. during the Spanish civil war are evidence enough. In fact, I don't see why the concept of "Jacobin defense" should puzzle anyone so very much now, with the whole problem so graphically illustrated in the Spanish war.

There are two points on which Symonds goes wrong in this connection. First, he somehow has the notion that "up to now, 'Jacobin defense' has had historical validity only insofar as shifts of political power occurred within the ranks of the ruling classes." But how about the policy of the P.O.U.M. in the Spanish civil war? It was a policy of "Jacobin defense" and yet it envisaged much more than a shift of political power within the ranks of the ruling class. Unless, we are ready to admit that the idea of "Jacobin defense" had no meaning in the Spanish civil war—where it was the essence of a revolutionary policy—we cannot deny it a meaning in the Finnish war.

The other notion is that "Jacobin defense" is somehow incompatible with real defense, real vigorous support of the war. Put in other words, energetic prosecution of the class struggle and of the political struggle against the regime, as implied in "Jacobin defense," is assumed to be fatally detrimental to military defense. But there is no justification for any such notion either in history or in theory. Quite the reverse; Rosa Luxemburg long ago answered all such arguments in the following words from the celebrated Junius pamphlet:

"Class struggle and resistance to invasion are not opposed to each other, as the official legend would have us believe, but the former is the means and the expression of the latter. . . The fearless prosecution of the class struggle has always proven the most effective weapon against invasion. . . The classic example of our own times is the great French Revolution. In 1793, Paris, the heart of France, was surrounded by enemies. And yet Paris and France did not succumb to the European coalition. If, at that critical time, France was able to meet each new coalition of the enemy . . . with a new and miraculous burst of fighting spirit. . . , it was only because of the impetuous release of the inmost forces of society in class struggle. Today, in the perspective of a century, it is plain that only this intensification of the class struggle, this fearless radicalism, could raise means and forces out of the very soil of France sufficient to defend and support it . . . against the world of enemies. . . . The centuries have proven . . . that relentless class struggle is the power that awakens the spirit of self-sacrifice, the moral strength of the masses—that class struggle is the best protection and the best defense against the foreign enemy."

GENERAL PHRASES MISLEADING

The trouble with Symonds is, if I may say so, that he allows himself to be tangled up in general phrases without trying to examine their concrete meaning, their range of applicability, and the like. In one place, for example, in order to refute the viewpoint that the Finnish masses had the right and the duty to resist the Russian invasion, he writes:

"Such a position even raises the general question of 'defense of the fatherland against invasion' in contrast to the position in the 'Communist Manifesto' that 'the working men have no country' until they have captured political power from the ruling class."

Symonds is greatly mistaken if he thinks that revolutionary socialism contends that "defense of the (bourgeois) fatherland" is to be rejected under all circumstances and that, likewise under all circumstances, "the working men have no country" until the socialist revolution. How about the Ethiopian "working men" (peasants, serfs, slaves) defending their (feudal) fatherland against Italy? How about the Chinese workers and peasants defending their fatherland against Japan? Obviously here the "working men" have a country, even in Symonds's eyes. This only illustrates the necessity for differentiation, specification and historical concreteness. There is a vast difference, for example, between imperialist and non-imperialist countries from the standpoint of "defense." And this, too, has its meaning for Finland.

I could write many paragraphs examining Symonds's contentions one by one. But it is unnecessary. Nothing he has said in his article, it is my considered opinion, calls into the least question the views I expressed in my series of articles on the new Stalin imperialism.

* Symonds is again mistaken when he says the Ethiopian struggle "received the general support of all socialist groups," while the Finnish struggle did not. In the first place, not all socialist groups supported the Ethiopians. A good section of the British I.L.P. did not, but took a "neutral," "hands-off" attitude, very much like Symonds in the recent situation. On the other hand, which socialist groups did not support the Finns? The Stalinites—a G.P.U. police agency, hardly a "socialist group." The Trotskyites—another Russian affiliate, and badly divided among themselves. As a matter of fact, on very few issues in recent years have labor, radical and socialist groups seen eye to eye to such a substantial degree as on the Russian invasion of Finland.

