

Workers Age

A PAPER DEFENDING THE INTERESTS OF WORKERS AND FARMERS

Vol. 6, No. 41.

NEW YORK, N. Y., SATURDAY, OCTOBER 9, 1937.

5 Cents a Copy

UAW Reorganizes Union Apparatus

Irresponsible Group Incited By "Unity" Caucus Threatens Martin; Union Sets Up Women's Department, Strengthens Others

Detroit, Mich.

A group of some thirty-five irresponsibles picketed last Thursday morning the hotel at which resides President Homer Martin of the United Automobile Workers Union. These individuals coming from the West Side local and from Flint believed that, by embarrassing the organization with this type of blackmail publicity, they could force the rehiring of some of their faction adherents who had not been rehired as a result of the new organizational setup in the union.

Union spokesmen expressed their amazement at these criminally anti-union acts and stated that it was an expression of despair on the part of a clique of oppositionists who had failed.

President Martin declared it to be "the action of a lot of irresponsible individuals not sanctioned or authorized by any local union. It is also my opinion that the membership of the U.A.W. is not behind any action calculated to embarrass the union or frustrate the will of the majority.

"No bona-fide delegation," Mr. Martin continued, "has ever been refused or ever will be refused opportunity of seeing me to discuss problems of the organization. But I refuse to be stampeded by those who are directed or who individually take upon themselves action which will embarrass the organization. Who can profit from such actions except enemies of labor?"

President Martin's office later announced that this action has aroused the resentment of the widest sections of the membership. Resolutions of confidence in the president are coming in from all sections of the country. Particular weight was attached to one resolution carried almost unanimously by a huge membership meeting of the Cadillac shop meeting last Friday night. This shop is a division of the West Side local which, in the past, had been controlled by Walter Reuther, a leader of the opposition. Satisfaction was also expressed in union circles over the fact that a full meeting of shop delegates of the Chevrolet division of Local 156, Flint, also adopted almost unanimously a resolution condemning the few Flint members participating in what they branded an "anti-union act." This local also was in the hands of the opposition at the Milwaukee convention.

By FREDERICK J. ARNOLD
DETROIT, MICH.—Widespread organization changes are taking place in the United Automobile Workers Union, based on the decisions of the recent meeting of the International Executive Board. According to President Homer Martin, the I.E.B. continued the job begun by the Milwaukee convention in insisting on an organizational set-up to guarantee economy, efficiency and intelligent responsibility.

In this connection, the I.E.B. laid low the ghost of "irresponsibility" echoed and reechoed by the employers and especially by General Motors officials with whom the union was involved in negotiations for a new contract. This was done in the form of a statement on unauthorized or wild-cat strikes in which the union clearly expressed its unalterable opposition to such behavior and pledged disciplinary measures if such occur. The document, unanimously adopted, was countersigned by every member of the I.E.B. This out of the way, General Motors had no other recourse but to begin discussions on economic issues, something it had refused to do until the alleged "irresponsibility" of the union was cleared up.

The I.E.B. also took steps to

ascertain the carrying out of national policies by insisting on and ordering the secession of all local publications. Matters of vital concern to the local organizations will be handled in the form of special editions of the official union publication, the United Automobile Worker, or by the enlargement of the paper to make possible local sections of the publication. The necessity for such action was precipitated by the publication of the Flint Auto Worker which contained matter of a factional character not conducive to the welfare of the organization.

The Flint organization, which had been the source of long-standing irritation in the union, because
(Continued on Page 4)

REPORT MAURIN STILL ALIVE!

Latest dispatches, according to the British New Leader of September 24, confirm the reports that Maurin is still alive and indicate that "the Spanish government of Valencia has agreed that an approach should be made for an exchange of prisoners, etc. and there is some hope that Maurin may be liberated in return for a prominent fascist prisoner."

(From the British NEW LEADER of Sept. 17, 1937, we take the following declaration by Fenner Brockway about a matter that is certain to prove of intense interest to our readers. In coming issues of the Age, we hope to be able to supply more detailed information as to the fate of Joaquin Maurin, the founder and leader of the P.O.U.M.—THE EDITOR)

By FENNER BROCKWAY

On September 17, 1936, the Times reported that Joaquin Maurin, the leader of the P. O.U.M. and member of the Spanish Cortes, had been taken prisoner and had been executed by the fascists after being allowed to write a farewell letter to his wife. In the middle of August this year, I heard that Joaquin Maurin was still alive but that he was a prisoner in the hands of the fascists, who had not identified him.

It was undesirable to reveal this knowledge to anyone else because, if it became known by any means to the fascists, they would immediately have taken steps to identify Maurin, and would probably have executed him.

