

NEXT WEEK:  
"FARMERS WITHOUT  
LAND" by Lyman Fraser

# Workers Age

Weekly Paper of the Independent Labor League of America

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## AT FIRST GLANCE

by Jay Lovestone

### McNUTT'S MILITARY JUNKET

EVEN the most alert of our metropolitan dailies have, for one reason or another best known to themselves, given very little notice to the return to Manila of High Commissioner Paul V. McNutt from a tour of Indo-China, Siam and Singapore. We consider such a visit by an American politico-military official of high standing to bear sinister significance in these turbulent days. This junket is on a par with the plan to fortify Guam. Nor must we ever forget that the United States can join the European holocaust by sailing and marching westward as well as eastward.

That the Roosevelt-Wall Street "defense" program has long-range targets as well as long-range perspectives is easily confirmed by an analysis of the coming spending orgy for so-called "national-defense" purposes. Thus, we are frankly told by the Army and Navy Journal in its issue of January 28, 1939: "It can be said that the air bomber, with its long-range possibilities and its great destructive powers, is receiving the greatest stress and probably will be given the most funds." We have a hunch that such super-patriotic organs as the Daily Worker will explain this item by telling us that we need such huge bombers to be able to fly from, let us say, Washington to San Francisco and then back to New York in order to defend the metropolis. Perhaps we will be told that this is another Corrigan proposition. But there would be no point in trying to guess the apologies Stalin and Company's American branch will concoct in order to help chain American labor to the chariot of war.

### COLLAPSE OF NAZI GERMANY

THE Nazi organ of economic theory, Volkswirt, dropped an exceedingly significant historical remark when it recently said: "Even if we stopped casting cannon, we would not have enough butter. . . . Special laws apply to those whose life is in danger. . . . The entire German people will test the energy of their will to live in the field of exports. . . . It goes on to emphasize that the "only remaining possibility is an increase in exports of 25% to 30%, thus subjecting the world market to that sharp competition which was one of the most important causes of the World War."

What a filthy cat has been let out of the bag in this case! Let those who are again raving about "making the world safe for democracy" thru another world war, let those who are again ranting about the "conflict of ideals" at the root of the differences between the "democratic" (satiated) imperialist powers and the fascist (still unsatiated) imperialist powers take their thinking caps out of hock and put them on. We hope many of them will soon learn that the capitalist world is a business world and that wars waged by its powers are business (imperialist) wars. But more than even this truth is revealed in the above confession by the Volkswirt. Here is an admission that, despite all the terrorization, strait-jacketing, oppression and degradation of labor, and the ruthless violation of the sacred laws of "orthodox" and "liberal" capitalist economics, fascism can neither save nor invigorate capitalism as a socio-economic system. Clearly, what appear to be cures for the moment or shots in the arm at first, soon turn out to be fatal curses or shots in the head and heart. More than 47% of Germany's national income is now devoured by the Nazi state. Well over half of this goes into outright air, land and sea armament boosting.

Last year may have been a year of triumphs abroad for the Hitler war-machine, but it was a year of steep depreciation for the Nazified economic machine. Triumphant fascist Germany is sinking ever more deeply into inflationary finance. No elasticity of method—inflation, taxation, degradation—can for long blot out of the picture certain persistent fundamentals. Nazi Germany's further expansion of "capital" goods (armaments) with which to extort more markets and more profits for the Reich's biggest business interests can mean only further contraction of the consumption goods available for the great mass of the population. Hopefully, Germany is being clamped in the war-hunger vice. This is synonymous with the total bankruptcy of the capitalist order in Germany. All the tampering with this organism by the cruel and clumsy Nazi witch-doctors seeking its revival, only painfully dramatizes the need of working-class undertakers (the proletarian revolution) forever disposing of the disease-breeding corpse in central Europe.

### "SOCIALIST" IMPERIALISM

WITH unanimity and without discussion, the French Chamber of Deputies adopted the following resolution on February 3: "The Chamber of Deputies solemnly declares that all parts of the Empire are placed under the protection of the nation to the same extent as Continental France, that the sovereignty of France is indivisible and that it cannot be either transmitted, delegated, or shared."

Many scores of these deputies hold red membership cards in the socialist and communist parties of France, in these parties pledged to socialism and freedom.

We suppose that the "foreign experts" of the Stalin agency in the United States will soon tell us that this shameful betrayal of the millions of colonial masses held down by French military might, is a sort of streamlined execution of Lenin's teaching and that this vote is in line with the program of the Communist International which declares:

"The communist parties in the imperialist countries must render systematic aid to the colonial revolutionary liberation movement and to the movement of oppressed nationalities generally. The duty of rendering active support to these movements rests primarily upon the workers in the countries upon which the oppressed nations are economically, financially, or politically dependent. The communist parties must openly recognize the right of the colonies to separation and their right to carry on propaganda for separation, i.e., propaganda in favor of the independence of the colonies from the imperialist state. They must recognize their right of armed defense against imperialism, i.e., the right of rebellion and revolutionary war. They must advocate and give active support to this defense by all means in their power. The communist parties must adopt this line of policy in regard to all oppressed nations."

Obviously, the last links that once bound French social-democracy and Stalinism to socialism have long ago been snapped.

## No Prospects of Full Employment Ahead

A. F. of L. Sees Danger of New Crisis

THERE is no prospect of a return to 1929 levels of production and employment in 1939, the American Federation of Labor declared in its recent monthly survey of business based upon various economic and statistical sources of information.

To the degree that the outlook for this year is encouraging, this is due mainly to the resistance of organized workers to wage cuts which would have reduced general purchasing power.

The survey estimates the number of the unemployed in December at 10,380,000, about 3,000,000 more than in September 1937, when unemployment reached its recovery low point, while labor-displacing machinery has eliminated about 2,000,000 workers in the last nine years.

Following its declaration that there is little hope for returning to the production and employment levels of 1929 this year, the survey presents the following analysis and forecast based upon current economic trends:

"Unless the American nation can devise some means of national planning, labor will be permitted full employment to create full production only for short periods of prosperity; the years between will be times of widespread unemployment and low production, with miserable living standards and actual hunger for millions.

"A very real danger lies ahead for 1940. The federal government, with its spending for recovery, has not succeeded in getting private industry to put men to work and produce goods to capacity. By 1940, the present wave of government spending will have largely exhausted its stimulating effect on business and, unless plans are devised to set private industry to work producing goods and raising living standards, we shall either face another depression or a greater armament program to put men to work. Excessive armaments lower living standards and increase danger of war."

## A.F.L. Council For Aid to Refugees

Also Vote Support Of Walsh Amendments To Wagner Act

Miami, Fla. The Executive Council of the A. F. of L., continuing its sessions last week, approved proposed federal legislation designed to permit the entry of 10,000 German refugee children into the United States under the supervision of the Quakers Relief Organization. The plan was also strongly endorsed by John L. Lewis, president of the C.I.O.

Latin-American relations arose as an important issue after a report by Matthew Woll, recently returned from a trip to Mexico. The Council had before it a proposal to send a commission to the Latin-American countries to lay the groundwork for a Pan-American labor conference to combat fascism and Nazism, according to William Green, A. F. of L. president. The Council will also be asked to revive the Pan-American Federation of Labor, which has not held any meetings for about six years. The revival of this organization would help the A. F. of L. offset John L. Lewis's connections with the Latin-American labor movement established at the conference in Mexico City last summer.

The Council voted approval of the Walsh amendments to the Wagner Act also it was said that not all Council members were unanimous. Particularly, a number of Council members were understood to be opposed to granting employers the right to ask for Labor Board elections, as the Walsh bill provides.

The situation in the American Federation of Teachers is also up for discussion. It was expected that the Executive Council would call upon the A. F. of L. to "clean house" by breaking the Stalinist domination over the New York locals of the (Continued on Page 2)

## Negrin Says Fight Will Go On

England, France Give Open Aid To Franco; Terror In Catalonia

Confusion and dissension reigned in Spanish Loyalist councils last week as the fascist forces of General Franco swept thru Catalonia virtually unopposed. There was considerable uncertainty as to what the next move of the Loyalist leaders would be.