Gandhi Keeps Control Of Indian Congress

Rights Win All Along Line at Ramgarh Meet

By J. CORK

IN spite of a spirited fight by the left wing, Gandhi and his right-wing followers maintained their hold over the Indian National Congress at the Ramgarh convention. At this very important stage in the development of the Indian fight for independence, caution and compromise are still in the saddle.

BOSE'S LEFT-WING PLATFORM

Before the convention opened, Bose, leader of the Forward Block, one of the left-wing groups inside the Congress, publicly announced the formation of an anti-Gandhi, anti-compromise group with the purpose of ousting the Gandhi leadership and immediately starting the fight to gain complete independence for India. Bose announced the following as its political platform:

"We differ with Gandhi on three points:

"First, the fundamental relations between India and Great Britain. We want complete independence, while Gandhi is willing to compromise.

"Second, the present policy. Gandhi wants to postpone the campaign for independence. We want to continue the campaign, despite the international situation.

"Third, conceptions of administration. We want a progressive industrialization, while Gandhi insists on his pet hobbies like prohibition and handicrafts."

Tho the issue was squarely joined on these matters, which proved to be the basic ones at the convention, it must be said in passing that Bose uttered some very strange and dangerous ideas, ideas utterly alien to a genuine revolutionary program. Asked whether, if independence were granted, India would fight alongside the Allies in the war, he replied;

"Yes, if there were sufficient moral reasons, and Britain should be able to convince us that there were."

His conception of socialism was certainly fantastic:

"I want to see India become socialistic, combining the best of communism, fascism, and President Roosevelt's New Deal."

Bose's subsequent praise of Mussolini fits into this strange hodgepodge, and illustrates the erratic militancy which has characterized him for years.

Gandhi, on his part, openly proclaimed the line he would pursue—the same concern for and compromise with England, and the postponement of demands and struggle. Speaking at Ramgarh on March 16, he said: "How can I claim statutory independence today when Great Britain's own fate hangs in the balance? . . . . The formalities of independence might have to await the end of the European war."

FIGHT IN THE COMMITTEE

The decisive fight over policy was carried out at a two-day session of the "subjects" (resolution) committee. The rights won all along the line. The original Patnar resolution, adopted by the Executive on March 1, was endorsed. This resolution, be it remembered, placed everything in Gandhi's hands. All the numerous amendments offered by left-wing spokesmen were either defeated or forced to be withdrawn. Gandhi touchingly thanked the committee for its faith in him, and took the opportunity to reply to criticism of his readiness to compromise with England by openly admitting it. He said:

"I am always for compromise. I shall go to the Viceroy fifty times f necessary. . . . I want to do away with British imperialism, but not with British imperialists. I want the good-will of the British the same as I want Hindu-Moslem unity."

And then, most significantly:

"I don't find anything to suggest that we are ready for the fight immediately."

This openly proclaimed line of conciliation and hesitation was approved at the next day's open session of the Congress, as was the work of the resolutions committee. It was announced that the launching of the civil-disobedience campaign was out of the question for at least three months. So Gandhi emerges victorious and England has another long breathing spell gratuitously handed to it on a silver platter.

Defeated at the Congress, Bose's block announced its intention of continuing the fight, of establishing permanent machinery thruout the country to press for its political program. The danger of a split is, therefore, definitely in the offing, for it is hardly probable that Gandhi will be very tolerant of Bose's openly proclaimed intention to continue the struggle.

FATAL DISUNITY OF LEFT WING

There is more anti-Gandhist sentiment thruout the country than was reflected at the convention. The exact figures as to relative strength of the factions at the convention are not at hand, it is the writer's impression that the showing of the lefts was not too impressive. The basic reason for this is that the various left-wing organizations did not get together either before or during the convention. During the election campaign for president of the Congress, which takes place before the national convention, Roy and his League of Radical Congressmen proposed to Bose's Forward Block and to the Congress Socialist Party a joint left-wing candidate for president on a common program. The unity proposal was rejected by both organizations. The Forward Block decided to remain neutral and the Socialist Party officially decided to support the right-wing candidate, Azad. In spite of that, Roy announced his candidacy for president, and received about 10% of the vote, without the support of the other left-wing organizatons. After that, Bose proposed a united-front conference and demonstration for the convention by the same left-wing organizations. This, in turn, was rejected by the other two. So that the anti-Gandhist block represented in reality merely Bose's organization and not a united left-wing effort. Again, as at last year's convention at Tripuri, division among the left made the victory of the right wing that much easier.

