

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 Bulkeley 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 conveniently 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



F. D. ROOSEVELT

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 union 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 notable

(Continued on page 2)

ENGLISH GROUPS UNITE TO BUILD 4th INTERNAT'L

New Party Combines Forces for Revolu- tionary Policy

LONDON.—A long step forward was taken in the building of a strong revolutionary movement in Great Britain, when delegates representing various British organizations working for the Fourth International met in conference here on July 31 and August 1 and merged their organizations into one unified section of the Fourth International.

Independent organizations in London and Scotland will merge into the national organization which will take the name of Revolutionary Socialist League. The various journals, representing the different groups prior to the fusion, will now be replaced by one popular newspaper and one theoretical organ.

The merger will undoubtedly provide a great impulsion for the revolutionary movement in this country and appreciably increase its influence in the trade unions and among organized workers generally. Sympathetic workers, who were confused in the past by the many organizations speaking in the name of the international movement, are already rallying to the new party. These are first indications that a healthy growth and a vigorous organization is in store for the newly created organization.

Details concerning the program adopted by the Revolutionary Socialist League and its concrete plan of action to widen its revolutionary influence in the British labor movement will appear in subsequent issues of the Socialist Appeal.

Local New York Schedules Meet

There will be a membership meeting of Local New York of the Socialist Workers Party, Friday, August 19, in the Victoria Room at Irving Plaza, at 8:30 P. M. Attendance is confined to members of the S.W.P. and the Young Peoples Socialist League and admission will be by red card only.

The subject of the evening's discussion will be the National Action Program of the Party.

(Continued on page 4)

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 on 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 workmen 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 saber.

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 Stalinern 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

(Continued on page 4)

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 call resulted in an agreement for a "mutual cessation of military operations at noon Thursday." At the hour set, Japanese and Soviet buglers trumpeted a "cease firing" 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 1886.

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

(Continued on page 3)

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:

1. Call a rump convention in the near future under the guise of a "National Auto Conference."
2. Tighten the financial noose around the neck of the International by sending all union funds and per capita payments to national C.I.O. headquarters.

Line Changed Again

The now-or-never campaign launched by the Communist Party marks a third or fourth switch in line since the faction fight broke loose in full fury in the auto union. Just to describe the ragged outline shows where the drive is headed.

Early in May, the alliance with Frankenstein was finally sealed, stamped and delivered. The program of drive-the-factionists-out-of-the-union found no takers, and the May 9 meeting of the Executive Board saw a unanimous adoption of the 20-point program presented by President Martin. The Stalinists scurried back to their holes.

But only for a month, when seizing upon a favorable opportunity created by Martin's absence from the board meeting in June, they turned their guns on the 20-point program. They were rewarded for their pains by a transference of the board meeting to Washington, D. C., and the suspension of Frankenstein, Hall, Mortimer and Ades. That marked the end of Strategy Number One: the attempt to sneak up on the board and seize control by a sleight-of-hand maneuver.

Dual Set-Up Tried

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 Ades 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 impended 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 I.L.G.W.U. threatened to march out of the C.I.O. if the auto workers' union was throttled by a Lewis-C. P. dictatorship.

Then acting either in agreement with Lewis or at any rate banking on his subsequent support, the Stalinists put on their sheeps' clothing. Locals were instructed (at least publicly) to turn over per capita to the International; Ades 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

(Continued on page 2)

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-

tionary International Seamen's Union was forced in the beginning to wage a bitter struggle against both the shipowners and the scab-herding officialdom of the old union, the new union quickly fell under the sway of the Communist Party, and, under the fictitious guise of support from the government, a program of organizing through National Labor Relations Board elections was inaugurated.

Stalinists Prevent Fight
The Stalinists, whose greatest political aim is to harness the workers to the war chariot of American imperialism, and thus to fulfill the promises of the Soviet foreign office, could not be expected to fight the government's plans to regiment the American seamen, for that regimentation is a necessary prerequisite for the waging of war by the Roosevelt administration. Rather, by teaching the workers

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.