On Tuesday of this week,
(Continued on Page 4)

A.F.L. Meet Plans C.I.O. Expulsions

Undecided Whether To Take Final Step At Denver Or At Later Date; Dual Unions To Be Set Up; Reaction Triumphs At Every Point

The launching of a concerted offensive against the C.I.O., beginning with the expulsion of its affiliated unions and involving the chartering of dual organizations in every field, will undoubtedly be the main concern of the fifty-seventh annual convention of the American Federation of Labor that opened its sessions at Denver last Monday. Developments at the building and metal trade conferences, held the preceding week, already foreshadowed the main course that the A. F. of L. gathering would follow. There is a strong sentiment, among the craft union chiefs, for the outright expulsion of the C.I.O. organizations at the convention but, on the whole, it seems more likely that the suspension of these unions will be reaffirmed and the Executive Council given power to affect their expulsion at its discretion. There is a rumor, however, that final action may be taken at Denver against two of the C.I.O. unions, the United Mine Workers and the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, as part of a maneuver to sow dissension and division in C.I.O. ranks.

However that may be, it is plainly the intention of the A. F. of L. officialdom to invade the automobile, steel, rubber and glass industries with dual organizations, just as they have already done in the coal mining, garment and other fields. This is what Mr. Green, in his address to the building trades convention, called "carrying the war into the enemy's country." How far Mr. Green and his friends are ready to go

in the unholy war against industrial unionism, can be seen from the admission, or rather boast, contained in the presidential report of John P. Frey at the metal trades gathering, that he, in his official capacity, had repeatedly appealed to Governor Murphy of Michigan, urging him not to permit the United Automobile Workers to get exclusive bargaining rights from General Motors, Chrysler and other concerns!

Another important issue at the convention, altho it is not clear how far it will be brought out into the open, will be the new split in the building trades department, coming as the result of jurisdictional and other intrigues of the craft union chiefs in these trades.

All indications are that the convention will be the scene of violent attacks upon the National Labor Relations Board and, indirectly also, upon the Wagner Act, which, allegedly, are functioning to the advantage of the C.I.O. Proposals to amend the labor relations act so as to make the craft collective bargaining unit established by law, will probably be offered. It is not unlikely that the hostility of important sections of the craft union officialdom to wages-and-hours legislation will find expression at the convention, with, perhaps, a recrudescence of the old Gompersian "voluntarism." It may be taken for granted that any move towards independent political action will be unreservedly condemned by the A. F. of L. gathering as smacking of the C.I.O.

Thus, it seems altogether certain that the Denver convention will clearly register the uninterrupted decline of the A. F. of L. towards reaction and futility—a decline none the less certain despite its three and a half million members. The hope of progress in the American labor movement will be found not in the Denver convention but in the Atlantic City conference of C.I.O. unions which John L. Lewis has called for October 11.

(Read the article on the A. F. of L. convention on page 2 of this issue.—The Editor.)

ST. LOUIS OFFICE WORKERS STRIKE

A militant strike is being carried on against the Title Insurance Corporation of St. Louis by the Title Employees Union, affiliated with the United Office and Professional Workers of America. The strike was declared on Sept. 15 when the corporation refused to negotiate with the union. The chief demands of the union are: Union recognition, signed contract, seniority rights, rescinding of wage cuts. Of the 105 employees eligible for the union 80 are out. Most of those still at work are relatives of the company officers. The strikers are not only holding their ranks solid but have succeeded in pulling 4 more workers out on strike. They are confident of victory and need only financial assistance to win.

The Civil War in Spain

ROAD TO COUNTER-REVOLUTION

(We are resuming in this issue the publication of Bertram D. Wolfe's articles on THE CIVIL WAR IN SPAIN. These articles will soon be available in pamphlet form.—THE EDITOR.)

By BERTRAM D. WOLFE

THE NAME of a political party is no sure guide to its real program. How much have the Democratic and Republican parties of our country to do with "democracy" and "republicanism" respectively? What is there of "radical" or "socialist" in the Radical-Socialist party of France, or of "socialist" or "labor" in the German Nazi party, which calls itself the National Socialist German Labor Party? Not by their names but by their teachings, and above all by their deeds, must the political content of a party's role be judged. Today in Spain, there is no more bitter opponent of communism than that party which bears the name: Communist Party of Spain. But it differs from the parties mentioned above in that its name once meant what it said. In that respect, it is more closely analogous to the old Social-Democratic Party of Germany or the Menshevik section of the old Russian Social-Democracy, whose names and past prestige were used to cloak the fact that they had become, in their respective lands, outstanding opponents of the things they had formerly espoused.