The Moslem League headed by M. A. Jinnah held its convention at Lahore practically at the same time as the Congress. In his presidential address, Jinnah proceeded to widen the already broad gap between the League and Congress. He said that the termination of the British regime would lead to chaos in India, barred Hindu "domination," openly held out the threat of civil war if the Congress was given control, and demanded the division of India into autonomous national states, one for the Moslems.

KEEP AMERICA OUT OF WAR
By Norman Thomas and Bertram D. Wolfe
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WORKERS AGE BOOKSHOP
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Will We Ever Learn From Experience?

THE publication of the confidential papers of war-time Secretary of State Robert Lansing, recently initiated by the State Department, comes at a most opportune time, altho it is quite obvious that the press will do everything in its power to play down its current significance.

For these papers show that as far back as the middle of 1915, both Secretary Lansing and President Wilson had already made up their minds on American entry into the World War on the side of the Allies. In a letter to Mr. Wilson dated August 24, 1915, Lansing wrote:

"If the foregoing views are sound, it would appear that our usefulness in the restoration of peace would certainly not be lessened by a state of war between this country and Germany—and it might even be increased."

In other words, Lansing advocated entering the war under the camouflage of "restoring peace." And President Wilson replied by assuring him that his own (Wilson's) thought had been running in the same channels for some time!

Of course, this "exchange of views" was kept a deep secret from the American people who were led to believe that Wilson was devoting every ounce of his thought and energy to keeping the country neutral and at peace. In fact, fully a year later, Wilson ran for reelection on the slogan "He kept us out of war"! And he did keep us out of war—until one month after his second inauguration!

All this has its obvious moral for today. If we had the confidential papers of Secretary of State Hull available, how much better might we be able to judge the real meaning of President Roosevelt's peace talk! At any rate, with such an historical example before us, we should certainly be forewarned. We should at least think twice before swallowing the President's peace-loving words, especially when they stand in such crass contradiction to his war-making deeds.

Books

by Jim Cork

THE NEW GERMAN EMPIRE, by Franz Borkenau, Viking Press, New York, 1939.

AS one of the more capable apologists for the cause of the bourgeois "democracies" as opposed to the aggressive imperialist aspirations of Nazi Germany, Borkenau presents in this work a source-book of great importance to those interested from the economic and political viewpoints.

The study is submitted as a contribution to the solution of the problem posed by Rauschning who maintains, as Borkenau points out, that "the deepest impulses of the Nazi movement are entirely negative, nihilistic." Borkenau concludes that "German expansion is unlimited in its aims," and that "German expansion is primarily political and economic in the second place." Of course, we must recognize that a major weakness of capitalism in its imperialist phase is its unlimited need for markets, but then we would also maintain that the policy of expansion is a secondary factor dictated by the primary necessity, the economic drive. We make this remark especially in view of Borkenau's further conclusion that Nazi expansion is "primarily an attempt at fascist world revolution" and that "however much she may lure her potential enemies into temporary alliance, a fight along ideological fronts is the mainstay of her policy; she could never in the long run, put up with the existence of a democratic country."

The facts presented by Borkenau to support his theoretical contentions make for a good broad survey of the imperialist aspirations of Nazi Germany. The reader will quite often find it necessary to be on his guard to avoid Borkenau's confusion of the tactical aspects of Nazi policy with those aspects that are the logical strivings of capitalism in its imperialist phase. This merging of the two is intended to create in the mind of the reader a new entity of which is said: "The German ideal of a fascist world revolution is a challenge to our whole western civilization." But if we keep in mind the two aspects of Nazism and its imperialist ventures, we have in this work a valuable account of its development from its initial programmatic stage to its present world-wide challenge.

The statement that the "Nazis have no definite program" cannot be taken as loosely as it seems to be put in this book. Fascism has its fundamental program of preserving capitalism and exploiting the many for the benefit of an armed banditry, and its every step is governed accordingly.

