

Frey's Real Game

an editorial

THE report on Communist Party influence in the trade unions, submitted to the Dies Committee by John P. Frey of the American Federation of Labor, will shock few who are acquainted with the situation in both the Committee for Industrial Organization and the American Federation of Labor. The report itself differs in no important essentials with any number of previous reports by the same Mr. Frey on this topic. To some extent the report depicts accurately Communist Party control in a number of unions. But these facts have been generally known in the labor movement for some time due to the high-handed and dictatorial manner in which the Stalinists behaved in the organizations in which their struggle for power had succeeded.

Where the report deals with C.P. influence in such unions as the National Maritime Union, west coast longshoremen under Harry Bridges, Fur Workers, United Automobile Workers Union, etc. Mr. Frey's information comes as a belated anticlimax. The organizations in question have themselves dramatized in the sharpest possible manner their opposition to Stalinist totalitarian control and thereby they completely annihilate Mr. Frey's basic thesis—that the C.I.O. has deliberately and consciously cultivated, sponsored and encouraged Communist Party control and influence in these and other organizations.

In addition to the type of information which is well known there is the usual misinformation, falsification and exaggeration which enters into all exposes whether it be that of the Communist Party by Frey or of the Independent Labor League by Mr. Mortimer of the Communist Party.

What is the purpose and aim of this expose? Is it to raise in a constructive manner the shortcomings and mistakes of certain unions for the purpose of aiding to eradicate these weaknesses and thereby to strengthen these unions? Far from it. The cry of Communist Party control by Mr. Frey and his associates of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor is raised for the purpose of smearing the Committee for Industrial Organization. It is raised for factional purposes and not for the purpose of remedying certain evils in the labor movement brought about by Stalinist intrigue and domination. If the report were not biased Mr. Frey would surely have found time to discuss a number of unions in the American Federation of Labor in which are to be found members of the Communist Party and of working class political organizations. He did not do so because on the one hand it would show the falseness of his basic thesis that Communist influence is confined to the C.I.O., and secondly it would show that there are radicals (not Communist Party) workers active in the unions who have been models of loyalty and devotion to the cause of labor.

Also in another way does Mr. Frey and those he speaks for show the true meaning of their crusade against communism as one directed against the C.I.O. and not against the Communist Party. Some six months ago President William Green of the A. F. of L. wrote an article in the magazine Liberty in which he discussed the situation in the U.A.W. In that article Mr. Green held out an olive branch to the disruptive Stalinist clique led by the Communist Party member Wyndham Mortimer. He stated

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RUMP AUTO UNION MEET FAILURE

CP Raids Detroit UAW Offices!

Detroit, Mich.—The Stalinists continue their gangster methods in the United Automobile Workers Union. On Sunday August 7, union offices on the eighth floor of the Hoffman Building were burglarized and the records and files ransacked, apparently in a search for documents. Reported ransacked were the offices of Loren Houser, Detroit regional director of the U.A.W., Allan Strachan, director of Michigan's Labor Non-Partisan League, and William Taylor, director of the U.A.W.'s auxiliary of W.P.A. workers.

The raid upon the union's offices follows a successful raid upon the home of Jay Lovestone on July 17. Documents and property were stolen.

Whether any documents were taken from the union's offices was not made known. Sums of money were said to be missing.

LOVESTONE PRESSES FOR STOLEN PAPERS

Detroit, New York D.A.'s Asked To Assist In Case; Criminal and Civil Action Planned

New York, N. Y.—Thieves and forgers will not stop at mere lying. This was illustrated when attorney Maurice Sugar of Detroit in charge of the case of the five Stalinists now expelled or suspended from the International Board of the U.A.W., denied any knowledge of the documents or property belonging to Jay Lovestone.

That Mr. Sugar lies is clear. The case he presented for his clients consisted of excerpts from documents alleged to have been written by or to Jay Lovestone. If Mr. Sugar was not aware from the start of the manner in which the documents were secured, he surely must have discovered it in the course of the preparation of his case, since no lawyer will handle documents without finding out how they were secured. That Mr. Sugar proceeded nevertheless reflects upon his integrity as a labor attorney.

