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 highhanded 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

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 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 (Continued on Page 2)

Workers Age

A PAPER DEFENDING THE INTERESTS OF WORKERS AND FARMERS

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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

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. most amazing position of both 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 demandwhere did Mr. Sugar secure his ex cerpts 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 how-

New York, N. Y.—Thieves and 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

(Continued on Page 2)

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. Frankensteen. 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 Frankensteen, 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 outcome. 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 lual 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

(Continued on Page 2)

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 burocratic rule imposed upon the membership by an unprincipled Stalinite 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 | Stalinites refused to allow the prewing and it was only attorney and clients in the face of a matter of time before the lid a case built upon "documents" and would blow off. What made these when the New York local of the 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 membership to take part. On the

> Lawrensons'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 Com-

a whole the right to vote on this agreement and to-date no final figures of the vote have been published. There were some isolated ship strikes and expressions of protest against this agreement but they were all ruthlessly suppressed by the Stalinite representatives on the District Committee.

Then came the decision of the Maritime Commission to open its own hiring hall and ignore the union. On the theory that "you can't fight the government," the rank and file to picket this estab-Sailors Union of the Pacific and the M.T.W. and the A.F.L. union decided to picket the place, the N.M.U. leadership prohibited its first day of the picket line, only eighty-one Negroes and Filipinos went thru the picket line. None others.

The N.M.U. and its Stalinite leadership have taken dues and various assessments from these Negroes and Filipinos but are unable to place them aboard ships. The result is that these men are compelled to go to the government hall to obtain work. You'd think that a program of education would have been instituted by these "Twentieth Century Americans" in control of the union to offset the ever they know nothing of Love- mittee refused the members as rampant race prejudice on the

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 finanany longer. ciai obligations 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

(Continued on Page 5)

Our Program of Action

(The paragraphs below constitute part of the Program of Action adopted by the recent convention of the Independent Labor League of America. Other sections have appeared in previous issues of this paper and publication will continue in subsequent issues. The whole will soon appear in pamphlet form.—Editor.)

WAR AND WAR PREPARATIONS

A MERICA stands in the shadow of the coming war. Under cover of such deceptive phrases as "collective security," "quarantine the aggressors," etc., the Administration is preparing to drive this country into a war in the Far East as the ally of Great Britain against Japan. Already war preparations are under way-rearmament and bignavy construction; jingo propaganda and spyscares; diplomatic manouvering and secret treaties.

For the masses, war would, indeed, be a dreadful disaster. Millions would be sent out to kill and be killed for the greater glory of American imperialism and the greater profit of American big business. And, while they were fighting abroad in another war "to make the world safe for democracy," there would be established in this country an iron-clad military dictatorship very close to fascism, as is already forecast in the industrial-mobilization bills and the M-Day plans of the government. War would mean imperialist aggrandizement abroad and fascist reaction at home.

The masses of the American people do not want war or war preparations. They repudiate and resent the Administration policy which is driving towards the involvement of this country in war. Out of this powerful mass sentiment there is beginning to emerge an organized nation-wide anti-war movement, finding expression in the National Anti-War Congress held in Washington on Memorial Day, 1938, and in the Keep America Out of War movement of which the Washington Congress was the outgrowth.

An effective struggle against war and war preparations requires:

- 1. Building up of a powerful mass anti-war movement along the general lines laid down at the recent National Anti-War Congress at Washington. Such a movement must be:
- a. a broad, all-inclusive mass movement, embracing all sections of the people opposed to war and to the Administration policies making for war.
- b. a movement rooted in the working class and its organizations, above all the trade unions. If such a movement is to be effective, labor must set the tone and provide the prime basis for its consolidation and organizational expansion.
- c. a movement based on a minimum program acceptable to all, allowing full freedom to the affiliated organizations to press beyond this minimum in line with their own policies and political convictions.
- 2. Support of the "six-point program" of the National Anti-War Congress:
- "a. The immediate removal of American ships and Marines from belligerent zones and the evacuation of American nationals who, if they stay, stay at their own risk; opposition to every expression of American imperialism.
- "b. No increase in the army and navy budget: work toward reduction of the present excessive military machine.

"c. The democratic right of American citi zens to vote on a declaration of war.

"d. Abandonment of all existing plans for industrial mobilization and defeat of all new plans for universal conscription and regimentation, thus warning our militarists that the American people will not tolerate war abroad and wardictatorship at home.

"e. No alliance or joint action with any nation or group of nations for war, or which is likely to lead to war, declared or undeclared, under any name or any pretext.

- "f. At home, concentration on the struggle against injustice, unemployment, bad housing but take note of the rule or ruin and poverty, and a determination by means of policy which characterized the acthat struggle to seek out prosperity rather than to find it in war trade. Abroad, increasing presidents present repudiated all solidarity with the people of all nations in the charges of opposition to C.I.O. and intends to lead his West Side local struggle to abolish economic injustice and adopted a resolution of allegiance colonial oppression and to remove the causes of to the organization under whose dictatorial militarism."
- 3. Exposure and struggle against such Stalinist cover-organizations as the American League for Peace and Democracy which, while pretending to be against war and fascism, actually agitate for policies tending to drive this country the entire International Executive into an imperialist war and to bring a war Board and expressed themselves as future establishment of a dual ordictatorship at home.
- 4. Extension of the struggle against war into a struggle against capitalism which breeds war. sions and ultimate expulsions would while some workers may have been Since war today is the outgrowth of the international antagonisms created by capitalist imperialism, the danger of war can be most effectively met by a struggle against capitalism as
- 5. In the event war comes despite all our efforts, the continuance of the struggle against war in war-time and the development of this struggle into one against the war-makers and their war-breeding system.

AMERICAN IMPERIALISM

66 DOLLAR diplomacy" still dominates American foreign policy altho today it is subtly disguised in the cloak of "good neighborliness." The tentacles of Wall Street reach out over the would tie them up directly with theft or loot. The following is a world, holding millions in the grip of economic ex- the Communist Party and the copy of the telegram sent: 'At sugploitation and political oppression. In the Far G.P.U. apparatus which perpe- gestion of authorities here we re-East, in the Pacific, in the Caribbean, American Marines are stationed to protect the investments and financial prospects of big-business groups at home. Bloody dictators, such as Trujillo in Santo Domingo, Vargas in Brazil and Batista in Cuba, are kept in power by our State Department so that they can do the bidding of American finance

A determined stand against American imperial-

- 1. Resistance to financial imperialism of American big business.
- 2. The withdrawal of American naval and military forces from all colonial and semicolonial regions.
- 3. The unrestricted right of self-determina-
- 4. Respect for the full sovereignty of all Latin active cooperation in seizing and stone were offered in evidence by American countries and other regions where holding the stolen documents and defendants' attorney Maurice Suthere is American intervention of any sort.