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

old Shipping Board, are beginning to ask Jerry King and his associates what they propose to do in defense of the right of union control of hiring.

Leaders of the Communist Party and followers of the Stalinist line are, of course, not primarily interested in preserving a union. Their primary purpose is political, and it is dictated by Stalin. That purpose is to enlist the American workers behind American imperialism in the coming war, in exchange for a military alliance with the Soviet Union. Rather than endanger the possibility of such an alliance, they will ruthlessly destroy any organization that stands in the

(Continued on page 2)

AMERICA'S PERMANENT DEPRESSION-IV

Defense Guards Only Answer!

Union Busters Plan Rump Convention to Split UAW

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 black-jack, 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 fakery 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.

Portraits Are Modified

From time to time, each camp is forced to modify their particular portraits. When juicy appropriations for military purposes are pushed through by Roosevelt, when fat bounties in the form of R.F.C. loans are tossed into the laps of bankers and railroad tycoons, when the undistributed profits tax is dropped into the legislative waste-basket, the "Tories" nod their heads benevolently in his direction and affirm, "The kid's got talent all right. If he'd only take himself in hand, cut out these week-end sprees with those red bums around the corner, and stick to business, he'll be tops someday."

When Roosevelt, the great democrat, counterposes only an imposing silence to the labor smashing brutalities of Hagueism, and the insolent flaunting of organized gunmen in the face of legislative edicts by the Weirs, Givlers and Fords; when the Roosevelt State Department, in immediate response to the demands of the blood-sucking American oil, mine and land interests in impoverished Mexico, imposes ruinous retaliatory economic measures upon our southern neighbor; when he sanctions the "neutral" embargo of arms to Republican Spain and permits the unhampered shipment of oil, scrap iron and munitions to Japan; when, in fact, he demonstrates a more than detached concern for the interests of the real ruling class regardless of his most idealistic utterances, the loyal "leftists" shake their head sadly and paint the picture of a generous, noble soul, abused and misled by crafty and insidious powers betraying him within his own camp.

All of these estimates are false to the core. Roosevelt is neither a lurking anarchist awaiting the opportune moment to sprout whiskers and leave a well-timed bomb into the sacred precincts of the New York Stock Exchange, nor a talented but irresponsible playboy, nor a great white knight come on horse-back to storm the citadels of oppression, nor a yokel being taken in by county fair sharpers, nor a benevolent country squire innocently inveigled into capitalizing some shady enterprise by reasonable advisers.

Roosevelt Ablest Capitalist Politician

In actuality, Roosevelt is the ablest, most intelligent, calculating and single-minded politician yet produced by the American capitalist class. His sole objective, linking into a single chain all his seemingly contradictory acts, is to save and stabilize the system of American capitalism.

The means by which Roosevelt intends to carry out this objective are dazzlingly clear. All the main lines of his strategy, his legislation, his statements, his executive policies point to that means: imperialist war.

American capitalism, torn by the same internal contradictions that beset the rival systems of every capitalist nation on earth, is fighting in every portion of the globe for outlets for surplus capital and products unmarketable at home. Facing the menacing shadow of mass unemployed millions which industry can never

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 rivals.

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 imperialist 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.

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 paying 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.)

CHILD SLAVERY BRINGS STRIKE

Seventy-five boys and girls employed by the Cardboard Novelty Company in Philadelphia to make Christmas wreaths have gone on strike against wages of 30 cents a day. The C.I.O. has refused to accept dues or initiation fees from children earning less than starvation wages and has placed the entire resources of the local C.I.O. organization at the disposal of the group.



Ohio YPSL Holds Successful Camp

YOUNGSTOWN, Ohio. — A highly successful educational and recreational camp of the Ohio district of the Young Peoples Socialist League ended last week at Lake Milton.

More than 20 young comrades attended the camp which featured a program of trade union, political, technical and public speaking classes under the direction of B. J. Widick, national labor secretary of the Socialist Workers Party.