Premier Juan Negrin and most of his cabinet were in hiding somewhere across the French border. Negotiations for an armistice were initiated with the Insurgents but with no definite conclusion. Latest reports were that Negrin and his staff would return to Valencia by air.

In Madrid, General Miaja, dictator of the central zone remaining in Loyalist hands, declared that he was going to continue the struggle to the very end. He was also reported, however, to be in touch with Franco negotiating peace on his own responsibility.

Great Britain and France were making final preparations for the recognition of the Franco regime as the government of Spain. Arrangements for a huge Anglo-French loan to Franco in order to offset Italo-German influence, were being completed. Britain intervened to obtain the surrender of the island of Minorca, held by the Loyalists, to General Franco by sending a cruiser carrying an insurgent emissary that should stronghold. It was said that the British Foreign Office was maneuvering for the restoration of the monarchy as a cover for a military dictatorship under Anglo-French influence.

Meanwhile the fascist forces of General Franco were spreading devastation and terror thruout Catalonia. The stream of refugees to France increased daily to vast proportions.

## Byrnes Report Perils W.P.A. Set-Up

Recognizes Unemployment Permanent

Washington, D. C. TOO little attention has been paid by the labor press to the report, made public about a month ago, of the Senate Committee to Investigate Unemployment and Relief, headed by Senator James F. Byrnes of South Carolina. This report proposes the wholesale revision of the federal unemployment and relief system, a revision that is bound to have serious consequences for the great masses of the workers, unemployed and employed alike.

### MAIN FEATURES OF REPORT

The main features of the Byrnes report are the following:

1. Unemployment and relief are a permanent problem and must be dealt with on a permanent basis.  
2. Unemployment and relief are primarily a federal problem and a federal responsibility. The states are to help but the job is essentially federal in scope.  
3. A new federal Department of Public Works would be established, into which would go W.P.A., P.W.A., C.C.C. and N.Y.A. This new department would work in conjunction with the Social Security Board to cope with unemployment.

4. Unemployment insurance would be the "first line of defense" in periods of depression. Unemployment-insurance systems paying benefits already exist in all but three states (Illinois, Georgia, Montana). These would be coordinated by federal law and bolstered by federal payments to match state benefits paid. The proposed scale of benefits is \$5 (minimum) to \$15 (maximum) per week for 13 weeks of unemployment to workers certified as having held jobs for 26 weeks within a year, having lost their jobs thru no fault of their own. The U. S. employment service, reorganized and refocused, would be charged with finding jobs for these workers.

5. Social-security aid to the aged and the blind would be raised to make \$15 the monthly minimum (instead of the maximum, as now), with \$20 (instead of \$18) for dependent children.

6. A permanent public-works (not work-relief) program would be set up, with one-third of the cost borne by states whose per-capita income is up to the national average, less by states of lower per-capita. Project

allotments would be made on a basis of population and federal unemployment-census figures.

7. Administrative employees of the Public Works Department would be put under civil-service rules.

### CONSTRUCTIVE AND DANGEROUS SIDES

It is obvious that there are many constructive aspects to this plan. The recognition that unemployment and relief constitute a permanent problem under the present economic setup, and a federal problem, too, is very welcome, particularly in view of the talk in reactionary "economy" (Continued on Page 2)

### "National Defense" -In China!

THE two-billion-dollar rearmament program—and more to come—is necessary, we are told, for "continental defense," to defend the western hemisphere against "fascist aggression." In this light, the following paragraph from the January 23 issue of Time, a magazine which writes with special authority on these matters, is particularly significant:

"The General Staff of the Army believe that only Britain could invade North or South America, that Germany with all her air fleet could do so because of her minuscule navy and shortage of transports, that Japan might seize the Philippines but hardly cross the Atlantic."

Not for "national defense," not even for "continental defense," are we asked to waste billions in an armaments race—but to prepare for an overseas war, probably with Japan for the right to exploit the teeming masses and vast resources of China!

## Relief Cut Again Faces Congress

F.D.R. Demands 'Emergency' Grant; Million Threatened With Layoff

Washington, D. C. A special message asking for the appropriation of an additional \$150,000,000 for work relief during the next five months, was sent by President Roosevelt to Congress last week. In this message, the President declared that he had signed the reduced W.P.A. deficiency appropriation measure only because it included the provision that no more than 5% of those now on relief could be dropped from the rolls until April. The sum provided for in that bill, he maintained, was, however, entirely inadequate and unless immediately supplemented would result in widespread distress.

When Congress passed the \$725,000,000 relief appropriation not long ago over President Roosevelt's request for \$875,000,000, it included a

provision in the bill that, in case of emergency, the President could ask for an additional appropriation. It was this provision that Mr. Roosevelt took advantage of in sending his special message to Congress last week.

In Congress, the President's demand for additional relief funds met with hostility and resentment on the part of the reactionary "economy" block, which expressed itself as determined not merely to sustain the cut in the deficiency appropriation but to make even more drastic reductions in the 1940 budget. It was pointed out that the President himself had cut relief and recovery expenditures by almost a billion dollars in his proposals for the 1940 budget now before Congress.

Chicago, Ill. The W.P.A. is considering two plans to cut its rolls in accord with the reduced appropriation voted by Congress, Colonel Francis P. Harrington, W.P.A. Administrator, said last week at Chicago.

There are now about 3,000,000 W.P.A. workers, he observed. Congress has voted \$725,000,000 to carry the W.P.A. program to July 1, with a provision that no reduction can be made in the rolls during the Winter months.

"One alternative we have is to make a reduction of 1,000,000 men on April 1," Colonel Harrington stated at a press conference called after he met with his forty-eight state administrators.

"The other alternative is a more gradual reduction after April 1, but involving about 1,750,000 men. We have not yet decided the method to be followed."

Asked by a reporter what he thought would be the consequences of the lay-off, Colonel Harrington said: "I think the lay-off will bring a widespread protest. I think there will be a great deal of want, too."

The new W.P.A. chief, who succeeded Harry L. Hopkins December 24, announced that a program would start immediately to reduce W.P.A. rolls, by "weeding out those not directly in need of relief." This program will be carried out on a local basis, he explained, and should be completed by the end of March.

Colonel Harrington said that, in spite of the reduced appropriation and the necessity of slicing his rolls at least one-third, he intended to maintain the present W.P.A. wage scale, which averages \$52.50 a month. (Read the editorial on page 4.—Editor)

turned down by R. J. Thomas, leader of the C.I.O. faction, and by Mr. Addes of the same faction.

### ATTEMPTS TO WIDEN SPLIT

At the same time, the attempt is being made to deepen the rift as fast as possible. Wynham Mortimer of the C.I.O. faction declared in a statement to the press that every local sending delegates to the Detroit convention would thereby automatically expel itself from the dual union he leads. Other spokesmen of the same faction claimed, however, that Mr. Mortimer was speaking only for himself.

A great deal is being made here of the support of the C.I.O. to the Mortimer faction. All speakers constantly emphasize the financial and organizational aid of the "four million members of the C.I.O." the presence of C.I.O. men thruout the auto area to assist in "informing" the membership of the real issues, and that the issue at root is one of whether the automobile workers were to be inside or outside the C.I.O. Strangely enough, the famous "Martin-Ford" conspiracy has taken (Continued on Page 4)

### LET'S SEE WHAT'S IN IT!



—From The Philadelphia Inquirer.

## CIO Faction Rejects UAW Referendum Proposal

Locals Sweepingly for Martin, Against Splitters

### LATEST DEVELOPMENTS

Thirty-two Ohio locals have pledged their support to Homer Martin, and have also decided to send their delegates to the March 4 convention in Detroit. The action was taken at a conference of executive board members of the 32 locals at Canton, Ohio, recently.

Support for Martin was also voted by Harley Davidson Local 209, Milwaukee, Wisconsin. Members voted 320 to 62 to send delegates to the Detroit convention.

A meeting of Local 131, Norwood, Ohio, after addresses by representatives on both sides of the controversy, decided by almost unanimous vote to back Martin and attend the Detroit convention.

A membership meeting of U.A.W. Ford Local 600, Detroit, voted unanimously to support Martin and endorsed his negotiations with the Ford Motor Company.

