

# Union Busters Peril U.A.W.

## FDR Aligns Forces In Primary Battles; Labor Acts As Pawn

### DEMOCRATS ARE PREPARED FOR MAJOR SCHISM

LNPL Tail-ends Dem-  
ocrats, Depends on  
"Labor's Friends"

Fortified by Senate Majority Leader Alben W. Barkley's decisive victory over Governor "Happy" Chandler in Kentucky, President Roosevelt last week took his most daring step of the current primaries campaign when he came into the open with a direct attack on Senator George of Georgia. Disregarding the advice of the "moderates" within his own party, in particular of his chief strategist, Postmaster-General Farley, Roosevelt went down the line against Senator George, and called for the nomination of George's opponent, Federal Attorney Lawrence Camp.

Heretofore in the campaign, Roosevelt has restricted himself either to speeches, very general in character, asking support for "liberals" as against conservatives or reactionaries, or to polite personal endorsements of friendly incumbent Senators like Pepper of Florida, Barkley of Kentucky or Bulkley of Ohio. This is the first time that he has launched out bluntly against a man already in office: George has held his seat in the Senate for the past twelve years.

#### Prestige at Stake

There is no doubt that by this act Roosevelt has staked his own prestige, and the position of his entire group within the Democratic Party, to a greater extent than by any previous move since he became President. The denunciation of Senator George was promptly followed by similar attacks on Senator Tydings of Maryland and Representative John O'Connor of New York, Chairman of the all-powerful House Rules Committee.

These developments were making clearer than ever the fact that the present primaries are a major preliminary battle in the broader struggle for control of the Democratic Party, which will reach its climax in the contest for delegates to the 1940 Democratic national convention. In many cases, victory of one or the other of the factions in this summer's primaries assures control of the delegation in 1940.

The mounting bitterness of the primaries is likewise showing that this battle for control means in the end a split of the Democratic Party, whichever faction wins. The tone and content of Roosevelt's remarks in Georgia indicate that the President is fully conscious of this perspective, and is preparing for it.

#### Labor's Political Strategy

Meanwhile, the primaries were providing additional lessons in the hopelessness and futility of the political strategy adopted by Labor's Non-Partisan League. They were proving that this strategy means, even when most successful, only the subordination of the workers to a bourgeois political machine.

Ohio made a sad and ironic comment on the politics of the C.I.O. officialdom. Here the defeat of Governor Davey by Democratic National Committeeman Sawyer for the gubernatorial nomination was hailed as a great "victory" for labor. It was completely forgotten that Davey had been elected to office with the blessing and support of the same C.I.O. officials who now offer Sawyer as the savior of the Ohio working class. Nor is there the slightest fundamental difference between Sawyer today and Davey yesterday. When Davey helped smash the Little Steel strike, he was doing only what any capi-

Cracks the Whip



### STEEL WORKERS WIN L. A. STRIKE

#### Strikers Backed by New Trade Union Conference

LOS ANGELES.—Backed by the new Los Angeles Trade Union Conference, workers of the Dura Steel Products Co. won a short and effective strike last week, gaining 100 per cent union recognition and wresting many concessions from the company.

The strike was called after the company refused to recognize the union organized by the United Electrical and Radio Workers of America, despite the fact that a vigorous campaign had succeeded within a month in destroying the old company set-up.

#### New Group Aids

A major factor in the victory of the strikers was the invaluable aid given the union by the new central body of C.I.O. unions that recently left the Bridges-controlled Industrial Union Council and formed the Trade Union Conference. In line with their announced policy of aid to all unions struggling to win concessions from the employers, the strength of the major C.I.O. unions in Los Angeles was thrown behind the new union.

Encouraged by the victory over Dura Steel, one of the most noted

# Gov't Hiring Halls or Seamen's Unions?

### Plans of Maritime Commission to Regiment Seamen in Preparation for War Spell Death to Unions

On all waterfronts the major problem confronting seamen interested in building and preserving their unions is the question of government interference with the proper functioning of those unions.

On the West Coast, where the sea-faring organizations are already committed to an uncompromising struggle against government hiring halls, the seamen view with forboding the constant efforts of the Maritime Commission to impose upon the marine industry the Sea Service Bureaus, justly called "fink halls" by all workers. There, where the right of the unions to control the hiring halls was won after months of terror and bloodshed in two great strikes, the seamen consider the right to run their own hiring halls a precious one, earned through heroic struggle and not to be relinquished without even greater battles.

On the East Coast and Gulf, where the largest group of organized men is in the National Maritime Union, the picture is considerably different. The industry is

far from being completely organized, and closed shops with union control of hiring are the exception. While the rank-and-file movement that broke away from the reac-

### It Might Have Happened!

1,000,000 Nazi troops maneuver on the Czech border. A clash occurs between a detachment of Czech border guards and a company of German soldiers. A German soldier is dropped by a bullet fired presumably by a Czech—but in all likelihood by a German instructed to fire the wrong way. The command is given and German infantry marches over the border while German artillery opens fire on Czech fortifications. The Czechs bring up their picked troops and dig in on the frontier while bombing planes pour a hail of shells from the skies. The French General Staff orders a mobilization of its army on the Rhine. Great Britain delivers an ultimatum. Mussolini brings his army into fighting position. Screaming headlines announce the beginning of the new world war.

It didn't happen this way. While the European and American press, accustomed to Hitler acting by bold strokes with time-clock precision, freely appointed August 15th as "Der Tag" for the invasion of Czechoslovakia, the Nazi mobilization of its war-time army was confined to a grandiose military maneuver.

But it might have happened! There isn't an intelligent person alive today who doesn't have the fatalistic feeling that almost any morning or night will find him face to face with a series of "incidents" that wind up in a general war. And the feeling is no less universal that nothing can be done about it except sit anxiously by and speculate on the date and place of the war's beginning.

Is there any doubt that this is a true description of the mentality of millions of trembling people in the world today? Look at the newspaper reports. No one doubted the possibility of an outbreak when Hitler announced his maneuvers. Yet no one acted.

Thousands of angry workingmen did not gather in the streets to thunder their protest at being dragged into a blood bath to protect the maps of the imperialist Versailles treaty or to redraft them according to the Hitler conception. They did not threaten to cast all the maps into the garbage heap and together with them the conniving diplomats, the profit-hungry merchants of death and the whole racket-system called capitalism. Certainly there were no demonstrations in the prison-hells of Germany, Austria or Italy. But in the great "democracies" of England and France, the same tombstone quiet, the same tremors of fear ran through a passive population. Why?

Fourteen years before Hitler ground the German workers into a regimented Nazi army, the preparation for the present tragedy was carefully laid in the Treaty of Versailles. The League of Nations and the World Court would compose the differences between nations. Disarmament conferences and arms limitations conclaves would draw the teeth from the war god. And peace put the seal of honest purpose and solemn intention on the flowery speeches of the diplomats and the politicians. The working class did not see behind the sham and the fraud to the real maneuvers of the British and French imperialists, angling to keep their world empires away from the hungry lean defeated powers. Pacifism gave the masses a straw of hope and they grasped it eagerly.