(Further sections of this Program of Action will appear in the next issue of this paper.—Editor.)

MR. FREY'S REAL GAME

(Continued from Page 1) | Frey's speaking for it, is not done further that the fight which the in the interests of advancing the splitters were making against the cause of trade unionism. It is done leadership and policies of President Martin was the very same that he C.I.O. and thereby strengthening was making against John L. Lewis its own competitive position.

C.I.O. will do very well in the future without the gratuitous advice of gift-bearing Greeks from

and the Committee for Industrial The membership and the unions he knows that Lovestone of the Organization. The destructive poli- of the Committee for Industrial Or- I.L.L.A. arranged a meeting becies of the Stalinists did not in the least deter him from offering them the hand of friendship because he can handle, with directness and distributed by the hand of friendship because he can handle, with directness and distributed by the portant labor questions, Mr. Haythe hand of friendship because he himself was out to do a little deshimself was out to do a little deswhich threatens the non-partisan can nange, with directness and dispatch, the disease of Stalinism most things Mr. Frankensteen has wood declared, among them being deditorially admitted that the property was stolen and attempted to the documents by ascharacter of American trade union at lie. We put that down as the cial security, workmen's compensa- account for the documents by as-

Rump Auto Meet Fails

(Continued from Page 1) more than a mass meeting of their followers rather than a genuine by the expelled Board members. delegate conference.

Simultaneously with the confer International Union. Here discussion was on the new situation in in the past. the industry created by the return to work of many thousands of workers and plans were made for regional conferences to utilize this condition for strengthening the union in the various regions.

The conference could not help tivities of the outlaw conference going on in the same town. The protective wing they grew to be a powerful force in the automobile

originally adopted unanimously by from attending. being firmly convinced that had ganization by the desperate splitthis program been followed by the ters, union spokesmen stated they opposition in the Board the suspen- were absolutely confident that not have occurred. The conference misled into following the expelled condemned the anti-union acts of either because of confusion of isthe suspended officers and congra- sues or false conception of loyaltulated President Martin and the ty to some individual, the broad International Board for their firm masses, even of the few locals that and vigorous action in defense of have supported the expelled, will

President Martin and the Board to locals to the United Automobile act promptly against any elements Workers Union and the C.I.O. with which might continue their split- which it is affiliated, is unquesting activities in the organization tioned.

and to consider action against presheir bedraggled followers. The idents of local unions and members conference is expected to be little of the International Board who participated in the conference called

In reply to the claims of the splitters that all large locals are ence of the splitters, Toledo also with them, union spokesmen called saw a conference of 115 local union attention to the absence of the presidents, called together by the Briggs local, which on so many issues had backed the unity caucus

In addition, administration leaders pointed to such powerful and loval locals as Packard with 10 000 members. Flint with 30,000, Lansing with 12.000 and Pontiac with 15,000. Besides which, they added, there are many scores of local unions which may be smaller in size than those mentioned but take econd place to none in their loyaly to the organization.

Whether or not Walter Reuther into next week's rump conference remains to be seen. The Socialist Party nationally as well as in Michigan has called upon its members to abstain from participating in Local presidents also went on any rump conference initiated by record giving wholehearted en- the Stalinists but it is not known dorsement to the 20 point program whether this will deter Reuther

Commenting on the attempts at not tolerate dual unionism. The The conference also called upon loyalty of the rank and file of those

Lovestone Presses Case

(Continued from Page 1) personal property as well as any deny it today because to admit it individual at all connected with the trated the crime on July 17. Mr. quest your cooperation in solving Sugar and his clients will not get burglary of documents and properaway with so ridiculous a denial. ty from our client Mr. Jay Love-Lovestone and the Independent stone in New York on July 17. Cer-Labor League are determined to tain of these stolen documents were follow the slimy trail, lead where used by Maurice Sugar and his cliit may, so that such dastardly ents in recent trial before Execumethods, brought into the labor tive Board of Auto Union in your movement by Stalinism in its county. We would appreciate your G.P.U. stage, may be destroyed.

"Attorneys Davidson and Mann" stated Lovestone in a release to the press, "have taken additional steps in their plan to secure criminal prosecution of the Communist Party and the G.P.U. burglars, some of whom are already known to the authorities. Messrs. Davidson and tion for all American colonies and possessions. Detroit, Michigan, for immediate

New York C.I.O.

A call for the formation of a New York statewide organization knowledge of source or present Frey's speaking for it, is not done the American Federation of Labor. of the unions of the Committee for whereabouts of same." Industrial Organization was issued by Allan Haywood, N. Y. regional director of the C.I.O. A conference York County District Attorney Mr. Richard Frankensteen has stated, in the course of the dual stated, in the course of the dual of the Heat Center in N. V. C. to unionist conference in Toledo that at the Hotel Center in N. Y. C. to editor of the Daily Worker before lay plans for a permanent organization.

The experience in the U.A.W. ism and its effectiveness as an eco- product of an infantile mind seri- tion, occupational disease laws and serting that one of Mr. Lovestone's with Green proves that the intervention of the A. F. of L., or Mr. sim and its effectiveness as an ecoproduct of an infantile mind serition, occupational disease laws and
the c.A.w. is and its effectiveness as an ecoproduct of an infantile mind seritoon, occupational disease laws and
their administration, housing, the
friends had given the material to
fight against the injunction.

personal property as well as any help in tracing source and whereabouts of said documents as Mr. Sugar and his clients deny possession or control thereof'

At the same time Lovestone's attorneys have solicited the aid of the U.A.W.A. Executive Board as indicated by the following telegram sent to President Homer Martin: Mann have called upon the prose- "At recent trial before your Executing attorney of Wayne County, cutive Board certain documents gar. We have asked assistance of District Attorney Wayne County in solving case and would appreciate Calls Convention your cooperation with him. Please advise whether originals or photostatic copies were offered in evidence and whether you have any

> Furthermore, Attorneys Davidson and Mann have requested New Thomas F. Dewey to "subpoena the the Grand Jury so as to ascertain

RECORD OF STALINISM IN THE U.A.W.