The executive board of Local 239, Baltimore, Md., voted 13 to 1 to support Martin. A meeting of the local, held a few days later and attended

by over 500 members, voted almost unanimously, with no more than 10 against, to support President Martin. The meeting was addressed by Fred Pieper, suspended Board member, for the anti-Martin faction and by Irving Brown on behalf of the official leadership of the union.

Fisher Body Local 95 and Chevrolet Local 121, of Janesville, Wis., voted in membership meetings to support Martin and send delegates to the Detroit convention.

Local 395, LaCrosse, Wis., has gone on record to support Martin and send delegates to the Detroit convention, according to M. W. Gibson, president.

Unanimous endorsement of Homer Martin and his policies was voted by 300 W.P.A. stewards in Cleveland who met in regular session despite efforts to prevent their meeting made by the opposition-controlled C.I.O. industrial union council.

The meeting also cast a vote of confidence in Martin's Ford negotiations, endorsed his action in the Plymouth situation and urged him to clean up any other local in a similar condition, according to Ro-

bert Bates, director of the union's W.P.A. department in Ohio.

Frank P. Tucci, U.A.W. eastern regional director, reported last week that the executive boards of 21 local unions in his district have now gone on record in support of Martin. He said that membership meetings of many of the locals had voted to support the Martin program and that other such meetings were being called for the near future.

At Tarrytown, N. Y., a meeting of Local 118 voted by about 400 to less than 30 who walked out of the hall, to back President Martin in his struggle to preserve the unity and autonomy of the U.A.W. Irving Brown spoke as International representative.

(Special to the Workers Age)

Detroit, Mich.

CONVINCED that the majority of the membership of the United Automobile Workers of America backs his fight, Pres. Homer Martin declared here at a press conference that he was quite willing to place his entire case before the membership in the form of a referendum vote. Martin stated that the vote could come on the decisions and elections of officers of both the official union convention to be held in Detroit on March 4 as well as the rump convention to meet in Cleveland on March 27. The referendum could be conducted, he said, by a mutually acceptable impartial committee consisting of three or five from each side.

This attempt to bring peace into the warring ranks of the union was

Wednesday  
FEBRUARY  
15th  
8 P. M.

JAY LOVESTONE  
speaks on  
'C.I.O. and A. F. of L.'

Manhattan  
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Gold Room (6 fl.)  
34 St. & 8 Ave.

## James Rorty

Author:  
"HIS MASTER'S VOICE"

speaks  
FRIDAY, FEBRUARY 17  
8:15 P. M.

on  
"Thought Control  
On the Air"

Admission 25c  
THE INDEPENDENT  
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# Tiff Miners—Our "Forgotten Men"

## Thousands Doomed in Missouri

By JOHN POST

St. Louis, Mo. THO billions of dollars have been spent on relief by city, state and federal governments, the pitiful conditions of some 2,600 "tiff" miners and their families in the very heart of America go on unrelieved. At a trifling cost, the government could rehabilitate these stranded and destitute descendants of the French pioneers who settled the western shores of the Mississippi more than 150 years ago. But they have been forgotten—"forgotten men," if there ever were any.

Washington County, in the hills of south-eastern Missouri, not 65 miles from St. Louis, produces 67% of the snow-white mineral rock, Barite, more commonly known as "tiff" that is used in this country in the manufacture of rubber tires, linoleum, oil-cloth, cosmetics, paint base, X-ray plates, oil-well drilling slush and other products.

Tiff "diggings" often reach the depth of thirty to forty feet. The conditions under which the miner is compelled to work and find a market for his tiff has been the contributing factor to the destitution and hardship he has been called upon to face.

The National Pigment Company, together with a number of independent tiff buyers, conceived the plan under which the miner must operate his mine and sell his mineral. The method adopted by the company and the buyers absolve them of all responsibility to the miner; yet by this method the miner is helped to help himself. The system now practised is comparable to that of the share-cropper, cranberry picker and commercial farmer, with economic and social results that put to shame any of the other named industries.

Two plans are in operation by which the miner is permitted to mine, and, while both are basically alike, they offer a difference in compensation received for the mined product.

### DREADFUL LIVING CONDITIONS

The systems are alike insofar as housing is concerned. The tiff landowner grants permission to the miner to mine on his ground. With this permit comes the use of shelter or living quarters for the miner and his family.

The most deplorable housing to be found anywhere is furnished these people: shacks of rough-cut boards, many without floors; log cabins without window panes; old salvaged lumber thrown together in an effort to keep out the elements. These huts are never over two rooms and house families with as many as ten children, sleep in one room.

It is impossible to describe the filth and disease-infested hovels in which these people are required to live. The water supply usually comes from a single well, where all must go for water for cooking and bathing purposes. Surveys made in this area prove that the housing is not fit for raising hardy livestock, much less families of human beings.

Sickness of all descriptions prevails; chronic illness due to years of neglect affects the miner. Medical care does not come within the reach of the budget. Childbirth is attended only by midwives who receive little or nothing for their services.

### CHILD LABOR RAMPANT

Tiff miners children are the only children exempt from the Missouri Child Labor Act, and consequently they begin to work with their parents in the "diggings" when they are six or seven years old. Boys and girls fifteen and older who have never been to school, who do not even know their age, are not uncommon. The parents in most cases realize that their children's fate will be a repetition of their own unless they get schooling, but those who control the mines know the value of an illiterate working force. Again and again in this part of Missouri employers have been known to say: "Give 'em an education and they'll want something better." Five years ago, the school superintendent in Potosi, the county seat, started to enforce the school attendance law, but was warned that if he tried too hard they would find a new officer. So truancy goes unchecked.

The superintendent estimated that the school attendance fell off at least 50% from the Fall registration during 1937, and state reports showed only about one-third of the children of school age actually attending. Some children are too far to walk. Some are too hungry. Some have no clothes. But most have to help with the digging.

The only difference in the plan of operation is that the miner working on the land of the independent owners must pay the landowner a royalty of from 75 cents to \$1 per ton for the privilege. Those mining on the property of the National Pigment Company are exempt from royalty charges.

To the miner working on the land of independent owners comes also the burden of hauling charges, for the hauling of tiff to the processing mill. These charges are based on the distance required to reach the mill and range from \$1.25 to \$1.75 per ton. The prevailing price of tiff at the mill is \$7 per ton, gross; from this is deducted the royalty and

hauling charges, leaving the miner with a net of from \$4.50 to \$5 per ton for his efforts.

Even under these conditions the miner could somehow provide for himself if he were permitted to sell all the tiff he could mine. His problem now is more acute than ever because quotas have been instituted under which a miner only averages 500 pounds per week, which cuts his income to a \$2.25 to \$2.50 average, with which to supply food and clothing for families of as many as ten.

There were strikes in the tiff mines in 1935 and 1936 that were successful in raising the price of tiff to the mills \$1.50 per ton reaching its present price of \$7 per ton. After the strike victory, the National Pigment Company introduced mechanized mining into the area as a competitor to the individual hand-miner.

### RELIEF FAILS

The county with its 14,500 inhabitants is unable to meet its relief problem. It has 800 men on the W. P. A. rolls and 900 unemployables are eligible for relief. Years of hardship have left their mark, and the unemployment ratio is high. Malnutrition and lack of medical care have produced blindness and many forms of permanent illnesses, for which the county must now provide.

Relief is sorely inadequate because of the extreme poverty of the county and inadequate taxation on the interests that control the fate of the people. Washington County cannot meet its quota of funds to the state of Missouri for relief purposes; hence Washington County does not receive its allotment from the state to carry on its relief program.

For the 900 unemployables, many of them bed-ridden, only \$2,500 is available. On a pro-rata basis this means less than \$3 per month on which they must live and provide medical aid and attention. This, in itself, is hopeless insofar as relief is concerned.

Federal subsidies add some material assistance, but these are available but once a month and offer a very meager and limited diet. Meats and grease are unknown in the tiff area and are not included in the federal subsidies.

### IMMEDIATE ACTION NECESSARY

The situation confronting these people of Washington County is probably the most leprous of the sickly white sores that cover the diseased body of our present social order. In Missouri, it is the tiff miner; in Arkansas, it is the share-cropper; in California, it is the lettuce-picker; in every state, there is some shocking condition that calls for immediate action. A nation-wide effort is necessary in order to get the government to do something about these distressing problems of which the tiff miners present one of the most horrible examples.