Borkenau bases his account of Nazi imperialism on an analysis of Nazi economics, realistically estimating Nazi "pump-priming" in the form of rearmament, labor camps, etc. The discrepancy between production and real wages is great, tho the cost of the burocracy of thugs has limited profit in most cases to 6%. In evaluating the reasons for the German invasion of other states, the need for means of exchange is stressed as well as the factors that have created this need.

The modes of Nazi procedure in imperialist aggression are enumerated and the Nazi position in every major world situation is accordingly defined. The significance of Germany's various spheres is discussed in a well-informed and balanced manner. The work is especially valuable for the information it affords on the relative strength of the pro-Nazi, anti-Nazi and "neutral" elements in the various countries. Economic and geographical forces are also estimated. Not only is this done for what once were Czecho-Slovakia and Austria, but also for all of the Balkan states, for some Soviet republics, for Latin America and for parts of Africa and Asia.

Altho events have moved fast since August 1939, when this book was published, Borkenau's work still retains its value.

Reviewed by J. KANE

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WILL HERBERG, Editor

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

Vol. 9. SATURDAY, APRIL 6, 1940. No. 14.

SPANISH REFUGEES IN FRANCE

IT is indeed deplorable that the issue of the Spanish refugees in France should have come before the American public in the unfortunate way it did last week when it was made the pretext for an old-style, "third-period" Stalinist demonstration before the French consulate in New York. For the matter is far too serious to permit it to be thus discredited by the communists and exploited by them for the their corrupt political aims.

We are not in a position to state with any certainty whether the so-called "Menard decree" ordering certain categories of Spanish refugees in France to leave the country and return to Franco Spain, was genuine as at first believed or a fake as now claimed by the French authorities. However that may be, we do know that for some time we have been receiving thoroly reliable, first-hand reports of growing pressure being applied officially and unofficially on foreign refugees in France to force them to join the French forces or do other war work or else face the consequences, deportation being chief among them. These refugees certainly deserve our sympathy and support in their desperate plight, and we should not allow the issue itself to become obscured by the antics of the Stalinists.

As for the Stalinists, it is perfectly obvious that their sudden indignation at the wrongs of the Spanish refugees in France is purely a matter of Russo-German diplomacy. The hysterical paraders before the French consulate are no more than puppets operated by strings by remote control from Moscow-Berlin thru the little Kremlin on Thirteenth Street. There is about as much sincerity in such demonstrations as in Goebbels' (or Molotov's) sneers at democracy in England and the United States. Why, for instance, don't they demonstrate, as not so long ago they did, before the German consulate in protest against the Nazi atrocities against Jews and radicals? Or before the Russian consulate in protest against the horrible brutalities of Stalin's G.P.U. against the Russian people? Of course it's ridiculous to ask such questions. The American Communist Party is an agency of the Stalin-Hitler block and it acts accordingly. But it's surely not the fault of the unfortunate Spanish refugees that the Stalinists are trying to make dirty political capital out of their misery and sufferings.

One word more, and that in connection with Mayor LaGuardia's order forbidding demonstrations before foreign consulates for the duration of the war. Whatever we may think of the Stalinist demonstration tactics, we certainly believe that the mayor has gone too far here and has infringed upon civil liberties to an entirely unwarranted degree. We do not see how the peace and welfare of the American people could conceivably be endangered by demonstrations before foreign consulates, but we can easily see how such a ban by the mayor can become the entering wedge for greater and more serious restrictions of the freedom of speech and assembly under the cover of measures to prevent the "fomenting of foreign hatreds on our shores." The order ought to be rescinded and full freedom of assembly and demonstration restored.

"THE NEGRO IN THE PRESENT WAR"

WE would like to call the attention of our readers to the very interesting symposium, "The Negro in the Present War," advertised elsewhere on this page to take place Sunday afternoon, April 7.

The immense importance of the subject at this time is obvious. The outstanding character of the speakers at the symposium and the variety of views represented by them certainly indicate that the discussion will be a most instructive and profitable one.