Questioned on this matter by the firm of Davidson and Mann, retained by Jay Lovestone to recover the documents stolen on July 17, Mr. Sugar blandly replied that he knew nothing of any documents or property belonging to Lovestone but would question his clients. The second reply, only after another request, was to the effect that his clients were also completely in the dark as to Lovestone's documents. A most amazing position of both attorney and clients in the face of a case built upon "documents" and also of numerous sensational news releases from Mr. Sugar's office all using the refrain—"we have letters and documents. . . ." Not photostats or excerpts, mind you, but "letters and documents."

And now that Lovestone's attorneys have caught up with them neither Mr. Sugar nor his Stalinist clients know anything of either "letters" or "documents." In that case we are forced to demand—where did Mr. Sugar secure his excerpts and photostats of the "letters and documents"? If these are based to any extent, no matter how distorted or falsified, on the genuine documents, then Mr. Sugar and his Stalinist clients stand forth as self-confessed thieves or at best dealers in stolen property. If however they know nothing of Love-

stone's property, as they now claim, how come Mr. Sugar's news releases to the contrary? In this case does not Mr. Sugar's detailed concoction, which was intended to pass as genuine, stand exposed as a tissue of lies and forgeries without any basis in fact?

But both Mr. Sugar and his clients know very well that they are or were in possession of letters and documents which they falsified and twisted into a pseudo-defense. They

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Behind the Maritime Poll

Stalinist Misleadership Aroused Revolt

By JACK SODERBERG

August 1, 1938.

THE violence and disorder at headquarters of the National Maritime Union last week came as a direct result of a series of disastrous errors and the high-handed and bureaucratic rule imposed upon the membership by an unprincipled Stalinist leadership bent upon retaining control even if it means the total destruction of a once-promising and powerful organization. The discontent of the rank and file had long been brewing and it was only a matter of time before the lid would blow off. What made these men take matters into their own hands—these were all members of the union and not "Ryan goon squads" as the Daily Worker would have us believe—and proceed to clean up?

Lawrenson's Slave Agreement

First, there was the outright slave agreement which Mr. Lawrenson, Browder's No. 1 stooge on the District Committee, negotiated with the tanker owners and then shoved down the throats of the seamen. This agreement gained nothing for the men but, on the contrary, took away what these men had already gained thru their own initiative aboard the tankers. In a most high-handed manner, the Stalinites on the District Committee refused the members as

Only 35 Unity Officials Attend; Call New Parley

By GEORGE F. MILES

Toledo, Ohio.—The first test balloon, sent up by the expelled Stalinists to determine whether atmospheric conditions in the United Automobile Workers Union were suitable for a flight into dual unionism, exploded in their faces. The conferences of presidents of local unions backing the splitters, was attended by a mere 35, according to claims made by Mr. Frankenstein. As the conference neared, the imposing figure of 200,000 members, which the expelled officers claimed were behind them, looked more and more fantastic. The first claim of 85 local presidents was immediately pared down to 75 and finally the conference itself claimed an attendance of but 35 presidents of locals out of about 600 in the United Automobile Workers Union.

The conference itself showed a deep schism and a struggle for power among the supporters of the "unity" caucus, with Frankenstein, Mortimer, and the rest of the expelled lining up on one side, and Walter Reuther and Tracy Doll on the other. This division also reflected itself in terms of the policy determined upon at this conference. Reuther and Doll proposed the continuation of the old policy of playing the C.I.O. angle in a factional manner by insisting the C.I.O. intervene to override the Executive Board and make peace in the U.A.W. It was also the intention of this resolution to block any consideration of an emergency convention because the socialists especially are quite fearful of its out-

come. They believe that even if such could be secured, it would result either in the Communist Party and its stooges taking over full control of the international or it might degenerate into a rump movement ending in dual unionism.

The Mortimer crowd appeared to have the conference well in hand for the Reuther resolution was defeated and the proposal for an emergency convention carried. This action incidentally exposes the totally fraudulent character of the movement for C.I.O. intervention prior to the expulsions. The C.P. instigators of the faction war used this cry when there appeared to be a possibility that they might secure the organization on a silver platter by throwing the C.I.O. into a panic over the situation in the union. Once this failed the Stalinists discarded this tactic and came out openly for rump movements and dual unionism.

Quickly sensing that the conference last Saturday was a severe blow to their hopes, the ousted officers promised a broad conference for the following Saturday in order to bolster the sagging morale of

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waterfront. But no! Three weeks ago, a letter went out over the signature of Curran advising all branches against "shipping mixed crews"—and this with the full approval of a District Committee which contains seven Communist Party members out of a total of ten! Remember that no ship afloat carries an all-Negro crew.