Ordinary trade-union action cannot adequately relieve the misery of this isolated and almost forgotten tribe of tiff miners. Not even the wages-and-hours law can do anything, since the miners are employed on a share-crop basis. Several C.I.O. organizers from St. Louis have conferred with these miners in an effort to work out a plan of action on their behalf. Mass meetings were held in this region with the C.I.O. organizers as speakers for the same purpose. The general conclusion is that only resettlement and rehabilitation with the assistance of the federal government could free the tiff miners from the slow and terrible extinction which seems to be their lot if they are left to the mercy of the National Pigment Company and their agents in public office in Washington County.

This sore problem cannot be treated by the Missouri labor movement alone. It must get the cooperation of the national labor bodies.

### "State of American Civilization"

Feb. 17.—James Rorty ("His Masters Voice"): Thought Control on the Air.

Feb. 24.—Benjamin Stolberg ("Story of the C.I.O."): Figures and Figures of the Labor Movement.

March 3.—Nathaniel M. Minkoff (Leader of the American Labor Party delegation in the 1938 Assembly): American Labor and Politics.

March 10.—Lewis Corey ("Decline of American Capitalism"): American Economy Today.

March 17.—Ludwig Lore (Columnist, New York Post): American Foreign Policy.

March 24.—Horace Coon ("Money To Burn"): Influence of Foundations on American Cultural Life.

March 31.—Will Herberg (Editor Workers Age): Trends in American Governmental Structure.

April 7.—Bertram D. Wolfe ("Portrait of America"): Whither America? Fridays at 8:15. Admission 25c

**INDEPENDENT LABOR INSTITUTE**  
131 W. 33rd Street

## AT CO-OP LEAGUE CONFERENCE



President Henry Ohl Jr. (left) of the Wisconsin State Federation of Labor (A. F. of L.) and President Jacob Baker of the United Federal Workers (C.I.O.), who will preside at a three-day Cooperative League conference in Racine, Wis., starting February 24. Labor unions are sending delegations to confer on the possibilities of organizing as consumers.

# Members Revolt in Hotel Union

## No Job Security in Recent Agreement

By JOHN COOK

(Concluded from last issue)

THE Stalinist union leadership called a mass meeting to ratify the agreement. The meeting was packed—you did not have to be a hotel worker to attend the meeting. Even with all the packing of the meeting, hundreds of workers booted the settlement vociferously. It should be remembered that Local 6 is no union at all in the sense of the rank and file electing and controlling its officers; all the officials are appointed, no elections have yet been held, and the local, as a new local, is under the supervision and direction of the International. Notwithstanding all this, a big opposition is growing within the ranks of this local and we will hear from them very soon.

### ON TWO FRONTS

The hotel employers are working on two fronts. By the time they get thru discrediting the union at the end of the agreement or even before, they hope the workers will be so disgusted with the union that it will be impossible to line them up for any unionism at all.

The Hotel League recently circulated the following letter among its employees:

"To all employees: An agreement has been under consideration between the union and the Hotel Association of New York City. This agreement provides for: (1) the closed shop; and (2) the check-off. The closed shop means that I must deduct union dues from your wages regardless of your wishes. I feel that these provisions for the closed shop and the check-off are unfair to you. For that reason more than any other, I have not accepted the agreement. I feel that the question of your joining the union and paying union dues is a matter for you to decide. I feel I have no right to tell you what you should do with respect to such matters. On the other hand, I wish to assure you that I will endeavor to observe wages and hours as favorable to you as those prevailing in hotels of like character.

"This leaves you in a position where you are assured fair treatment, and are at the same time left free to decide for yourself the question of unions.

Chas. E. Rochester, Manager"

This letter is skillfully drawn. It tells the workers: You don't have to pay dues to any union to get what you already have. It utilizes for its own purpose the hostility to the check-off system and tells the worker no employer has the right to deduct dues from his wages. All this propaganda is part of the two-front attack of the hotel men to discredit the union.

### STRATEGY OF EMPLOYERS

The hotels that have no agreement with the union are expected to raise the wage scale far above the union scale of wages, as the Waldorf Astoria has already done, because the union scale is ridiculously low. But the union cannot ask for an increase in wages before 1940. They will be very careful in discharging workers, while the union hotels, who have an efficient spy system, will start discharging all the active union men, because, due to the agreement signed with the union, it has nothing to contest or review in the matter of discharge.

All in all, the Hotel Association, with the aid of the Stalinists, have so far succeeded in preventing any effective trade union from organizing the workers in the hotel industry.

It left the coast clear for the hotel owners to reap all the profit from the New York World's Fair without letting the workers get anything in return for their arduous labor.

On the other hand, the Stalinist careerists will swarm into the new union to get their pound of flesh, the job, they have been looking for

from the very beginning. We have in the hotel-and-restaurant workers union Jay Rubin, an upholstery worker. We have W. Albertson from the grocery clerks; Harry Reich, origin unknown; Harry Yaris, cab driver. Hundreds of girls, all C. P. members, were hired thru the bookkeepers union. Now hundreds of Stalinist careerists will make their rush to the pork barrel.

Another move will be to use the new local to elect delegates to the next convention of the International in order to consolidate Stalinist control.

These are the thoughts the Stalinists are out for, much more than the betterment of the conditions of the workers in the industry.

But we are warning that the hotel workers have more sense and militancy than the Stalinists give them credit for. We are warning them of the impending revolt in the ranks of the food workers which will take the dimensions of a hurricane.

# Harlem Tenants Win In Rent Strike

## Need Shown for Action Against Landlords

By J. C. F.

NEW YORK CITY THE increase in city realty taxes has started a general increase in rents in Harlem. To offset the increase in taxes, Harlem landlords are not only increasing rent but also cutting the wages of building-service employees. This offensive of the landlords has aroused Harlem tenants. Tenants of 2421-2423 Eighth Avenue are organized almost 100% and have picketed the Kay Fire Retarding and Construction Corp. for more than two weeks to have rents reduced, apartments renovated and building service improved. Mass picket lines have been organized by the Building Service Employees International Union to force the Harvard Realty Corp. to increase the wages and improve the working conditions of its building-service employees.

In this fight to check the wave of high rents in Harlem, the tenants of 301 West 150th Street recently won a significant and decisive victory over the Howard C. Forbes Realty Corp. In November 1938, the building-service employees of this building struck for union hours and wages. In less than twelve hours, the landlord recognized and yielded to the demands of the union. He, however, immediately notified the tenants of the building that "owing to an increase in the city taxes and owing to the necessity of increasing the wages of the help," rents would be uniformly increased \$3.00 beginning January 1, 1939.

The tenants of this house immediately sought the aid of the Consolidated Tenants League of Harlem. With the assistance of this organization and the militant leadership of the chairman of this unit, Clarence Jenkins, more than 70% of the 79 tenants in the house were organized. The tenants and the League

immediately started action to force the landlord to renovate the apartments and rescind the rent increases, in which they were entirely successful.

Clarence Jenkins, chairman of the house unit, declared: "The victory of the tenants of 301 West 150th Street dramatizes not only the organized power of tenants but also the urgent need for a well-organized and well-directed tenants movement in Harlem. The people of Harlem have within their power the means to force Harlem landlords and the existing state administration to remedy the vicious and demoralizing housing conditions in this community."

But there is one feature of the Byrnes report that constituted a grave danger. It is a feature that, by indirection, would practically push the W.P.A. out of the picture and abolish it. This is the principle that unemployment insurance should be the "first line of defense" in periods of depression.

What would that mean? It would mean that when a man is thrown out of work, he could not look to the government for a work-relief job at decent wages in W.P.A. but would have to live for at least a quarter of a year on as little as \$5 a week unemployment insurance for himself and his family. Inevitably, it would mean the systematic replacement of work relief by a dole disguised as unemployment-insurance compensation, thus moving further and further away from the idea of a job for every one thrown out of work by forces beyond his control.