WHY THE C.P. WAS CHOSEN
On the outbreak of military revolt in July 1936, the old Spanish ruling class was no longer able to rule in its own name. It was split by the revolt. The "loyal" section was reduced to a mere shell, a group of discredited politicians soiled by their own supineness and even guilty complicity in the preparation of that revolt. The armed masses had entered on the stage of history, not as passive spectators or scene-shifters, but as actors in their own behalf. All the signs, indications and necessities pointed to a workers and peasants government. The ruling class had lost belief in itself: the old politicians, the old shibboleths, had lost their power to sway or bewilder the masses; the old apparatus of force had gone over to fascism and the state had lost its power to suppress. Only a party of the working class could possibly confuse the masses: only shock troops recruited among the workers and acting ostensibly in their name could possibly suppress the masses—and confusion and suppression are the twin poles of capitalism, as of every minority-class rule. The only hope of the Spanish ruling class for continuing the rule of capitalism was to rule through some safe "opposition" party till the crisis should be past. If they could have used the syndicalists or the socialists (and they experimented with both,

(Continued on Page 4)

WORKERS AGE

Organ of the National Council, Independent Communist Labor League, 131 West 33rd St., New York City.

Entered as second class matter Nov. 5, 1934, at the Post Office New York, N. Y. under the act of March 3, 1879.

Vol. 6. October 9, 1937 No. 41

THE A.L.P. AND THE ELECTIONS

The American Labor Party enters the present municipal campaign at a considerably more advanced stage of political independence than characterized its participation in the presidential elections last year.

There is, however, another and darker side of the picture which cannot be overlooked, which, indeed, must be emphasized if the road is to be cleared for the development of the A.L.P. in the right direction.

The fact of the matter is that certain sections of the A.L.P. leadership seem to be forgetting that their party is not just another political machine to be "cleverly" manipulated behind the scenes in order to garner in a few more votes here or another job there.

Behind this whole mess, is to be detected the fine, practiced hand of Jim Farley who has his own ideas of what a "labor party" ought to be, if it has to be at all.

But in another direction there is great hope. The trade-unionist rank and file of the A.L.P., and large sections of its leadership as well, have shown that they understand what a labor party really means and have been quite effective in frustrating the hectic political manipulations of the "practical politicians" as well as the unprincipled intrigues of the Stalinists.

Craft Departments Rehearse A. F. L. Convention Line

AS THE A. F. of L. stands today, the real power is to be found in the hands of the big craft unions forming the metal and building trades departments—or rather, in the hands of the topmost officials of these unions.

What were the big issues that came to the fore at the metal and building trades conferences and which are bound to make their appearance prominently in the deliberations of the A. F. of L. convention itself?

The C.I.O. And Its Tactics
What to do about the C.I.O.? We may brush aside all the big-sounding speeches about the C.I.O. being "on the decline" and so on as just so much futile self-consolation.

Whatever differences there may be on the exact strategy to follow in fighting the C.I.O., there certainly is none in the top circles of the A. F. of L. on condemning the militant tactics by means of which the C.I.O. unions have made such headway.

The Wagner Act And The N.L.R.B.
A savage offensive was launched by the metal and building trades heads upon the National Labor Relations Board and, somewhat more indirectly, upon the Wagner

Act itself. Frey at one convention and J. W. Williams at the other attacked the N.L.R.B. as "biased" in favor of the C.I.O. and demanded the "drastic restriction" of its powers, Williams going so far as to call for its "abolition"!

The fact of the matter is that the Wagner Act, as administered by the present N.L.R.B., has proved an unexpected obstacle to the A. F. of L. in its new tactics of offering itself to the employers as a company union in order to get "recognition" and thus block the C.I.O.

Independent Political Action
In his report to the A. F. of L. metal trades leaders, John P. Frey forecast the launching of a labor party by the C.I.O. within the next year and condemned such a move as running counter to the "well-established" policy of the A. F. of L.

Progressive Sentiment At The A. F. of L. Convention
It is still difficult to figure out what will be the character and strength of progressive sentiment at the Denver gathering. A few unions will make "peace" proposals, either the old utilities all over again or else the new scheme for "an all-inclusive unity convention."

Denver Or Atlantic City?
The masses of the American workers, organized and unorganized, have nothing to expect from the convention at Denver, for all its three and a half million members, the A. F. of L. represents the

(Continued on Page 4)

By Lambda

WORLD TODAY

London Buro Prepares Ground For January International Meet

(We publish below an official report of the action of a recent session of the London Buro for Revolutionary Unity with which the I.L.P., the P.O.U.M., the French left socialists and other groups are connected, on the proposal to hold a broad international conference of revolutionary socialists. The five-point program presented by the I.C.O. as the basis for such a conference, was made public in the Workers Age not long ago.

—THE EDITOR.