The Financial Crisis

Then there is the acute financial crisis within the union. The union is broke and cannot meet its financial obligations any longer. So it has been decided to economize. A letter has gone out to all branches urging them to cut all salaries of delegates, agents, etc., ten dollars per week. This letter is a result of the recommendation of the subcommittee on finance. The chairman of this committee is one Frank Jones, a member of the Communist Party. In the financial statement as of June 30, 1938, this worthy is down as owing the union the sum of \$355.00 balance, "borrowed" at a time when the membership was living on coffee and doughnuts! The "loan" of several hundred dollars was made so that this true representative of Stalin could buy himself an automobile. I need not add that no one was consulted when this bum helped himself to the "loan." Incidentally, in the same statement—and it is the

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Missouri Primaries Show Workers Need Labor Party

By ALBERT EASTON

St. Louis, Mo.

THE only candidate actively supported by the organized labor movement of St. Louis, Mr. A. J. Pickett, prominent leader of the Brotherhood of Railway Clerks in Missouri, made a good showing as candidate for the nomination as congressman on the Democratic ticket in the Twelfth Congressional District. He received 28,000 votes against 44,000 received by C. Arthur Anderson, the incumbent and arch enemy of labor and friend of Henry Ford. Despite his miserable labor record, Anderson claimed the support of William Green who did not deny it. The local A.F.L. unions were behind Pickett along with Labor's Non-Partisan League which includes most of the C.I.O. unions and a few A.F. of L. locals. The local democratic machine supported Anderson and even those committeemen who pledged their aid to Pickett nullified their promise by having their precinct captains paste the name of Anderson on the sample ballots which indorsed Pickett. The local press gave little notice to the Pickett candidacy but featured every remark of Anderson who also had the use of radio which Pickett could not afford. In spite of these factors plus the political inexperience of the local labor movement, Pickett was able to secure 36% of the votes in this second largest congressional district in the country.

Futility of "Primary Progressivism"

The results of this primary should cause the labor movement to re-examine the fatal policy of trying to "capture" the old boss parties. It simply does not work as can be seen from this case as well as in the recent Pennsylvania primary. Consider the position in which the St. Louis labor movement now finds itself. Having staked everything on the primaries the L.N.P.L. is now faced with these alternatives: Support the Democratic nominee, C. Arthur Anderson; support the Republican candidate, Russell J. Horsefield; or, abstain from voting. Not a single one of these alternatives meets labor's needs and yet this is the blind alley which adherence to the Democratic Party has led to.

The only way to cut through this mess is to run an independent candidate of labor on an independent ticket. There is no other way open. Can the labor movement of St. Louis possibly support C. Arthur Anderson? To do so is to betray labor and to abandon all honor and self respect, for a vote for Anderson is a vote for Henry Ford and all the bitterest enemies of the workingman. The Republican candidate is even worse, if that is possible, than Anderson. What is now left for the workers in the 12th Congressional District? Disfranchisement in the coming election unless there is an independent candidate of labor!

Need For Independence

By having an independent political organization, the New York labor movement, thru the American Labor Party, has been able to elect the candidates of its choice under its emblem. Thru an independent party, labor has forced the Democratic Party to come running after it in New York. For, however questionable may be some alliances with the Republicans and Demo-

crats in that city, labor's political strength thru labor's political independence has been demonstrated. The American Labor Party can put forth its own slate can force concessions, and is not dependent upon the old machinery for the creation of liberal or labor candidates. Only the independent organization of the labor votes behind a powerful labor party will bring benefits to labor even where there is no immediate success. Is it not foolish for labor to limit itself to the preliminary bouts and voluntarily abstain from the main fight? But that is precisely what happens when labor goes into the primaries and then, when beaten there stays out of the final elections.

Only Labor Can Beat Pendergast

Outside of the Pickett campaign labor played no independent role in the Missouri primaries. There was a heated struggle between the various Democratic bosses. The chief contest centered around the vacancy for the State Supreme Court between Governor Stark's candidate, Douglas and Pendergast choice, Billings. As a result, of Douglas' victory Governor Stark has now become the hero of the local newspapers. But if Thomas J. Pendergast's choice for the State Supreme Court was defeated thru the defection of his former allies, he retained his tight grip over Kansas City and still controls the majority of the Supreme Court and a good section of the state officials.