Of course, the Byrnes plan proposes a big public-works program but it would be along relatively inflexible and long-term W.P.A. lines and not like the present W.P.A. As the report itself makes clear, the

# 'Plot' Cry Against Martin Exposed

## Stalinist Slanders Refuted by Facts

By GEORGE F. MILES

AND now we proceed to a closer examination of the alleged "company-union sell-out" which President Martin "would have put over" but for the "vigilance" of the International Board. Scrubbing off the heavy layers of dirt, we find five basic charges leveled against President Martin:

1. Secret negotiations with the Ford company.
2. Planning to admit a company union, thereby converting the entire U.A.W. into a company union.
3. Failure to inform the International Board of the progress of negotiations with Ford.
4. Selling out the Ford workers by proposing to drop all claims against the Ford Company by the workers discriminated against in exchange for their reinstatement.
5. Making an oral agreement which is worthless under any circumstances.

Now let us see whether this "indictment" in whole or in part will stand the acid test of facts and calm judgement.

### CHARGE OF SECRET NEGOTIATIONS

The charge of "secret negotiations" is easily disposed of. It was a matter of common knowledge that negotiations between the U.A.W. and the Ford Motor Company were going on. Reports of it appeared in the press, pictures were taken and printed and most newspapers had occasion to comment repeatedly on the significance of a possible agreement with Ford.

The Daily Worker, unofficial organ for the anti-Martin block reported these negotiations several times and even in its issue of January 8, 1939, the very issue in which it scooped the press with the report that Martin would be impeached on the Ford conspiracy issue, it referred to "the surprise visit of Martin to Bennett's office several months ago."

In the light of these facts, it is ridiculous to speak of "secret negotiations."

But there is another side to this question of "secret negotiations." Granted that the system of open and well publicized negotiations, with the membership fully informed

of every stage of development, is the best and most desirable method. But are there not situations in which other forms of negotiations become necessary? A case in point is the manner in which negotiations were conducted and an agreement reached between John L. Lewis, for the S.W.O.C. and Myron Taylor for the United States Steel Corporation, in the early part of 1937.

It might be argued with considerable justice that the steel negotiations were thoroughly undemocratic in that no committee of the S.W.O.C. had anything to say about the agreement. But decisive is the consideration that, if the agreement with U. S. Steel could have been gotten only by means of "secret negotiations," then that's the way it had to be done! Who will deny that, regardless of how the agreement was secured, it served to greatly improve the living standards of the steel workers, to crush open shopism in an industry in which much working-class blood had been shed in the cause of unionism? Who will deny that it served as a stimulus for organization and victory in other sections of American industry?

Now why was it altogether proper for John L. Lewis to negotiate a contract strictly in secret, but utterly sinful in the case of President Martin, where the accusation of secrecy has not even the slightest foundation in fact?

### FORD LEGION AND U.A.W.

The second charge maintains that Martin planned to admit the Ford Legion to membership in the U.A.W., thereby converting the latter into a company union.

We search in vain for one iota of evidence to substantiate this charge. In fact, whatever evidence exists points in the opposite direction. The Ford Legion has been dissolved and whatever members of this company union may ultimately find their way to membership in the U.A.W. will do so because of the organizing activities of the U.A.W. and the general pro-union sentiment among the workers, and not because Ford "sent" these workers into the union. Despite the pressure of prejudice and factional interests, the suspended International officers have not presented any evidence whatever to make a case for this charge.

But here again the question arises: Is it a mortal sin to bring into the fold of genuine unionism an organization previously operating as a company union? The history of

American trade unionism is replete with instances of employee-representation schemes ultimately serving as feeders for bona-fide unionism. Once again, the steel industry serves to illustrate this very point. How many company unions came over in a body to the S.W.O.C.? Very many indeed! And the workers who once belonged to these company unions are as loyal and devoted to their union today as any other group.

### A.F.L. Council for Aid to Refugees

(Continued from Page 1) teachers union. These locals have already been suspended from the New York Central Trades and Labor Council.

Another resolution by the Executive Council called for a Congressional investigation of the so-called Associated Farmers on the Pacific Coast and its anti-labor campaign in Oregon, Washington and California. Mr. Green said the A. F. of L. would support action to continue the LaFollette Civil Liberties Committee so that this investigation might be made.

# Byrnes Relief Report Puts WPA Set-Up In Danger

(Continued from Page 1) Byrnes works program "should not be expected to suddenly expand in order to take care of a sudden increase of unemployment. . . ."

From the standpoint of the welfare of the American people, particularly the unemployed, it is clear that the "first line of defense" against depression should be an adequate work-relief program designed to provide a job to every man or woman who needs one.

But there is one feature of the Byrnes report that constituted a grave danger. It is a feature that, by indirection, would practically push the W.P.A. out of the picture and abolish it. This is the principle that unemployment insurance should be the "first line of defense" in periods of depression.

What would that mean? It would mean that when a man is thrown out of work, he could not look to the government for a work-relief job at decent wages in W.P.A. but would have to live for at least a quarter of a year on as little as \$5 a week unemployment insurance for himself and his family. Inevitably, it would mean the systematic replacement of work relief by a dole disguised as unemployment-insurance compensation, thus moving further and further away from the idea of a job for every one thrown out of work by forces beyond his control.

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# Anti-Picket Law Passed In Flint

## City Council In Move Against Unions

Flint, Mich. A drastic ordinance, designed to hamper the activities of the trade-union movement, particularly of the United Automobile Workers, was adopted last week by Flint's City Commission in the face of strong demonstrations of protest on the part of the workers of the city.

This ordinance, rushed thru by a 5-to-3 vote, makes it a misdemeanor to "molest" or "disturb" workers in pursuit of their tasks or in going to or returning from their work, prohibits assemblage of groups without authority of law in streets or other public places and bars solicitation of an "intimidating" nature. The law is to go into effect on February 17. The maximum penalty for violation is \$100 fine or ninety-day jail sentence or both.

Labor spokesmen pointed out that the new ordinance was obviously aimed at outlawing picketing and other essential union activities. They maintained that it was a violation of labor's rights under federal and state law and declared they would fight it with all the means at their disposal.

Another case in point is the Automotive Industrial Workers Union, led by Richard Frankenstein. Prior to its merger in 1936 with the United Automobile Workers Union, headed by Homer Martin, Frankenstein's organization was an independent union, strongly influenced by Father Coughlin and considered as a company union by many in the automobile industry. Who will deny that members of that organization have turned out to be good and loyal members of the U.A.W.?

But again we say, that the whole problem does not exist, for the charge is based on fancy and not on fact.

### WAS THE BOARD INFORMED?

There does appear to be considerable validity to the charge that President Martin did not keep the International Board fully informed on developments of negotiations.

The reply of President Martin to this charge is two-fold. First, that the International Board was in so acute a stage of factional division that the matter, despite its prime importance, would have been in danger of becoming a factional football. Only those, he claims, who are factually blinded can consider the organization of the Ford workers as a faction issue. It was necessary to wait until factional passions had somewhat subsided before proper consideration to this problem could be given.

Second, negotiations were in the most elementary stages, having only reached the point of a tentative agreement on the reinstatement of those fired for union activities. Even this phase of the negotiations, Martin points out, had not been finally closed and was greatly damaged by the International Board's attack on the negotiations as a "conspiracy."

However, the implication that President Martin conducted the negotiations wholly by himself is completely unfounded. In the course of the hearings, a delegation from the executive board of the Ford local gave evidence to the effect that it had participated in the negotiations and was fully informed of the state of affairs. Numerous Stalinist and other anti-Martin witnesses hailed before the International Board to hold together a collapsing case, completely failed to shake this testimony.

### DROPPING THE CLAIMS AGAINST FORD

We come now to the charge of "sell-out." The crime is said to consist in the proposal to drop all claims against Ford in return for the reinstatement of the workers fired for union activity. From the discussions on this matter, it is clear that the reinstated workers were to retain their full rights of trade-union membership and no discrimination whatever was to be practiced by the firm against those wearing the U.A.W. button in the shop. Mr. Martin denies that the tentative pact was to affect in any way the then-existing claims against the Ford firm.

