

# At First Glance

By Jay Lovestone

SHORTLY after Hitler began to consolidate and enhance his power over Germany and Europe, a venerable German communist indicated the necessary course of action for the French proletariat. Had Stalin, Thorez, Blum and Company pursued it, instead of stifling labor via the People's Front, the history of Europe would have been different today. It is timely to remind ourselves that Clara Zetkin then said:

"The French communists, like true internationalists, are fighting in common with the communists of the whole world for the tearing up of the Versailles Treaty. As revolutionary Marxists, they rightly hold that the huge debit account of the imperialist world-massacre will not be balanced by agreements between capitalist states, that only the destruction of the capitalist system thru the proletarian world revolution is able to do this and can lead to real 'reparation' and to the civilizing cooperation of peoples.

"Inasmuch as the non-aggression pacts preserve the peace and security of the Soviet state, they are a factor operating against the new world war which threatens. Their peace-preserving power depends, to a high degree, on the active struggle of the toiling masses in the capitalist states against imperialism . . ."

Truer than ever! But we hasten to spare some of our readers the pains of disillusionment, if they entertain any notion that Stalin will allow the French Communist Party to return to a Marxist course. It is becoming clearer daily that Thorez will go further to the right, towards a "national front" with the extreme reactionary imperialists like Marin, Mandel, Reynaud, and de Kerillis—in effect to get a bigger and worse Versailles, to preserve the integrity of the French imperial domain, to crush unrest in the colonies, to devitalize labor's independence and militancy at home.

In the U.S.S.R. proper, Stalin will turn to more revolutionary-sounding phrases in discussing the international situation in order to hide his anti-revolutionary course. In the United States, the Stalinite firm and all its branches and agencies will become even hotter in their praise of, and even more sycophantic in their kowtowing to Roosevelt.

These will be the ingredients of the "new turn" about to be made by the Stalinist (ex-Comintern)—until and unless Stalin, Yezhov, and Kaganovich can get a treaty of friendship with Hitler, Goering and Goebbels.

## TOO MUCH CASH

"IDLENESS of money reaches peak here"—is a feature headline in the New York Times of October 9th. We wonder what the millions of unemployed—made idle by the capitalist system of production—think of this and how they feel about it. How essentially unhealthy, how fatally ill is our present economic system, could not be more glaringly revealed than by such facts.

Wall Street's fifteen biggest banks are now able to put less than 25% of all their assets in loans and discounts. For fifteen months straight, these giants of finance have been unable to halt the trend toward a shrinking number of loans and, hence, towards a piling up of idle, uninvested and uninvestable money. Today, these banks have

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# Workers Age

A PAPER DEFENDING THE INTERESTS OF WORKERS AND FARMERS

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## FDR To Call Unity Meet

### Tobin's Fight for Peace Renews Hopes; Green Retreats On Issue

The American Federation of Labor convention closed in Houston Texas with the reelection of William Green to the presidency and with a speech by the victorious candidate who, judging the temper of the convention by previous events, failed even to mention the name of John L. Lewis and pledged himself to untiring efforts to achieve the unification of the labor movement.

### Machine Stalls

The hitherto smooth functioning, and apparently impregnable machine led by Green, Woll and Frey came to grief at this convention of the Federation. It sputtered badly on the question of unity and stalled completely when it was needed most during the attempted offensive against the New Deal. The latter case arose when the resolutions committee, officered by the die-hards Matthew Woll and John P. Frey, proposed a resolution strongly condemning what they called the interference of the government in affairs of labor and business. It was interpreted by most of the delegates as a frontal attack upon the policies of President Roosevelt and his Administration. When opposition became too strenuous and could no longer be silenced, President Green himself turned upon the committee and finally secured a motion to refer to the Executive Council the whole question under consideration.

Far more dramatic and far-reaching in significance was the demand for unity in the labor movement after the convention had belabored, condemned, and slandered the Committee for Industrial Organization for several days running. The definite implication was left that the A. F. of L. was thru with the consideration of unity problems and would leave the matter entirely in the hands of the C.I.O.

### Tobin's Revolt For Peace

It was under such circumstances that Dan Tobin of the Teamsters Union electrified the convention with a stirring plea for unity and an ultimatum that unless the A. F. of L. reopens negotiations for peace he would take out his 350,000 teamsters from the organization. Tobin's ultimatum came after a

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## The Peace Plan

Secretary of Labor Frances Perkins has answered pleas for peace from both A.F.L. and C.I.O. sources by announcing a plan to probe such possibilities.

The plan calls for the election of 5 representatives with full power to act from each side. These are then to agree on three impartial arbitrators. Failing to agree on the three, the President stands ready to designate them. This entire body is to submit a peace plan binding on both parties.

## Welcomes Peace Plan



DAVID DUBINSKY

## POUM Men Fight Frame-Up In Barcelona 'Spy' Trial

Nine members of the National Executive of the POUM (Workers Party of Marxist Unity) went on trial in Barcelona, Spain, charged with inciting and organizing the May 1937 uprising in Barcelona, with being a fascist agency financed by Franco, Hitler and Mussolini, with maintaining connections with Franco spies and with attacking the government. The last charge the Republican government graciously dropped and concentrated its endeavors on discrediting the POUM by convicting these revolutionary leaders on the fantastic charges listed above.

Not all of the nine POUM leaders are in the dock to defend their revolutionary integrity. Missing are Jose Rovira, of whose fate no one seems to know, and the internationally famous revolutionary leader Andres Nin who was murdered by his Stalinist jail keepers.

## Negro Is Lynched Labor To Protest

Ruston, La.—R. C. Williams, a 19 year-old Negro youth, was lynched by a mob on the very flimsiest of suspicion that he killed a white man and beat his woman companion. The boy was lynched despite the intervention in his behalf of the woman alleged to have been beaten, her relatives and also Professor L. F. Fox of Louisiana Polytechnic Institute. The mob turned a deaf ear to these pleas and with characteristic bestiality proceeded to hang him, fire bullets into his body and light fagots under the body.

### Labor Must Speak Up

Trade unions and labor political bodies must speak up sharply against the continued rule of the mob over the Negro in the South. It is well to remember that many of even the New Deal senators in the South ran for reelection on the pledge that they would not back the anti-lynching bill.

Labor must make the fight for the adoption of the anti-lynching bill one of its important tasks. It must bring maximum pressure to bear upon the Administration for immediate action when Congress convenes.

## Huge Arms Plan Proposed By FDR

The President shocked the nation last week by announcing that he intends to place before Congress a national defense program requiring a budget which shades by far any peace time budget in the history of the nation. Apparently disturbed over the turn of affairs in Europe and panicked by the big army and big navy boys the President ordered a restudy of national defense requirements and the result is the announced plan.

The program proposes developments along four lines. (1) Increased appropriations for the army. A considerable increase in the size of the standing army is also

under consideration. (2) Increased appropriations for the navy. (3) Speeding up of development of a new, mass-production technique in the manufacture of airplanes. (4) Stimulation of spending of one billion dollars by private utilities to assure power for vital industries during war time. This proposal, it is said, tends to stimulate economic recovery.

The last proposal obviously is intended to calm any misgivings labor may have over such tremendous expenditures for war purposes, by holding forth the mirage of economic upturn and prosperity. Furthermore there is some indication that the tendency will be to increasingly subordinate and integrate the relief program with the requirements of the armament plan.

It is said that information supplied by Colonel Lindbergh and Bernard Baruch, relative to unsettled conditions in Europe and the military prowess of the Germans in the air was the immediate cause of the changed armament program.

That the situation in Europe is going from bad to worse cannot be denied. The Munich peace, after which many breathed a sigh of relief in the belief that war had been definitely avoided, was the immediate cause of a strong swing to reaction. The emergence of Germany as the dominant and domineering force on the continent resulted in the complete collapse of previous balances of power and pledges for collective security. Poland which had been considered a French vassal for a time (remember how even the Socialist and Communist press hailed Rydz-Smigley, head of the Polish general Staff, upon his arrival in Paris) has long ago left the orbit. The collapse in the case of Czechoslovakia, which had become an important cog in France's defense schemes, was even more catastrophic.

The results are two-fold in character. On the one hand a feverish preparation for increased armaments on the part of England, France, and the fascist powers. And on the other, an attempt at a realignment of forces by means of the four power pact.