Every reader of this paper in New York City owes it to himself to be present at the Renaissance Casino in Harlem this Sunday afternoon to take part in this significant affair.

CLINICAL NOTE ON THE TOTALITARIAN MIND: "Stalin knows what should bring happiness to Finland. He, more than anybody else, knows what will bring happiness to all peoples of humanity. He thinks of everything that may give joy to every moment of every human life. There is not one single human being who is not his friend and for whom he would not give all his heart. Oh, how much happier would the British people be if Stalin consented to organize their bliss!"—Alexey Tolstoy, in the Moscow Pravda.

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Socialist Fundamentals Reexamined:

Marx-Engels on Democracy

By B. HERMAN

(This article is the second of a series by B. Herman in the discussion, "Socialist Fundamentals Reexamined," now under way in this paper. Readers are urged to take part either thru letters or thru articles. No restriction whatever is placed on the expression of opinion so that the views expressed in articles in this discussion are not necessarily those of anyone but the author. —Editor.)

MARX'S concept of socialism was the exact opposite of totalitarianism. Repeatedly, Marx and Engels refer to socialism as a free and equal association of producers, in which all coercion and instruments of class oppression shall cease together with all classes—"an association in which the free development of each is a condition for the free development of all" ("Communis Manifesto"). The "dictatorship of the proletariat" as a temporary transition stage between capitalism and socialism, Marx and Engels regarded as a democratic regime in which the working class ruled. Insofar as the proletariat exercised its class rule, they looked upon it as a "dictatorship of the proletariat," even tho the form and methods of the state might be thoroly democratic. That the "dictatorship of the proletariat" would have a democratic state form Marx and Engels regarded as so axiomatic that they did not dwell on the matter, but every reference that does appear in their writings indicates the thoro non-totalitarian character of the proletarian regime as they conceived it.

TRANSITION STATE-DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

For example, Engels writes in 1891 in his criticism of the Erfurt Program:

"If one thing is certain, it is that our party and the working class can only come to power under the form of a democratic republic. This is even the specific form for the dictatorship of the proletariat, as the great French Revolution has already shown."

Marx in the "Civil War in France" describes the Paris Commune as a republic based on universal suffrage, freedom of political expression and political parties; a republic which smashed the old reactionary state apparatus; a government in which the representatives of the people, and all public servants, magistrates and judges, were responsible to their electorate, serving short terms, always subject to recall; a state in which the administration functionaries were not above the masses, but were employed at workmen's wages. Marx writes: "Nothing could be more foreign to the spirit of the Commune than to supersede universal suffrage by hierarchic investiture." "The Commune made that catchword of bourgeois revolutions, 'cheap government,' a reality by destroying the two greatest sources of expenditure, the standing army and the state functionaries. It supplied the republic with the basis of really democratic institutions." Marx contrasts the liberating, expansive political form of the Commune with "all previous forms of government which have been emphatically repressive." He then concludes: "It was essentially a working class government, the product of the struggle of the producing against the appropriating class, the political form at last discovered under which to work out the economical emancipation of labor."

It is this same Commune of which Engels, in his preface to "The Civil War in France" (1891), writes: "Of late, the social-democratic philistine has once more been filled with wholesome terror at the words: dictatorship of the proletariat. Well and good, gentlemen, do you want to know what this dictatorship looks like? Look at the Paris Commune. That was the dictatorship of the proletariat."

The dictatorship of the proletariat, therefore, is not conceived as a totalitarian police regime, but as a democratic republic in which power is in the hands of the working class. Anyone at all congnizant of Marx's entire method of thought is aware that by this term, dictatorship, he refers to the class exercising power, not to the form of regime. It is in this sense that he speaks of a capitalist dictatorship, whether the form of government is monarchical or democratic, so long as the government serves the class interests of the bourgeoisie. Nor is Marx indifferent to the very important distinctions between a military dictatorship, a monarchy and a democratic republic, altho all three of them may be dictatorships of the capitalists in a class sense. It is just the awareness of this distinction which causes Engels to criticize the German social-democracy in 1891 for opportunism in sliding over the embarassing question of a democratic republic in the Erfurt Program.