The masses trusted the lying spokesmen of capitalism—until Adolf Hitler kicked the props out from under the rotten, hypocritical edifice of imperialist pacifism; broke out of the League of Nations, tore up the Versailles Treaty, rebuilt the German army, occupied the Rhineland, terrorized the Saar plebiscite, invaded Austria and now stands on the Czech border and once again rattles his sabers.

Then the diplomats dropped the peace conferences, buried the League of Nations and began to talk of a more "forceful policy." They called the policy "collective security." With this collective action they would police the world, perhaps enforce a little boycott and by sheer show of force hold the "war-makers" in line. It would never come to war—that they promised with all the sanctimonious fervor they could summon up. They failed to say what every foreign office in the world knew as a simple axiom: collective security meant war—meant new line-ups when war came to protect the old booty.

The Stalinists beat the drums for the new angel of peace, decked out in the uniform of a cop—a collective security cop. The workers waited again, trusting no more in the sweet dove of peace but now in the blackjack of the self-appointed keeper of law and order. Until one day they saw the amazing spectacle of

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to rely on N.L.R.B., the "friendly" wing of the New Deal, they made it impossible for the seamen to seriously combat their immediate enemy, the Maritime Commission.

In New York, where West Coast unions, aided by seamen belonging to the I.W.W., established a picket line around the fink halls, the spontaneous sympathy of the rank and file members of the N.M.U. proved that they, too, were willing and ready to fight in defense of the right of union control of hiring. The Stalinists, still completely dominating the district committee of the N.M.U., were able to keep the union from taking official action.

Since then a new group, headed by Jerry King, wields a majority in the leading committees of the N.M.U. It could be reasonably expected by many of the rank and file who put the new men into office that they would

Where Does He Stand?



JOHN L. LEWIS

### TENUOUS TRUCE REACHED IN SIB- ERIAN CONFLICT

#### Japanese Back Down But Threaten to Resume War

Less than a week after Japanese diplomacy requested and obtained a truce with the Soviet Union in the fighting around the Changkufeng sector of the Siberian-Manchukuoan frontier, indications are at hand that the Mikado's troops are once again bent on resuming hostilities. On Wednesday, August 10, Ambassador Shigemitsu called on the Foreign Office in Moscow. The result in an agreement for a "mutual cessation of military operations at noon Thursday." At the hour set, Japanese and Soviet buglers trumpeted a "cease fire" command. Thus one month's increasingly heavy fighting, resulting from the most serious Russian-Japanese border clash to date, was ended with a definite retreat on the part of the Tokyo government.

Under the agreement, the Tokyo government accepted the principle of a bi-partite border commission to settle all frontier disputes, finally giving up the pretense of Manchukuoan independence and the consequent demand for a border commission in which it would have undisputed sway.

It also agreed to consider, along with "other material," the Soviet claim on the demarcation of the Manchukuo-Siberian frontier as set forth in documents relating to a Sino-Russian treaty dating back to 1908.

**Japan in Weak Position**  
As previously established in these columns, the events around the Changkufeng struggle are notable insofar as they make clear:

1. That Japan has been so debilitated by her Chinese war as to offset any weakness in the Soviet domestic position which she may have counted upon as advantageous to her interests.

2. That the Red Army, after a fearful loss in morale and personnel due to the continued Stalinist purges, has sufficiently recuperated to be more than a

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### West Coast Unions Prepared to Defend Right to Control Hiring, But New N.M.U. Leaders Remain Silent

immediately put the union on a true course, the course of aggressive defense of the right of the union to ship all seamen through their own hiring halls.

#### Old Policy Prevails

So far, these men have been disappointed. Two weeks have elapsed and still the union persists in the Stalinist policy of shipping through the fink halls. Still the N.L.R.B. is asked to "save" the union from another arm of the government, the Maritime Commission.

Already the men in the N.M.U. and in all marine unions, who see clearly the tremendous threat to the very existence of any unions if hiring is relegated to government halls, as it was in the days of the

### Plan Rump Convention To Split Auto Union

Frankenstein Claims Support of Lewis  
as Locals Are Advised to Throttle Int'l  
by Sending Funds to National C.I.O.

#### LEWIS MAINTAINS SILENCE

DETROIT.—The hit-and-run drivers at the wheel of the Communist Party automobile are now careening wildly through the auto workers union. The mad drive, which recognizes only green lights, is headed straight for a smash-up of the biggest and most powerful C.I.O. International, the United Automobile Workers of America.

Meeting in Toledo, presidents of Stalinist-inspired or dominated locals adopted a plan that will make a split an early reality in the U.A.W. Leading features of the wrecking plan follow:

### AKRON C.I.O. TO BUILD UNION FOR WPA WORKERS

#### W.A.A. Fights Move; Stalinists Want Open Field

#### By B. J. WIDICK Labor Secretary, S.W.P.

AKRON, Ohio.—Disgusted with the misleadership of the Stalinists in control of the Workers Alliance, the Akron C.I.O. council voted to organize W.P.A. workers into a C.I.O.-chartered union, and an organizing committee was set up in cooperation with the regional C.I.O. office to do the work.

This action followed widespread criticism of the Workers Alliance leadership by militant rubber workers now employed on W.P.A. projects. The Stalinists' policy of doing nothing to embarrass the Roosevelt administration caused the criticism.

#### C.I.O. Calls Meet

A meeting called by the C.I.O. organizing committee for W.P.A. workers was held last week, despite sabotage of the Stalinists who spread false rumors that the organizing campaign was called off.

An apparently reliable report was received here from Washington that John L. Lewis had definitely vetoed the proposal advanced by leaders of the Workers Alliance to give them an international C.I.O. charter. The word is being passed along in C.I.O. circles that Lewis wants to organize the unemployed and the W.P.A. people but is anxious to exclude the Stalinist leadership.

The effect of the C.I.O. council action in Akron is to place the Stalinists in the position of fighting a progressive proposal of the labor movement to make the battle of the unemployed its own, and they are meeting the opposition of most of the prominent Akron labor leaders.

Then acting either in agreement with Lewis or at any rate banking on his subsequent support, the Stalinists put on their sheep's clothing. Locals were instructed (at least publicly) to turn over per capita to the International; Addes surrendered his funds; the call for a rump convention was shelved at least for the time being. The fight was to be directed along constitutional lines with a special convention as the goal in view.

Strategy Number 3 came to an abrupt end after the expulsion of the three suspended officers about a week ago. Why? Is it likely that the Stalinists believed that the riotous prelude to the trial staged by their stooges and the attendant publicity would save their officials from the certain fate of expulsion—expected and predicted by all and sundry? Is it possible they believed that the lurid exposure through burglarized documents of connections between the administration and Jay Lovestone, which has been a known fact to every child in the labor movement for more than a year, would stave off the inevitable expulsions or create a change

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Then in a twinkling of the eye, the strategy veered sharply in the opposite direction. Locals were instructed to withhold per capita payments. A dual financial office at the home of George Addes was established. A dual international was set up. First steps were taken to tie up International funds in litigation and to redirect mail from the Griswold Building office to private homes.