Only \$5 was charged for room and board for the entire week, yet, under the excellent administration of Sam Silvers, camp director from Youngstown, a profit of \$20 was made, which will be used for YPSL and party activity.

PROTEST LONG HOURS, LOW PAY

CHICAGO. — Fifty of the 120 workers on the W.P.A. Federal Clothing Project, staged an effective protest against extremely long hours of work and a rate of pay lower than the W.P.A. scale.

The protests were made against the hours of work originally set for 156 hours a month. Long before the month had expired the workers had already put in many hours in overtime. They received only \$60 a month while the minimum scale is fifty cents an hour. Under such a scale the rate of pay should have been \$78.00 a month.

When they protested, the workers were told they are not really working on a W.P.A. project and are not therefore entitled to this minimum wage! The protest of the workers won for them a five-day week, rest periods and a \$5.00 monthly increase in wages.

In addition to the above gains, the workers won the right to time off for overtime work for which they had not been paid. This victory is spurring the workers on to union organization and they are now considering the best means to achieve such organization.

STEEL WORKERS WIN L. A. STRIKE

(Continued from page 1)

rious chisellers in the industry, the union is planning to extend its organizational drive. Bob Ontell and Rudy Garcia, leading figures in the organizational drive and militant leaders on the strike committee, expect to bring into the union many workers in the smaller manufacturing plants in this area, plants that have been ignored in the organizational lag in the C.I.O. here.

MUSIC GUILD WINS

The American Guild of Musical Artists, A.F.L., has been recognized as sole bargaining agent for the artists of the Metropolitan Opera Association. Details of the agreement have not yet been made public.

NOT GUILTY

REPORT OF THE COMMISSION OF INQUIRY INTO THE CHARGES MADE AGAINST LEON TROTSKY IN THE MOSCOW TRIALS

The findings of the Commission headed by John Dewey, and its comprehensive analysis of the Moscow trials based upon the official records and its own hearings in Mexico City, Paris and New York, is now available.

The most thorough and objective study yet made of the trials. Indispensable to an understanding of contemporary Soviet Russia. (422 pp.)

SPECIAL PAPER EDITION: \$1.50 CLOTH: \$2.75 (SEND FOR BOOKLIST)

LABOR BOOK SHOP
28 EAST 12th STREET, NEW YORK

Blackwell, Anti-Fascist Jailed by Loyalists, Free

Defense Needs Funds To Complete Works

Word has been received that Russell Blackwell has been released by the Spanish Government authorities into the custody of American consular officials.

Blackwell, an American anti-fascist revolutionist, has been placed on the Spanish blacklist, published here and abroad. As a result, after upwards of a year in Spain, he was jailed in Madrid and the danger arose that the G.P.U., which has easy access to the prisons, would get him at night, the way they got Andres Nin; or that he would be included in the Spanish Government's (Moscow) trial.

His release was secured by requesting the State Dept. here for his repatriation. For that purpose

SEA UNIONS AND GOV'T FINK HALLS

(Continued from page 1)

way of Roosevelt's war preparations.

Who Built the N.M.U. But it is to be presumed that Jerry King is not a Stalinist, as he was elected on an anti-Stalinist ticket. And it is to be presumed that he is without previous commitments, and that his primary interest is in building and preserving the N.M.U.

On the other hand, the building of the N.M.U. is not the primary concern of President Roosevelt and his government. Despite the well-wishes of a few individuals on the N.L.R.B., the chief task of Roosevelt is to prepare for the coming war, and in that task the Maritime Commission plays a far more important role than the N.L.R.B. The job of the Maritime Commission is to rehabilitate and expand the merchant marine, the right arm of the Navy.

And to have an effective war-time merchant marine it is not only necessary to have an adequate number of ships, but an adequate supply of docile, rogeless seamen to man those ships. That means, no matter how frightful their conditions, no matter how much needless danger they are subjected to, no matter how disgusted they may become with the whole mad mess of an imperialist war, the seamen shall not have the power to resist. And that means no unions.