By GEORGE F. MILES

THE closing days of the trial of the four former officers of the that unions exist for the purpose United Automobile Workers Union of improving the economic condiwere marked, on the part of the tions of their members and shall defense, by the most frantic at- not be prostituted for political purtempts to lay down a heavy smoke poses. We are insisting on trade screen, labeled "Lovestoneism," to union democracy and would object cover up their eighteen months of to anyone else if he set himself disruptive and criminal activity in up as a dictator as Harry Bridges the union. The result was an "exposed" based on stolen and forged question, Jerome King, victorious documents. But what's a little burglary and forgery to those who in the National Maritime Union, have a series of Moscow trials to said: "The Communists? We bar their "credit"!

It is not my intention here to join issue with the Stalinist prevaricators, for no amount of dirt throwing, name calling, larceny and forgery can blemish in the slightest our constructive record of U.A.W. There, suspensions and ulachievement in the labor movement. Almost ten years ago developments within the communist but because of an eighteen movement, dictated by Joseph Stal- months old campaign of frontal in, placed before us the alternative and flank attack, subtle underminof splitting the trade unions and ing work against the leadership of keeping the Communist Party united, or splitting the Communist Party and keeping the trade union movement united. We chose to stand by the unity of the trade union movement and have never regretted that choice. Nor has the trade union movement had reason to regret our choice, for it has found our people true and constant otage of negotiations with employand loyal; most aggressive in the struggle against the employers, most considerate of the needs and requirements of the trade union movement of which we are an integral part. The arm of Stalin's G.P.U. may indeed be long, as the Stalinists sometimes boast, but it Stalinism in the automobile workis not long enough to erase these ers union against which a memfacts from contemporary trade bership, sick and weary, finally

come up which will bear some dis-

As To Politics

The cry has been raised that in the U.A.W., as well as in the many other unions in which the Stalinists have been under fire, it has become a simple matter of redbaiting, a clear case of hounding everyone suspected of communistic opinions or affiliations. But such is clearly not the case now.

In the recently developed anti-Stalinist revolts on the west coast against Harry Bridges, on the east coast against the National Maritime Union under Curran, and in the Fur Workers against the leadership of Ben Gold, it is not an outburst against a radical minority, it is not a case of punishment for political opinions regardless of how many times the name communist or Communist Party may figure. In those situations it is the as favorable as the one defeated if the auto workers adopt a result of accumulated resentment by the Stalinists. against a crushing and oppressive Communist Party—a dictatorship intolerable manner, to the great detriment of the workers in the

Indeed, far from being a redbaiting development, it is in fact these policies and tactics? Do the Stalin's Fifth Column.

ing," says the statement issued by the trade unions and to undermine

the garment, auto, rubber and shoe unions. "We are merely insisting has done." Similarly in reply to a leader of the anti-Stalinist group nobody from membership for political reasons but they are through running the union.'

Another type of growing opposi tion to Stalinist activity in the trade unions is exemplified in the timately expulsions, resulted not for political opinions or affiliations, the union, systematic fostering of factionalism, resort to wild cat on the following problems: strikes unauthorized by and sometimes in direct defiance of the International union, irresponsible disregard for union authority and discipline under the fraudulent cry of union democracy, deliberate sabdevitalizing the union and grabbing the leadership at the first op- Radical-Socialists? portunity that presented itself. Such has been the history of Stalinism?

rose in revolt. Especially costly But a number of issues have were the series of outlaw strikes which ultimately made it necessary

for the union to agree to the acceptance of a responsibility pledge to General Motors. So serious had become that C.I.O. Chairman John L. Lewis was forced to denounce these destructive tactics and call for the strictest responsi-

bility in the observance of contracts. Nor were the Stalinists much disarbed over the opinion of John L. ewis during the negotiations with General Motors, last November. Tho fully informed that it was Mr. Lewis' opinion that the proposed pact should be signed and "the boys brought in out of the rain," the Stalinists found such a policy incompatible with their faction interests in the union and defeated the pact at a conference of General Motors locals. It is generally

It is these destructive and disdictatorship operated and controlled by the members of the needs and requirements of their faction and party interests rather than those of the union, that ultheir positions in the U.A.W.

Whom Do They Serve?

But what and who determines a movement primarily aimed at Stalinists arrive at their conmaintaining or restoring the non-clusions perhaps thru mistaken partisanship of the trade union judgement or faulty analysis? movement. It is for this very rea- Even such a possibility is unforson that the avalanche of opposi- tunately not the case, for it pretion to totalitarian domination by supposes a degree of independence the Communist Party has enrolled of thought unheard of and imposin its ranks practically every sible in present day Communist brand of radicalism in the coun- Party relationships. The policies of try. The only exception to this the Communist Parties everywhere rule is the group of Michigan So- are today determined by the cialist leaders who, even in their own party, are looked upon as of Soviet foreign policy. To further the particular foreign policy of the Characteristic of this attitude is Soviet Union—at the present mothe declaration of the unions bolt- ment the fraudulent theory of coling Bridges' organization on the lective security— the Communist by George F. Miles will appear in top officials. west coast: "We are not red bait- Party seeks to secure domination of the next issue of Workers Age.

French P.S.O.P. Takes Its Stand

Paris, France. T the request of a represendetailed explanation of this arty's stand on the most im-The following questions were sub-

THE QUESTIONS

slander against union leaders, total towards the Spanish workers? 3. Political perspectives

France? The danger of a fascist or military dictatorship? 4. What is your attitude towards

ers and finally, the resort to the the People's Front, the continuamost unprincipled combinations for ition of which the Socialist and the purpose of embarassing, and Communist Parties recommend? 5. What do you think of the

6. What is your attitude towards

7. What is your attitude towards syndicalism? 8. In your opinion, what must be

the nature of the struggle of the workers under present circumstances?

THE ANSWERS

To these questions, Michel Colnet answered as follows: 1. The factional fight within the

and destroy those trade union leaders who refuse to lend themselves to these policies. Even the splitting fail to yield to their pressure is thus not excluded.

