A PAPER DEFENDING THE INTERESTS OF WORKERS AND FARMERS

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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 embarassing 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 sions 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 espoused.

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 irratation in the union, because (Continued on Page 4)

REPORT MAURIN STILL ALIVEI

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 a ive 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 im-mediately 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 manouver 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 General Motors, 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 the 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

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

The Civil War in Spain

COUNTER-REVOLU

(We are resuming in this issue the publication of Berplace in the United Automobile tram D. Wolfe's articles on THE CIVIL WAR IN SPAIN. Workers Union, based on the deci- 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

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 has called for October 11. own supineness and even guilty complicity in the preparation of that revolt. The armed masses had The Editor.)

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

The Editor.) entered on the stage of history, not as passive spectators or scene-shifters, but as actors in their ST. LOUIS OFFICE 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 capitalist, 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 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.

WORKERS AGE

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October 9, 1937

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. It has presented a program of its own, inadequate tho it may be. Its banner-bearer, Mayor LaGuardia, is running primarily and in the first place, as an A.L.P. candidate, tho he has also been named by the Republicans and Fusionists. The prompt repudiation by labor party leaders of La Guardia's shameless endorsement of Harvey shows clearly that their support of the Mayor is by no means blind and unreserved. With one exception, it has refused to endorse any old-party nominee for assemblymen, putting forth an independent ticket wherever it is running any candidates at all. Even of the slate of fifteen delegates-at-large for the constitutional convention, a majority of eight are independent nominees of the A.L.P. unconnected with any other party. However complicated the situation as a whole may be, one thing is clear: the A.L.P. has taken another step forward towards political independence—a slight, hesitating step, it is true, but a definite one, nevertheless.

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 last few weeks have witnessed a spectacle of back-stage manipulation and crude political horsetrading on the part of certain A.L.P. leaders that is utterly unworthy of any party of labor. In the name of "practical politics," traditionally working class districts, the very stronghold of a labor party in this city, were offered to the Democrats in "exchange" for "concessions" elsewhere; old-party politicians, some of them with a very doubtful labor record or any other record, for that matter, were offered endorsement or support; combinations that could hardly stand critical examination from the standpoint of labor were proposed. In short, altogether too much of the old-party atmosphere of deals and machine politics began to gather in the

top circles of the A.L.P. 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. Intoxicated, perhaps, by their new-found power as leaders of the movement, they seem to be perilously overlooking the fact that the movement upon which their power as leaders rests is not such as can long endure "practical politics" along oldparty lines without demoralization and disintegration. In its very nature, a labor party must break with the unsavory tradition of American machine politics and strive to bring into public life a new atmosphere of open political struggle on the basis of principle and program. Skillful manouvering and practical compromises are often very necessary but they become a grave menace, threatening the very existence of the movement, if they are not kept strictly within the limits of political independence and adherence to principle.

Behind this whole mess, is to be detected the fine, practised hand of Jim Farley who has his own ideas of what a "labor party" ought to be, if it has to be at all. Unfortunately, Jim Farley's ideas on this subject seem to be shared by the official Communist Party which, obsessed by its People's Front insanity, cannot conceive of a labor party movement today except as an adjunct to the "progressive" wing of the Democratic party, of which Jim Farley is. of course, the shining light. Upon one occasion after the other, the Stalinists in the A.L.P. have done their best to strengthen the link between the labor party and the New Deal Democrats and to impede the process of political emancipation in this direction. In the A.L.P., as elsewhere, the Stalinists are today p'aying a decidedly reactionary role.

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. With them rests the future of the A.L.P.!

Craft Departments Rehearse A. F. L. Convention Line

S THE A. F. of L. stands to- | Act itself. Frey at one convention A S THE A. F. of L. stands to- Act itself. Frey at one convention day, the real power is to be and J. W. Williams at the other tons. More than ever before, thereweek at Denver, be looked upon demanded that the collective-bar ing of the A. F. of L. following immediately after.

building trades conferences and pearance prominently in the deliand the National Labor Relations Board; and (4) the question of independent labor political action. On each of these issues the dominant forces in the A. F. of L. seem aetermined to drive the federation still further along the road of re-