Czechoslovakia, but yesterday the "grand little republic" in defense of which we were to have gone to war, is now definitely part of Hitler's European combination. It has rejected every attempt to save the Germans who fought hardest against Hitler, from being returned to Hitler. It turns to Hitler when Hungary threatens. In Slovakia, it suppresses the Communist Party, closes its halls, and in Bohemia the Communist Party shows its sportsmanship by voluntarily closing its halls and suspending its press. Czechoslovakia will probably soon take some anti-Jewish measures.

France answers Benito's loud cries for dissolution of the Franco-Russian pact, by sending an ambassador to Italy—probably an unofficial declaration that the pact is thereby declared lapsed—and prepares to place Spain on the block by agreeing to send an ambassador to Burgos. Great Britain agrees to accept a token withdrawal of Ita-

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## Lovestone Cables Spanish Gov't.

The following cable was sent by Jay Lovestone for the Independent Labor League:

"Considering Munich pact against Czechoslovakia and Soviet Union, and contemplated action so-called democratic powers against republican Spain, Independent Labor League, an organization in forefront trade union campaigns on behalf your cause, strongly urges immediate amnesty POUM leaders in interest Spanish and international working class unity which is only effective means defeating fascism."



# WHY DO HARD TIMES COME?

By Lewis Corey

WE have had hard times since 1930, with a slight interruption in 1935-36, after which hard times became worse again. Times have not been as hard this past year as in 1933, but they've been bad enough. It is important to know why hard times came again in order to know what to do about the recovery that is now slowly and painfully getting under way.

The employers think they know all the answers; but the answers are simply alibis gotten up by their expert hirelings for the purpose of justifying the business men and sweating the workers. The answers seem very convincing when dressed up in "scientific" jargon and charts; but, if you want to see how crude and stupid and unconvincing they are, talk to salesmen in a Pullman smoking car, who think they have the answers—didn't the sales manager tell them, and didn't he get the answers straight from the company's president, who sort of represents God on earth?

I talked to one of these salesmen recently. "Look, buddy," he said, staring straight at me with his hard eyes and poking a gun-like finger in my chest, "look, it's easy. A business man can't make money if the government sticks its nose into his affairs and takes his money to spend on relief. That destroys confidence. And how the hell can you have good times if business has no confidence in the government, which wants to bust business? It's a crazy thing to take money from people who work to give to people who won't work. What's that? I know they won't work, it's a racket! The goddam unions are to blame, too. Why, look at those C. I. O. fellows didn't they raise wages and shorten hours, and how can a business man make money if unions run their business? Because of the goddam government and the unions we couldn't make any profits; that's why business went to hell."

It is pretty crude stuff. The business man's arguments haven't got a leg to stand on. Here's the proof, very briefly. If lack of business confidence in government was responsible for the renewal and increase of hard times

## U.S. Investments Heavy In Europe

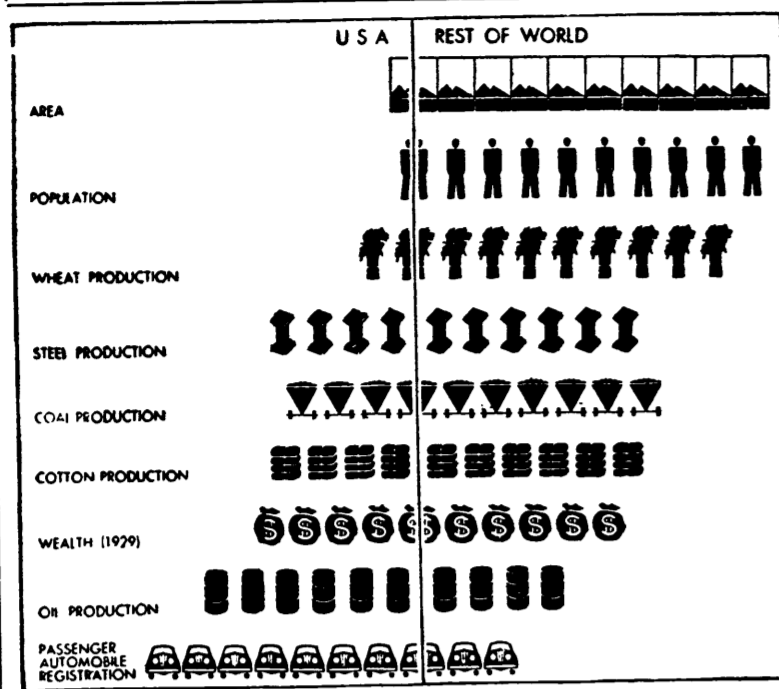
IN a study of American foreign investments, made by Paul Dickens of the Bureau of Finance and Domestic Commerce, it is revealed that United States capitalists have heavy holdings in such countries as Japan and Germany, as well as in Mexico, Cuba, Canada, Chile, China and the British Empire. The amounts indicated below include only extensions of American business enterprises to foreign fields and do not contain figures of minority holdings of investors in foreign bonds. Thus, the calculation excludes \$4,204,000,000 of such "non-controlling" holdings, leaving a total American direct investment abroad of \$6,691,000,000, at the end of 1936.

Capital investments in Mexico totalled \$479,000,000, of which \$69,000,000 was directly invested in the petroleum industry and \$213,373,000, in smelting and mining properties.

Of a capitalization of \$46,694,000 in Japan, \$25,561,000 is invested directly in manufacturing, automobile factories being the main form of such investment.

Other direct investments abroad at the end of 1936 were, in the order of their importance: Canada, \$1,936,000,000; Cuba, \$660,000,000; Chile, \$484,000,000; United Kingdom, \$47,000,000; Germany, \$227,817,000; China, \$91,000,000.

## To Have . . . and to Need



THE United States, with less than 5% of the world's area and population, has 15% of the world's wheat production, 40% of the world's steel production, 35% of the world's coal production, 40% of the world's cotton production, 45% of the world's wealth, 60% of the world's oil production, 75% of passenger automobile registration.

Why, then, must the average income of a third of the families of this country be less than \$12 a week? Why must there be unemployment, starvation, distress? Why must there be poverty in the midst of plenty?

In 1937, why was there recovery and prosperity in 1934-36 when government was pursuing the same policy? In fact, it was business itself in the spring of 1933 that asked President Roosevelt to "interfere" and save the country from a complete economic collapse. And, if the confidence argument is correct, why did the worst economic disaster in our history break loose in 1929 after eight years of Harding-Coolidge-Hoover government which enjoyed the most complete confidence of business?

It is just as unconvincing to argue that government spending was the cause of economic breakdown, for the simple reason that that spending was the main cause of the recovery of 1934-36. Business was unable to start the movement of revival and recovery, government spending stepped in to do the job. And, in 1937, government spending was down almost to nothing; something which was coming to an end couldn't be responsible for the breakdown.

### Wages And Profits

Nor did higher wages and shorter hours cause the breakdown. Wages rose and hours dropped only in a few industries newly organized by the C.I.O. and not throughout industry generally. And they were chiefly the most prosperous industries, where profits were the highest. In the measure that higher wages increased consumer mass purchasing power, they helped to strengthen recovery and prosperity, not to weaken them.

Business couldn't make any profits because of government, unions and high wages? Nonsense! Profits were rising in 1934-37. As a matter of fact, they rose more than production, employment and the national income. Corporate profits in 1936 were almost as great as in 1929; while in 1937, according to the National City Bank, the profits of 1,720 manufacturing and trading corporations were 8.7% higher than in 1936.

### Business Cycle

The alibis of business in trying to explain its collapse are—just alibis. Let us get the facts clear and clearly draw the conclusions.

An economic recession, the renewal and intensification of hard

times, was about due to happen in 1937. The history of business shows that, regardless of all other factors and combination of factors, a recession always comes to interrupt the upward movement of prosperity after recovery from a depression—whether the recovery and prosperity are complete or incomplete. The movement of prosperity in 1922-29 was interrupted by two recessions or minor depressions—in 1924 and 1927—before the major depression that set in after 1929. Neither business nor government has been able to control the ups and downs of business activity—which mean unemployment and agony for the workers.

Within that general cause of the economic breakdown were immediate factors and combinations of factors, whose influence was exact opposite of that pictured in the businessmen's alibis. (The argument of lack of business confidence in the government can be dismissed, because that confidence was increasing as the government moderated its reform policy and prepared to stop spending on relief.)