A striking confirmation of this conversion of the Communist Parties into outposts of Soviet foreign policy, is contained in a recent article by Geoffrey Parsons Jr. in the New York Herald-Tribune of August 8, 1938. This gentleman, who has always reported in a sympathetic manner the activities of the "unity" caucus in the U.A.W. admitted that the pact the union has the following to say: "The Communists point out that was forced to accept later was not

thoroly pacifistic policy and reject the collective security or popuwhich has violated the most elementary concepts of union democtimately resulted in the ousting of eign military action. That is one Indeed, we believe that such a ly dubious characters in search of mentary concepts of union democtive that such a line of the "unity" caucus leaders from reason, it is said, why the Communical approach may even leasy pickings, are beginning to sit

> ittle need be added as to the looked upon as a good organizer, there are frequently even more dangerous nature of present day administrator or negotiator or dubious political influences. Obvi-Stalinism in the trade unions. In because he has some other special ously, any tendency to bend the the interests of the Soviet Union's qualifications for the office. But stick too far in the other direction collective security scheme the Com- these qualifications may very well by deprecating the leading role of munist Party is ready to wreck the have little relation to the cha- trade-union officers in the labor United Automobile Workers Union. | racteristics that a political re- | party, might lead to opening the Peace in the auto union on Stalin- | presentative of labor should | door wide to these undesirable list conditions can be bought only at the price of pledging the lives of tens of thousands of auto workers political leadership. The unions cases. This danger must never be to be slaughtered in some foreign should select from their ranks ignored or forgotten.

no interests whatever.

(Our Paris Correspondent)

S.P. of France, supposedly caused by a question of discipline, was in reality due to a disagreement on a ernment of "National Union." very serious political question. was not the fault of Blum that This disagreement was based on Marin and Kerillis refused. For A tative of the Workers Age, Michel Collinet, one of the leaders of the new Socialist Workers and Peasants Party (P.S.O.P.), offered We, of the Revolutionary Left, include the Communist Party. It voiced our opposition to the preferred to have the transitional 'liberal" bourgeoisie immediately People's Front governments nibble portant political issues of the day. after the June strikes in 1936. We away the gains of the proletariat. have shown, and events have proven, that we were correct when the Seine Federation of the S.P. we said that the cowardice of the that led to the events you know People's Front towards the bankers so well. Despite the instructions 1. What are the political causes and the trusts would result in a issued by Paul Faure, the Seine of the factional fight inside the big set-back for the proletariat. Federation warned all other fe-French Socialist Party which led The logical consequences of a derations of the party against the to the formation of the P.S.O.P.? capitulation all along the line "National Union" which was being What stand does your party take | could only be an appeal for colla- prepared. boration with the worst enemies of 2. The situation in Europe and the proletariat. This is exactly tion to the "National Union" that the danger of war? The duty of what happened. Since January we were persecuted by the party the international working class 1938, Blum has been agitating for leadership. The Royan Congress an enlarged cabinet from "Thorez confirmed this. Nearly the same to Revnaud," which would not only majority of 300 votes which was prevent the further progress of the sufficient to expel us, also approved

Front and of the Socialist Party which followed suit, not without grumbling. In March, this was already clear. Except for our minority, representing 20% of the votes, the National Council of the S.P. gave Blum a free hand to negotiate with any and all the bourgeois parties to form a gov-

It was the vigorous protest of

It was on account of this opposi proletariat but would make it im- of Blum's motion which gave the possible to maintain the gains leadership and the parliamentary (Continued on Page 6)

Discussion of a Vital Problem

Leadership in the A.L.P.

By L. HENDIN

already won. At that moment Blum

By WILL HERBERG

RADE unions should be deeply concerned in stimulating independent political action; on this there can hardly be a difand destruction of unions which ference of opinion. The experience of recent years has shown how thoroly dependent the economic interests of the workers are upon political developments. In the course of these years, the political consciousness of the American workers was considerably deepened; one of the results was the birth of the American Labor Party and the headway it has already made.

> it that the chief influence in a labor the state assembly and in other party should be exerted by the important political positions. And

organized trade-union movement. But to exert such influence does party is going to have even more not necessarily mean that only the |"jobs" to hand out. Naturally, a lar front program the Communists top leaders of the unions can lot of briefless lawyers. "radicaadvocate, they could, with the occupy important administrative lized" overnight; played-out oldstrike weapon, effectively cripple posts in the party or be its main party politicians, looking for American participation in any for- candidates for political office. greener pastures; and other equalnist Party is willing to risk wreck- hamper the trade unions in exert- up and take notice. They are ready, ing a union with which it is essen- | ing their proper influence and | quite ready, to "lend their tially sympathetic." (My emphasis control over the labor party.

GFM.)

Why is a person elected as and to fill whatever political posts

To the evidence above submitted manager of a union? Because he is there are. And behind these people possess. Ability as a union official elements, whom it is only too difis not in itself a certificate for ficult to deal with in the best of war in which American labor has those who are especially fitted for

(Continued on Page 5)

(Louis Hendin is labor editor of THERE is unquestionably a the New York Forward, a social-dem- L great deal of merit to L. ocratic paper. The paragraphs below Hendin's general line of argument: are taken from an article by him in there should certainly be some the July 17 issue of the Forward. division of labor between the tradeunion and political wings of the movement; and administrative posts or political nominations should not be regarded as the exclusive monopoly of high union officials. It also seems sound to place emphasis on the need of special qualifications and training for political leadership. This much is true, but it seems to me that there are a number of dangers in this approach if it is adopted too mechanically and carried too far in its application.

> The first danger is political careerism. The A.L.P. has acquired tremendous prestige in the short period of its existence. It already has its men in the city council, in it looks as if, in the future, the assistance" in running the A.L.P.

Then, again, there is the danger such activity and bring them for- of professionalism. A labor party ward on the political front, but differs from the old-line employ-(Another article on this question they must not necessarily be the ing-class parties not merely in its program but also in its structure There is another side to this and principles of organization. In

(Continued on Page 5)

August 20, 1938

IS PROSPERITY AHEAD?

THE recent uphill trend in stock prices appears to A have been halted. Last week saw successive days of downward trend on the New York Stock Exchange. Blue chips suffered most in the downhill

But what is much more important than the momentary trend in the stock market is the meaning of the course of stock prices. Would it be correct to say that the substantial spurt in stock prices reflects a real economic recovery? Some people have pushed this opinion to the fore. Particularly loud and persistent in their propagation of this notion have been the professional Roosevelt boosters, from Charles Michelson of the Democratic National Committee, to Clarence Hathaway, just now editor of Stalin's Daily

We deny that the late substantial stock price rise means that there has been substantial economic recovery. We go further than that and emphasize that the rise in stock prices at best was an inaccurate anticipation of economic recovery. Furthermore, it would be folly to expect much from the governmentprimed slight upward trend that some industries will reveal in the Fall and perhaps early Winter months. For one thing, government intervention which, at best, has only a momentary respiratory effect came a bit late. Secondly, big as is the amount appropriated for rearmament, still, for the total government budget and national economy of a country like the U. S., this huge sum is not big enough to have the same temporary stimulating effect on the general economic life as lesser sums do have in the smaller and poorer countries of Europe. More than that. the private capital market continues stagnant, the railroad system has been driven into virtual bankruptcy by the profit-hungry rail barons and bankers, wheat prices have collapsed to a five year low, the automobile industry has no seriously promising outlook, steel continues uncertain, more than 12 millions are still jobless, and world conditions are not at all conducive to substantial economic revival. Therefore, we warn against expecting too much from the much over-advertised Fall upturn. Hence, even in the sense of anticipating, rather than reflecting, economic revival, the recent stock market upswing has not been an accurate indicator.