The hell-raisers ran riot through the local unions and a split implemented with deadly imminence. But Strategy Number Two depended on bluff... and John L. Lewis. Martin refused to be bluffed, and John L. Lewis hesitated to intervene because Dubinsky of the ILGWU threatened to march out of the C.I.O. if the auto workers' union was throttled by a Lewis-C. P. dictatorship.

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# AMERICA'S PERMANENT DEPRESSION-IV

**Roosevelt, Man of Many Faces, Has But Single Purpose, to Save Capitalism**

By ART PREIS

Franklin D. Roosevelt has been pictured in so many diverse aspects by anti- and pro-New Dealers that disinterested observers of the man might well feel they are viewing grotesque reflections in a hall of freak mirrors. These reflections continually resemble caricatures in which those features which are most attractive or most detestable are drawn to exaggerated proportions, all in accordance with the particular prejudices of the artists.

To his foes on the right, largely the relics of the hard-bitten independent industrial feudalists of an earlier capitalism, Roosevelt sometimes appears as a blood-red revolutionist trampling on the most sacred rights of private property and the unrestricted exploitation of labor. To these gentlemen, whose minds see no further than the end of a blackjack, the slightest gesture of pacification offered by Roosevelt to the unemployed or any other section of the workers and poor farmers, even though the gesture be made with an empty hand, appears as calculated betrayal of their interests.

By his friends of the left—the ineffectual reformers and liberals, the labor fakers marketing unionism to the capitalists as an instrument for stabilizing profits, the peace-time pacifists, the Stalinists who wish to preserve democracy even if they have to silence by frame-up, knife or gun every labor militant—by these he is still hailed the new St. George of the common man, thrusting a solid spear into the dragon of vested interests.

His program is to keep a constant balance between the classes. On the one hand he maintains his hold over the masses by attacking the most conspicuously evil manifestations of the capitalist system. On the other, while disguising with reforms the ugliest aspects, he tries to maintain the system as such strengthened and intact.

The attempt to maintain class peace in America becomes increasingly difficult for Roosevelt. He is unable for any length of time to pacify labor by paving the way for wage concessions, for he must immediately cancel out these concessions by measures which induce price rises and the maintenance of profit levels. He cannot indefinitely pacify the unemployed, because new waves of unemployment force him to spread appropriations for jobs in thinner and thinner layers, while the ruling class thunders at him because of the inevitable increase in his requirements.

**Now to the Left, Now to the Right**

So Roosevelt, offering his favors now to the left and now to the right, subduing with increasing difficulty the constantly smoldering class conflicts, hastens his course toward imperialist war before inevitable, recurring and constantly deepening economic crises explode into naked and tremendous class conflicts which neither he nor anyone will be able to control.

It is true that Roosevelt has incurred the displeasure of many of his own class whose immediate and personal interests have been hampered by the measures he has taken to preserve the class as a whole. But such displeasure is temporary; like the immediate reaction to a bad-tasting medicine whose future results will be beneficial.

It is significant to note, that in every poll of public opinion, as well as in the expressions of the capitalist press, Roosevelt's foreign policy and war appropriations (the greatest in the peace-time history of this and every other nation) have received almost universal endorsement. The recent *Life* magazine poll, among those of the wealthy and upper middle class, showed a more than 90 percent approval of Roosevelt's imperialist preparations as expressed in his foreign policy and armaments program.

So it is that Roosevelt hopes ultimately to conquer unemployment. The administration is preparing to receive dividends on every dollar spent for the relief of the unemployed. Those dividends will be exacted in the form of support for the Roosevelt war program. Every concession to the working class, every slightest social reform has a price tag on it, marked in blood, "Support of Imperialist War."

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absorb, supporting a government credit structure mounting to unprecedented and top-heavy heights, unable, except by huge government spending programs which mean increasing tax-loads, to balance profits, prices and production with mass purchasing power, the American capitalist class is preparing its inevitable and desperate bid for survival through the military subjection of its commercial and imperialist policies.

It is the role of Roosevelt to best prepare the American nation for that task. His entire program of economic and social legislation can be understood only in the light of such preparations.

**War Demands Support By All**

Roosevelt is perfectly aware that the successful pursuit of his imperialistic aims through military means necessitates the complete loyalty to him of every section of the population. Such blind adherence to his designs, particularly in the part of the impoverished masses, can only be secured by his convincing the American workers and farmers that he is the genuine champion of their interests.

Further, Roosevelt understands how vital to his aims is the preservation of peace between capital and labor.

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His program is to keep a constant balance between the classes. On the one hand he maintains his hold over the masses by attacking the most conspicuously evil manifestations of the capitalist system. On the other, while disguising with reforms the ugliest aspects, he tries to maintain the system as such strengthened and intact.

The attempt to maintain class peace in America becomes increasingly difficult for Roosevelt. He is unable for any length of time to pacify labor by paving the way for wage concessions, for he must immediately cancel out these concessions by measures which induce price rises and the maintenance of profit levels. He cannot indefinitely pacify the unemployed, because new waves of unemployment force him to spread appropriations for jobs in thinner and thinner layers, while the ruling class thunders at him because of the inevitable increase in his requirements.

**Now to the Left, Now to the Right**

So Roosevelt, offering his favors now to the left and now to the right, subduing with increasing difficulty the constantly smoldering class conflicts, hastens his course toward imperialist war before inevitable, recurring and constantly deepening economic crises explode into naked and tremendous class conflicts which neither he nor anyone will be able to control.

It is true that Roosevelt has incurred the displeasure of many of his own class whose immediate and personal interests have been hampered by the measures he has taken to preserve the class as a whole. But such displeasure is temporary; like the immediate reaction to a bad-tasting medicine whose future results will be beneficial.

It is significant to note, that in every poll of public opinion, as well as in the expressions of the capitalist press, Roosevelt's foreign policy and war appropriations (the greatest in the peace-time history of this and every other nation) have received almost universal endorsement. The recent *Life* magazine poll, among those of the wealthy and upper middle class, showed a more than 90 percent approval of Roosevelt's imperialist preparations as expressed in his foreign policy and armaments program.

So it is that Roosevelt hopes ultimately to conquer unemployment. The administration is preparing to receive dividends on every dollar spent for the relief of the unemployed. Those dividends will be exacted in the form of support for the Roosevelt war program. Every concession to the working class, every slightest social reform has a price tag on it, marked in blood, "Support of Imperialist War."

(The final article in this series will be a discussion of the only genuine program to aid the unemployed and end unemployment.—Ed.)

absorb, supporting a government credit structure mounting to unprecedented and top-heavy heights, unable, except by huge government spending programs which mean increasing tax-loads, to balance profits, prices and production with mass purchasing power, the American capitalist class is preparing its inevitable and desperate bid for survival through the military subjection of its commercial and imperialist policies.

It is the role of Roosevelt to best prepare the American nation for that task. His entire program of economic and social legislation can be understood only in the light of such preparations.

**War Demands Support By All**

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## Peace &amp; Plenty

On the fortieth anniversary of the occupation of the Philippines by American troops, President Manuel L. Quezon, stooge of U.S. imperialism, told a huge crowd: "United States rule has brought peace and prosperity . . . education, sanitation, agricultural and industrial enterprise . . . security and happiness, freedom from financial pressure, and a higher mode of life. All this we owe to that flag and the great people that it represents."