### Not Enough Spending

The most important immediate factor in the economic breakdown was the disastrous slowing down of government spending on relief work. That spending was necessary, for the first time in our history, to stimulate the renewal of economic activity after a depression. These are the amounts, according to one authoritative calculation, of the net increasing expenditures of the federal government:

1934	\$3,238,000,000
1935	\$3,154,000,000
1936	\$4,025,000,000

Those are very large amounts of money to pump into the economic system. It was that spending which started recovery and sustained prosperity in 1934-36, because relief work created wages, a demand for materials produced by private industries, and renewed activity through the economic system. But now observe how small government spending was in 1937—only \$90,000,000.

In other words, the government spent in 1937, the year of the business collapse, only a fraction of what it had spent in the previous

three years; worse yet, in the last three months of 1937, when the nose-dive of business became terrifyingly swift, the net income-increasing expenditures of the federal government practically stopped. That spending had started recovery and sustained prosperity, its stoppage brought about their collapse. Instead of government spending being the cause of the economic breakdown, the stoppage of spending was the main factor in the breakdown.

### The Capital Goods Industries

Business itself made only a small contribution to recovery and prosperity. Business is most prosperous when activity is greatest in the capital-goods industries—the production of means of production, of machinery, buildings and transport equipment. But railroads and other corporations were more interested in piling up profits and resuming or increasing interest and dividend payments than in placing orders for new equipment. There was only small replacement of equipment, while the lack of developing new industries still further depressed the production of capital goods. That situation was made worse by the smallness of revival in building construction, which normally is a decisive factor in prosperity; while larger than in 1933, the worst year of the depression, building construction in 1936-37 was only one-half of the 1929 level.

That the revival was mainly in consumption goods, depending largely on government spending, made the recovery and prosperity of 1934-37 extremely shaky. It was made still shakier by the sharp upward movement of profits and renewal of concentration in the distribution of income.

### Bosses Still Profit

Let me repeat: profits in 1934-37 rose more than production, employment and the national income. According to government figures, the net income (after taxes) of American corporations in 1936 was \$6,130,536,000; that represented 4.6% of the gross income (or sales), about the same proportion as in the more prosperous years 1928-29. If prices had been somewhat higher the profits would have been greater than in 1929—although around 9,000,000 workers were unemployed and millions were on relief. Profits rose sharply again in 1937, especially in the first seven months; corporations increased

their profits 8.7% for the whole year in spite of the collapse of business during the last five months of the year.

The tremendous profits, combined with the fact that employment and salaries among the higher corporate employes increased more than among the workers and lower salaried employes, resulted in an upward movement in the concentration of income. While the national income in 1936 was only 38% higher than in 1933, the number of people with yearly incomes of \$5,000 and up and their combined income increased nearly twice as much. At the same time, the number of American families with yearly incomes below \$1,000 (a poverty level) was more than three times as great as in 1929.

### Undermining Prosperity

Greater profits, interest and dividends and greater concentration of income meant greater savings for (Continued on Page 6)

## Corey To Teach On U.S. Problems

"Is America Different?" is the title of a very significant series of lectures which Lewis Corey is giving this term at the Independent Labor Institute. The purpose of this course is to examine critically specific forces and tendencies that have molded the social and economic life of this country and have so largely determined the problems and tasks of the labor movement today. It is emphatically not a "history" course in the usual sense of the term. It is something new, something vitally important, especially at the present moment, when labor is at a turning-point in its development.

Lewis Corey is too well known to need an introduction to the readers of this paper. America's outstanding labor economist, he is the author of a number of major works, among which are "The Decline of American Capitalism" and "The Crisis of the Middle Class." He is at present educational director of Dressmakers Union Local 22, I.L.G.W.U. The Corey lectures will begin on Wednesday, October 19, 8:45 p. m., and will continue for eight weeks thereafter, at the headquarters of the school, 131 West 33rd Street. Registration for this course should take place without delay.

## INDEPENDENT LABOR INSTITUTE

131 W. 33rd St., 7th Floor  
Lackawanna 4-5282

### Fall Term—1938

(Beginning the week of October 17)

**DEMOCRACY - FASCISM - SOVIETISM:** A critical examination of contemporary state forms from the point of view of their historical origins, structure, function and social significance.

Instructor: WILL HERBERG MONDAYS, at 7 p. m.  
8 sessions — \$1.50

**IS AMERICA DIFFERENT:** Special features of American historical development.

Instructor: LEWIS COREY TUESDAYS, at 8:45 p. m.  
8 sessions — \$1.50

**THE WORLD IN BOOKS:** Discussion-reviews of outstanding books of social significance.

Lecturer: BERTRAM D. WOLFE WEDNESDAY, at 7 p. m.  
6 sessions — \$1.00 (First session on Oct. 26)

**TOWARDS A NEW LABOR MOVEMENT:** Historical background, fundamental problems and trends of development of the American labor movement today.

Instructor: JAY LOVESTONE THURSDAY, at 6:15 p. m.  
6 sessions — \$1.00 (First session on Oct. 27)

# POUM Trial In Spain A Stalinist Frame-Up

WE reprint in this issue the first installment of some extremely timely excerpts from the book "Homage to Catalonia" by George Orwell recently published in England. The author was himself a volunteer and fought for many months with the militia on the Aragon front. Totally non-political, the heated partisan debates among the supporters of the anarchists, communists, socialists and POUMists, bored and irritated him. He was rather inclined to accept the Communist Party formula of "win the war first." After many months of fighting at the front, during which he was severely wounded, the fog of political confusion lifted and he was increasingly able to grasp the real meaning of the issues that agitated the ranks of the anti-fascist fighters. Imperceptibly he developed strong leanings toward the POUM, tho he never affiliated with that organization.

On leave from the front during the last days of April he was suddenly engulfed by the outbreak of the Barcelona "rising." It is particularly the sections dealing with that event, in which the author was both participant and eye-witness, that we deem it advisable to reprint. The critical of the POUM, he presents a devastating and crushing refutation of the Stalinist frame-up of the POUM as a fascist agency. In fact it is a brilliant presentation of the case for the defense in the trial now proceeding in Barcelona, for the case of the prosecution is little more than a reshuffle of the charges made by Stalin's agents everywhere.—Editor.

By GEORGE ORWELL

IT will never be possible to get a completely accurate and unbiased account of the Barcelona fighting, because the necessary records do not exist. Future historians will have nothing to go upon except a mass of accusations and party propaganda. I myself have little data beyond what I saw with my own eyes and what I have learned from other eye-witnesses whom I believe to be reliable. I can, however, contradict some of the more flagrant lies and help to get the affair into some kind of perspective.

First of all, what actually happened?

### Growing Tension

For some time past there had been tension throughout Catalonia. In earlier chapters of this book I have given some account of the struggle between Communists and Anarchists. By May 1937 things had reached a point at which some kind of violent outbreak could be regarded as inevitable. The immediate cause of friction was the Government's order to surrender all private weapons, coinciding with the decision to build up a heavily-armed "non-political" police-force from which trade union members were to be excluded. The meaning of this was obvious to everyone, and it was also obvious that the next move would be the taking over of some of the key industries controlled by the C.N.T.

In addition there was a certain amount of resentment among the working classes because of the growing contrast of wealth and poverty and a general vague feeling that the revolution had been sabotaged. Many people were agreeably surprised when there was no rioting on May 1.

### WHO'S WHO?

**C.N.T.**—Trade unions under Anarchist influence.  
**U.G.T.**—Trade unions under socialist influence.  
**F.A.I.**—Anarchist political federation.  
**P.S.U.C.**—United Socialist Party of Catalonia, affiliated with the Communist International.  
**P.O.U.M.**—Workers Party of Marxist Unity. An independent communist organization working closely with Independent Labor Party of Great Britain and Independent Labor League of America.  
**GENERALITE**—The regional governing body of Catalonia.

round the town that the workers' buildings were being attacked, armed Anarchists appeared on the streets, work ceased, and fighting broke out immediately.

That night and the next morning barricades were built all over the town, and there was no break in the fighting until the morning of May 6. The fighting was, however, mainly defensive on both sides. Buildings were besieged, but, so far as I know, none were stormed, and there was no use of artillery. Roughly speaking, the C.N.T.-F.A.I.-P.O.U.M. forces held the working-class suburbs, and the armed police-forces and the P.S.U.C. held the central and official portion of the town.