Finally, we must add that the effectiveness of the government recovery appropriations should not be over-estimated. Adding a few hundred thousand to those engaged in the work-relief projects is of some aid to those thus involved, but does not affect decisively the fundamentals of the situation.

Too much weight should not be attached to the billion or so dollars available for public works. These must be started by states, cities or counties cooperating with the W.P.A. But numerous local governmental bodies are unwilling because they are unable to launch any more public projects today. They are unable either to pay half the cost or repay the entire amount even without interest over a specified period

Then, too, a large part of Roosevelt's "recovery" fund is set aside to be used as loans to business men through the Reconstauction Finance Corporation. The efficacy of loans of this type has all too often been exaggerated. Business men whose credit good can always get cash from their own banks, which are generally loaded with money. When a business man is not a good credit risk the government itself is in no hurry to lend him money. Thus it is not a shortage of credit that paralyzes economy. Actually, the paralysis of American economic life has, in a large measure, caused the plethora of credit. To no small extent does the latter phenomenon reveal the stagnation rather than the vitality of capitalist production and economy in the U.S.A.

In short, the sundry government measures will, at most, provide a short-lived, shot-in-the-arm to the economic body. The Roosevelt program cannot in any essential way help overcome the diminishing field for profitable investment by private capital.

Here is the crux of the crisis. No "good, upstanding, liberty-loving" capitalist, and no big bad wolfish "sit-down" "Sixty Family" member magnate can alter the situation either way. The capitalist system here is decaying at its vitals. To prevent chaos and misery, labor must become class conscious, militant and prepare for a revolutionary organization of the economic social and political life of the land.

Memories of Lenin

By CHARLES RAPPAPORT Bernstein's revisionism and Jaures's

this party because he could not tolerate the "Moscow trials."

■O INSIST that Bolshevism or exceptionally a Russian product is to profess ignorance of the actual conditions under which it evolved his teachings not merely inder the pressure of the reactionry Czarist regime but also thru the theoretical struggle against the revisionism of Bernstein and the reformism of Jaures—a struggle which Lenin followed very closely, as evidenced by Krupskaya's biographical notes. As a true Marxist and revolutionary, Lenin was never deceived by the period of relative and temporary apitalist prosperity which had led the others into revisionism and reformism. He stood for whatever action was necessary for the realization of socialism. The fight against opportunism in Russia was o him a fight against opportunism in the international working-class novement. He never separated the

I Hear Lenin

stated that only an armed rising Czarist regime. This was the first time I had heard him. It is wellknown that the Marxist leaders of the Socialist International did not want a revolution and considered it relic of a by-gone romantic age. the face of these denials of social- time it involved. ism and the revolution.

I heard Lenin a second time dent of a Marxist school which when he lectured at the Sorbonne brought militant workers from the over by the great Russian philoso- to Paris at the expense of the parpher, Maxim Kovalevski, on the ty in order to prepare them for agrarian situation in Russia. In the organization of a Bolshevik this series of brilliant and learned party in Russia. This school ran lectures, Lenin showed the other during the summer of 1911, I beside of his conception and applies lieve, at Longjumeau, a small town the Marxist method to the specific near Paris. Lenin, Zinoviev, Kameconditions of the Russian peas- nev, Riazanov, Pavlovich and antry; he showed that the Russian were the instructors. At the school peasants, if allied with the prole- were the outstanding forces of the tariat. could regain their chief in- great Bolshevik party, among them which Alexander II had deprived and Dogadov and many others. hem thru his famous "emancipa-

Factional Alignments

naya Volya" ("Will of the People"). with him.

I ministerialism cured me of this (Charles Rappaport is a distin- malady. By 1902, I was a Marxist guished Marxist, for decades closely In 1903, the fight between the Bolassociated with the French labor sheviks and Mensheviks broke out. novement. At the outset of his activ- Being a newcomer in the Sociality, Rappaport worked with the Rus- Democratic Party, I espoused the sian socialist groups abroad and thus cause of neither and supported came into intimate personal contact George Plekhanov in his plea for unity. Subsequently, I supported Rappaport was one of the founders Lenin in the fight against the opf the French Communist Party. A portunists who insisted on the ew months ago, he resigned from necessity of liquidating the underground revolutionary social-democratic movement. And it was prob-This article is first of a series on ably due to this that I owed the eminiscences of Lenin written espe- personal visit which Lenin paid me rially for the Workers Age.—Editor.) in Paris in 1910 when the entire apparatus of the Bolsheviks had been brought to this city. I began Leninism is exclusively and my collaboration with Lenin by writing in the central organ of the Social-Democratic Party, which was still unified, tho the fight was born and developed. Lenin against the Mensheviks had never ceased. This official organ, which was controlled by the Bolsheviks, published among other things a series of articles written by me entitled: "Menshevism As Part of International Opportunism." I saw Lenin very often and I worked side by side with him in the National Library where he came each day on his bicycle, which incidentally was stolen from the yard of the library. I had a number of conversations with him. I was greatly impressed with his simplicity and modesty. He was always ready to learn and never assumed the air of being a man of authority or importance. He had the manner of Socrates; frequently only a mischievous smile indicated that he never revealed himself wholly to his interrogator. The only interest life held for Lenin was the revolution and the organization of the party. I once told him jokingly: "Let's go with the other comrades I was greatly impressed when, at public meeting in Paris at the and see how Paris amuses itself. beginning of this century, Lenin You seem to have no human weaknesses and I am afraid that when of the proletariat could defeat the you attain power you will send all of us to the guillotine." Lenin smiled without answering.