In 1932, after thirty-four years of American rule, per capita income in the Philippines was \$50 a year.

The most expensive sport in the world, grouse shooting in Scotland, opened August 12. Among the American sportsmen taking part were Quincy Bent, vice-president of Bethlehem Steel, and J. P. Morgan, whose many house guests will include the King and Queen of England. It is estimated that the current grouse-shooting season will cost \$10,000,000. The rental of moor alone runs anywhere from \$500 to \$35,000 for the season. Mr. Morgan has his own.

The slums in Scotland are probably the worst in the United Kingdom. Rents are higher than for any part of the British Isles except London. In the early part of the century over 50 per cent of the population in Scotland lived in tenements of one or two rooms, as compared with 8 per cent in England, and very little has been done to relieve the housing situation since that time.

The new Fascist youth, said Mussolini as he harangued his troops at the end of the army maneuvers on August 11, has only one ambition and he is jealous of only one privilege—to bear arms in defense of his country.

It is true that to die for his country is about the only privilege an Italian youth has, but one would think the Duce might hesitate to admit it.

Democratic France is taking steps to increase the crop of Frenchmen to die for their country too. A new decree revises the laws of inheritance, which ever since the Revolution have divided land and property among all surviving children. The result was that the peasants have been afraid to have too many children lest the land be subdivided into such small pieces that the owners could not make a living from them. The new decree provides for keeping farms intact. The Minister of Justice, Paul Reynaud, who was responsible for the decree, stated: "Henceforth the peasant will give brothers to his sons and defenders to the nation which needs them."

The debut of the daughter of Mr. and Mrs. Henry B. H. Ripley, patent medicine millionaires, in Newport last week, was estimated to cost \$50,000. An emergency balloon, to be torn down after the dance, cost \$15,000, the orchestra received \$10,000, champagne cost \$5,000 and flowers \$2,500.

According to a recent report of the New Jersey Labor Commissioner, at least 100,000 women in industry, or over half those gainfully employed in the State, receive less than "bare subsistence" wage of \$663 a year, and 35,000 women earn less than \$5 a week.

More than half the women in home work on infant's wear in the South make less than \$2.75 a week, according to the report of the National Emergency Council, which has just been issued. The average annual income in the South in 1937 was \$314. The average tenant farmer received \$73 a year per person, and sharecroppers as little as \$38.

At the session of the intergovernmental refugee committee in London on August 4, Myron C. Taylor, United States spokesman, pointed out that 660,000 persons in Germany and Austria must find homes in other countries without delay. He stated that the United States had already agreed to take its full quota of 27,000 from Germany and Austria in the present fiscal year.

A dispatch from Berlin, however, of the same date, reported that the U.S. quota for German immigrants had been exhausted for the next two or three years. Evidently American generosity does not make it possible to deduct even 27,000 from the 660,000.

Great Britain has agreed to pay half of the costs of housing her troops in Egypt; originally Egypt was to pay them all. It is indeed magnanimous of Britain to relieve her "ally" of the expense of the forces used to keep that ally under the thumb of British imperialism.

## Trottsky Brands 'Klement Letter' as GPU Forgery

## Victims of Nazis Write Pitiful Letters to U.S.

Driven to desperation by the terrible persecution of the Nazis and unable to obtain entry into this country without affidavits of friends or relatives who will assume financial responsibility for them, a frantic search of American city directories and telephone books is taking place in Germany and Austria.

Many Americans have received letters from Germans or Austrians bearing the same or similar names, trying to establish a relationship, and begging for affidavits to enable them to come to this country.

Some, having neither relatives nor friends, are picking names at random out of telephone books and sending pleading letters, asking for the chance to live like human beings.

A friend of the American Fund for Political Prisoners and Refugees turned over the following letter he received. We reprint it below, without correction, as originally written:

Vienna, the 22. July, 1938

Dear Sir:

"Many of my friends are writing to different persons in the U.S.A. for getting an affidavit. But there are no relatives of my family in the U.S.A. or in another country. Therefore I don't ask you, if you are my uncle, cousin, etc. I must write to a strange man. I took

a telephon-book and at your name, thought, perhaps this man can help me.

"I had to emigrate from Germany, because I am a Jew. I don't know if you are an aryan or a jew; but, does that be so important?

"I am a girl of 21 years, born in Vienna. I am a dress-maker and a painter, but I will do every work!

"I beg you, help me by sending an affidavit of support.

"I hope with all my heart that something will come out of this letter.

"I beg you to excuse this letter, but my present circumstances are forcing me, to try again.

"Awaiting your kind answer, I remain your faithfully,

This letter is typical of many being sent by workers, who have neither money nor relatives, or only relatives without money. It speaks volumes in misery, helplessness, desperation and—hope. The hope that fellow human beings, strangers in strange lands, will come to their aid.

To this letter, one can only add another urgent appeal that contributions be rushed to the American Fund for Political Prisoners and Refugees, 100 Fifth Avenue, New York City.

## New Book on Fascism to Be Published by Pioneer

Pioneer Publishers has obtained the American rights to Daniel Guerin's brilliant study of "Fascism and Big Business" and will issue the book in October.

The author is a noted socialist and Marxian scholar who is active on the French Committee of Inquiry into the Moscow Trials. In this book he has not only provided a richly detailed analysis of fascism in Italy and Germany but a tactical guide manual of action against fascism.

Dwight Macdonald, who will edit the American edition writes: "It is of the utmost importance that Daniel Guerin's brilliant and deep-searching study of fascism be made available in English. In these United States of Jersey City, the Mohawk Valley Formula and the Johnstown Plan, fascism is by no means an academic question. Guerin has analyzed in great detail the evolution and strategy of fascism. Thorough, clearly organized, intransigently Marxist in its conclusions, this book should be

in the hands of every enemy of fascism."

America Offers Comparison

An unusual feature of the book will be special notes prepared by the editor relating the emergence of the fascist movement in Germany and Italy to events taking place in America. In addition the volume will contain a special preface by the author for the American edition.

The importance of this book has spurred Pioneer Publishers to undertake an intensive campaign to obtain advance orders and contributions to finance its publication. The book will be about 300 pages and will sell for \$2.00 on publication. Advance orders will be accepted immediately at \$1.25 (cash with order). All interested individuals and Branches are urged to send their orders immediately to Pioneer Publishers, 100 Fifth Avenue, New York, so that publication will not be delayed. Contributions, of course, are always welcome.

## TENUOUS TRUCE IN BORDER WAR

(Continued from page 1)

match for the considerably better and harried forces of Japanese imperialism on the Asiatic mainland.

3. That Nazi Germany and Fascist Italy, in spite of their anti-Comintern pact with the Mikado, either were not in a position to aid their ally or else were indifferent to his demands.

Only Breathing Spell

However, any such retreat as the Nipponese have been forced to undergo in the current border fighting cannot but become transformed into an aggravating factor in the decline of the fortunes of Japanese imperialism as a whole. It would, therefore, be a mistake to consider any permanent settlement of the border quarrel close at hand. The truth cannot be considered as anything else, from the point of view of the Tokyo war office, but a breathing spell which is to serve the Mikado's strategists in evolving some new way out of his distress.