In any case, it is difficult to see where there is the issue of a "sell-out." What was at issue was the right of a Ford employee to belong to the U.A.W. and the right to conduct activity for the union. Once this is assured, all questions dealing with claims naturally assume a minor and unimportant place. The anti-Martin Board does not challenge the facts as to the return of these workers under the stipulated terms but continues to shout "sell-out." This they may consider good factional strategy but it is hardly good trade unionism.

A strikingly similar situation occurred (Continued on Page 3)

**CLOAKMAKERS FORUM**

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**D. BENJAMIN**

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# Can the Jobless Be Reemployed?

## Experts Uncover Failure of Capitalism

By ROBERT WALTERS

IS it possible for American capitalist industry, thru its own resources, ever again to provide work for all those that need and want it? Will the recovery movement under way today solve the problem of unemployment? Suppose industrial activity were to reach 1929 levels, would that mean that all of today's unemployed would find jobs?

Louis Bean, economic adviser to the Secretary of Agriculture, has sought an answer to these questions in a study of past experience as applied to the present situation.

### ANALOGY OF PAST DEPRESSIONS

As a measure of what may lie ahead, Mr. Bean drew upon the experiences of the three past depressions and recoveries—those of 1920, 1907 and 1893—all of which show some general resemblance to the pattern of the 1937-38 depression and recovery to-date.

If this pattern is projected ahead for three years, according to Mr. Bean, it shows recovery proceeding thru 1939 and reaching a level higher than 1929 by the start of 1940. Then there would come a moderate downturn in 1940, to be followed by a rise again in 1941.

As a simple measure of available workers to fill the jobs that would be opened by improvement of economic conditions, Mr. Bean projected census reports showing the number of non-farm workers.

And with what result? "The over-all production and employment situation at the end of 1938," Mr. Bean maintains, "may be summarized thus: There were available for work about 42 million non-farm persons. Of these, nearly 33 million were employed, leaving about 9 million unemployed and available for relief work."

"Industrial production mounted to about 104% of the 1923-25 average but should have been 150% for full employment. In other words, we need about a 50% increase in industrial production to give jobs to most of those available for work."

"Such a rise in industrial production will not take place by the time the present recovery begins to taper off, if recovery follows only the usual course. If production follows the typical cycle, it will reach a level of about 130% of the 1923-25 average by the Spring of 1940. The advance of production will have been about half of the amount necessary for full employment."

The estimate is that about 6 million employable workers then would remain out of employment compared with 6.5 million in 1937 and 2 million in 1929. This increase would amount approximately to the number of new workers added to the working force since 1929 owing to growth in population.

### FAILURE OF CAPITALIST INDUSTRY

On the basis of his calculations, Mr. Bean reaches the following conclusion:

"If we are to have a closer approach to the level of industrial production required for full employment, recovery more prolonged and more rapid than has ever been known, even in periods when private capital was flowing into new enterprise, will be necessary. Methods of promoting such recovery thru cooperation of private and governmental investment and production programs challenge the ingenuity of economic statesmen."

In other words, this authoritative government economist goes on record to the effect that capitalist industry, by itself, could not automatically generate a recovery sufficiently broad to provide jobs for those now unemployed. Most other government economists are unanimous in their agreement with Mr. Bean's broad conclusions. American industry, according to their calculations, would have to operate at a much more active rate than in 1929 if all employable workers are to be absorbed. In that year, industry operated at an average rate of 119% of the 1923-25 average, reaching 128% of that rate in a certain month. An operating rate of 150% of the 1923-25 average would be needed for full employment at this time, owing to the increased number of persons of working age in the population.

A 1939 recovery following the pattern of recovery from depression would produce at most a brief period of production at 130% of the 1923-25 average. Very few of the government's forecasting experts expect industry to attain that rate of activity in the period ahead. Any number of factors, Mr. Bean himself points out, might quickly upset his calculations and retard even the limited recovery he has charted.

### FUNDAMENTAL DEFECT IN METHOD

As a matter of fact, there is a serious defect in Mr. Bean's entire method, a defect, however, that rather accentuates his conclusions than mitigates them. Mr. Bean explicitly assumes that the 1937-38 depression is of the same kind and follows the same pattern as the three depressions of earlier date referred to. But this is manifestly not the case. American capitalism today is in a fundamentally different condition from what it was in 1893, 1907 or even 1920. Capitalism today is definitely on the decline; it has definitely

# Socialized Medicine Big Need of U. S. Masses

## Only Minority Get Real Care Under Profit System

By MEDICUS

NEVER before in the history of America have the people been so medicine-conscious as in the last six months or a year.

There is hardly a newspaper or magazine which has not run an article or a series of articles on health and medicine. The reason is clear. For years, it was noticed that, while American medicine made marvelous progress, the benefits were not being shared by the great masses of the American people. The situation was aggravated by the crisis which began in 1929 and is still with us.

### MEDICAL PROGRESS—FOR WHOM?

Here you have a country where medical science has made giant strides; a sufficient number of skilled physicians, dentists, druggists and nurses; a great number of excellent hospitals; and yet the vast majority of our population cannot make use of it all—because medical administration is in private hands and sold only to those who can afford to buy it.

Here you have a country that spends three billion six hundred and fifty-six million dollars (\$3,656,000,000) a year for medical care and drugs, and yet only a minority of our population are able to avail themselves of the benefits of modern medicine.

Government statistics on the income of the population of this country, show that of all the 30,000,000 families living in the United States, one-third, or 10,000,000 families have an income of less than \$780 per year and another 10,000,000 families have an income of less than \$1,070 per year. It thus becomes clear why 40,000,000 people in the U. S. A. cannot get the medical care they need.

Meanwhile, in spite of official juggling of figures showing a slightly decreased mortality rate, disease is widespread among the unfortunate millions in the low-income brackets, as is shown by the Report of the Division of Medical Inspection of Public Schools in Philadelphia for 1936. Out of a total enrollment of 276,519 children, 48,920 were suffering with malnutrition and were found to be in rather poor health.

### CONFERENCE IN WASHINGTON

Considering these facts, it can hardly be wondered that labor and civic organizations have begun to talk about a more rational distribution of medical care.

In July 1938, the federal government called a National Health Conference in Washington. At that conference, a program was proposed calling for the expenditure on the part of the federal and state governments of \$850,000,000 a year for ten years for the purpose of expanding public, maternal, and child-health care, of providing 360,000 more hospital beds and in general of making available more adequate facilities for medical care for the needy. This program, it is understood, is going to be proposed to the Congress by President Roosevelt.

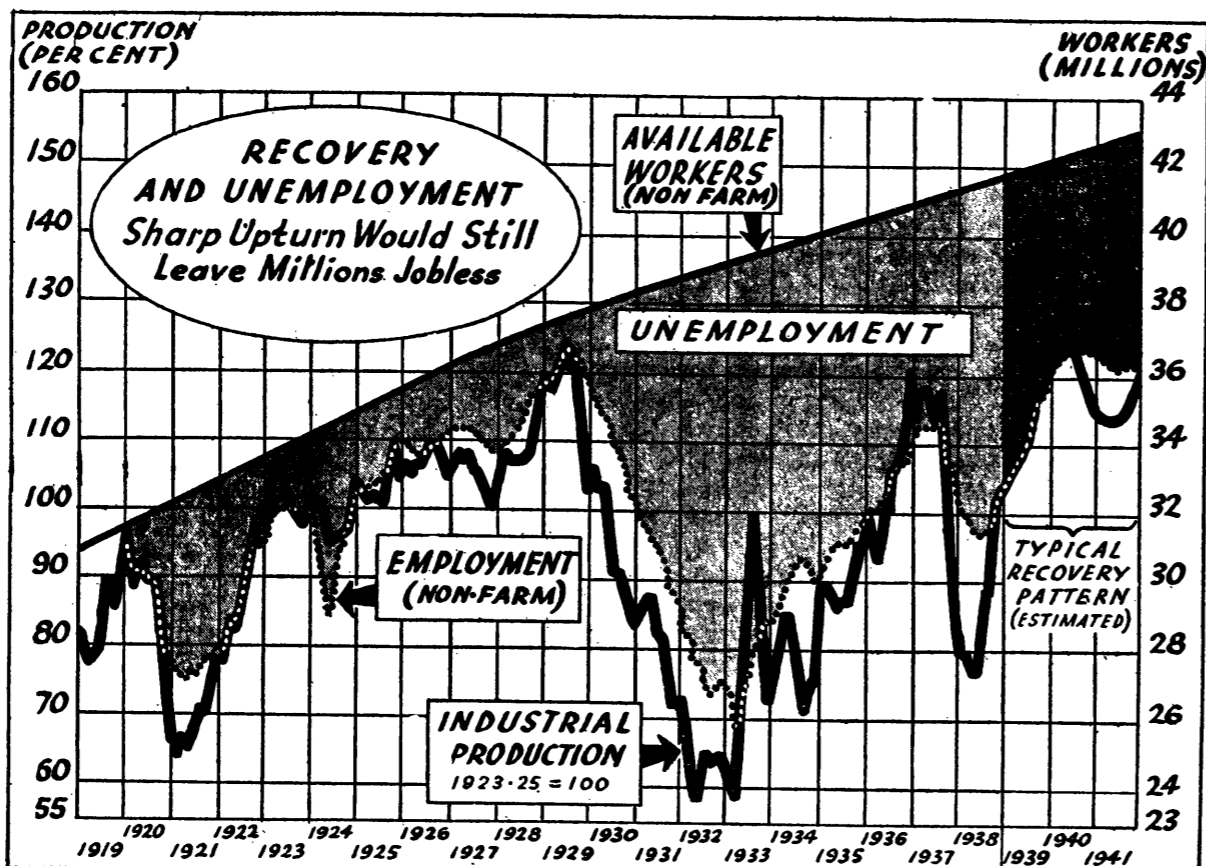
At this conference, there were two other much more far-reaching proposals—a general program for medical care and a plan for insurance against loss of wages during sickness; but on these the conference did not act. The committee had to "study" them. So, they are shelved for the present.