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. The C.I.O. is here with nearly four million members, largely in the big mass-production industries: it looms as the shadow of doon over the deeply worried burocrats of the craft unions. That the A. F of L. will plan a renewed offensive against the C.I.O., there can be little doubt. But in the two department conventions, a difference of opinion became manifest as to exactly what action should be taken at Denver to supplement mere verbal denunciation. Hutchenson, and apparently Frey as well, are for outright expulsion; Wharton, Tracy and others declare the continuation of suspension to be all that is necessary, maintaining that the C.I.O. unions "have expelled themselves." The difference is largely one of tactics and expediency; the advocates of the statusquo apparently believe that expulsion might have a consolidating effect upon the C.I.O., while letting things remain as they are would leave the way open to demoraliz ing "peace" manouvers and manipulations into which, they hope,

great that it is not at all unlikely tion." Others will raise their voice hat final expulsion action will be in defense of the N.L.R.B. or indetaken at Denver. Whatever differences there may be on the exact strategy to follow ary, craft-union officialdom will in fighting the C.I.O., there certainly is none in the top circles of that at Tampa last year. Some the A. F. of L. on condemning the friction, even clashes, may develop militant tactics by means of which in its ranks on how best to fight the C.I.O. unions have made such the C.I.O. or in connection with headway. In his report to the metal some jurisdictional dispute or trades convention, John P. Frey scramble for office. But, in the face went out of his way to denounce of the common danger, that is, the the "minority rule tactics" of the C.I.O., these secondary differences C.I.O., under which head he in- will not be allowed to become decicluded the sit-down strike, mass sive by the reactionary officialdom picketing and just about everything else that can render union- alike, they stand or fall with the ism effective. His remarks were enthusiastically echoed at the building trades convention.

The Wagner Act And The N.L.R.B. A savage offensive was launched ed, have nothing to expect from by the metal and building trades the convention at Denver; for all heads upon the National Labor its three and a half million mem-Relations Board and, somewhat bers, the A. F. of L. represents the more indirectly, upon the Wagner

found in the hands of the big craft attacked the N.L.R.B. as "biased" unions forming the metal and in favor of the C.I.O. and demand building trades departments—or ed the "drastic restriction" of its rather, in the hands of the topmost powers, Williams going so far as officials of these unions. William to call for its "abolition"! What Green and Matthew Woll may look seemed to bother them most was important and make a lot of that the board had the right to deeeches but real control rests with termine the collective-bargaining the Hutchensons, Freys and Whar- unit (craft, department, plant, company) and that the units generally fore, may the conventions of these chosen were of an industrial two big departments, held last character. The A. F. of L. chiefs as setting the pace for and show- gaining unit be fixed by law as the ing the way to the annual gather- craft and that the Wagner Act be amended to that effect, as the so called Walsh-Dies bill provides. Be What were the big issues that cause she had suggested that the came to the fore at the metal and Wagner Act had better not be touched in the immediate futurewhich are bound to make their ap- and for other reasons as well-Secretary of Labor Perkins was berations of the A. F. of L. con- violently abused and insulted b vention itself? As they have al- one speaker after another at th ready defined themselves, they are metal and building trades gather (1) the C.I.O. and (2) its militant ings; it has already been announce labor tactics; (3) the Wagner Act | ed that she will not be invited to address the A. F. of L. convention

> the Wagner Act, as administere by the present N.L.R.B., has proved an unexpected obstacle to the A. F. of L. in its new tactics of offer ing itself to the employers as company union in order to get "re cognition" and thus block th C.I.O. Altho Green is in favor of a more conciliatory attitude to wards the N.L.R.B. and Miss Per kins, it is expected that the Denver convention will be the scene of more than one denunciation of both with something of the sort finding expression in the resolutions

The fact of the matter is tha

Independent Political Action In his report to the A. F. of I metal trades leaders, John P. Fre forecast the launching of a labo party by the C.I.O. within the next vear and condemned such a move as running counter to the "well established non-partisan political policy of the A. F. of L." and bound to add "political confusior . to the industrial turmoil which has been created by the C.I.O." To this, Hutchenson, the Republican stalwart, naturally had little t add. It is clear that the growing movement for independent labor political action will meet with the most bitter hostility at the A. F of L. convention. Here too, the A F. of L. is progressing backwards at a devastating 'speed!