At a session of the London Buro for Revolutionary Socialist Unity, held August 8-12, 1937, at the Letchworth summer school of the I.L.P., the following decisions were made in connection with the international conference already planned by the P.O.U.M.:

- 1. in favor of an international conference in Paris during the first week in January.
2. to approve the point of view of the Paris Buro session that the conference should be convoked on the basis of selected organizations of a representative character.
3. to determine the order of business.
4. to refer the discussion on these topics (of the order of business) to the comrades remaining here.
5. to supply all affiliated parties with the conclusions of this discussion as well as copies of the P.O.U.M. theses, for the purpose of having them adopt a position on them.
6. to instruct the Secretariat to prepare a list of the invited organizations on the basis of the suggestions of the affiliated parties.
7. to present the various expressions of opinion to a session of the Buro in Paris at the end of September for the purpose of making a decision on them—to draft resolutions for the conference—to give the Secretariat instructions in connection with them.

The following order of business was proposed for the international conference:

- 1. Action of the international proletariat to help defeat fascism in Spain and to bring the socialist revolution to victory.
2. Tasks of the working class in the struggle against imperialism, war and fascism on the basis of class struggle.
3. Attitude of the revolutionary socialists to the Soviet Union.
4. Support of the struggle of the colonial people against imperialism.
5. To examine the conditions and to stimulate the forces working in the direction of building a really revolutionary international.
6. Support of the struggle of the revolutionary youth.
7. Practical questions, among them: (a) an international solidarity fund; (b) an international journal.

The negotiations on the international conference were associated with the five points that the representatives of the I.C.O. had proposed at a discussion with the representatives of the I.L.P.

It was decided that the preparatory work of the international conference as well as of the international journal should extend beyond the circle of the parties and groups affiliated with the London Buro.

The I.C.O. has already declared itself ready to participate in the preparations for the conference, in the conference itself as well as in the work of the international journal.

SPECIAL SALE

New Worker School Bookshop of the COLLECTED WORKS OF LENIN

8 Volumes—\$5.00
Portrait of Mexico \$4.00
Portrait of America \$3.00

by Bertram D. Wolfe and Diego Rivera
With either of the above two volumes we are offering free To Make My Bread or Sign for Cain by Grace Lumpkin.

Make money orders and checks payable to Jay Lovestone
NEW WORKERS SCHOOL BOOKSHOP
131 West 33rd Street, New York City

C.I.O. AND NEW DEAL CLASH ON BASIC LABOR POLICY

By WILL HERBERG

THE sharp criticism of the administration's conduct in the "little steel" strike and related labor conflicts, voiced by John L. Lewis in recent public declarations, has called attention to an all-important fact which has been altogether too little regarded in the past: that, while the immediate aims of labor may, within certain narrow and well-defined limits, coincide with aspects of New Deal labor policy, the two are essentially distinct and, to a large extent, even opposed both in the fundamental ideas that inspire them and the far-reaching objectives they pursue.

Lewis's Position On Section 5
What was the position that John L. Lewis took against Section 5? The C.I.O. leader, of course, heartily approved of the proposal to have the federal government establish minimum wages and a maximum work-week for American industry as well as outlaw certain "oppressive" labor conditions, such as labor espionage and strike-breaking. But he firmly opposed giving the government power—as Section 5 contemplated—to fix "fair" wage levels, above the minimum standard, wherever collective bargaining is either "adequate" or absent altogether.

Here there is certainly no room for ambiguity. The New Deal aims not at opening a free field for the trade union movement but rather at replacing it, at making it "unnecessary" by taking over its functions—at most, at incorporating it into the governmental machinery of economic-political action. Always implicit, this clash of objectives came out into the open in the discussion over Section 5.

"It is a mistake," Secretary of Labor Frances Perkins pointed out at the joint Congressional committee hearings, "to think of the minimum-wages and maximum-hours provisions as exclusively labor measures. . . . The labor provisions themselves are general economic measures. . . . They do, by furnishing a certain delimitation of competition in the field of labor standards, stabilize competition. . . . The thing which is most necessary (is) the removing of labor costs from the basis of competition. One of the objects of such a bill as this is to make certain that competition will work in favor of efficient management and high standards of productive quality. The overwhelming majority of American business men will gain a new sense of security if the law provides that basic labor standards be stabilized and hence removed from the arena of un-

* See Joint Hearings . . . on S. 2475 and H. R. 7200, Part 1, p. 177-8.

ATTENTION!
Because of the pressure of space, we are forced to omit from this issue the continuation of Andrew Nin's thesis on Spain. The next issue will carry another instalment of this important document. —The Editor.

fair competition. . . .