It was not surprising, conse-

quently, to see in the newspapers, on Monday, August 15, dispatches relating to violations of the truce concluded only four days before.

Competent observers point out, that while Tokyo is not ready by any means for a war with the Soviets, its armies are nevertheless anxious to remain in a position to push on toward Siberia in case of a heavy entanglement of Soviet Russia's armed forces in the West. What the Mikado's generals are not yet sure of is the question as to whether the Soviet Far Eastern Army would be able to retain its full strength at the Siberian border in case of a threat at the other extreme of the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics. They are not decided in their judgment regarding the present show of strength of the Red Army: they don't know whether it is due to the fact that Moscow has no immediate apprehensions regarding its Ukrainian "front."

As a result of these considerations, it is expected that, in spite of the truce and the pending negotiations, clashes along the Siberian-Manchukuoan border will continue, if not increase. The outbreak of full-fledged warfare, however, is expected only in connection with acute developments in the European scene.

## WHAT IS SOCIALISM?

By ALBERT GOLDMAN

Does Socialism exist in the Soviet Union? Is Socialism the way out for America? These questions and others of burning importance to workers are dealt with in this pamphlet—clearly, succinctly and interestingly.

10¢

## Revolution and Counter-Revolution in Spain

By FELIX MORROW

The tragic lessons of Spain are of profound concern to the American working class and have an immediate bearing on their problems. The task of this book is to provide the class-conscious worker and his allies in America with materials for understanding the recent events in Spain.

CLOTH \$1.00 — PAPER 50¢

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100 FIFTH AVENUE

NEW YORK

## Analysis of Alleged Letter Reveals Glaring Inconsistencies; Kidnappers Exposed

By LEON TROTSKY

1. I received by mail via New York City on August 1 the letter in German signed "Frederic." The letter is dated July 14, without indicating the mailing place. The inner envelope bears in German the words, "For L. D." It is necessary to establish from where and by what route the letter reached New York. Let me add that the marks and lines on the margin which appear on the photostatic copy were made by me in red pencil upon first reading the letter.

"Frederic" writes further on the same score that "what was called using fascism was direct collaboration with the Gestapo." Not a word on what this collaboration consisted of and precisely how "Frederic" learned about it. In this part "Frederic" follows strictly the shameless methods of Vyshinsky-Yezhov.

## FOLLOWS VYSHINSKY PATTERN

2. Klement began his letters to me with the words: "Dear Comrade L. D." The present letter begins with the salutation: "Mr. Trotsky." This salutation, apparently, should correspond to the hostile tone of the letter which announces the "break in relations."

## A SKILLFUL FORGERY

3. The handwriting of the letter is very similar to the handwriting of Klement. But after more careful comparison with old letters the difference becomes very striking. The handwriting of the last letter is not free, but studied, uneven; individual characters are drawn too carefully, others, on the contrary, are hesitating. Absence of erasures and careful spacing of words, especially at the end of lines show beyond any doubt that the letter has been copied from a draft. Was the letter really written by Klement? I shall not presume to deny it categorically. The handwriting is similar if each character is taken by itself; but the manuscript as a whole lacks naturalness and ease. If this is Klement's handwriting, then it is very well that none of us advanced such preposterous accusations against the people mentioned in the letter except Roman Well who through his activity openly distinguished himself in the service of the G.P.U. This applies as well to the other people mentioned in the letter except Roman Well who through his activity openly distinguished himself in the service of the G.P.U. Klement knew very well that none of us advanced such preposterous accusations against the people listed in the letter.

9. The letter further lists all the negative consequences of my "Bonapartist" methods. "In the past," he states, "we were abandoned by such people as Nin, Roman Well, Jacob Frank." The combination of these three names is strange. Roman Well and Jacob Frank openly returned in their time to the Comintern after having attempted for a while to act in our ranks as secret agents of the Comintern. On the contrary, Andres Nin, after his break with us, maintained an independent position, remained hostile to the Comintern and fell victim of the G.P.U. Klement knows this distinction very well. But "Frederic" ignores it or does not know it.

## AIMS AT POUM FRIENDSHIP

10. "You have delivered the P.O.U.M.," continues "Frederic," "to the mangling of the Stalinists." This phrase is apparently enigmatic, not to say senseless. Despite the P.O.U.M.'s open break with the Fourth International, the G.P.U. persecuted the members of the P.O.U.M. precisely as if they were Trotskyites; in other words, the P.O.U.M. is subjected to "mangling" on the same basis as the adherents of the Fourth International. "Frederic's" enigmatic phrase is apparently dictated by the desire to set against Trotskyism those members of the P.O.U.M. who have not yet been murdered by the G.P.U.

11. The accusations which refer to a later period are of no less false character. "Recently our organization was abandoned by such people as Sneevilit and Vereecken, who showed such great political sense and wisdom in the Spanish question." Sneevilit and Vereecken in reality showed their sympathy for the P.O.U.M., which was accused by the Stalinists of being connected with fascism. Thus it seems that "Frederic" on the one hand solidarizes himself with the P.O.U.M., Sneevilit and Vereecken; and on the other, repeats the accusations against the opponents of the G.P.U. (among them, consequently, also against the P.O.U.M.) of connections with fascism. It must be added that during the last several years Klement often reproached me in friendly fashion with being too tolerant and patient in regard to Sneevilit and Vereecken. But apparently "Frederic" knows nothing about this.

## REVIVE OLD PSEUDONYM

5. The name "Frederic" as a signature is difficult to explain. It is true that Klement once really used this pseudonym, but he abandoned it more than two years ago when he grew suspicious that the name had become known to the G.P.U. or the Gestapo. The letters which I have received from Klement in Mexico for the last year and a half have been signed either "Adolf" or "Camilie," but never "Frederic." What made Klement return to a long abandoned pseudonym, especially in a letter to me? Here the hypothesis naturally arises that the forgers of the letter had in their possession old letters of Klement, signed "Frederic," and that they were not aware of the change in pseudonym. For the investigation this circumstance is of very great importance.

6. In the content of the letter there are something like two levels which are mechanically connected with one another. On one hand, the letter repeats the vile falsifications of the G.P.U. in reference to my connections with fascism, relations with the Gestapo, etc.; on the other hand, it criticizes my policy seemingly from the point of view of the interests of the Fourth International, and tries in this manner to give an explanation for Klement's "turn." This ambiguity threads the entire letter.

## BRANDLER DRAGGED IN

12. "We were abandoned," he continues, "by Molinier, Jan Bur with his group, Ruth Fischer, Maslov, Brandler, and others." In this list the name of Brandler, who never belonged to the Trotskyite camp but on the contrary was always its irreconcilable and open enemy, strikes the eye immediately. Years of open struggle in which he invariably defended Stalinism against us testify to his animosity. Klement well knew the political figure of Brandler and our attitude toward him. He knew only too well, at the same time, the inner life of the Fourth International. Why did "Frederic" introduce Brandler's name among the people who belonged to our movement and then broke with it? Two explanations are possible. If we grant that the letter was written by Klement, we must assume that he wrote it under the muzzle of a revolver and included Brandler's name in order to show the forced character of his letter. If we pro-

ceed from the fact that the letter was forged, the explanation is indicated by the entire technique of the G.P.U., where ignorance is combined with brazenness. In the Moscow trials all opponents of Stalin were thrown into one heap. Among the members of the non-existent "right-Trotskyite" bloc were included not only Bukharin but also Brandler and even Sosulin. In accordance with the same logic Brandler finds himself among people who broke with the Fourth International to which he never belonged.