Separation And Reunion

My temporary separation from And, whenever they did use the Lenin proved to be very painful to word revolution, they hastened to me. Here is how it happened. Havadd that they really meant only a ing decided to break with the Mengradual transformation of the sheviks, Lenin asked me to see him. existing social system. In discard- When he told me of his decision to ing revolutionary methods, the So-split, I answered him frankly: "I cialist International had also aban- don't see the necessity for a split oned its revolutionary aims. Bern-since we are in the majority. Marstein frankly summarized the posi- tov (the leader of the Mensheion of the Socialist International viks) is at our mercy and I don't in his famous sentence: The goal is see why we should deal with him nothing, the movement everything a la Stolypin" (i.e., liquidate him). in other words, socialism is no- Lenin replied briefly, with a gestthing, reformism everything. Lenin, on the other hand, showed himself By which he meant that he was already at that meeting true to our revolutionary goal and tactics in the Mensheviks and the loss of

Lenin had appointed me presiefore a select audience presided great industrial centers of Russia

of the Social-Revolutionary Party Unfortunately, on the day that I abroad, which took the form of an was to see him, he suffered the solated group uniting the Russian first attack of the sickness which revolutionary socialists, I was not caused his death on January 21,

WORLD TODAY

=By Lambda ==

Australian Labor Party Splits

By JACK RYAN (Our Australian Correspondent)

Sidney, Australia, June 30, 1938.

AST week end at Sydney, an impressively large L conference of 650 delegates, representing the forces in the labor and trade-union movement opposed to the Lang dictatorship in the New South Wales branch of the Australian Labor Party, completely broke away from the Lang-controlled machine and proclaimed itself to be the Australian Labor Party.

Hitherto, the insurgents have directed their main efforts towards reforming the burocratized and corrupt machine. The decision of the conference makes sharp break with those tactics and entails a straight out attempt to isolate Lang and his "inner group" from the organized workers.

Each party has its official organ and wireless station, consequently the fraticidal warfare will not be conducted quietly.

As far as can be judged, the anti-Lang forces are in the majority and are likely to achieve victory eventually, especially as they already control the well established Labor Daily and 2KY radio station, both organs being official expressions of labor for the last ten years, whereas the Lang forces have a new weekly paper, The Century, and a country radio station that is not even claimed as a labor station.

Lang, however, still has a strangle-hold over the official party and has at his disposal the slush fund of the party, which amounts to an unknown, but probably large, figure. Defeat in this issue means political death to Lang; consequently he will fight while his resources last.

Both parties will concentrate on organizing for rival conferences next Easter, the usual time of the year for A.L.P. conferences to be convened. Every effort will be made to influence unions and Labor Party branches to be represented at one conference

The recent conference of the "rebels" adopted a series of resolutions in favor of a 40-hour week, noncontributory national insurance for workers, and other beneficial reforms. To a motion reaffirming labor's traditional opposition to conscription for overseas wars, one of the delegates, obviously cooperating with the Communist Party, moved an amendment which added the following to the original motion:

"That conference recognizes that the labor movement should take steps to defend itself against fascism, as demonstrated by the civil war in Spain and the Japanese invasion of China, and considers that the best method of preserving peace is by a peace pact between democratic countries on the lines of that existing between France and the U.S.S.R."

In moving the amendment, both the mover and seconder recited all of the nonsense about "collective security" and pacts between "democratic" powers that has been a feature of the C.P. press over a considerable period.

I opposed the amendment, particularly stressing the danger of Australian workers being involved if Japan moved against British imperialist interests at Hong-Kong or Singapore and we were pledged to the maintenance of the status-quo. I received a good hearing and an extension of time, but could not prevent the amendment being carried.

There is no reason to believe that so-called "collective security" idea has a very strong hold, despite the adoption of the amendment. Several factors strument of labor—the land—of future leaders like Ordjonikidze favored the amendment: (1) The C.P. has a strong influence behind the insurgent movement, owing to Despite my separation from him its control over the powerful miners union, which and my criticism of the split, owns the largest single block of shares in the Labor Lenin, who unlike Stalin was not Daily. (2) Many delegates thought, erroneously, vindictive or vicious, sent me that opposing the amendment was tantamount to At that time, I had not yet met warm greetings when I arrived in condemning the U.S.S.R. (3) Lang's reactionary Lenin personally. As a founder the U.S.S.R. in the spring of 1922. isolationist policy has caused many of his opponents to seek something different and "collective security" seemed the only alternative to achieve publicity. (4) Until this conference, there was no alternative to yet completely free from the ideo- 1924, and I was thus prevented "collective security" or isolationism put forward. logy of the terrorist group "Narod- from seeing him again and talking Therefore, I believe the situation is far from hope-

BOOKS

JAPAN IN CHINA, by F. A. Bis son. The Macmillan Co., New York, 1938, \$3.00.

students of far-eastern questions. account of the background of to find. events which led to the Japanese

towards fascism with the military attack. in control; and, in the last chapter, degradation of the peasants and the expense of the membership. by another.

we would not of course expect a its own hands; it tried Meers, found revolutionary critique of the him guilty as charged and removed abstract one for the A.L.P. Of the of harmful folly. Kuomintang, he says:

mintang plenary session held Committee. March 29 to April 2, 1938, in and not merely the Kuomintang,

Bisson is decidedly over-optimistic here. The council represents a in-toto. Of the 200 or so members, almost all of them are Kuomintangers. The handful of C.P.ers own hall and the best advice the and others allowed in for purposes of Kuomintang expediency, signify mittee can give is—to pack the unity only in a formal sense but actually represent Kuomintang dictatorial control, with the C.P. its meek and submissive prisoner. Stalinites Licked In The Elections

Bisson continues: "This step allowed only for political opinions to believe—that the Stalinites were the skin of their teeth. not antagonistic to the Kuomin- monkeying around with the ballots

"Supreme Leader." And Chiang escape. the Kuomintang.

Behind The NMU Voting

(Continued from Page 1) official financial statement of the union-we find another Stalinite

The Houston branch some time the Rank and File Pilot, an organ Among its good points must be gotten out by the rank and file for movement in helping to arouse the their machinations, to be distrib-Chinese masses to anti-Japanese uted freely in the hall. The

Hankow, witnessed the most Graham, seeing the election going notable democratic trend in Chinese against him promptly resigned but, councilmen. political life during the past upon investigation, causes were against Graham.

union entirely, is shipping thru its specialists and leaders. Stalinite-controlled District Comyou can't fight the government!"

remains, as always, the bitterest | As the votes are being counted, which no one except they thembe, to the meaning of these facts, beaten for national secretary- in the auto union and other labor lars in benefits to members. to the future danger in store for treasurer by Jerry King, a rank- organizations, their whole work virtual liquidation of the revolu- Byne is being licked by Hearn, Wrecking par excellence! tionary movement due to the another rank and filer; and Fred surrender of the Stalinites to the Phillips, as honest and sincere as bourgeois program and aims of the day is long, is knocking the final results of the elections, which received. stuffing out of Ted Lewis, another wiped out the Stalinist clique, were JIM CORK | Stalinite. Up and down the coast, | available—Editor.)