Land Gives Line

The Maritime Commission understands this fully. Replying to a letter from the New York Maritime Council (C.I.O.), one of those futile gestures by which the Stalinists pretend to "fight the fink halls," Admiral Land, head of the Commission, states, "Masters of all United States Maritime Commission vessels have the responsibility and the duty of selecting the crews of such vessels and of approving any man for employment as a member of such crew. Crews shall be supplied through the office of the United States Shipping Commissioner and sub-

ject to final acceptance by the Master."

In two brief sentences the Admiral sets aside the victory fought for and won by thousands of seamen on all coasts—the right for union-controlled hiring halls. And if too many seamen now sailing the ships insist on being men and not slaves, the Maritime Commission is preparing for that also. Training ships, established and operated by the government, will turn out new seamen, men without the tradition of solidarity and militancy inspired by union membership.

All Hiring Endangered More and more ships, formerly privately owned, are being taken over by the Commission. In event of war, the whole merchant marine will be under the control of the Commission. Even now the New York Times editorially asks that the government hiring halls take over the hiring on privately owned ships. The question of government interference is sharply posed for all seamen's unions.

The West Coast unions, following the lead of the Sailors Union of the Pacific, have already declared their determination to fight to the last to maintain union control of hiring. They have declared their willingness to unite with any union which will fight this government threat to all marine unions.

With the Stalinists in control, it was hopeless to expect support in this fight from the leadership of the N.M.U. With the Stalinists out, and a new leadership elected by the rank and file, still the N.M.U. is silent on the most vital question confronting the American seamen. It is time for an answer.

DEMOCRATS LINE UP IN PRIMARIES

(Continued from page 1)

talist party politician in a capitalist office had to do, what Sawyer will necessarily be compelled to do tomorrow.

Any doubt on this score should have been removed by the recent experience in Iowa. There Governor Kraschel had already been endorsed for re-nomination by the leaders of the C.I.O. But that did not and could not prevent him from smashing the Maytag strike when that strike became a real threat to one of Iowa's largest industrial establishments. The function of capitalist politicians is to uphold capitalism; no one, therefore, should blame them when they fulfill their function.

Case of O'Connor

The wholly bourgeois orientation of the L.N.P.L. bureaucracy is as strikingly illustrated in the case of Representative O'Connor. At the suggestion of LaGuardia, the American Labor Party had made the stop-gap nomination of the little known Byrnes MacDonald to oppose O'Connor in the twenty-third congressional district of Manhattan. At the same time the New York Republican machine is planning to give O'Connor the Republican nomination in his district. Following Roosevelt's Georgia speech, however, when it became evident that the Roosevelt faction was going to oppose O'Connor for the Democratic nomination, the A.L.P. obediently withdrew its own nominee and substituted that of the Roosevelt candidate, Fay. Here as in its other coalition moves, the A.L.P. leaders treat the workers' votes like so many pawns that they sell to the highest bourgeois bidder.

There is, in short, just one little item of importance missing in this primaries campaign: namely, independent working-class politics. And while that is missing, the old run-around continues. It is still—heads, the bosses win; tails, the workers lose.

ANNOUNCEMENTS

Insertions in this column are 25 cents for five lines. Copy must be in at the APPEAL office before 6 o'clock Monday evening.

NEW YORK

BEACH PARTY AND MOON-LIGHT bathing! All day, Saturday, August 20, Brighton 6th St. beach. Bring your bathing suits, Song-fest and skits. Refreshments, 15 cents. Auspices: Brighton SWP and YPSL.

WANT ADS

SINGLE ROOM—For rent at a very reasonable price. Riverside Drive near 125th Street. See S. Stanley at headquarters for details.

PLEASANT ROOM, W. 20th St. Aug. 15 to Sept. 15, \$4 weekly, for information call CHelsea 3-4359.