Pendergast himself bluntly stated in an interview: "So far as the Jackson County (Kansas City) organization is concerned it will not need the State organization in the future as much as the State organization will need it."

"Reference to the Blue Book

Furriers' Union Elections Show Big Progressive Vote

The regular annual election in the New York Furriers' Union took place on July 27, 28, and 29, in which the United Progressive Furriers rallied the opposition against the Stalinist administration. Candidates for manager, assistant manager, seven business agents (out of thirteen), twenty-five Joint Council members (out of thirty-nine) were run by the United Progressive Furriers, the only opposition in the union.

While the administration, thru the application of typical Stalinist "democracy," succeeded in re-electing itself, the newly united opposition polled votes ranging from 1,000 to 2,600 for all offices for which it ran candidates. S. Glassman, candidate for manager, received over 1,200 votes; Benjamin Baraz, for assistant manager, received over 1,800; Nathan Kramer, for secretary-treasurer, over 1,000. Jack Bernstein, progressive candidate for Business Agent, polled 2,600 votes, and some of the council candidates got 2,000 votes and over.

The United Progressive Furriers had made several proposals for economy in the union and democracy in the elections, all of which were ignored by the Stalinist administration. The progressives proposed that eight and not thirteen business agents be elected, to cut down expenses and save the union members from heavy taxation; that elections be completed in one day,

CIO Unions Win in Poll

C.I.O. unions have won 81% of the N.L.R.B. elections in which they have participated since Oct. 1935, a survey released by the National Labor Relations Board revealed recently.

The C.I.O., it found, was on the ballot in 557 polls and gained 455 victories.

In 966 elections sponsored by the N.L.R.B., bona-fide labor unions were victorious in 74.8% of the cases. Of this number, the C.I.O. led with 47.1%, followed by the A.F. of L. with 26.3% and independent unions with 1.4%.

C.I.O. affiliates polled an average of 66.7% of the votes in elections which they won, the board report showed.

Only 208 of the 966 contests involved rivalry between A.F. of L. and C.I.O. unions. The C.I.O. was victorious in 170 of these—75%.

The C.I.O. was involved in larger concerns than the A.F. of L., the figures indicated. An average of 527 persons figured in C.I.O. voting tests, while polls in which the A.F. of L. was represented averaged only 297.

Altogether, 81.1% of the votes cast in the elections favored trade unions, with 13.6% going to company unions and 5.3% for no unions.

shows that the Jackson County organization has placed the State administration in office four distinct times. It will do so again."

Pendergast is right about his control. Neither rival bosses nor the newspapers nor the New Deal can defeat Pendergastism. Only the awakening of labor and the organization of a labor party in Kansas City, St. Louis and other sections of the state can destroy the old corrupt political machines and bring benefits to labor.

instead of being dragged out for three; that the vote be by machine, instead of by hand ballot; that the Honest Ballot Association or a committee of the labor movement supervise the elections; that no candidates be permitted in the polling places; that the United Progressive Furriers be permitted watchers; that the union administration's demand for a \$10 per week increase in officers' salaries be submitted to referendum. These proposals were rejected.

The vote of the united opposition was achieved in the face of actual C.P. terror in the voting places. No opposition watchers were permitted, and all complaints were sneered at by the hand-picked Stalinist Elections Committee, whose only answer was to insult the progressives. A challenge of the honesty of the elections, made by Mike Intrator at the opening of the ballot boxes, was ignored by the administration.

In a statement issued after the elections, the United Progressive Furriers declared, in part:

"We are convinced that this election has drawn a clear demarcation between the administration, which is composed of one clique and one party, and the true united front of workers of various political opinions and classifications of which the United Progressive Furriers consists."

The United Progressive Furriers includes in its ranks Anarchists,

French Socialist Workers And Peasant Party's Stand

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fraction carte-blanche in making another attempt at sponsoring a "National Union" government.

2. The Revolutionary Left, or rather the P.S.O.P., believes that the danger of a European war is today more imminent than ever. The last pillar of the Versailles system, Czechoslovakia, is today menaced by a secession of the Sudeten region. The Czech question does not represent a struggle between fascism and democracy, as the reformist and Stalinist leaders would have us believe, but a clash between German imperialism, which was strengthened by Hitler and is avidly seeking to reconquer and enlarge the world position it held before 1914, and British and French imperialism, which desire to preserve their colonies and sources of raw materials. For strategic, economic and political reasons, Hitler and Mussolini are supporting Franco's war against the Spanish people. Despite all our reservations on the stand of the Negrin government and our condemnation of the abominable practices introduced by the Stalinites and the G.P.U. in Spain, we demand full support of the Spanish Republican government and are determined opponents of "non-intervention." It cannot be contested that events in Spain may lead to a world war, but it is equally true that a victory of Franco would be a victory for the worst capitalist reaction in the world.