On May 6 there was an armistice, but fighting soon broke out again, probably because of premature attempts by Civil Guards to disarm C.N.T. workers. Next morning, however, the people began to leave the barricades of their own accord. Up till, roughly, the night of May 5 the C.N.T. had had the better of it, and large numbers of Civil Guards had surrendered. But there was no generally accepted leadership and no fixed plan—indeed, so far as one could judge, no plan at all except a vague determination to resist the Civil Guards. The official leaders of the C.N.T. had joined with those of the U.G.T. in imploring everyone to go back to work; above all, food was running short. In such circumstances nobody was sure enough of the issue to go on fighting.

By the afternoon of May 7 conditions were almost normal. That evening six thousand Assault Guards, sent by sea from Valencia, arrived and took control of the town. The Government issued an order for the surrender of all arms except those held by the regular

## Honor Roll of Victims in Spain

ELSEWHERE in this issue of Workers Age will be found information relative to the trial of the militant, working class fighters—the members of the Executive Committee of the Workers Party of Marxist Unity (POUM). The few on trial now are the leaders, the advance guard of many hundreds now languishing in the prisons throughout Republican Spain, as a result of a terror campaign engineered by the Stalinists and tolerated, if not aided, by the Socialist Party and other political forces allied with them in the People's Front.

These trials are the result of a purge which for thoroughness and blood-thirstiness is exceeded only by the Russian purges. A campaign of repression was unleashed which did not stop at murder and assassination, in the rear and at the front, among the very militia at the front, fighting, bleeding and dying to beat back the fascist advance. Nor were the wives and children of POUM leaders and members spared by the heavy hand of Stalin's G.P.U. in Spain. And all because the POUM opposed the reactionary and suicidal course of Stalinism and insisted that the fascists could be defeated only through the unleashing of the class struggle, only thru revolutionary means, and not thru compromise and surrender to Spanish capitalism by taking away the land from the peasants and control over production from the workers in the cities; only thru extending the revolution and not thru liquidating workers' rights, recalling capitalists who had fled and reestablish-

ing a bourgeois army which the workers do not control and do not trust. The POUM warned that dependence upon the so-called democracies was suicide—that only the international proletariat could bring the much needed aid.

The very course of events which so fully justified the contentions of the POUM made it necessary for Stalinism to destroy its political enemy. The result was the suppression of the POUM, arrests, murders and assassinations.

Our comrades of the POUM have made careful investigations of the extent of the terror campaign and present the following authentic information for the international proletariat.

**MURDERED**—Andres Nin, Gen. Secretary of the POUM. After the fascists shot Joaquin Maurin, Nin became the outstanding theoretician and leader of the POUM. Before his expulsion from the Communist International he was a member of the Executive Committee of the Comintern. Shot while in jail in Lerida. Arenillas, killed while in jail in Gijon. His brother, a physician serving with the militia, was shot by the fascists when they captured Santander. Navarro, killed in a Barcelona jail. Kurt Landau and Erwin Wolf, members of foreign parties in sympathy with the POUM, killed while in jail.

**MURDERED AT THE FRONT:** Trepal; Hervas, first gen. sec'y of the Committee for Modern Education, set up after July 19, 1936; Figueroa, captain of the High Command; Martinez, physician with the rank of captain; Sabadell, com-

mandant; Aranyo, political commissar; Gelada, military secretary of the POUM Youth Section; Galo, administrator of La Batalla, underground organ of the POUM; Font, lieutenant; Meca, of the C.N.T. war commissariat. Murdered for intervening on behalf of Trepal and Hervas.

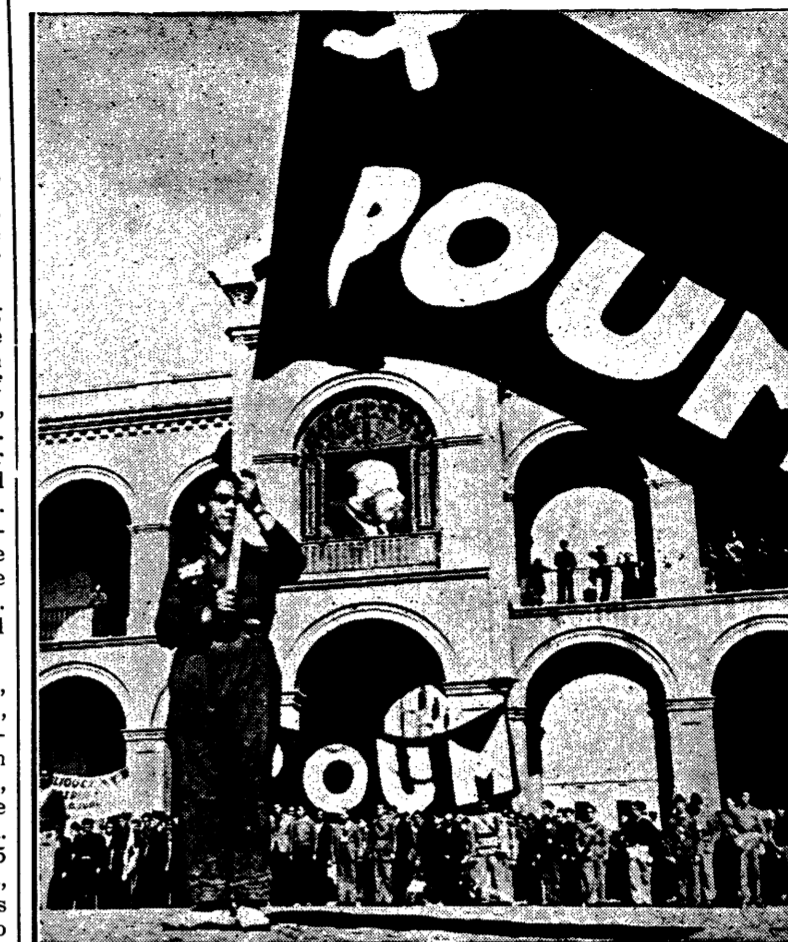
**MURDERED IN CONCENTRATION CAMPS:** Valentin Vila Anet (17 years old); Juan Ruiz Thomas.

**COURT MARTIALED AND SHOT:** Marciano Mena.

**IMPRISONED:** (Prison del Estado) Julian G. Garcia (Gorkin) member POUM Executive. Now on trial; Juan Andrade, member POUM Executive. Now on trial; Pedro Bonet, member POUM Executive. Now on trial; Jorge Arquer, member POUM Executive. A defendant in this trial; Jose Rodes, member POUM Executive; Jose Escudier, editor of La Batalla. Now on trial; Daniel Rebull, member POUM Executive. Now on trial; Juan Farre, member POUM Executive; Jose Oltra Puco, member POUM Executive; Wilebaldo Solano, general secretary POUM Youth Section; Arinyo, member POUM Youth Executive; Antonio Trave, member POUM Youth Executive; Juan Quer, POUM secretary in Gerona; P. Aguilar Boixadera, POUM trade union secretary in Lerida; Miquel Utges, commandant; Jose Pascual, Editor L'Hora; Jose Valles, president Lerida Co-operative Federation; Clua, POUM Youth, M. Aguas, veteran POUM militant.

**IMPRISONED:** (Carcel Modelo, Barcelona)—Enrique Adroher (Gi-

Do They Look Like Fascists?



Taken just before the suppression of the POUM, in front of the Lenin Barracks in Barcelona. Note Lenin's picture in center.

forces, and during the next few days large numbers of arms were seized. The casualties during the fighting were officially given out as four hundred killed and about a thousand wounded. Four hundred killed is possibly an exaggeration, but as there is no way of verifying this we must accept it as accurate.

Secondly, as to the after-effects of the fighting. Obviously it is impossible to say with any certainty (Continued on Page 5)

**IMPRISONED:** (Army Prison of Montjuich, Barcelona) Waldemar Bolze, member German Communist Opposition, ICO; Captain Rafael Sarda, his mother and sister are imprisoned. His wife recently released.

**IMPRISONED:** (Preventorio de Mujeres, Barcelona) Maria Antonia Sarda, sister of Rafael Sarda; Natalia Castlerena, wife of Pedro Bonet who is now on trial; Carmen Llorens, mother of Rafael and Maria Antonia Sarda; Ferrer, a girl 15 years of age, sentenced to 6 years for possession of one copy of La Batalla.