MARX ON TERROR

Does Marx envision the transition period as one of endless terror, brutality and savagery? On the contrary, he contrasts the extreme humanitarianism of the Commune to the wholesale, cold-blooded butchery of the workers perpetrated by the counter-revolution. With burning indignation, he depicts the bourgeois terror:

"To find a parallel for the conduct of Thiers and his bloodhounds, we must go back to the time of Sulla and the two triumvirates of Rome. The same wholesale slaughter in cold blood, the same disregard in massacre of age and sex, the same system of torturing prisoners; the same proscription, but this time of a whole class; the same savage hunt after concealed leaders, lest one might escape; the same denunciations of political and private enemies; the same indifference to the butchery of entire strangers to the feud. There is but this difference, that the Romans had no mitrailleuses (machine-guns) for the despatch in the lump of the proscribed, and that they had not the law in their hands, nor on their lips the cry of civilization."

I quote at such length Marx's condemnation of the counter- revolutionary terror after the fall of the Commune because by more than a coincidence it is an almost complete description of the Stalin butchery of the revolutionary cadres in Russia, almost two decades after the Russian Revolution, after classes are supposed to have been abolished. Stalin has added the technique of frame-ups and confessions and changed the battle cry from "civilization" to "destroy the Hitler agents," or at a later date, "agents of British imperialism."

To illustrate further the form of working-class rule in relation to non-proletarian sections of the population, we turn to Engels's article on "The Agrarian Problem in the West," where he writes:

"When we seize the powers of the state, we shall never dream of forcibly expropriating the poorer peasants, the small holders (with or without compensation), as we shall have to expropriate the great landowners. Our business as regards the small holders will be to see to it that their individual production and individual ownership are transformed into communal production and communal ownership, but the change must not be effected forcibly. We must act on them by way of example, and by offering social help with this end in view. We shall then have the means of showing the poorer peasants all the advantages of the change—and even now we are able to demonstrate these advantages to the small holders."

Contrast this policy with the Stalinist forced collectivization, the exiling of millions of peasants, the starving of millions more to beat them down into a state of submission. This episode is one of the most barbarous in world history, matching Russian "purges" of 1936-1939 in monstrous butchery. The burocratic knout produced "collectives," but did not produce food or socialism.

"WITHERING AWAY" OF THE STATE

Did Marx regard the rule of the working class as a long epoch of oppression, with a rapidly and steadily expanding machinery of oppression, as proclaimed by Stalin? Nothing could be further from the Marxian point of view. Engles wrote in Anti-Duehring: "The first act whereby the state becomes the representative of society as a whole, namely, the expropriation of the means of production for the benefit of society as a whole, will likewise be its last independent act as a state. The interference of the state authority in social relationships will become superfluous, and will be discontinued in one domain after another." In other words, the process of "dying out" of the state begins immediately and proceeds steadily until, with the disappearance of classes, its function as an instrument of class rule ceases altogether. The Stalin regime, on the other hand, has grown increasingly oppressive year by year as its exploitative features have grown, and the resentment of the overwhelming masses of the population against it has increased. Stalin's great "contribution" to social theory is the concept of the "strengthening of the dictatorship of the proletariat." Instead of the steady decline of the intervention of the state in one domain after another, we have seen the cynical coordination by the Stalinist police, by the G.P.U., of every institution of the state, of working-class organization and of industry.

TOWARDS GREATER FREEDOM

It is apparent from the brief view we have given of Marx's and Engels's ideas on the development of socialism that the revolution of the working class was a means to secure greater democracy and that this would result in the highest development of the freedom of the individual. From their own experiences with revolutionary struggles in the more advanced countries of the West, and from the Paris Commune in particular, there was nothing to lead Marx and Engels to believe that the workers state would degenerate into a totalitarian instrument for exploitation and oppression. It is for this reason that they failed to dwell on the possible development of burocratic decay of the working-class revolution. Yet they were not completely unaware of this possibility, based on condition of economic immaturity and privation. Writing in 1845, in the "German Ideology," Marx and Engels saw that without increased well-being for the masses the old system of want for the many and advantages for the few would return. They wrote: "This development of the productive power (under socialism) is absolutely a necessary practical premise also for this reason, that without this the want only becomes general, and with the want must again begin the struggle for the necessities of life, and consequently, must revive the whole old system of corruption."