At the Washington conference, labor unions of the C.I.O. and the A. F. L., along with civic organizations, that the Polish Ukraine should join with the Soviet Ukraine, where the free use of the national tongue was guaranteed and where the peasants had thrown off the yoke of the great landed proprietors.

### STALIN SHATTERS UKRAINIAN HOPES

But the prestige of the Soviet Union has fallen a great deal in the eyes of the Ukrainian masses in Poland in recent years. For one thing, the Stalin terror regime repels them. For another, the C.P. of the Western Ukraine has been completely disrupted and demoralized by the successive "turns" of the Comintern. Some time ago, this party was dissolved by Stalin, along with the whole Stalinist movement in Poland. (In Poland, Stalinist politics has reached—if I dare express myself thus—its culminating point. Stalin has simply dissolved the entire C.P. of Poland after having massacred or thrown into Russian jails its best-known leaders.)

It is the failure of Stalinism that has restored the influence of bourgeois and petty-bourgeois Ukrainian nationalism over the Polish Ukrainian masses and which now permits the Nazis to hide their imperialistic aims under the mask of defenders of the right of the Ukrainian people to self-determination. The bourgeois and petty-bourgeois Ukrainian nationalist movement has always pursued a policy of subordination to one imperialist power or another. During the World War, it turned to the Central powers, Austria and Germany. After the war, it tried for a time to conclude a compromise with the Polish bourgeoisie. At the present time, it is again beginning to enter the orbit of German imperialism.



This chart illustrates the line of argument of Louis Bean, discussed in the accompanying article. It shows the course of industrial production and industrial unemployment over the years since 1919. Mr. Bean has projected ahead for three years the course of recovery on the basis of past experience. Even with this estimate nearly six million would remain jobless.

# Nazi Drive Toward The Ukraine

## Hitler Expansion Plan Aims at Poland

By P. GUILLAUME

Paris, France

THE Ukrainian policy of German imperialism is primarily directed against Poland. In fact, it is the Polish rather than the Soviet Ukraine which adjoins the Carpathian Ukraine, that stronghold of Nazified Ukrainism. If Hitler wishes to launch an attack with the aim of creating a "Greater Ukraine" under German protection, he must settle with the Polish Ukraine before being able to march into the Soviet Ukraine. On the other hand, the Nazis know very well that armed conflict with the U.S.S.R. is, in any case, a dangerous venture for them, considering the military resources and defense possibilities of that country.

### REPEATING THE "CZECH EPISODE"

As to Poland, German imperialism believes it has a chance of repeating the methods which succeeded so well with Czechoslovakia. It is no accident that the beginning of an aggressive policy towards the Ukraine on the part of Germany coincides with a lapse of the German-Polish "friendship" established by the treaty concluded in 1934. The action of the Ukrainian deputies in the Polish Diet proposing a plan of autonomy based on that of Henlein, is supported by the Nazi press. At the same time, the Nazi organizations in Germany and Danzig have resumed their propaganda for the return of the "corridor" and Upper Silesia to the Reich.

It is quite understandable that Hitler should place the Ukrainian problem in the forefront and plan to begin the revision of present Polish borders from that point. It happens that in the Polish Ukraine there are quite important oil deposits and,

as we know, oil is a raw material of which Hitler's Reich has particular need. On the other hand, Hitler is unable to utilize the German minority in Poland (800,000) for his ends in the same manner as in Czechoslovakia. In Poland, there is no region with a German racial majority. Even in the Polish provinces formerly belonging to Germany, Germans are only a minority. In the "corridor," in particular, the German population is only 20%. Besides the White-Russian population (over a million), the Ukrainians (5 to 7 millions) are the only national minority in Poland to form a compact majority over a considerable territory. The Jews (over 3 millions), who, next to the Ukrainians, constitute the biggest national minority, are dispersed throughout the entire country and naturally do not form an element which Hitler is able to utilize for his plans.

### OPPRESSION IN THE UKRAINE

Even prior to the World War, eastern Galicia, which then belonged to Austria and where the greatest part of the Ukrainian population in Poland resided, was the center of Ukrainian nationalism. In 1918, after the crushing of the Hapsburg monarchy, the bourgeois and petty-bourgeois nationalist groups attempted to create a "West Ukrainian Republic." But this republic was soon destroyed by the Polish armies. The leaders had joined their cause with that of the adventurer Petliura, who was ready to sell Galicia to the Poles in order to obtain Pilsudski's aid against the Red Army of the Soviet Ukrainian government headed by Rakovsky. The leaders of the "West Ukrainian" Republic had no intention of letting the peasants take the land. On the contrary, they defended the property rights of the big landed proprietors. The mass of the Ukrainian people are peasants suffering from the intense exploitation of the large Polish landowners.

Under Polish domination, the Ukrainian population was subjected to rigorous national oppression. Many of the Ukrainian schools, created under Austrian domination, were closed by the Polish authorities. With the aid of military detachments, the Polish government organized punitive expeditions of so-called "pacification" against the Ukrainian peasants. These "pacifications" were an imitation of the famous "dragonades" of Louis XIV. For years, and despite the efforts of the bourgeois and petty-bourgeois organizations, the mass of the Ukrainian toilers in Poland placed their hope in the Soviet Union. The Communist Party of the Western Ukraine, which was a section of the Polish Communist Party, has a great deal of influence among the peasant masses of Eastern Galicia and Volhynia. This party proclaimed the right of the Ukrainians in Poland to self-determination and demanded

of its noise and bombast, the case of the anti-Martin faction on the International Board against President Martin is seen to be a fabrication of the most transparent kind, a pure and simple frame-up concocted to serve the political aims of Stalinism and its allies.

(This is the second of a series of three articles on the "Bennett-Martin conspiracy" frame-up. The third will appear in the next issue.—Ed.)

# "Plot" Charges Against Martin Exposed

(Continued from Page 2)

curred a little while ago, this time with the United Mine Workers cast in the role of the "culprit." On August 27, 1938, John L. Lewis signed an agreement for the United Mine Workers of America with the Harlan County (Kentucky) Coal Operators Association. Simultaneously, the criminal charges which the Department of Justice was pressing against the Association for the reign of terror in Harlan County, were dropped.

A cry was raised immediately by the Progressive Miners and President William Green of the A. F. of L. that this constituted a "sell-out." What was Lewis' reply? The simple truth that the main issue, which could not be lost sight of, was the unionization of the Harlan County coal fields. This had been achieved by signing the contract and any other forms of pressure intended to bring the company to a recognition of the right of collective bargaining, were no longer necessary.