**IN CONCENTRATION CAMPS:** From Barcelona: Claudio Armand, Rafael Font y Ferran, Jose Luis Cid, Benito Mora Ascon, Javier Poc Bonde, Francisco Pina Orce, Francisco Querel Cervello, Jose Tejera, Ramon Alfonso, Francisco Garcia, Pedro Vergue Terau.

Comrades from Aiguafreda: Antonio Basque, Luis Arguemi, Jose Puigbarraca, Vila.

Comrades from Terrasa: Jose Colomer Brull.

Comrades from Madrid: Enrique Rodriguez, Juan Fernandez, Teodoro Sanz.

**IN CONCENTRATION CAMPS:** (Rosa de Llobergnat, near Barcelona) Karl Brauning, member German Communist Opposition, ICO; Paul Maier, Socialist Workers Party of Germany; Richard Durban.

**IN CONCENTRATION CAMPS:** (Valencia) George Kopp, Commandant Lenin Division; George Gernsheimer, Shock Battalion of the Lenin Division.

**DIED IN JAIL** of failure to receive medical attention: In Valencia—Bob Smillie, member Guild of Youth, youth section of the Independent Labor Party of Great Britain; In Barcelona—Manuel Maurin, brother of Joaquin Maurin leader of POUM who was shot by the fascists.

**LATEST VICTIMS:** Arrested in August 1938. Luis Portella, member POUM Executive in Valencia; Pepita Arbol, one of the first women to take the lead in the defense of the revolution in the streets of Valencia during the fascist rising.



WORKERS AGE

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Vol. 7. October 22, 1938 No. 43

F.D.R.'S ARMS PROGRAM

THE United States has been caught in the madly hysterical arms race that now grips Europe. President Roosevelt has just issued a statement preparing the nation for an armament program of staggering proportions. The announcement comes almost simultaneously with the beginning of a well-publicized Nazi spy trial, and after a statement by the President proposing the creation of a counter-espionage agency. The same body, according to reports, is to have its agents in the factories to check on the exact temperature of the patriotism of the workers.

With the announcement for the largest appropriation for military purposes in the history of the nation, came an immediate attempt to sell it especially to the laboring people of the nation. To these the capital pledged, that when the billions start rolling out for armaments, the depression will lift, unemployment will disappear and prosperity will be here once again.

Against this attempt to buy the cooperation of labor in the preparation, as workers, and participation, as soldiers, in the coming war, labor, on the trade union as well as the political field, must speak up immediately in sternest opposition.

In this connection it is important to note that the American Labor Party has unfortunately found nothing to say in its platform on the question of war and armaments. Arguments that it is a state and not a national election, or that the councils of the A.L.P. are divided and it is better not to speak at all, are too trivial for serious consideration. It is indeed a state election, but senators and congressmen are being elected. How will they vote on matters of armaments and war? What directions does their party give them? As for being divided in council, there is not a major party in the country that is completely united on this question, nevertheless there is a majority opinion.

It is not too late for the A.L.P. to rectify this oversight. It must speak up courageously against the armament program which means an end of the extension of social security legislation, and the restriction of relief for the unemployed. It must expose the fallacious character of a booming economy based on production for war purposes. It must warn labor that high wages and prosperity based upon armament production brings as its reward not the contentment of peace but the death and destruction of war.

Labor has too much to lose. It must speak up now!

TOM MOONEY

WITH Supreme Court Justice Black and Reed dissenting, the Supreme Court of the United States turned down Tom Mooney's plea for a review of his case. Thus labor's number one martyr, who has already served 22 years of a life sentence in a California dungeon, is turned down by our democracy's highest tribunal, despite the fact that trial judge, jury and key witnesses have long ago exposed his trial as a frame up and have demanded his release. Our judicial system is determined to permit no inkling of a thought that it might be fallible especially where it concerns a militant unionist like Tom Mooney. In times of great social change the Supreme Court once again demonstrates that it stands unchanged and unchanging in its harsh and merciless dispensation of employing class justice.

For almost a quarter of a century Tom has fought for his freedom thru all the labyrinthian channels of our judicial system only to be turned down once again. His courage thruout this struggle has been magnificent and his faith in labor unshaken. The labor movement which has stood in awe before this man who does not know the meaning of defeat must answer the Supreme Court by rallying to Mooney's cause.

"ONE-THIRD OF THE NATION . . ."



- From Justice

At First Glance

(Continued from Page 1)  
more idle cash and a smaller proportion of their money invested thru employment in loans than ever before. Out of every hundred dollars deposited with and in possession of these banks, \$35.50 are on hand in cash and \$29.20 are invested in United States government securities. The area and opportunities for profitable investment are diminishing. Here is a sure sign of decay gnawing at the very vitals of the profit system in the land of Rooseveltian capitalist planning.

UNITY—PRIME NEED

AMERICAN labor's prime need today is trade-union unity. When we say this we are not speaking abstractions or generalities. We have something very definite and practical in mind. We are proposing unity between the A. F. of L. and the C.I.O. on two bases: (1) industrial unionism in the mass-production industries; and (2) democracy and autonomy as inviolable features of the national unions constituting the unified movement.

Essentially these are the conditions for trade-union unity once advocated by Vice-Chairman Phil Murray of the C.I.O. in the latter's negotiations with the A. F. of L. last winter. These are the terms repeatedly proposed by President Dubinsky of the I.L.G.W.U., today the most vigorous and progressive trade union in the country. It is the approach towards trade-union unity that President Martin of the U.A.W. offered in his debate with Colonel Frey some months ago. Surely these are minimum terms. No one should or should be permitted, to stand in the way of this sound basis for a united trade-union movement. Not even the greatest services that any particular trade-union official may have rendered at one time now entitles him to veto such minimal terms.

And we hasten to add that neither a united trade-union movement, nor separately consolidated A. F. of L. and C.I.O. parent bodies, can, without rendering incalculable damage, pursue a policy of curtailing the broad autonomous powers of the various component unions. Such curtailment can only destroy the initiative and self-reliance of the workers, can only foist a regime of totalitarianism on the members. At the Tampa convention of the A. F. of L., two years ago, then secretary of the C.I.O. Charles P. Howard, sounded a timely warning against new moves made by Green and Company towards strengthening the central authority at the expense of the constituent A. F. of L. international bodies. On the eve of its forthcoming convention, the C.I.O. unions can do nothing better than to keep this in mind: There can be no real democracy or vitality in any labor organization when, constitutionally or otherwise, it "can be controlled or manipulated by one leader or a small group of leaders."

It is precisely such over-centralization which has helped bring disaster to the German and Austrian trade-union movements—thru stifling initiative, self-reliance and a true democratic spirit amongst the mass of members. In these two respects, therefore, the number one and number two problems of American trade unionism have world-wide import. Their solution or mishandling today will contribute decisively to the progress or retrogression of world labor—and will have a profound effect on the United States as a whole not only in the immediate future but in the not-so-near tomorrow when we will be tackling the tasks of building socialism. Our ability to build today a labor movement on a broad democratic basis will, in no small measure, determine our ability to build tomorrow, in the transition towards a socialist society, a workers state free from the errors of our Russian brothers and particularly free from the terrors and crimes of the Stalinist bureaucracy now gravely hampering the progress towards democracy in the U.S.S.R.

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Australian Miners Strike

By JACK RYAN

September 15, 1938.  
LAST Friday at midnight commenced a strike of 22,000 miners throughout the whole of the continent except western Australia, where there are but few miners.

Demands of the miners consist of the following main items: (1) a working week of six five-hour days; (2) pensions of £2 (approximately \$10) per week for all mine-workers when reaching the age of 60; (3) modernizing of all coal mines Regulation Acts to ensure more effective safety measures; (4) two weeks annual holiday on full pay; (5) a special compensation act to cover the coal-mining industry; (6) weekly pay; and (7) a minimum wage.

These claims, together with demands for increased pay, were strongly pressed by the miners last year and backed up with a threat of strike. On the question of wages; the mine-owners granted an increase substantially restoring the rates lost during the lockout of 1929-30. A two-year agreement was arrived at on the basis of the new rates, but the other claims were left unfulfilled.