Whatever may be thought of the economics of these contentions, one thing is clear: the considerations that seem uppermost in Secretary Perkins's mind are of no direct relevance or interest to the labor movement as such. Not security for the business interests is what labor is after but, immediately, better working conditions and a freer field for collective endeavor and, ultimately, a far-reaching change in the economic and social order itself.

Advantages And Dangers For Labor

The wide divergence in fundamental ideals and goals between the New Deal and the labor movement should be obvious. For a certain, limited stretch of the distance the two paths run more or less parallel: the New Deal, for its reasons, and labor, for its own, are both interested in various forms of social and labor legislation. The organized workers should certainly utilize this coincidence for all it is worth but, for the sake of their own welfare, they should never lose sight of its inherent limitations and dangers.

School Plans New Survey Of Marxist Fundamentals

The revolutionary labor movement has reached a stage where it must engage in some earnest "soul-searching," an examination of all its fundamental assumptions, if it is to evaluate the present and survive into the future as a living scientific movement. The Independent Communist Labor League, unpossessed by any fixed dogmas that are impervious to the pressure of fact, owing allegiance to no faction creed such as paralyse Stalinism and Trotskyism, has been engaged in such an examination of its fundamental assumptions in the light of the experience of the last twenty years. As a contribution to this discussion it has established a Friday night discussion group under the direction of Bertram D. Wolfe, a new type of course to concern itself fearlessly with these problems.

Here are some of the groundbreaking questions which will be asked and analyzed: In the light of what has happened in the Soviet Union, must the concept of the proletarian dictatorship be modified or discarded? Does proletarian dictatorship necessarily degenerate into bureaucratic and personal dictatorship? Will proletarian dictatorship be necessary in the United States? If so, how will it differ from that in Russia? What safeguards if any can be devised against degeneration? Is peaceful transition to socialism possible? Is violent revolution inevitable? Has the New Deal demonstrated the possibility of planning or spreading prosperity under capitalism? Is international revolutionary organization possible? What light does the degeneration of the Second and Third Internationals throw upon this question? Should a new international be formed or not? What are the desirable limits of centralization and decentralization in an international? These are only a few of the questions that will be taken up and

Cal. A.F.L. Rejects 'Unity' Plan at Meet

Los Angeles, Cal.
Almost completely dominated by the reactionary machine of Ed. Vandeleur, the 38th annual convention of the California State Federation of Labor, held last week at Long Beach, demonstrated the lengths to which the bankrupt leadership of the A. F. of L. is prepared to go in its frantic efforts to stop the onward march of the C.I.O.

Lacking a constructive program for organizing the workers of California, the Vandeleur clique resorted to Red baiting and splitting tactics that must have brought joy to the hearts of the Merchants and Manufacturers Association and William Randolph Hearst.

The tone of the convention was set by the resolution introduced by Vandeleur branding the C.I.O. as "a dual organization . . . actively supported by every known radical, subversive unpatriotic and communistic element," set up in order to "advance the aspirations of an opportunist who aspires to the office of President of the United States" and "undermining . . . the legitimate trade union movement." A resolution drafted by George C. Kidwell, Bakery Wagon Drivers of San Francisco, and John F. Shelley, president of the San Francisco Central Labor Council, which

provided that President Roosevelt be asked to appoint a commission to plan composition of the differences between the A. F. of L. and the C.I.O., such a plan to be adopted eventually by a joint convention of the A. F. of L. and the C.I.O., was defeated. Buzzell, secretary of the Los Angeles Central Labor Council, charged that "the authors of such resolutions are agents and provocators of the C.I.O. and the Communist Party, whether they like it or not."

Following the defeat of this resolution, Shelley and Kidwell led a walkout of a progressive block. They indicated that they would take the fight to the rank and file of the trade unions. Altho the Kidwell-Shelley resolution was hardly a clear-cut defense of the C.I.O. since it emphasized some vague "unity" scheme, it became at the Federation convention the rallying point of those not entirely identified with the reactionary Vandeleur clique.

A resolution asking the convention to advocate support for the National Labor Relations Board, brought forth the charge by Vandeleur that, "Its a home for the C.I.O."

The convention also went on record as endorsing the blockade of the San Francisco waterfront by the Teamsters Union, resulting from that organization's jurisdictional war with the I.L.A. over the inland warehouses. C. J. Haggerty, president of the Los Angeles Building Trades Council, was elected president and Vandeleur was re-elected secretary, both "by acclamation."

The United Rubber Workers of America have won two smashing victories in Los Angeles recently. On September 8, Local 43 swept into sole bargaining power of Goodrich by a vote of almost 3 to 1. Of the 550 votes cast, 406 went for the U.R.W.A., 144 for the "independent" Union, 5 were blank and 7 were challenged.