Progressive Sentiment At The A. F. of L. Convention

It is still difficult to figure ou what will be the character and certain elements in the C.I.O. could strength of progressive sentiment be duped. It is understood that at the Denver gathering. A few President Green and Matthew Woll unions will make "peace" pro lean to this viewpoint but the posals, either the old futilities all weight of the Hutchenson wing in over again or else the new scheme the councils of the A. F. of L. is so for "an all-inclusive unity convenpendent political action. By and large, however, the old, reactionof the Executive Council. For, all vested interest they represent, craft unionism!

> Denver Or Atlantic City? The masses of the American workers, organized and unorganiz-

> > (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 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.)

London, England

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

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 the 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 iournal

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.

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

By WILL HERBERG

"little steel" strike and related with greater authority than perlabor conflicts, voiced by John L. haps any other correspondent, Lewis in recent public declarations, formulated the New Deal position has called attention to an all-im- with commendable clarity. It will portant fact which has been alto- not be out of place here to quote gether too little regarded in the at length: 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. The controversy over Section 5 of the late wages-and-hours bill has helped more than anything else to make this vital distinction clear.

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 t have the federal government establish minimum wages and a maximum work-week for American in dustry as well as outlaw certain "oppressive" labor conditions, such as labor espionage and strikebreaking. 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 "inadequate" or absent altogether. For the gov ernment to engage in such wagefixing activities, he maintained, would be to infringe upon the rights of self-organization and collective bargaining of the workers and to usurp the functions of the trade unions. From Lewis's re marks, it is not difficult to gather the main lines of the C.I.O. view on what the relations between the not at opening a free field for the government and the trade union trade union movement but rather movement ought properly to be. at replacing it, at making it "un Let the government—so runs the C.I.O. position—set up minimum functions—at most, at incorporastandards for sub-marginal groups; let the government establish a so- chinery of economic-political cial-security program to cover all action. Always implicit, this clash forms of insecurity inherent in of objectives came out into the open modern industrial life, for here only in the discussion over Section 5. governmental action on a national scale is at all feasible; above all, hour and similar legislation is funlet the government guarantee damentally different. To the trade labor a fair field for organization union movement, such legislation and trade union action by com- is, of course, conceived as specificpelling collective bargaining and ally labor legislation, for the puroutlawing company unionism, labor pose of improving the conditions espionage, strike-breaking and the of labor or of facilitating self-orlike. But let it not intrude into ganization and collective bargainthose fields, such as fixing the gen- ing. But, for the New Deal, such eral conditions of labor, where its legislation is primarily a matter activities would inevitably mean of socio-economic stabilization, of the subjection of trade unionism strengthening the capitalist systo strict governmental control or even its elimination altogetherin either case, the deprivation of situation. labor of its fundamental rights of

hours. This much labor demands but more it cannot tolerate! This position is essentially a outgrowth thru negation of the old, conservative-syndicalist philosophy of "voluntarism," so dominant in the A. F. of L. until recently. The American labor movement has, happily, already passed beyond the stage where it could reject unemployment insurance or minimumwage legislation in the name of the abstract and reactionary principle of "self-heln." Some echoes of the dead. outlived past may still be heard in the occasional pronounce ments of a Hutcheson or Furuseth but, by and large, there can hardly be a doubt that the position advanced by Lewis represents the viewpoint of the great mass of organized labor in the country.

-self-organization and collective

bargaining. Let these rights be

guaranteed in fact, and labor can

well rely upon its own organized

might to achieve its ends and fix

"fair" standards of wages and

It is precisely on this question the wide divergence of outlook be- 177-8.

rooted. In a very significant article THE sharp criticism of the ad- in the New York Times of June 13, ministration's conduct in the 1937, Arthur Krock, who speaks

"In the opinion of the Presi-

dent, members of Congress and group leaders who have long been determined on passing such a law, and of Benjamin V Cohen and Thomas G. Corcoran, who wrote the bill, one of three powers in this country will fix wages. . . . These 'three powers' are capital, labor and the federal government. Capital would fix minimum wages and hours thru codes. . . . Labor would fix wages and hours thru collective bargaining and strikes. Government would fix them thru legislation. . . As the particular sponsors, architects and supporters of the Black-Connery see it, government the most desirable and effective of the three agents. Its enforcement, in their opinion, will be more equitable and will better guard the nathe 'chiseling' of capital, on the one hand, and the aggressions of labor, on the other, . Doubtless some elements in or ganized labor (John L. Lewis is obviously referred to here-W. H.) oppose Section 5 because they foresee, if the government effects a \$1,200-\$700 annual wage range and a 40-30 hour range per week, there will be less reason for unskilled work-

ers to pay dues to unions to do collective bargaining for them." Here there is certainly no room for ambiguity. The New Deal aims necessary" by taking over its ting it into the governmental ma-