As the two-year agreement has not expired, the owners say that there has been a breach of faith, and are making, thru their press, a great outcry about the "perfidy" of the miners.

There is no doubt that the circumstances are favorable at present. The Miners Federation, always a good union, is unanimous in its expression of a desire to fight, its finances are in an exceptionally

healthy condition; it has the full support of the trade-union and political organizations thruout Australia; there are no other important industrial disputes to distract attention or support; and stocks of coal are unusually low.

This is the first big strike to be conducted under the new leadership of Orr and Nelson, secretary and president of the Federation. They are practical miners with a thorough knowledge of the industry; they have ability above the ordinary; they have a militant and loyal membership behind them — they have, in fact, a militant leader's dream come true. The fight is on. The miners appear to be unbeatable.

POUM Trial

(Continued from Page 1)

The POUM leaders also branded as a lie the charge that they had ordered the 27th Division (mainly POUM members and supporters holding a sector on the Aragon front) to leave the front and come to Barcelona to assist in the fighting. They insisted that they gave the very opposite orders—they called on all militia men at the front to remain and hold the line against the fascists.

The heroic stand of the POUM leaders has caused widespread sympathy thruout Spain and has made it very difficult for the government to railroad them to their death. That the POUM remained far from isolated, despite the most determined effort of the Stalinites, can be seen from the composition of the Defense Committee set up in Spain to assure them a fair trial. The committee consists of representatives from the F.A.I. (anarchist trade unions), Esquerra (Left Catalans), Basques, and the Caballero Socialists.

Simultaneously with the POUM trial, perhaps with the very intentions of prejudicing opinion against it, the government opened court martial proceedings against Colonel Villaba, who, it will be recalled, surrendered the well-fortified city of Malaga to Franco, without a fight. What the government is not anxious to make known is the fact that the traitor Villaba was a member of the Communist Party.

(See page three for more information on this question. The full story of the Barcelona rising can be had by writing to Workers Age for the pamphlet entitled "The Truth About the Barcelona Events" by Lambda. It includes the program of the POUM and an introduction by Bert Wolfe. The price is 5c. Add a 2c stamp for postage.)

UNITY STIRS A. F. L.; F.D.R. CALLS CONFAB

(Continued from Page 1)  
letter from President Roosevelt to the convention, in which he raised the question of peace in the labor movement, had received the cold shoulder.

That Tobin raised the question very likely at the bidding of Administration leaders is of slight importance. Nor is it decisive that Tobin probably shares President Roosevelt's fears that the division in the labor movement might result in economic disturbances thereby impeding the faint signs of industrial revival. Or that he shares the President's uneasy feeling that a world war, and the necessity on the government's part of mobilizing the laboring masses behind its war plans, might be made much more difficult if the labor movement remains divided.

Important is the fact that Tobin's demand for peace became the rallying point within the labor movement, especially within the A. F. of L., of the widespread sentiment for labor peace which had not been permitted to make itself heard. Stunned by the defection of a member of the Executive Council and by the apparent widespread support from the ranks and even from other powerful A. F. of L. leaders, Green quickly adjourned the session and called the Executive Council into session. The results failed to appease Tobin, for the Council stood pat on its old position, and he continued to wave the club of secession over the heads of the Federation leaders.

Dubinsky Hails Tobin

From the ranks of labor, both A. F. of L. and C.I.O. response was instant. There is growing belief that labor will lose out in terms of conditions if it remains divided. There are growing fears that continued division will result in a reactionary triumph in the form of an attempt to regulate and control the trade union movement.

Jubilant over this turn of affairs was President David Dubinsky of the I.L.G.W.U. who had stood almost alone fighting for peace and had thereby aroused the ire of both Green and Lewis on a number of occasions. "We have cause to be cheered," said Dubinsky, "we are no more the lone advocate of labor peace. Tobin's alignment with the peace forces, even the sidetracked forerunner of wide sentiment for a labor concord that will eventually find its way to the fore."

President Dubinsky belittled the suggestion that Green and Lewis be retained in the interest of peace and insisted that there is room in the leadership of labor for both Lewis and Green.

BLACKWELL STILL IN SPAIN JAIL

Russell Negrette Blackwell, a militant American worker who went to Spain two years ago to help in the struggle for Socialism is now in the hands of Republican Spain's secret police.

His arrest came after the Barcelona events when the Republican government struck hard against all militant workers organizations, especially the P.O.U.M. Blackwell was arrested and charged with being a fascist spy. The fraudulent character of the charge immediately becomes clear when an examination of the record of the case shows that, upon a request for information about Blackwell from the American authorities, the secret police replied that "Blackwell was

frank and timely initiative in urging upon the Federation leadership assembled at Houston 'to leave open every possible door of access to peace.' President Roosevelt has again risen thereby to a distinct public duty, but, it is our judgment that he should go further. The President, we believe, is the only person who could bring the representatives of the warring labor factions together. We respectfully suggest that he call at once into conference the leadership of both C.I.O. and A.F.L. to explore once more, in a mood of sincere receptivity, the possibilities of reconciliation."

The Committee for Industrial Organization convenes in Constitutional Convention on November 14, in Pittsburgh. That the question of unity will come up is certain. It is hoped that the convention will take tangible measures to bring such peace nearer.

PACKINGHOUSE MEN CHOOSE THE C.I.O.

Chicago, Ill.—The United Packing House Workers Union was designated by the National Labor Relations Board as the bargaining agency for the workers in Armour & Co. A vote, in which more than 3,000 workers participated, gave the C.I.O. affiliate 2,840 votes.

The Barcelona Events An Eyewitness Account

(Continued from Page 3)  
what these were. There is no evidence that the outbreak had any direct effect upon the course of the war, though obviously it must have had if it had continued even a few days longer. It was made the excuse for bringing Catalonia under the direct control of Valencia, for hastening the break-up of the militia, and for the suppression of the P.O.U.M., and no doubt it also had its share in bringing down the Caballero Government. But we may take it as certain that these things would have happened in any case.

The real question is whether the C.N.T. workers who came into the street gained or lost by showing fight on this occasion. It is pure guesswork, but my own opinion is that they gained more than they lost. The seizure of the Barcelona Telephone Exchange was simply one incident in a long process. Since the previous year direct power had been gradually maneuvered out of the hands of syndicates, and the general movement was away from working-class control and towards centralized control, leading on to State capitalism or, possibly, towards the reintroduction of private capitalism. The fact that at this point there was

resistance probably slowed the process down. A year after the outbreak of war the Catalan workers had lost much of their power, but their position was still comparatively favorable. It might have been much less so if they had made it clear that they would lie down under no matter what provocation. There are occasions when it pays better to fight and be beaten than not to fight at all.

Thirdly, what purpose, if any, lay behind the outbreak? Was it any kind of coup d'etat or revolutionary attempt? Did it definitely aim at overthrowing the Government? Was it preconcerted at all?

Why The "Rising"? My own opinion is that the fighting was only preconcerted in the sense that everyone expected it. There were no signs of any very definite plan on either side. On the anarchist side the action was almost certainly spontaneous, for it was an affair mainly of the rank and file. The people came into the streets and their political leaders followed reluctantly, or did not follow at all. The only people who even talked in a revolutionary strain were the Friends of Durruti, a small extremist group within the F.A.I., and the P.O.U.M. But once again they were following and not leading. The Friends of Durruti distributed some kind of revolutionary leaflet, but this did not appear until May 5 and cannot be said to have started the fighting, which had started of its own accord two days earlier. The official leaders of the C.N.T. disowned the whole affair from the start. There were a number of reasons for this.

To begin with, the fact that the C.N.T. was still represented in the Government and the Generalitat ensure that its leaders would be more conservative than their followers. Secondly, the main object of the C.N.T. leaders was to form an alliance with the U.G.T., and the fighting was bound to widen the split between C.N.T. and U.G.T., at any rate for the time being. Thirdly—though this was not generally

U.S. People For War Poll

The great majority of voters in this country favor the idea of a referendum before going to war, although Administration's undisguised hostility to the measure has caused some slight falling off of support in the past year, a recent survey conducted by the Gallup American Institute of Public Opinion reveals.

A carefully selected cross-section of the voters in every part of the United States were asked the question: "In order to declare war—except when our country is invaded—should Congress be required to obtain the approval of the people by means of a national vote?"