Only to the politically illiterate is the decay of the superstructure after a working-class revolution the result of the theory of dialectics or of any other Marxian theory, or of an individual, rather than the reflection of the unripeness of the material foundations in a backward country isolated from world economy. Even in foreseeing the decay of a proletarian regime, and the reason for the decay, Marx and Engels demonstrated the essential correctness of their dialectical method. It is upon this basis of continuous and widespread want in Russia, together with the failure of the revolution to spread to the rest of Europe, that totalitarianism, the old refuse in its most noxious form, has arisen. "National-socialism" is not Marxian socialism, but its opposite.

No one can find in the writings of Marx and Engels a justification or defense of Stalinist totalitarianism. If there were, we can guarantee that all the latter-day critics of Marx would have uncovered it long before this, and with no small glee.

Marx is not only anti-totalitarian in his approach to the question of the state, but compared to his critics, he is a libertarian. Whereas Marx in his critique of the Gotha Program and Engels in his letter to Bebel (1875) and in Anti-Duehring deride the idea that people can be free so long as a state exists as a power above them, Max Eastman, for example, sees the end product of human development as a series of strong "patriotic" states. Eastman writes in the New Leader:

"The best that can be hoped for —or indeed desired by those still interested in the colors of life—is a federation of patriotic nations exercising real police power thru the world."

Eastman ends the course of human development with "patriotic" national-socialisms and international police power! The workers wind up with the policeman's club still over them. In contrast, Engels writes in Anti-Duehring that to talk of freedom without freedom of the individual is an absurdity. So by a remarkable paradox, the anti-totalitarian critics of Marx end in the blues of national states with special emphasis on the international police, while Marx foresees the path of development to world socialism with special emphasis on freedom of the individual.

Verily, one must be on his guard these days. Not everything that sounds anti-totalitarian rings of freedom.

Unions Subject To Sherman Law

(Continued from Page 1)

group of labor organizations under attack by the Department of Justice when it was accused in a federal indictment of alleged violations of the anti-trust laws. A dozen union officials were also named in the indictment, as were five associations of electrical and plumbing contractors.

By means of a rigid boycott, the indictment charged, out-of-state manufacturers were kept out of the local market, in exchange for which the union was able to get work for its members.

Local 3 issued the following statement on the indictments, signed by Harry Van Arsdale, its business manager:

"Every charge in the indictment is centered upon the activities of the officers and representatives of Local 3 in endeavoring to secure and maintain employment for members of the union.

"Mr. Arnold, by these very indictments, repudiates his previous statement that no action would be taken against officers, representatives or members of labor unions who made lawful and honest efforts to protect and defend themselves against the chaotic results of non-union substandard competition."

Nazi "Expose" Hits U. S. Policy

(Continued from page 1)

absolve the Administration or justify its foreign policy.

Aside from the German White Paper, the big development of the week, the thirtieth week of the war, was the sudden straining of relations between the Allies and Russia. The Russian Ambassador to Paris, J. Suritz, was recalled at the request of the French government, ostensibly because of a telegram he had tried to send to Stalin hailing the Finnish peace as a defeat of the "Anglo-French war-mongers." The French press raised a loud cry for a complete break with Moscow. At the same time, a new strain was put on Anglo-Russian relations by a Moscow demand for release of two Soviet ore-bearing ships seized by the British in the Pacific, a demand which London categorically rejected.

The I.L.P. Position on Issues of War and Peace

MISLEADING, contradictory and garbled reports have appeared in the American press concerning the stand on the war taken by the Nottingham congress of the Independent Labor Party of Great Britain. Since at this writing the congress is still going on, we will have to postpone to a later issue any account of its proceedings. We believe it will be of value, however, in throwing light on the I.L.P.'s policy on war and peace to present the following documents:

I. The Independent Labor Party "Peace Plan":

"We urge that the working-class movement take independent action to stop the war and to secure an enduring peace by:

"1. Demanding an immediate armistice.