Leadership in the A.L.P. | Anti-Bridges

Discussion of a Vital Problem

(Continued from page 3) member of the District Committee question. The workers certainly the old parties, the bankers and BISSON is one of the most owing a \$345.00 balance. This have a right to demand of their industrialists pull the strings formed, as reported in last week's competent and thorogoing owing a \$345.00 balance. This have a right to demand of their industrialists pull the strings formed, as reported in last week's competent and thorogoing owing a \$345.00 balance. This have a right to demand of their industrialists pull the strings formed, as reported in last week's competent and thorogoing owing a \$345.00 balance. This have a right to demand of their industrialists pull the scenes and professional workers. gentleman's name is Charles De chief administrative officers that behind the scenes and professional Gress, and the "loan" was obtained they attend to union affairs. But, politicians, out for power and eign Policy Association, he and his for the same purpose as that of when a leading union official personal aggrandizement, do their I.L.G.W.U., the U.A.W., the Rubber eigh rolley Association, he and his Jones, that is, he had to have a car. devotes his main energies to bidding. Of course, we don't want Workers, and the Shoe Workers, is

valuable research pamphlets on above attacks the Gulf branches membership of the union should the big trade-union leaders predifferent phases of the situation. for having ceased paying per- feel that it is being neglected. sumably taking the place of the From a full length book of his, we capita tax and generally berates The problem becomes especially big business men. We don't want would expect a number of positive these branches for high expenses. acute in a period of depression. Of professional politicians in the A.L. achievements and we are not dis- Houston and New Orleans, in course, neither the union nor its P. On that we are all agreed. We appointed. For we have here the particular, are attacked. The officers are responsible for the fact want the A.L.P. to be the political most detailed and complete factual reason for this attack is not hard that there is no work but the expression of the organized labor

would be different. mentioned especially a fine description of opposing the Statut a union official must under of their responsibility. Here, too, tion of the role of the student linite misleadership and exposing no circumstances be put forward any tendency to bend the stick too resistance; a good account of the Stalinites in the top leadership given to his special qualifications own job would be dangerous. drive of the Japanese ruling class could not forgive this. Hence the as well as to how that would af-In New Orleans, a Mr. Robert an excellent evaluation of Japanese Meers, a member of the C.P. for that, once a union official is elected responsibility in the A.L.P. There ternational representative U.A.W rule in Manchukuo, of the resulting the last three years, has been sail- to a political office, he should leave are many professionals, labor law- A.. Thomas Burke, U.A.W.A., Bob

workers under the naked terroristic Finally charges were preferred No political party can be suc- the past, who could render much Workers, George Burdon, United rule of Nipponese imperialism. It against him by the rank and file at cessfully built nor can such a good service to the party and Rubber Workers, James Latham, is a portent of what is in store for headquarters for having misap- party attract the proper elements deserve a prominent place in its U.A.W.A. and William Seligman. China or any part of it which may propriated funds. Headquarters or develop capable political leaders, administrative machinery and West Coast Director of the United come under the domination of just as fast squashed these charges if the impression becomes wide- political councils. To exclude such Shoe Workers of America. Japan as a result of the present and refused to allow an investiga- spread that only the chief officers, people from their proper place in tion. The New Orleans local then of the unions can ever occupy im- the party on the ground that the From a liberal, as is our author, was compelled to take matters into portant administrative posts in it. party must be under trade-union This question is by no means an control, would obviously be a piece

People's Front line in China. In him as joint agent of the three five councilmen elected in New common with others, Bisson falls divisions. The Stalinite repre- York City, all—with the exception analogies from England. In Enfor the illusion of "unity" and sentatives on the District Commit- of Vladeck—are union managers or gland, the labor-party movement six point program: "united action." In commenting tee could not forgive this. Hence high administrative officers. has a third of century of history upon the last plenum of the New Orleans is sharing the honors Largely by accident, this is not behind it; here, it was born only with Houston of being singled out the case with the A.L.P. delega- yesterday. A situation that is the "Measures adopted by the Kuointegral plenary session held Committee.

"Math Household State Assembly at result of many years of develoption in the State Assembly at result of many years of developAlbany. Nevertheless, the A.L.P. ment can not, without further In Norfolk, the Stalinite agent, assemblymen certainly have not consideration, be used as a pattern

We have already emphasized decade. The session's outstanding found to charge this worthy with that the organized trade-union achievement was the creation of a misappropriation of funds. The movement should positively exert People's Political Council. As the charges here were so clear that decisive influence on the laborrepresentative of all party groups even Curran had to take notice and party movement and should be officially informed the branch that vitally concerned with political this organ constitutes an embryonic charges were to be preferred activity. The unions should put forward their most capable people for In the meantime, more than six political office. Proper elements housand seamen are on the beach from the outside should be drawn Kuomintang concentration almost in New York alone. The Maritime in and the labor party as a party Commission, disregarding the should develop its own political

divided. The British organized government hall! For, you, see, trade-union movement exerts decisive influence over the Labor

from the highest position down to These were some of the reasons the post of port patrolman, the toward democratic government was for the revolt in the rank and file. Stalinites are being defeated by a supported by the decree granting In the meantime, however, the slate of rank and filers. Only in a full freedom of press, speech and counting of the ballots in the few instances like Baltimore, with a few months old, has already been and file had reason to believe—or able to hold their own, and even violated. Freedom of expression is at least suspected there was reason then they are only sliding in by

I wrote recently that we could in order to perpetuate themselves not look for any definite change Bisson might have told us of in power. That was the last straw. for the better in the N.M.U. until some other results of the same The violent outbreak which took the 1939 convention when a revolt plenum which indicate a dangerous place last week was the result, and will take place and the ship will portent for the future. For in- the ex-finger man of the Seamen's tack over and the rank and file stance, the enormous concentration Institute, Mr. Jack Lawrenson, and will lay her on a true course. That of power in the hands of Chiang another C.P. stooge, Mr. Moe Byne, still holds true. However, the few Kai-shek, who emerged from the received a tap over their heads Stalinites that there will be left plenum with the actual title of prior to their exit via the fire- after this election will have some

By WILL HERBERG

(Continued from Page 3) published a number of highly The letter on finances referred to politics, it is inevitable that the any such set-up in the A.L.P., with workers still can't help feeling that movement in every sense of the if only the manager had more term. The responsible leaders of invasion of China that has yet ago carried a resolution allowing time for union business, things the labor movement have no need to hide their "interference" in We do not by any means imply politics; political activity is part for political office. But we do say far the other way by insisting that for political office. But we do say far the other way by insisting that that some consideration should be union officials should stick to their of the I.L.G.W.U., Tommy Law-

fect his own union. And in our that "outsiders" (non-trade union- man, international representative opinion, it should be understood ists) have no place in positions of U.A.W.A., Charles F. West, Jr., ineconomic, political and cultural ing high, wide and handsome at his union post to be administered yers of tested loyalty, veterans of the labor-political movements of Herbert Wilson, United Rubber

Let us use some care in bringing done any worse job than the for us here at the outset of our efforts.