At Goodrich, the United Rubber Workers also won. Out of a total vote of 1457, the U.R.W.A. received 801, the "independent union" 656 and 15 were challenged. With Goodrich, Goodyear, U. S. Rubber and E. M. Smith Rubber Co., 100% C.I.O., only Firestone remains to be won over.

Thus, one by one the bulwarks of the Los Angeles open shoppers fall before the onward march of labor. courses the New Workers School has ever offered, is now going on at the School, 131 West 33rd St., seventh floor.

PHILADELPHIA NEW WORKERS SCHOOL
329 Pine Street
Opens October 13th
Friday Evenings:
Marxian Economics, The State
Wednesday Evenings:
History of American Labor,
Current Events.
ANNOUNCING A HOUSEWARMING
celebrating the reopening of the Philadelphia New Workers School and the 8th anniversary of the Ind. Communist Labor League
Saturday, October 9, 1937
At 8:30 P. M.
at
329 Pine Street
SUBSCRIPTION 25 CENTS

LET'S PUT OVER THE AGE DRIVE!

By ROBERT MACKLIN

THE Workers Age drive is on. One thousand new subscribers by December 31, is the goal set. There is every indication that this goal will be easily surpassed. Subs have been coming in steadily all year round, exceeding the number of expirations by far, even during the slow, hot summer months. At the end of last year, we concluded a fairly successful drive with the number of subscribers more than two and a half times what it was earlier in 1936. Today, at the beginning of our new fall drive, this figure is almost four times that of one and a half years ago! Subscriptions are generally followed by a request for more literature and guidance; recently, for example, from an important center in the South there came a demand for organization of a group of workers into the I.C.L.L. It can be definitely said that the year 1937 has so far been one of considerable progress for the Workers Age; but

it is only a beginning.

Great things are expected from the Michigan area. Our comrades there are in an excellent position to utilize the wide influence they have won in the labor movement because of their constructive role in the battles of the auto workers to build a mighty union. New York will surely have to hustle to maintain its leadership in Age building.

Our other I.C.L.L. units are also to be reckoned with. Baltimore, we remember, was the leader of the out-of-town units in last year's sub drive. Philadelphians have contributed steadily all year round and now they have also a live and growing Youth Section. Boston is more vigorous than ever. And then there is Los Angeles; yes, we have crossed the Great Divide. Los Angeles is going places. It established a substantial regular bundle order sales and then promptly doubled their order. Subs from California are already coming in. Pittsburgh and the Anthracite will

do their parts. And Chicago promises to redeem itself for its past inactivity.

On the wall of our Age office, there is a curve chart showing the progress of Age circulation. For a year and a half now, there has been no downward movement, only upward—but oh, so gently upward. The fall Age sub drive is going to shoot this curve so high it will be too steep for a mountain goat to climb. This is the age of stratosphere flights. A little planning and organization will do wonders.

The I.C.L.L. has made big headway recently as a national force in the labor movement. This should reflect itself in the recruiting and Workers Age campaigns. It should—and it could—if we would. There is no historic inevitability involved. Hard, conscientious work is the thing. We shall see!

Reports on the progress of the Age sub drive plus interesting comments and letters from our readers will appear in these columns regularly.

The Civil War in Spain

(Continued from Page 1)

brought them into the government for a while, and still use their conservative wings), the Spanish bourgeoisie would have preferred them, for their popular following was enormous. But both these parties, despite lack of clarity and consequent unreliability from a proletarian standpoint, were too responsive to the pressure of the working class, too loyal and too democratically run to be dependable.

When German capitalism was in a similar plight in 1918, it had called the Social-Democracy into the government. It was they who crushed the Spartacan revolt that the junkers themselves could never have crushed, put across a bourgeois republic when a soviet republic was on the order of the day, wrote the Weimar Constitution creating a "democratic republic with profound social features" (the very language is being repeated by the Spanish C.P. today!), murdered Liebknecht and Luxemburg as today the Spanish Communist Party has murdered Andres Nin. It was they who "postponed" revolutionary measures while the situation was revolutionary, continued the economic basis of capitalist power, retained the old bureaucratic military apparatus, alienated the backward masses which could only have been won by a revolutionary solution of their needs and jailed or slaughtered the vanguard that urged such measures; it was they who made possible, by these measures, the return of reaction and, under the aegis of a "democratic republic with profound social features," made inevitable the rise of Hitler to power.