Essentially the same point is involved in the Ford situation and were not the anti-Martin Board so factually blinded, this truth would be quite evident even to its members.

5. The final charge that the under-

standing with Ford was oral and not written and therefore of no significance, is considerably on the light-weight side.

The fact is that President Martin pointed out from the start that his negotiations with Ford had not passed the preliminary stage and under those circumstances could not possibly have reached the stage of written agreements. Need we state the obvious fact that oral negotiations always precede written contracts?

In passing, it is of some interest to note that in its anxiety to take factual advantage, the anti-Martin Board has thrown discretion and consistency to the winds. Thus, it finds nothing incongruous in charging, on the one hand, a completed "conspiracy" with Ford perpetrated by President Martin, and, on the other, arguing that the "agreement" was oral and was therefore of no significance. The Daily Worker also falls into the same trap, first shouting "conspiracy" and then gasping out in almost the same breath: "Now that Martin has been forced to produce the goods, it will turn out that he has nothing to show."

These are the plain facts of the "Martin-Bennett conspiracy." Strip-

# I Am the People!

I AM the people—the mob—the crowd—the mass.

Do you know that all the great work of the world is done thru me? I am the workman, the inventor, the maker of the world's food and clothes. I am the audience that witnesses history. The Napoleons come from me and the Lincolns. They die. And then I send forth more Napoleons and Lincolns. I am the seed ground. I am a prairie that will stand for much plowing. Terrible storms pass over me. I forget. The best of me is sucked out and wasted. Everything but Death comes to me and makes me work and give up what I have. And I forget.

Sometimes I grovel, shake myself and spatter a few red drops for history to remember. Then—I forget.

When I, the People, learn to remember, when I, the People, use the lessons of yesterday and no longer forget who robbed me last year, who played me for a fool—then there will be no speaker in all the world to say the name: "The People," with any fleck of a sneer in his voice or any far-off smile of derision.

The mob—the crowd—the mass—will arrive then.

—CARL SANDBURG

including a group of prominent doctors and surgeons, strongly supported this program.

The only strong opposing voice was that of the official organization of medics, the American Medical Association, representing not the general practitioners but the highly-paid specialists, very much concerned for their high incomes. We shall see later how the A.M.A. fights every progressive measure pertaining to medicine. Certainly any idea of "socialized medicine" is anathema to those who run this organization.

### WHAT IS SOCIALIZED MEDICINE?

By "socialized medicine" is meant a system where free medical, dental, and nursing care is administered to everyone who needs it.

Under this system, physicians, dentists, nurses, pharmacists, etc., would be employed by the state or federal government, just as teachers are now employed, on a salary basis. Adequate facilities in hospitals, sanatoriums and convalescent homes would be provided free to all who need them. In addition, neighborhood clinics would be built, just as we now have neighborhood schools, and these would be equipped with trained personnel and good laboratories and X-Ray machines for ambulatory patients. The expense of upkeep and salaries would be defrayed by taxes—not to be deducted from workers' wages; the entire system to be administered by committees consisting of representatives of civic and labor organizations, of the medical and allied professions, and of the governmental bodies involved.

The question often arises: How

can you socialize medicine in an unsocialized state? The truth of the matter is that the state we are living in is already partially socialized. We have socialized public schools, high schools and even colleges. We have socialized libraries, fire departments, police departments, boards of health, water-works, and, in some cities, even public utilities. Even under a capitalist system, over 50% of all hospital beds in America are under government control, and most of the so-called private hospitals are subsidized by the government.

The question of expense is, of course, important, as socialized medicine will certainly increase taxation. But what if the United States does spend four billion dollars a year to provide real medical, dental and nursing care for the people of the country and in this way saves the lives of tens of thousands of people every year? The people who object to the expense of socialized medicine, do not raise their voices against the spending of two billions a year for armaments, which will eventually mean not only the loss of the money but also of the lives of hundreds of thousands of our people. Why doesn't any one suggest lowering taxes by giving up the fire or police departments or the educational system, which costs New York City alone \$200,000,000 a year? Why is it more important to teach Johnny algebra than it is to take care of his heart, which may send him prematurely to his grave?

(This is the first of a series of articles by Medicus on social problems of medicine. The second article will appear in the next issue.—Editor.)

# Books of the Age

by Jim Cork

**AMERICAN PROBLEMS TODAY: A History of the United States Since the World War**, by Louis M. Hacker. F. S. Crofts and Co., New York, 1938. \$3.00.

This work is described on the title page as a history of the United States since the World War, but it is both more and less than that. It is a brilliant, comprehensive and concise, survey of socio-economic and socio-political developments in the last twenty years, with special emphasis on the New Deal, all interpreted in the light of a critical Marxism. Within this scope, it is a veritable handbook of contemporary America, absolutely in-

This or any other book reviewed in these columns may be purchased at the Workers Age Bookshop, 131 West 33rd St., New York City.

dispensable to anyone who would understand our times. But of specifically political problems—such as, for example, what is happening to our party system and to our traditional political parties—it has little to say, while the chapter, "Life, Letters and Art in the Machine Age," a good piece of work in itself, is manifestly unrelated to the rest of the work.

The book begins with a brief sketch of politics in the 1920's, followed by a really informative study of the leading legislative problems in this period. The third chapter of the first part ("The Golden Twenties") deals with American foreign relations. This is probably the least satisfactory section of the work; the paragraphs on America in the Caribbean, particularly, are strangely confused and contradictory, out of harmony with the rest of the chapter and the rest of the book. A trace of the same disturbing influence is found also towards the end of the book in the treatment of pan-Americanism; here Mr. Hacker tells us, for example, that the Buenos Aires conference in 1936 showed that "Latin American countries were prepared to accept American leadership," a conclusion flying in the face of the facts and particularly refuted by the Lima conference some months ago.

The second part of the book, "Imperial America in the Machine Age," including within its scope a survey of outstanding problems of prohibition, immigration restriction, decline of agriculture and economic imperialism, as well as of life, letters and art, as already mentioned, is a magnificent piece of work. If anything may be said to stand out where all is so well done, it is Mr. Hacker's illuminating discussion of the agricultural crisis, which he shows to be the expression and symbol of the underlying structural changes in American economic life since the World War.

Just about half of the book is devoted to the New Deal, and this half is even better than what precedes.

The section on the causes of the depression compresses in twelve pages a penetrating analysis and critique of the capitalist system in the latest stages of its development. The account of the New Deal, its theory, tactics and politics, its agencies and operations, its balance-sheet and results to-date, is easily the best to be found anywhere. Mr. Hacker sees the New Deal as it is, as an attempt, futile from a long-range viewpoint, to perpetuate and stabilize the system of capitalist enterprise for profit, to "freeze" class relations, thru an expanding state capitalism, linked with a comprehensive program of social reform and operated by a powerful, all-pervasive administrative bureaucracy. The sections dealing with the state-capitalist trends inherent in the New Deal and with the problem of bureaucracy are probably the most valuable and thought-provoking in the book.

The book, the author points out in the preface, was written around the "central problems" of our time, that is to say: (1) the apparent inability of capitalism to continue to function in terms of a free market; (2) the necessity for erecting proper defenses against possible oppression at the hands of the bureaucracy of state capitalism; and (3) the danger of our involvement in a foreign war. And his concluding words are: "The work of the second Roosevelt (the Roosevelt of imperialism and war.—W.H.) is in very real danger of cancelling out the work of the first (the Roosevelt of social reform.—W.H.) in the short run. And in the long run—even if foreign war is avoided? The topheavy apparatus of state capitalism finds it more and more impossible to support society; rather its weight is likely to crush it."

And the answer, Mr. Hacker allows the thoughtful reader to conclude, is socialism. For, as it was pointed out in the famous Darrow-Thompson supplementary report of the National Recovery Review Board in 1934, which Mr. Hacker quotes, "the choice is between monopoly sustained by government . . . and a planned economy, which demands socialized ownership and control. . . . The hope for the American people . . . is not to be overwhelmed by their own abundance lies in the planned use of America's resources following socialism."

Reviewed by WILL HERBERG

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