"Frederic" writes further on the same score that "what was called using fascism was direct collaboration with the Gestapo." Not a word on what this collaboration consisted of and precisely how "Frederic" learned about it. In this part "Frederic" follows strictly the shameless methods of Vyshinsky-Yezhov.

## "FREDERIC" DEFENDS BEALS

13. "It is puerile to think," continues "Frederic," "that public opinion will allow itself to be pacified by the simple declaration that they are all agents of the G.P.U." This phrase is even less understandable. None of us have said that Nin and other leaders of the P.O.U.M., being annihilated by the G.P.U., were agents of the G.P.U. This applies as well to the other people mentioned in the letter except Roman Well who through his activity openly distinguished himself in the service of the G.P.U. Klement knew very well that none of us advanced such preposterous accusations against the people listed in the letter.

9. The letter further lists all the negative consequences of my "Bonapartist" methods. "In the past," he states, "we were abandoned by such people as Nin, Roman Well, Jacob Frank." The combination of these three names is strange. Roman Well and Jacob Frank openly returned in their time to the Comintern after having attempted for a while to act in our ranks as secret agents of the Comintern. On the contrary, Andres Nin, after his break with us, maintained an independent position, remained hostile to the Comintern and fell victim of the G.P.U. Klement knows this distinction very well. But "Frederic" ignores it or does not know it.

## KLEMENT MURDERED?

Klement was kidnapped, spirited away, and probably killed. The G.P.U. fabricated the letter, representing Klement as a traitor to the Fourth International, possibly with the aim of shifting responsibility for his murder upon the "Trotskyites."

All this is entirely within the practices of the international gang. I consider this variant the most likely.

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## Reaction in the Northwest

On the extreme northwest horizon of the United States a serious threat against the rights of the working class is now showing. This threat is not yet receiving the national interest which it so profoundly deserves.

In the State of Oregon—and this will almost certainly occur also in Washington—there has been placed on the November ballot a measure which, if passed and enforced, would virtually destroy genuine trade unionism in that territory.

The proposed bill would require all unions to incorporate, would prohibit all "sympathy" strikes, would eliminate mass picketing, and hamstring union organization.

The problem of defeating the bill is one for the workers of the entire country. The decision must not be allowed to go locally by default.

It is, of course, the pressure of the crisis which is the general background for the attempt to put this bill across. The bosses, especially those in the hard-hit lumber and shipping industries which are the mainstays of Oregon and Washington, feel that they have got to smash unionism in order to keep up profits.

Two special factors, however, stimulated the appearance of the bill at this time. One is the C.I.O.-A. F. of L. split, which has led in these two states to incredibly bitter internecine struggle, turning the workers against each other, weakening the workers in their struggle against the bosses, and driving away support from the middle classes which a strong and successful working-class united front would have held.

Second is the criminal political tactics followed in these States by the officials of both the C.I.O. and the A. F. of L. Not merely have the officials failed, as elsewhere, to advance independent working-class politics; they have played the game of the most corrupt and reactionary bourgeois political machines.

Emboldened by the divisions, weaknesses and often downright corruption in the camp of the workers, the bosses find the time ripe for a real onslaught.

No bureaucratic interests can be allowed to stand in the way of a united resistance. And it must above all be kept in mind that defeat of the bill in November is only a small and temporary step in the defense. The firm, organized strength of the workers in their every activity will alone guarantee the preservation of workers' rights.

## Trotsky and Cardenas

Anxious to discredit, in the eyes of the American people, the bold act of the Cardenas government in expropriating the foreign-owned Mexican oil industry, reactionaries have hit upon the scheme of placing the responsibility for the expropriation on Leon Trotsky. (The budding American Nazis, by the way, are using this method to discredit Roosevelt. They are spreading the story that Roosevelt visited the South in order to confer with Trotsky.)

## FROM THE LABOR PRESS

We reprint below excerpts from the minutes of the June 30 meeting of the executive board of Local 802, New York local of the American Federation of Musicians, first published in the union's official journal of August.

The report deals with the fiasco staged by the Workers Alliance last June when a "demonstration" was put on "against" wage cuts on W.P.A. projects—cuts instituted by the darling of the Stalinists, the Roosevelt administration. The reactions of the Musicians Union to the gyrations of the Stalinist leaders of the Workers Alliance, who turned a protest demonstration into an election rally for Roosevelt, reveal the disgust of all real union men when confronted with the results of Stalinist policy.—Ed.

\* \* \*

Bro. Sterne reported on their trip to Washington on June 27, 1938, when 47 musicians, three officers and two rank and file members went on instructions of the Executive Board to join a demonstration which was scheduled to take place then in order to protest against any W.P.A. cuts in salaries. Prior to the demonstration, a delegation of four members of Local 77, Philadelphia, contacted our committee and objected to the composition of the delegates which came to Washington under the auspices of the Workers Alliance, claiming that they were immature and did not serve as a representative body. The

Washington newspapers that morning contained a statement by Aubrey Williams announcing the new rules and regulations which would apply.

Before the conference opened Mr. Lasser of the Workers Alliance reported to our committee that conditions had been changed and that they had therefore decided that the meeting would be a victory celebration instead of a protest demonstration against cuts. Our members objected to changing the nature of the demonstration because they felt it was not a complete victory, but since the Workers Alliance assumed complete sponsorship of the meeting, they had no alternative but to participate in the same under conditions set forth. Therefore the meeting was declared a victory celebration and David Lasser was elected Chairman, who addressed the delegation in that

## Delegates Slurred

Mr. Sterne was then introduced as representing the "super-individualists of all organized workers," and although he did not expect to be called on, nor did he anticipate such an introduction, he competently answered that point and described the thorough cooperation which the Local had given in the campaign against wage cuts on W.P.A. Several speakers followed and there were a few A.F. of L. Locals represented, with the exception of Local 77, 802 and

Equity. They introduced a speaker from the Furriers' Union whom our committee felt should not be represented on a W.P.A. Arts Project program.

An announcement was made that Aubrey Williams would address the meeting and when Mr. Williams did appear, instead of using the occasion to ascertain why even a small cut was made, the meeting degenerated into a political rally in which Mr. Williams solicited votes and commanded the Workers' Alliance, David Lasser, Willis Morgan and Mr. Benjamin for their fine efforts. No mention was made as to what can be done in the future to rescind the small remaining cut and Williams did not explain why it was made at all.

The youth movement present gave Williams a terrific ovation and when the recess was called, Bro. Sterne told the musicians that they should leave the meeting and board their train.

## Unions Part Ignored

On arriving in New York it was learned that the *Sunday Daily Worker* contained an article under the date line, Washington, June 29, 1938, and entitled "Alliance Wins WPA Pay Cut Fight" with no mention of Local 802's activities. All of the newspaper publicity gave credit to the Workers Alliance and no credit to other organizations was reported.