The Communist Party, which had so often and so lightly bandied about the words "renegade" and "traitor" and "counter-revolutionist," voluntarily and aggressively assumed the renegade, the traitorous, the counter-revolutionary role! Not being the mighty mass force that the German Social-Democracy was in 1918, it cannot fill the role alone. Like Bottom the Weaver, it must play the lion of reaction on the government side, but it cannot fill the lion's skin alone. Hence, discredited republicans like Azaña and Companys, Basque Catholics like Irujo, and right-wing opponents of socialism and workers' rule from the Socialist Party like Negrin and Prieto, help to fill out a paw or a bump, while the Communist Party of Spain roars through the head "as gentle as any sucking dove" in the name of the "people" of Spain. Bottom's gentle roar was calculated, like theirs, not to frighten the honorable spectators he served; but the Communist Party is far from gentle in using claws and fangs to tear to pieces the P.O.U.M., to spring at Largo Caballero when they find he will not play their game, to jail thousands of members of the C.N.T. and U.G.T., and to drive both mighty organizations out of the government for the greater glory of the "democratic republic." How ironical does the term "People's Front" become after the two great trade union centers, between them comprising more than 4,000,000 workers and with their families and dependents more

than two-thirds of all the people of Spain, have been driven out of the government of the "People's" Front! What a commentary on C.P. maneuvers and the weakness of Largo Caballero who permitted Azaña, representing no one, to "accept" his resignation when he represented the majority of the Spanish people! Had he had the revolutionary clarity and consistency to demand a showdown as to who had the masses behind him, he or Azaña, there would be no Negrin government today, frantically seeking to resurrect a dead parliament and recall even Maura, the right-wing opponent of the People's Front, and Valadares, the "neutral" in the civil war, so as to construct some show of legal warrant for their brazen coup d'etat engineered when Azaña bluffed Largo Caballero into resigning his post.

THE ROAD TO DEGENERATION

How, the reader will ask, did the party that once espoused communism and the rule of the working class and so bitterly opposed class collaboration, how did this party come to such a pass that it could assume this role? Its degeneration was gradual—a process, not a single act; and, on its road to counter-revolution, three mile-posts may be distinguished. The first is sectarianism which isolated it from the masses and, made it incapable of furthering the revolutionary cause. During this period, it expelled its best elements (more than half the party!) and became a fanatical opponent of working class unity. The second mile-post is opportunism, the adoption of class collaboration, the sabotaging and scuttling of the united workers front in favor of the bourgeois-led and bourgeois-programmed "People's Front." The third and last mile-post was opposition to the proletarian revolution in July 1936, the conspiracy to drive the U.G.T. and C.N.T. out of the government, the provocation of the May uprising in Barcelona, the frame-up and outlawry of the P.O.U.M. and the murder of Andres Nin. It had travelled a long way on the road to degeneration, and it had reached the end of the road. It is today the chief opponent of socialism, of worker and peasant government, of proletarian revolution, in Republican Spain.

It is worth while to examine its "progress" on this road a little more closely for it points the way the apostles of the "People's Front" are treading in all lands.

(Continued in the next issue)

CRAFTS REHEARSE A.F.L. MEET

(Continued from Page 2)

past, dead and gone. It is to the embodiment of the living present and boundless future that the workers are increasingly turning, to the C.I.O. The hope of the American labor movement lies in Atlantic City, where Lewis, Martin, Dubinsky, Hillman and their colleagues will meet on October 11 to map out plans for the coming months, and not in Denver, where Frey, Hutchenson, Wharton, Green, Woll and their friends will gather to ponder how the tide of progress may be damned!

Lewis Praises Auto Meet

The accomplishments of the recent convention of the United Automobile Workers, held at Milwaukee, were warmly praised as "great and constructive" by John L. Lewis, C.I.O. chairman, in a letter released by the U.A. W. last week. Mr. Lewis's letter states:

"We are all happy at the outcome of your convention.

"I think that when you have the time to appraise its accomplishments, you will consider, yourself, that it was really a great and con-

Maurin Said To be Alive

(Continued from Page 1)

I learned that the Spanish fascists had identified Maurin as a prisoner in their hands and there is, of course, great danger that he will now be executed. The fullest action is being taken to save the life of Joaquin Maurin and all who know his great qualities as a leader will hope they may be successful.

structive convention.

"I wish you the best success and I extend good wishes of every kind. JOHN L. LEWIS."

Auto Union Reorganizes Staff; Martin Threatened

(Continued from Page 1)

of the continued sniping by "unity" caucus leaders, came up for review in the form of a report by a committee of five, headed by Fred Pieper, which the previous Executive Board had elected to set the house in order in Flint. The committee reported the local union in poor financial condition because of extremely unwise dispensation of union funds. However, Mr. Martin declared that this does not mean that Robert Rravis, who had headed the organization, was in any way to be considered as having misused the funds of the union.

Upon consideration of this report and after hearing Robert Travis and Henry Kraus, the editor of the Flint Auto Worker, the Board voted to transfer Travis out of Flint. Decision on Kraus is not yet known altho "unity" caucus supporters expect his removal.