3. The Daladier government is a transition government which satisfies nobody but which nobody dares to overthrow for fear of the morrow. Herein lies the secret of its strength and the explanation of its semi-Bonapartist methods. It rules practically without parliamentary control. There is no fascist movement in France which enjoys mass support, as did the Hitler movement in 1932. Under a government which is as unstable as that of Daladier, there can only develop the despair and demoralization of the masses to the extent of driving them into the arms of fascism. The workers are profoundly affected by the bankruptcy of the leaders of the People's Front but they are waiting.

The bourgeoisie are maneuvering to establish in the Fall a government of reaction extending from Marin to Frossard, which would liquidate the reforms of 1936. It is doubtful whether they will succeed.

Since, it is more than doubtful that the People's Front will be reestablished in parliament—and recent events in the People's Front and the clash between the socialists and the communists seem to confirm this—and since Daladier's foreign policy does have basically the support of the Socialist Party, we are more than ever convinced that Daladier will only have to make a few concessions in domestic policy to be much stronger than he appeared to be at first. A different situation would develop only if we were confronted anew with the danger of war, in which case the socialists would join the "Sacred Union" unconditionally, or if the masses would rise anew in defense of their

Socialists, I.L.L.A. members, Social Democratic Federation members, Zionists, A.L.P. members and non-partisan workers interested in saving their union from Stalinist domination.

economic rights, which would certainly lead to the fall of Daladier. The Stalinist leaders as well as those of the S.P. are doing their best to prevent such an eventuality. A military dictatorship (with a parliamentary facade) would become possible at the end of a period of chaos marked by the futile efforts of the socialists to reestablish a People's Front government.

4. We now believe that the principle of the People's Front was refuted in theory and in practice both in parliament and in the cabinet. But, in view of the fact that the People's Front is very often considered the rallying center of all discontent, we must adjust our tactics accordingly.

No compromise with the bankrupt leaders of the People's Front! Unity of action on as broad a base as possible with the masses who still support the People's Front! There are several possibilities for realizing this policy which our congress will consider.

5. The Radical-Socialists represent the left wing of the bourgeoisie. Ridding itself of all irksome responsibilities in critical moments, it is so much better fit to assume leadership when the People's Front has failed and the masses are not yet ready to tolerate an out-and-out reactionary government. The alliance of the working class parties with the Radical-Socialists as a party, that is, the People's Front, was the worst mistake that could have been committed. In 1935 and 1936, there was a chance of destroying the power of this party. The communists are chiefly responsible for rescuing the Radical-Socialists.

6. Our attitude towards the Stalinites is determined by their position, which is today objectively counter-revolutionary. We condemn the assassinations of revolutionaries in Russia and Spain. In our opinion, they furnish proof that Stalin will resort to any means to throttle the revolution in Europe. Stalin fears fascism but he fears also a revolution which would put an end to his bureaucracy and deprive Russia of her revolutionary halo.

Stalinism in France has played the same role as elsewhere. Circumstances alone have prevented it from becoming a bloody executioner serving the counter-revolution. As hostile as we are to Stalinism, we nevertheless strive to establish contact with workers in united action, especially since the Stalinist leaders hate and fear all vigorous working-class action.

7. We advocate the independence of the trade unions and we are very much against the control of the unions by the C.P.

8. We are for direct action in the present economic struggle of the French proletariat. The workers can expect nothing from parliament, completely effaced by the government and high finance. The working class has been forced to retreat from its positions gained in June 1936, as for example, on the 40-hour week. Therefore, its immediate task is to regain these positions. The immediate demands of the masses should be: The gains of June 1936, a sliding wage scale and control over hiring and firing. In order to rally the masses of the proletariat against the bourgeois apparatus in industry and the state, our party proposes the slogan of workers control.

Unemployment is steadily growing worse. It is necessary for the proletariat to act now because in six months the situation may become much more difficult.

PICNIC! - Tibbetts Brook, Field 11 - Sunday, August 21