Party and its policies. But Walter Citrine, the secretary of the British Trade Union Congress, does not himself occupy an important post are opposed to raids on existing orin political life. On the other hand, ganizations. Herbert Morrison and other Labor Party leaders, are not themselves trade union movement; not demoactive in the trade-union move- cracy in name and dictatorship in ment. Indeed Herbert Morrison deed. has frequently emphasized, in his speeches in this country, that England. There the functions are political activity should possess ference whether thru use of the particular training and qualifications and that means specializa-

We are convinced that the A.L.P. ers' rights. has hitherto not had an entirely 6. For independent political correct approach to this very im- action to supplement the trade portant question. With time, this union struggle on the economic mistake will no doubt be corrected. field for industrial democracy.

Unions Gain

By EARL LANE

Los Angeles, Cal.—The Los Angeles Trade Union Conference Workers Age, by the principal locals of four major unions, the being supported in addition by several locals of the Steel Workers Organizing Committee. William Busick of the I.L.G.W.U., who is public relations chairman of the conference, states that the conference speaks, at present, for 20,000 of the estimated 100,000 C.I.O. members on the West Coast.

Among the outstanding leaders

of this movement to free the C.I.O., from Stalinist domination, are: I Feinberg, international representamanager of the Joint Board of the rence, organizer I.L.G.W.U., Bob I am by no means of the opinion Burnside, I.L.G.W.U., Dick Cole-Roberts, United Rubber Workers,

> Chairman of the conference is Herbert Wilson of the United Rubber Workers; secretary is Bob Burnside of the I.L.G.W.U.

The Los Angeles Trade Union Conference adopted the following

1. Labor solidarity in the struggle for better conditions of employed and unemployed alike. We offer aid to any union, A.F.L., C.I.O. or R.R. Brotherhood which is engaged in such a struggle.

2. Organization of the unorganized must be seriously carried out despite the continuing depression

3. Industrial unionism in the industries for which it is suited. We

4. An actual democracy in the

5. Struggle against anti-labor legislation and government interpolice or otherwise. For the enforcement and extension of work-

full freedom of press, speech and counting of the ballots in the leading of the ballots in the last instances like ballimore, with association." This very decree, only elections was going on. The rank a split opposition vote, are they

The Workmen's Sick and Death |714 Seneca Avenue, Brooklyn, N. Benefit Fund, a working class as- Y., or write to the Workers Age. death insurance, has announced tion The Age.' that it now has more than 50,000 members in 360 branches thruout MARTIN SUPPORTS the United States. Its total assets are more than four millions of dol- ROOSEVELT. MURPHY

Established in 1884, the Workmen's S&D Benefit Fund has been declared this week as he left for pretty tough sailing, something a prime favorite with workers who Mackinac Island for the Democratic realize the necessity of protection rally in honor of James Farley, foe of everything radical, revolu- we find the Stalinites being de- selves are responsible for. They in case of sickness or accident. chairman of the National Demo tionary, communist. Bisson is as feated all along the line. Lawren- had their opportunity to show their Since 1884 it has paid out more cratic Committee: insensitive, as any liberal would sen, as could be expected, is being worth. They failed miserably. As than twenty-one millions of dol-

to the future danger in store for deasurer by serry King, a failer of sterling quality. Moe can be summed up in three words: ganization, and thereby being as Governor Murphy, but that does of sickness and accident is very the Democratic Party. (This article was written before the small, compared to the benefits

men's Sick and Death Benefit Fund, in word."

sociation for sickness, accident and When writing direct, please "Men-

Homer Martin, U.A.W. president

"The United Automobile Work-The cost of belonging to this or- support to President Roosevelt and sured of adequate protection in case not necessarily imply support of

"We are for the President and the Governor because they are For information, write to Work- great liberals in deed as well as

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 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 lead 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

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 stat-Jackson County (Kansas City) organization is concerned it will not need the State organization in organization will need it.

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

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 east 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 ed in an interview: "So far as the can defeat Pendergastism. Only the awakening of labor and the organization of a labor party in Kansas City, St. Louis and other sections the future as much as the State of the state can destroy the old ganization will need it. | corrupt political machines and "Reference to the Blue Book bring benefits to labor.

French Socialist Workers And Peasant Party's Stand

(Continued from Page 3) fraction carte-blanche in making another attempt at sponsoring a 'National Union" government.

2. The Revolutionary Left, 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 practises 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

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 ts 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 de-moralization of the masses to the extent of driving them into the arms of fascism. The workers are profoundly affected by the bank-ruptcy of the leaders of the People's Front but they are wait-

The bourgeoisie are manouvering 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 suc-

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 nonpartisan workers interested in saving their union from Stalinist

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 gov-

4. We now believe that the principle of the People's Front was refuted in theory and in practise 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 burocracy 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 counterrevolution. 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.

Furriers' Union Elections Show Big Progressive Vote

the Stalinist administration. Candidates for manager, assistant manager, seven business agents (out of thirteen), twenty-five Joint Council members (out of thirtynine) were run by the United Progressive Furriers, the only opposi tion in the union.

While the administration, thru the application of typical Stalinist "democracy," succeeded in re-electing itself, the newly united op-1,000 to 2,600 for all offices for lman, 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 administration. 2,600 votes, and some of the council candidates got 2,000 votes and

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 exafter it in New York. For, however penses and save the union memquestionable may be some alliances bers from heavy taxation; that

The regular annual election in instead of being dragged out for the New York Furriers' Union took three; that the vote be by machine, place on July 27, 28, and 29, in instead of by hand ballot; that the which the United Progressive Fur- Honest Ballot Association or a riers rallied the opposition against 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 position polled votes ranging from opposition watchers were permitted, and all complaints were which it ran candidates. S. Glass- sneered at by the hand-picked Stalinist Liections 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

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 with the Republicans and Demo- elections be completed in one day, includes in its ranks Anarchists, domination.

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