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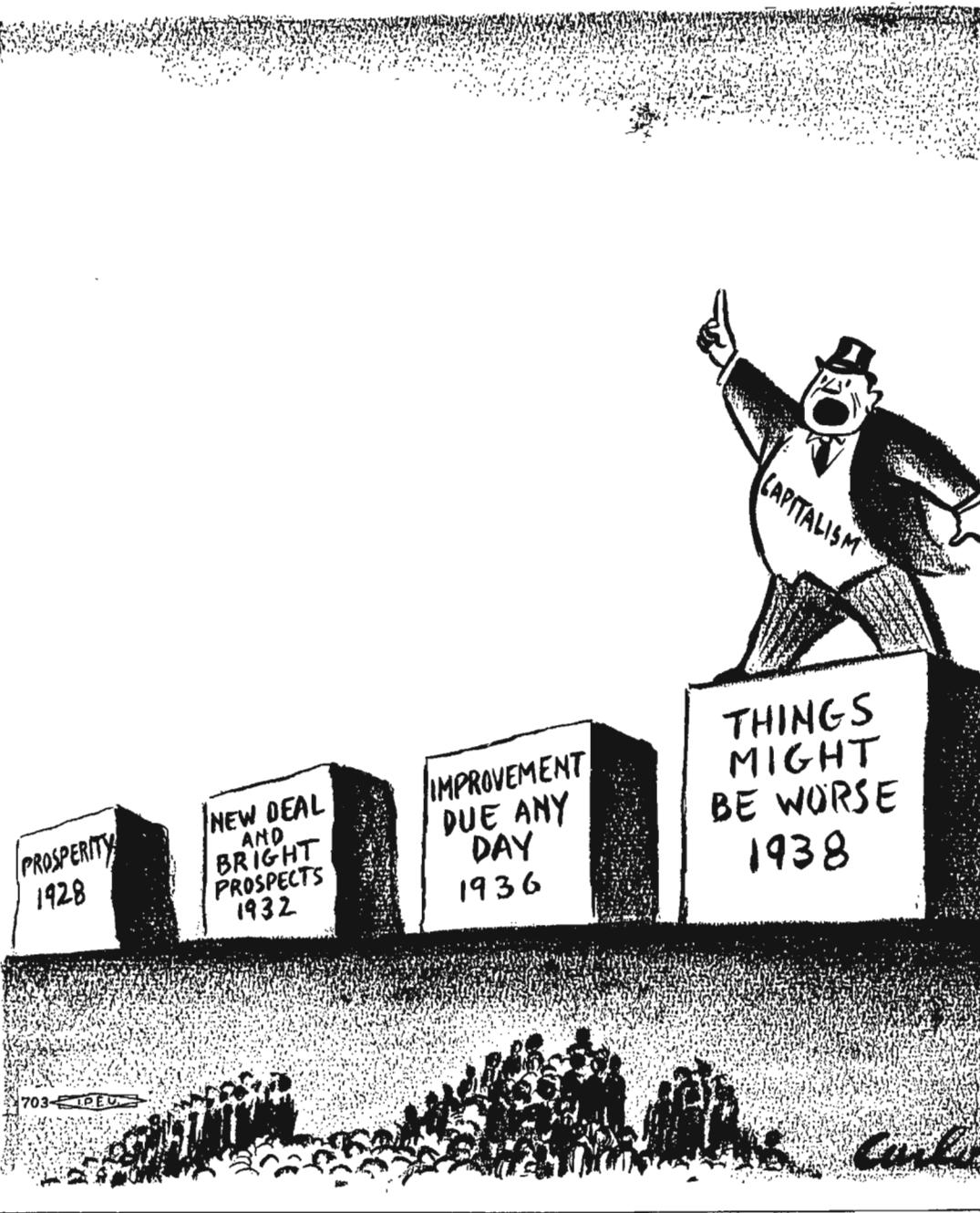
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## Still Spieling . . .



## Who Owns the Courts?

## Spotlight on Capitalist Justice in Harlan

By ALBERT GOLDMAN

It would indeed have been surprising had the Federal government obtained a conviction in the case against the coal bosses of Harlan and their thugs charged with conspiracy to violate the rights of the miners under the Wagner Act. To those who fail to see the clever demagogic of the Roosevelt regime, the case in itself is surprising. Starting from the correct premise that the Roosevelt government is a capitalist government, it seems peculiar that capitalists should be dragged into court for violating labor's rights.

If capitalist democracy would at all times function openly in the interests of every individual capitalist, it would not be half so difficult to convince the workers that it is in reality capitalist dic-

tatorship. Even fascism must at times try to create the impression that it protects the workers against the employers. Much more so does capitalist democracy function in a manner so as to confuse and deceive the masses.

And it is not necessary to attribute to all the acts of a liberal capitalist government, like the Roosevelt regime, an intention to deceive. It can simply be said that the sincerity of a liberal officer will, in the long run, be ineffective and will serve merely to create greater illusions.

## Don't Convict Bosses

At any rate the Harlan trial serves the purpose of proving that capitalist courts are not designed for convicting employers charged with violating the rights of employees. While under certain circumstances a conviction in such

a case is not impossible, it is certainly highly improbable.

It is generally recognized that defendants have less chance of obtaining an acquittal in the Federal courts than in state courts. That is true not only because judges in a Federal court have much more extensive powers to comment on the evidence and let the jury know how they feel about the case, but also because there is, to certain extent, less politics and more preoccupation on the part of the prosecution.

But the case in Harlan was not one against ordinary criminals nor against workers prosecuted for their activities on behalf of labor. The prisoners at the bar were respected and leading members of the community, and those who were not so respected did the dirty work for those who were.

## Swindlers Sometimes Sacrificed

It frequently happens that important figures of the capitalist world, when caught red-handed, will be prosecuted and convicted for swindling thousands of gullible people. To ward off the wrath of the small business people, a swindling banker or a crooked politician will at times offer as a sacrifice.

In the Harlan case, however, the defendants were not only leading lights of the community, but the charge against them, was a mere trifle—merely violating some rights of their wage-slaves. These two factors combined made the odds all in favor of an acquittal.

And that is the time demoralization at any possible solution to war had spread so deep and far among the working class that the diplomats could knock the "collective security" ballyhoo into a cocked hat. The general assumption is that the masses have been fooled to point where they believe that everything that could have been done for peace has been done, and now the best thing is to prepare for war—as if they hadn't been preparing for it all along! So they came out into the open with the alliances they had made in secret long ago. The British and French "democracies" began to criss-cross in their hook-ups with Hitlerite Germany and Fascist Italy.

And that is the peace-war racket in a nutshell. Big guns and floating coffins never made a war. You can build them for years, but the real building begins after the war starts. The important thing is to make the people believe that peace is a pipe-dream, that war is sure as the rising sun. Once this chloroform of resignation is shot through the peoples, the imperialist racketeers can put an army in the field and turn it loose to make a shambles out of Europe or Asia or the whole world and destroy itself in the process. That tragic mentality seemed near achievement when Hitler mobilized for war maneuvers.