The very conception of wage tem thru a process of careful adaptation to the new industrial

"It is a mistake" Secretary of Labor Frances Perkins point- 1 ed out at the joint Congressional

are general economic measures, dictatorship necessarily degenerate ment is hinted at by the school . . They do, by furnishing a into burocratic and personal dic- board as to yet another instructor certain delimitation of competitatorship? Will proletarian dictation of national prominence whose adtion in the field of labor stand- torship be necessary in the United dition to the faculty may be anards, stabilize competition. . . The thing which is most neces- from that in Russia? What safesary (is) the removing of labor guards if any can be devised of Soviet Dictatorship" is given on costs from the basis of competition. One of the objects of ful transition to socialism possible? Lenin and the Modern Revisionsuch a bill as this is to make Is violent revolution inevitable? | ists" on Mondays at 8:30; Mautcertain that competition will Has the New Deal demonstrated ner's "American Labor and Poliwork in favor of efficient man- the possibility of planning or tical Issues Today" on Tuesday at agement and high standards of spreading prosperity under capital- 7; Brill's "New Problems of Trade productive quality. The over- ism? Is international revolutionary Unionism" on Tuesdays at 8:30; whelming majority of American organization possible? What light Benjamin's "Communism: What it business men will gain a new does the degeneration of the is and What it is Not" on Fridays sense of security if the law Second and Third Internationals at 7; and Wolfe's "The Law of provides that basic labor stand- throw upon this question? Should Revolution: Central Problem of ards be stabilized and hence a new international be formed or Marxist Strategy" on Fridays at removed from the arena of un- not? What are the desirable limits 8:30. (Wolfe's course was mistaken-

* See Joint Hearings . . . on S. tion in an international? of the functions of government that 2475 and H. R. 7200, Part 1, pp.

space, we are forced to omit from this issue the continuation of Andres Nin's thesis on Spain. The next issue will carry another instalment of this important document.

fair competition. . . ." Whatever may be thought of the onomics of these contentions, one 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 order itself.

Advantages And Dangers For Labor The wide divergence in fundamental ideals and goals between Vandeleur branding the C.I.O. as the New Deal and the labor move- "a dual organization . . . actively ment should be obvious. For a certional order and economy from tain, limited stretch of the distance subversive unpatriotic and comthe two paths run more or less munistic element," set up in order parallel: the New Deal, for its to "advance the aspirations of an reasons, and labor, for its own, are opportunist who aspires to the ofboth interested in various forms of fice of President of the United social and labor legislation. The States" and "undermining . . . the organized workers should certain- legitimate trade union movement. y utilize this coincidence for all it own welfare, they should never of San Francisco, and John F lose sight of its inherent limita- Shelley, president of the San Frantions and dangers.

> School Plans New Survey Of Marxist Fundamentals Los Angeles Building Trades Council was elected president and Van-The revolutionary labor movement | searchingly analyzed in full and both "by acclamation." has reached a stage where it must free discussion in Wolfe's course.

problems.

States? If so, how will it differ nounced in a few days. against degeneration? Is peace- Mondays at 7; Jim Cork's "Marx, of centralization and decentraliza- ly announced in the catalog as be-

ATTENTION!

Because of the pressure of -The Editor.

thing is clear: the considerations at Long Beach, demonstrated the vention of the A. F. of L. and 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

Lacking a constructive program for organizing the workers of Califreer field for collective endeavor fornia, the Vandeleur clique resortand, ultimately, a far-reaching ed to Red baiting and splitting change in the economic and social tacties 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 supported by every known radical,

A resolution drafted by George is worth but, for the sake of their C. Kidwell, Bakery Wagon Drivers cisco Central Labor Council, which

engage in some earnest "soul- Will Herberg will give a similar searching," an examination of all course concretely limiting the probits fundamental assumptions, if it lems to the "Russian question."