From men and women in all walks of life, the answer came back: yes, 68%; no, 32%. Women voters were more sharply in favor of the war referendum than men. A breakdown of the vote by sexes shows that men favor the proposal by a vote of 64 to 36, while women favor it by 72 to 28. The issue cuts across party lines, it appears. Democrats are 69% in favor or it, Republican 63% in favor.

The slight decline in favorable vote during the last year is indicated by the following trend: October 1937—yes 73%, no 27%; October 1938—yes 68%, no 32%.

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ANTI-WAR MEETING PLANS FALL DRIVE

By H. KRAMER

On October 8, the Keep America Out of War Committee held an emergency meeting to hear reports of various organizations affiliated with it and to discuss the recent crisis in international diplomacy.

Norman Thomas started the gathering under way with a report on the past war crisis. Very vividly he depicted the collapse of the "collective security" fraud; the isolation of the U.S.S.R., despite its advocacy of this theory; the paralysis of strong sections of the working class through its collaboration with the democratic (imperialistic) forces, rather than dependence on its independent political might. Mr. Thomas asserted that neither Eden nor Churchill can be considered as anti-fascist despite their differences with Chamberlain. They are exponents of British imperialism, trying to achieve the same purpose thru different means. Concluding, he insisted that peace is impossible without true democracy.

Bert Wolfe, the next speaker, illuminated how this "true" democracy defeated the referendum on war, solely by the interference of the highest office holders, although 68 per cent, more than two-thirds of the people, are for it, according to the Gallup Poll. He reported on efforts to revise the present neutrality law (experts drafted a bill which will be placed before Congress) which in its present form depends solely on the President's personal judgment whether or not a state of war exists. The intent of this law becomes clear when the State Department rules that no war exists between China and Japan, and the merchants of death are therefore free to deal with Japan as well as China. On the other hand an embargo is placed on Spain at the outbreak of the civil war, strangling the heroic Spanish people struggling for freedom, but helping immensely the fascist invaders. Having recently returned from Mexico where he witnessed the advance of fascism, Wolfe called for a change in attitude by

known at the time—the Anarchist leaders feared that if things went beyond a certain point and the workers took possession of the town, as they were perhaps in a position to do on May 5, there would be foreign intervention. A British cruiser had closed in upon the harbour, and no doubt there were other warships not far away. The English newspapers gave it out that these ships were proceeding to Barcelona "to protect British interests," but in fact they made no move to do so; that is, they did not land any men or take off any refugees. There can be no certainty about this, but it was at least inherently likely that the British Government, which had not raised a finger to save the Spanish Government from Franco, would intervene quickly enough to save it from its own working class.

In view of this progressive and wide program the K.A.O.W.C. can look forward to a very busy winter and to establishing itself as that movement in the U.S.A. which stands squarely and wholeheartedly on the grounds of peace and freedom.

(For permission to reprint this and following excerpts we are indebted to the publisher of the book—Secaker and Warburg of London.)

Oppose Sending Troops Across

SENTIMENT among Congressional candidates in New York, New Jersey and Connecticut is running strongly against sending American troops to Europe in the event of a war. This became clear from the results of a poll undertaken by the New York Daily News in which 119 candidates voted.

Candidates were asked to answer "Yes," "No," or to qualify their reply to the following statement: "I pledge myself if elected to Congress, never to vote to send troops to Europe to fight in any war." Of the 119 who replied "No" as their choice and 26 made their reply conditional.

Among the "Yes" voters are to be found 31 Socialists, 16 Democrats and 16 Republicans. Communist Party candidates favored sending troops to Europe under certain circumstances.

the State Department regarding oil expropriations.

Lyn Smith formulated then the following summary of future activities and work: (1) New introduction of the Ludlow Amendment. (2) To arouse public protest in the United States against the manhandling of Mexico. (3) To free victim of last war, Tom Mooney. (4) Opposition to conscription of labor in the event of war. (5) Adoption of a more comprehensive housing program. (6) Call for a mass rally on Armistice Day. (7) Formation of anti-war squads to visit candidates for public office and present them with a questionnaire on their stand on war, conscription, etc.

In view of this progressive and wide program the K.A.O.W.C. can look forward to a very busy winter and to establishing itself as that movement in the U.S.A. which stands squarely and wholeheartedly on the grounds of peace and freedom.

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## The I.L.L.A. At Work

By D. Benjamin

THIS column will give information on various important activities that are carried on by branches and other divisions of the organization. All subdivisions of the organization are asked to supply the national organization department with reports of their activities.

\* \* \*

Mass protest meeting against war was held on Friday evening, Oct. 7 at Hotel Center, New York. Comrades Lovestone and Benjamin spoke before a full hall on the European developments.

\$83 was collected to be sent over for underground work in Greater Germany. 27 registrations materialized for the Independent Labor Institute, several subscriptions for the Workers Age, and quite a bit of literature, especially New Hope for World Socialism, Where We Stand, and The People's Front Illusion. 8,000 copies of a propaganda leaflet were distributed in connection with the meeting.

\* \* \*

The New York District organization is branching out. New branches are being established in Brooklyn and Harlem. The Knitgoods and Painter comrades have pledged to make the Brooklyn branch a live and growing one. In Harlem the comrades are considering steps for the reestablishment of the "Negro Voice." Not to be outdone, the Youth section is organizing a new youth branch in the Bronx.

\* \* \*

Independent Labor Institute, New York. The outlook for the school this term is splendid. All friends of the school admit that the curriculum is the best and most attractive yet offered.

\* \* \*

Progressive Labor Institute, Philadelphia. The Philadelphia school plans to surpass its own excellent work during the past two years. A most unusual course being offered is that entitled, New Problems of Marxism, with Comrades Jay Lovestone, Bert Wolfe, Will Herberg, and Lewis Corey discussing such questions as The Problem of Fascism, Between Two World Wars, Dictatorship and Democracy in the Light of the Soviet Experience, World Crisis and World Economic Prospects, and Towards a New American Labor Movement. In addition I. Zimmerman will give a course on Trade Union Problems and Mort Good-

man one on Labor and Modern Society. A very interesting series of forum lectures has also been arranged, with such speakers as Balabanoff, Charles Zimmerman, John Edelman, George F. Miles, and Jim Cork among others. Catalogues can be secured by writing to 810 Locust St., Philadelphia.

\* \* \*

The St. Louis Branch is on the job. Without any delay in the recent emergency and European war situation, it held a public meeting. Organizer Albert Easton spoke. Other branches are asked to emulate the example of our St. Louis comrades. In fact, our Baltimore and Wilkes Barre Branches have already informed us of plans to hold anti-war meetings in their localities.

\* \* \*

Youth Frontier. This is the name of a new magazine being gotten out by our youth section. Among the leading articles are Youth and War, Youth and the Crisis, The Second World Youth Congress, and The Revolutionary Youth Movements in Europe. All branches are asked to cooperate with our youth section and branches in getting this new and attractive magazine into the hands of young workers and students. For copies write to Youth Frontier, Room 707, 131 West 33 St., New York City.

\* \* \*

Comrade Benjamin spoke on Friday evening to the New York circle of the Italian Socialist Party (Maximalist) on the European developments and the recent conferences of the independent revolutionary working class parties held in Paris and Geneva. The Italian comrades were pleased at the growing collaboration among such revolutionary organizations as the British I.L.P., the Spanish POUM, the French P.S.O.P. (Pivert party), the Italian Socialist Party, the underground German movement, and the African Buro. Plans for cooperation between the American-Italian comrades and the I.L.L.A. were worked out.

\* \* \*

Relief Activities. The I.L.L.A. has called upon all its members and branches to support the activities of the International Relief Association for German refugees, and for the new victims in Czechoslovakia. Also to support the campaign to assist the POUM anti-fascist workers in Spain.

## Why Do Hard Times Come?

(Continued from Page 2)

investment. If investment savings are absorbed in the production of new capital goods, it means more economic activity and work. But in 1934-37, the amount of investment capital exceeded the demand: where new corporate capital in the two years, 1928-29, amounted to \$13,350,000,000, in the four years, 1934-37, new corporate capital amounted to only \$2,970,000,000—less than one-quarter as much. Investment savings that are not invested become surplus capital and represent a deduction from consumption and production, which undermines prosperity.