We agree: peace is a pipe-dream—under capitalism. But peace will be a reality under socialism. That is why we will never cease crying aloud at those who are crushing the hopes and strivings of the peoples of the world for peace by knifing the struggle for socialism. They are the Judases of the Second and Third Internationals. The guilt of Germany and Austria and Spain and tomorrow of Czechoslovakia is heavily upon them. They are guilty as sin—and they do not cry out at the new war because they will do the dirty work for the General Staffs as they did in 1914.

Czechoslovakia is a last warning. And the warning is written clearly: the road to peace is the road of the relentless struggle for socialism. The Hitlers and Chamberlains and Roosevelts dread this day. They will quake with fear when the masses throw off the drugs, tear up the maps and the secret treaties, and write their own peace in a free socialist world.

Easy to Convict Workers

The jury composed of average mortals, subjected to all the propaganda supporting the social system, would be tremendously affected by the attitude of the prosecutor and the judge, and this would be worth a thousand times more than the nature of the evidence and the pleas of attorneys.

It isn't any particular form of

## Pinning 'em Down

By JAMES CASEY

## HOW TO BE AN HONEST LIBERAL

Paul Kern, head of New York's Civil Service Commission, reports with unconcealed satisfaction that most of the municipal employees have been freed from obligations to politicians of all shades and parties. The spoils system, says Mr. Kern, has been eliminated.

When one reflects how, for decades, the truckling to Democratic and Republican district leaders bred and encouraged graft, bribery and other forms of corruption in public office, the Commission's service in behalf of the city's employees may be considered a welcome and important reform. Inasmuch as Mr. Kern is of the belief that questionable political entanglements are harmful to those in the municipality's employ, we suggest that the rule applied to the rank and file be extended to embrace the higher-ups—and why not?

By that we mean that Mr. Kern should dissociate himself immediately and completely from the American League for Peace and Democracy.

Any Communist Party "faction worker" could inform the Commissioner that the league favors only a special kind of "peace" while, with veiled phrases, it advocates a special kind of war. The "democracy" part of the league's program, the same "worker" could enlighten Mr. Kern, is to counteract terrorism against Stalinist opponents and give uncritical approval to the wholesale murders of internationally known labor leaders.

In short, Commissioner Kern cannot honestly style himself a liberal—as one opposed to political skullduggery—so long as he is entangled, even slightly with an affiliate of the Stalin lynch and frame-up machine.

## HIZZONER IS BUSY . . .

Mayor LaGuardia spends much of his time, almost every day, greeting Hollywood screen stars, transatlantic fliers, Barbara Huttons and other celebrities of native and foreign make. He also lops off hours from his executive duties to attend ball games at the Yankee Stadium, in Philadelphia and other places.

The other day a group of crippled children from one of the city's institutions were taken to City Hall to meet the "Little Flower." The children came in buses and managed to struggle into the old massive, grey structure. Lined up inside the building, their little hearts beat faster from anticipation of being received by the executive of the nation's greatest metropolis. At last they were to meet, face to face, Fiorello LaGuardia, "the poor man's friend," of whom they had heard and read so much.

They were told the Mayor had arrived in his office. In fact a few of the unfortunate invalids actually saw His Honor as he marched by them and into his magic sanctum. The great moment had arrived! And then, the great disappointment! One of the Mayor's secretaries strutted out of the office to tell the crippled youngsters, all pent up with excitement, that the Mayor was busy—too busy to see them.

Quietly the children were sent packing—back into the buses that brought them to City Hall for the thrill of a lifetime.

Election time—that period in a politician's life when he goes about kissing the cheeks of little children—is still some weeks away.

## ON THE "INNOCENTS" LIST

Charles Krumbein, New York State secretary of the Communist Party, has an article in a recent issue of *Party Organizer*, official Stalinist organ, on the functions of activists. In his dissertation, Krumbein takes pains to stress directives for "faction work" by Stalinists in the American Labor Party and other mass organizations. Thus the Labor Party is now openly referred to in the Stalinist organ as just another mass organization of the C.P.

That being the case, are Dubinsky, Antonini, Hillman, Rose et al aware of what became of the Anti-Imperialist League, the League of Struggle for Negro Rights, the Workers' Ex-Servicemen's League, the Workers' International Relief, the United Front Supporters and a dozen other C.P. mass organizations, whose names we now barely remember?

## FEDERAL CHATTELS AND FIRESIDE CHATS

Postmaster General James A. Farley reveals in the current issue of *The American Magazine* that the Roosevelt administration is preparing to start an unemployment crisis, all its own. Federal employees in the lower and higher brackets are to be fired by the hundreds and thousands. If Farley is to be believed, they will be replaced by 100 per cent "yes men" of the Rooseveltian New Deal. Being Chairman of the Democratic National Committee as well as chief dispenser of Federal patronage, he certainly must know where he speaks.

This disclosure lends weighted significance to Roosevelt's pernicious appeals to the populace to vote "for my friends," said friends being those Senators and Representatives who have demonstrated their complete moral and intellectual surrender to the man in the saddle.

With a Congress in a state of abject servility, with thousands of executives taking commands from a little clique in the White House roost and passing on the orders to more thousands of subordinates in addition to droves of Federal job dispensers scattered throughout the nation, Roosevelt would enjoy a centralization of power surpassed not too much by the established trio of dictators.

Though the golden-voiced radio artist highlights his talks with shafts against tories and economic royalists, by his program he would outdo his kinsmen, the duPonts and their partners, the Morgans and Hearsts. They have set up dynasties in two or three States and have monopolized a general assortment of industries. Roosevelt seems to be on the rampage to gobble up the whole works and prove to his Republican rivals that "It Can Happen Here."

## judicial procedure that makes it easy to get a conviction against workers and well-nigh impossible to convict employers. The capitalist courts are integral parts of the social system and the prevailing relationships and attitudes are transferred to the courts, concealed by the hypocritical cloak of impartiality and "equality" before the law."

The capitalist judicial system cannot readily be perverted, so that capitalists are convicted for insisting on their inalienable right to exploit labor. The function of capitalist courts is altogether different. It must protect private property and in that is included the prosecution of workers for violating the rights of employers.

Naive people reading the laws and not observing their actual application come to the conclusion that there is no discrimination between classes and individuals. But it should not be difficult to see that even where there is a formal conviction of capitalists, their actual punishment is nothing in comparison to the punishment meted out to workers who are convicted.

## Penalties Compared

In a recent anti-monopoly case prosecuted by the Federal government in Madison, Wis., the judge found the defendants, oil corporations and their officers, guilty of violating the anti-trust act. Fines of five to ten thousand dollars were imposed.

For a worker to recognize that the courts are not intended to aid him in his struggle for better conditions is part of wisdom. Does that mean that the courts should never be used by workers against capitalists or against racketeers in the union? Not at all. There is no principle involved in using or not using the capitalist courts. But if, under exceptional circumstances, it is found necessary for workers, in their struggle against the bosses, to use the capitalist courts, their limitations should be clearly recognized and at all times should be considered as auxiliary to the chief method of struggle, which must always be the unity and militancy of the workers.