is to evaluate the present and sur- And the elementary course in Funvive into the future as a living damentals of Communism with D. scientific movement. The Indepen- Benjamin as instructor has been Goodrich by a vote of almost 3 to dent Communist Labor League, un- altered in the same direction. This 1. Of the 550 votes cast, 406 went possessed by any fixed dogmas that | year it is entitled "Communism: | for the U.R.W.A., 144 for the "inare impervious to the pressure of What it is and what it is not" and depedent" Union, 5 were blank and fact, owing allegiance to no faction will examine particularly the modi- 7 were challenged. creed such as paralyse Stalinism fications of communism made by and Trotskyism, has been engaged the Comintern which cause the Workers also won. Out of a total in such an examination of its fun- American C.P. to abandon the vote of 1457, the U.R.W.A. redamental assumptions in the light whole concept of class struggle, ceived 801, the "independent union" of the experience of the last proletarian revolution and prole- 656 and 15 were challenged. twenty years. As a contribution to tarian dictatorship, in favor of the With Goodrich, Goodyear, U. S. this discussion it has established Constitution, bourgeois democracy, Rubber and E. M. Smith Rubber a Friday night discussion group and peaceful, gradual reform Co., 100% C.I.O., only Firestone under the direction of Bertram D. under capitalism. Jim Cork treats remains to be won over. Wolfe, a new type of course to con- basic texts of Marx, Engels and cern itself fearlessly with these Lenin to examine the light they the Los Angeles open shoppers fall throw on these problems, in a before the onward march of labor. Here are some of the ground- course entitled "Marx, Lenin and breaking questions which will be the Modern Revisionists." Other courses the New Workers School committee hearings,* "to think asked and analyzed: In the light of courses are offered in "New Prob- has ever offered, is now going on of the minimum-wages and what has happened in the Soviet lems of Trade Unionism" by I at the School, 131 West 33rd St., maximum-hours provisions as Union, must the concept of the exclusively labor measures. . . . proletarian dictatorship be modi- Political Issues Today" by M. The labor provisions themselves fied or discarded? Does proletarian Mautner. A sensational announce-

Will Herberg's "New Problems tion in an international? ing given at 7 but the hour fixed is These are only a few of the ques-8:30.) Registration for these, the tion that will be taken up and most interesting and important

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

Los Angeles, Cal. | provided that President Roosevelt Almost completely dominated by be asked to appoint a commission the reactionary machine of Ed. to plan composition of the differ-Vandeleur, the 38th annual con- ences between the A. F. of L. and vention of the California State the C.I.O., such a plan to be Federation of Labor, held last week adopted eventually by a joint con-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

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 Vander-

leur 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

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 warehousemen.

C. J. Haggerty, president of the cil, was elected president and Vandeleur was re-elected secretary.

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 ot

At Goodrich, the United Rubber

Thus, one by one the bulwarks of

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.

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 | Pittsburgh and the Anthracite will | regularly.

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.

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

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 rganization 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

past inactivity. On the wall of our Age office,

The accomplishments of the reent convention of the United Auwaukee, 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:

Auto Meet

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

"I think that when you have the time to appraise its accomplish-

Lewis Praises | Maurin Said To be Alive

(Continued from Page 1) I learned that the Spanish fascists comobile Workers, held at Mil- 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 bein gtaken 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 ments, you will consider, yourself, I extend good wishes of every that it was really a great and con- kind.

JOHN L. LEWIS."

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

The Communist Party, which had so often and so lightly bandied about the words "renegade" and "traitor" and "counter-revolutionist," voluntarily and agressively 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 ressurrect a dead parliament and recall even Maura, the rightwing opponent of the People's Front, and Valladares, 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 may 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!

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 contmittee 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 thruout 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. Frankensteen, elected Assistant President by the Inter-

Richard T. Frankensteen, 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. Kenvern to and indicate the said stock bonds, or other securities servent before me this worth of and subscribed before me this succession. The security holder appears upon the books of the company other than hat of a bona fide wher; and this affiant has no reason and director and a women's auxiliary department has been newly created with Eve Stone as national director. Mrs. J. J. Kenver the said stock bonds, or other securities than as so stated by him. Robert Matter and a subscribed before me this

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. Frankensteen, 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 fol low 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. Harden 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.

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

GRESS 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.

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