Discussing the new organization set-up decided upon by the Board President Martin stated that under the new plan Executive Board members will be given charge of International activities in two ways: first, as directors of regions of which there will be 11 throuth the United States and Canada; second, as supervisors of functional activities, such as Ford, Chrysler, and General Motor organization, aircraft, farm equipment, etc.

Richard T. Frankenssteen, elected Assistant President by the International Executive Board, was appointed national organization supervisor for the Ford Motor Company with Zygmund Dobrzynski as assistant for Detroit.

R. J. Thomas will take charge of organization in Chrysler and Elmer Dowell of General Motor.

International offices have been opened in each region with a Board member in charge of each. The following assignments have been announced: Frank Tucci, east; Delmond Garst, south and Missouri; Dick Coleman and Irwin Carey, west coast; F. J. Michael, Wisconsin; Russell B. Merrill, Indiana; Lester Washburn, western Michigan; Charles E. Madden, eastern Michigan, Loren Hauser, Detroit area; C. H. Millard, Canada; Richard E. Reisinger and Ellsworth Kramer, Ohio.

Women's Dep't Set Up

Morris Field has been appointed educational director and a women's auxiliary department has been newly created with Eve Stone as national director. Mrs. J. J. Kennedy will be the assistant for the Detroit area. Supervision of the women's auxiliaries is to be in the hands of a Board of Directors consisting of Richard T. Frankenssteen, Morris Field, Lester Washburn, Charles E. Madden and Miss Stone. Appointments for posts in aircraft, farm equipment, independent automobile corporations, toy and novelty—in which the U.A.W. is assisting organization—will follow in the next few days.

The U.A.W. announced also the appointment of three Negro organ-

izers—Walter Hardin, William Nowell and Frank Evans. Mr. Hardin is placed in full charge nationally while Mr. Howell will confine his activity to the Detroit area and Mr. Evans to Ohio. A number of Negro organizers will soon be appointed for the purpose of Ford organization work.

Executive Board member Fred Pieper has been temporarily returned to his duties in Flint to work with the regional director, Madden. They will be assisted by International Organizers Harry Mangold, David Dow, Bert Harris and Michael Taylor.

In the interests of economy, the publicity department has been disbanded and its functions assigned to other departments. Due to the reorganization of the union along new lines, a number of international organizers have been found superfluous and released.

STATEMENT OF OWNERSHIP, MANAGEMENT, CIRCULATION, ETC. REQUIRED BY THE ACT OF CONGRESS OF MARCH 3, 1933.

Of Workers Age, published weekly at New York, N. Y., for Oct. 1, 1937.

State of New York

County of New York

Before me, a notary public in and for the State and County aforesaid, personally appeared Robert Macklin who, having been duly sworn according to law, deposes and says that he is the Business Manager of the Workers Age and that the following is, to the best of his knowledge and belief, a true statement of the ownership, management, etc., of the aforesaid publication for the date shown in the above caption, required by the Act of August 24, 1912, embodied in section 411, Postal Laws and Regulations.

1. That the names and address of publisher, editor, managing editor, and business managers are:

Publisher: Workers Age Publishing Association, 131 W. 33rd St., New York City; Editor: Will Herberg, 131 W. 33rd St., New York City; Managing Editor: Jay Lovestone, 131 W. 33rd St., New York City; Business Manager: Robert Macklin, 131 W. 33rd St., New York City.

2. That the owner is: Workers Age Publishing Association, 131 W. 33rd St., New York City; Jay Lovestone, 131 W. 33rd St., New York City; Will Herberg, 131 W. 33rd St., New York City; Robert Macklin, 131 W. 33rd St., New York City.

3. That the known bondholders, mortgages, and other security holders owning or holding 1 per cent or more of total amount of bonds, mortgages, or other securities are: None.

4. That the two paragraphs next above, giving the names of the owners, stockholders, and security holders, if any, contain not only the list of stockholders as they appear upon the books of the company but also, in cases where the stockholder or security holder appears upon the books of the company as trustee or in any other fiduciary relation, the name of the person or corporation for whom such trustee is acting, is given; also that the said two paragraphs contain statements embracing affiant's full knowledge and belief as to the circumstances and conditions under which stockholders and security holders who do not appear upon the books of the company other than that of a bona fide owner; and this affiant has no reason to believe that any other person, association, or indirect in the said stock, bonds, or other securities than as so stated by him.

ROBERT MACKLIN, Business Mgr. Sworn to and subscribed before me this 1st day of October, 1937.

WM. J. MULLER, Notary Public My commission expires Mar. 30, 1939.

Joe Goldstein

161 Lafayette St., N. Y. C.

(Corner of Grand St.)

Where good union members eat