"2. Preparing socialist peace terms including: (a) the liberation of all peoples from imperialism, whether Germany, British or French; (b) the recognition that national sovereignty must be subordinated to international unity; and (c) the establishment of an international economic order based on the distribution of the world's resources according to need and the ending of poverty by production for use instead of profit.

"3. Initiating a world-wide agitation for such a peace.

"4. Holding an international working-class conference simultaneously with any government peace conference to press for these demands.

"5. Organizing an international agitation to end capitalism."

II. Resolution adopted by the Scottish Divisional Conference of the I.L.P., held on January 20 and 21, 1940:

"This conference, reviewing the events which led up to the present situation in Finland, condemns the foreign policy of the Russian government.

"We warn the workers, however, to be on guard against the intensive propaganda in which world capitalism seeks to canalize opinion against Russia.

"The capitalist states, led by British and French imperialism, were ever the enemies of freedom and democracy and are not now lining up to free the Finns, or any other people, but on the contrary will seize every opportunity to prevent the liberation of the workers of the world.

"We therefore resolve to oppose the formation of a capitalist block against Russia and consider that we can best assist the workers and peasants of Russia by concentrating our energies against the capitalist, imperialist enemy at home."

III. From a London dispatch in the Workers Age, March 23, 1940.

"The working-class anti-war movement stands neither for a German fascist peace nor a British-French imperialist peace. It stands for a peace brought about by the revolt of the workers of all countries against the war, a revolt which aims not only to stop the war, but to bring about the defeat of the capitalist governments which are conducting the war.

"The Independent Labor Party and large sections of the British working-class movement are carrying on a campaign with this object."

In addition to these pronouncements, we refer our readers to the material on I.L.P. policy presented regularly in the columns of this paper since the outbreak of the war.

Green Attacks 'Merit' Plan in Job Insurance

Brands Proposal Scheme to Slash Benefits

(Continued from page 2)

to keep benefit payments at a minimum. They would oppose reasonable improvements in the law. That makes it vital that adequate benefits be established and paid before this incentive becomes operative.

I may quote one state unemployment-compensation director's experience with the law: "Experience rating is largely responsible for the protest of employers against the payment of benefits to unemployed workers. These protests often have no actual basis in law. Some employers have adopted the policy of protesting payment of benefits in most every case regardless of merit."

That the New York State Employers Conference is interested in tax reductions rather than increasing employment under experience rating is clear from their resistance to a plan of experience rating which would permit lower or higher rates according to the experience of different employers but would produce the same average income that is now being paid into the fund. If they were interested in a sound system of unemployment compensation, they would seek that incentive to increased industry which adequate benefit payments would give and would welcome the establishment of a benefit scale as adequate as the present tax rate would permit rather than attempt to perpetuate the present meager benefits by reducing the income of the fund.

The Young-Wadsworth bill avoids that greater incentive. It is carefully designed to decrease the income of the unemployment-compensation fund before a sound system of benefits is created. If the benefits were adequate, the outgo from the fund would be approximately the same as its current income. Tax reductions would not be possible, altho tax increases would be unnecessary because the present income can pay for better benefits. This explains the anxiety of the advocates of the bill to get experience rating adopted before adequate benefits are written into the law.

Experience rating does not lessen unemployment. Even under the Wisconsin system, in which the individual reserve formula used was designed to place the maximum responsibility for stabilization on each employer, a very small amount of stabilization has been accomplished as a result of the law.

An impartial study by Dr. Charles Myers found fewer than 11% of the surveyed firms had achieved any appreciable stabilization because of the act, even including the borderline cases to give the law the benefit of every doubt. These firms were among the larger ones.

And offsetting the achievement noted in "stabilization," Dr. Myers found "the development of a tendency to avoid benefits by devices (particularly extreme spreading of work) which do not stabilize employment, and the fact that stabilization increases somewhat the volume of unemployment."

That is too great a price to pay for so-called stabilization. The A. F. of L. still wishes to avoid devices and "policies that crystallize unemployment." Experience rating is such a policy. We are concerned to promote an increase in the number of jobs and to provide security for unemployed workers. It is because experience rating obstructs both those objectives that we oppose it.

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