With investment capital increasing more than investment, with profits, interest and dividends increasing more than consumer purchasing power, the shaky edifice of prosperity, incomplete and already undermined by other forces, was brought tumbling to the ground. There should have been more consumer income than investment income—higher wages and lower profits—to strengthen recovery and prosperity.

The facts and the analysis are clear and unanswerable. Why, then,

the alibis of the business men? They want to justify themselves, of course; they want to maintain the myth of their all-knowingness and superiority.

But there is more than that to the alibis. The business men want to control in their own interests, against labor, the character of the new recovery and prosperity. They want to be let alone by government and unions to do as they please. They want to scuttle legislation on behalf of the workers. They want to stop spending on relief work for the unemployed, throwing them on the mercy of an insufficient and monstrous charity. They want to stop raising wages and lowering hours—aye, they want to lower wages and raise hours to make bigger profits regardless of the harm to society in general and the workers in particular.

Labor will not let them get away with it. Labor will not let the reactionary business men destroy unionism, reform, higher wages and progress, which are necessary not only for the workers but for any sound and enduring prosperity beneficial to all the toiling people of our country.

## Cal. To Vote On Anti-Labor Plan

By EARL LANE

Los Angeles, Cal.

LABOR organizations thruout California are busily engaged in a campaign to insure the defeat of Proposition No. 1, one of the most vicious anti-labor measures that the employing class has ever attempted to put on the statute books of a western state. If this measure is passed, the right to picket will be denied in practically all strikes. Other effects of the anti-labor measure are:

There can be no picketing by a union to compel an employer to reinstate a worker discharged for union membership or union activities, or to compel recognition of a union where the employer refuses to bargain collectively with the union as representative of the majority of the workers who have been locked out by an employer.

There can be no picketing where a union is seeking to protect the seniority rights of its members or to obtain preferential hiring or a union shop.

In those few cases where picketing would be permissible, only the workers actually engaged in a primary strike could be on the picket line. No other person could picket, not even the fellow-unionists of the workers on strike.

In picketing, only the right to carry a banner, patrol and wear an arm band would be permitted. The right to speak would be denied. It would be illegal to ask a member of another union not to pass thru a picket line and it would be illegal to ask a patron not to buy in the picketed establishment.

On the subject of boycott, it would be impossible to effectively boycott sweat-shop employers, establishments fostering child labor, employers violating the Wagner Act, or employers engaged in unfair trade practices.

Practically every controversy between a labor organization and an employer would be what the bill calls an "industrial controversy," and only workers engaged in a primary strike would be entitled to boycott the employer.

This would seriously cripple the use of the boycott by trade unions generally, as well as by housewives organizations, consumers organizations, and the general public.

On the subject of union organizational activities, it would be unlawful to picket for the purpose of persuading workers to join a union. It would be unlawful to threaten a strike in order to protect union members from discrimination or the unions from destruction.

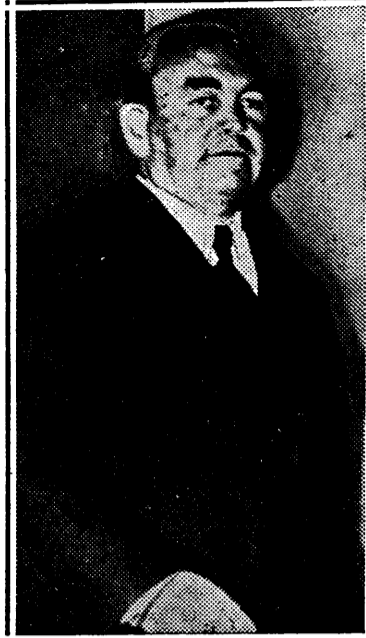
It would even be unlawful to tell potential union members that the employer would not hesitate to reduce wages and lengthen hours if he succeeds in smashing the union.

In Los Angeles, the C.I.O. Industrial Union Council, the Central Labor Council (A. F. of L.) and the Los Angeles Trade Union Conference—which is composed of locals of the I.L.G.W.U., U.A.W.A., U.R.W.A. and the U.S.W.A., who have left the C.I.O. Industrial Union Council because of its domination by the Stalinists—are actively fighting this bill.

The Central Labor Council is cooperating with the I.L.G.W.U. and other unions of the Trade Union Conference, but will not work with the C.I.O. council because of its sad experiences with the Stalinists in the past.

We must squarely face the fact that both sides are to blame for this lack of cooperation in fighting this measure, a fight in which all labor forces should be united, regardless of past differences, as it is equally dangerous to all unions whether A.F. of L. or C.I.O.

Turned Down Again



TOM MOONEY

## Court Rejects Mooney Appeal

Tom Mooney, whose appeal to the U. S. Supreme Court for a review of his case, had been turned down, wired his attorney John F. Finerty advising no further steps be taken. Attorney Finerty had intended to institute habeas corpus proceedings. Instead Tom Mooney turned to Governor Merriam of California with a demand for a hearing on his plea for a full pardon and that this hearing be held before election day.

The following is Mooney's telegram to Attorney Finerty:

"Absolutely opposed to your filing any motions in United States Supreme Court at this time. If you have filed any motions or sought permission to file them, you are now hereby requested to withdraw same immediately. By this monstrously unjust decision the United States Supreme Court has branded itself as a bulwark of the predatory corporate, anti-labor interests of America. It has reaffirmed its position with the class courts of California. This outrageously unjust decision proves conclusively that the President of these United States, Franklin Roosevelt, was correct in his efforts to reorganize that august tribunal of reaction, and this is borne out by the fact that the two dissenting justices are recent appointees of the President to the Court."

The telegram to Governor Merriam follows:

"For 4 years and 2 months you have deliberately evaded the issues in this case and have failed to do your duty as a duly elected and constituted public official. Through my counsel and defense organization we have pleaded with you from time to time to make a decision on my pardon petition and application. You have resorted to the time worn political subterfuge of declining to act on the grounds that the case is still pending in the courts. You are hereby duly notified by me that all court actions in my behalf are now concluded and no other court actions are contemplated, and I now not only insist but demand that this outrageous procrastination be ended and that you do your sworn duty and grant me an immediate public hearing and render a decision on my application for pardon before the November 8th election, so that the people of California will have the opportunity of being able to express themselves on that day as to their faith or lack of faith in the merits of the services you have rendered to them as their servant, the Governor of California, on one of the outstanding issues before you for adjudication during your entire term of office."

## Labor Backs Men Against RR Cuts

Close to a million railroad workers are facing a 15% pay cut, on October 1, if the Wall Street dominated managements have their way. The railroad unions are resisting any wage-cut and the labor movement has pledged its support to their resistance.

According to the Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen, which has just published a leaflet under the title, "This Means You," such a slash would mean a severe cut in the income of every group in the nation supplying railroad workers with their needs.

"When you cut the wages of the railroad workers, you cut the income of every storekeeper, every groceryman, every butcher, doctor, dentist, of every farmer and business man in the nation," the Brotherhood leaflet says, in listing eleven reasons why the people of America should oppose the cut, in their own interest.

The threatened cut would mean a speeding up of the attempts to slash wages that have marked the past year of industrial depression, the leaflet declares. This would seriously injure whatever progress is now being made toward recovery.

Railroad workers are already very much underpaid, the Brotherhood leaflet points out, citing average earnings of a full-time freight brakeman at \$100 per month as one example. With the cut, this would be reduced to \$85.

Over 159,000 railroad workers already get \$73 or less a month; 216,000 are supposed to live on \$80 or less; 236,000 on \$90 or less a month. Close to 300,000 are only a little better off with earnings of \$100 a month.

None of these groups earn enough to measure up to government figures of what it takes to live decently and bring up a family in modest comfort.

Railroad workers have not shared in the inflated profits of the past, the leaflet points out, and should not be expected now to "share in the pretended losses of the railroads due to banker control, to mismanagement, to dishonesty and to propaganda."

Bad faith, mismanagement, and a campaign of lying propaganda are laid at the door of the railroad companies by the Brotherhood, which urges the people not to be deceived by management's efforts to justify policies of paying unreasonable profits on watered stock, always at the expense of the workers.

Labor support for the railroad workers has been evident from the time the slash was first proposed. Last April, the C.I.O. conference in Washington went on record pledging the help of the entire C.I.O. in this fight, and many affiliated unions have also taken similar action.

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