DU LIEST DEUTSCH??? Dann ab in die sofort UNSER WORT: das Organ der Internationalen Kommunisten Deutschlands, 12 Nummern, 20 Cents. Zu beziehen vom Labor Book Shop, 28 East Twelfth St., N.Y.C.

CAMPS

CAMP SEVEN OAKS, Eatontown, N.J. (Red Bank Station). Capacity 25, swimming pool, tennis court and other sports facilities, good food, comfortable housing, Daily \$2.75, weekly \$16.00. Fare 80 cents. Further information phone BRyant 9-7620 or Eatontown 515.

Blackwell, Anti-Fascist Jailed by Loyalists, Free

Word has been received that Russell Blackwell has been released by the Spanish Government authorities into the custody of American consular officials.

Blackwell, an American anti-fascist revolutionist, has been placed on the Spanish blacklist, published here and abroad. As a result, after upwards of a year in Spain, he was jailed in Madrid and the danger arose that the G.P.U., which has easy access to the prisons, would get him at night, the way they got Andres Nin; or that he would be included in the Spanish Government's (Moscow) trial.

His release was secured by requesting the State Dept. here for his repatriation. For that purpose

funds have been collected and placed in the hands of Mrs. Blackwell, who has worked hard and well for her husband's freedom. The persons listed below, who came together for his defense, and any others designated by them, constitute the only group authorized by her to collect funds, and the only group which has to date provided the necessary funds.

More money is needed, and obligations incurred must be discharged by this group. It is an urgent appeal, therefore, which they send out. Even the smallest amount will be helpful. They have asked checks to be made payable to John McDonald, 63 Washington Square, New York City.

The following are members of the committee: Anita Brenner, James P. Cannon, E. J. Field, John McDonald, E. J. Muste, Liston Oak, James Rorty, Herbert Solow, Thomas Stamm, Carlo Tresca, Mike Vega.

Fascism and Big Business

By DANIEL GUERIN

Brilliant and thorough-going analysis of the evolution and strategy of fascism in Italy and Germany from the Marxist viewpoint. The author stresses that it is not enough to understand fascism but that appropriate means must be taken to combat it. In this respect, this book is also a tactical guide manual for action against fascism.

The volume will be edited by Dwight Macdonald who will supply notes on America.

Price on Publication: \$2.00 Advance Orders: \$1.25 Mail your order today. Pioneer Publishers 100 Fifth Avenue New York

ject to final acceptance by the Master."

In two brief sentences the Admiral sets aside the victory fought for and won by thousands of seamen on all coasts—the right for union-controlled hiring halls. And if too many seamen now sailing the ships insist on being men and not slaves, the Maritime Commission is preparing for that also. Training ships, established and operated by the government, will turn out new seamen, men without the tradition of solidarity and militancy inspired by union membership.

All Hiring Endangered More and more ships, formerly privately owned, are being taken over by the Commission. In event of war, the whole merchant marine will be under the control of the Commission. Even now the New York Times editorially asks that the government hiring halls take over the hiring on privately owned ships. The question of government interference is sharply posed for all seamen's unions.

The West Coast unions, following the lead of the Sailors Union of the Pacific, have already declared their determination to fight to the last to maintain union control of hiring. They have declared their willingness to unite with any union which will fight this government threat to all marine unions.

With the Stalinists in control, it was hopeless to expect support in this fight from the leadership of the N.M.U. With the Stalinists out, and a new leadership elected by the rank and file, still the N.M.U. is silent on the most vital question confronting the American seamen. It is time for an answer.

(Continued from page 1)

of heart in the administration? Trump Yet to Come

Are these things possible? Not on your tintype! Anybody who has watched the union wreckers at work, knows that they play their game with better cards than the deuces mentioned above. The answer to the twisting, squirming line of the Communist Party which has finally evolved into the rump convention and open split course of Strategy Number Four may very probably be found in the name of one man: John L. Lewis.

It is a known and recognized fact in the labor movement that the Stalinists have carried favor with Lewis. And it is equally known that either through a written pact or a verbal understanding, Stalinists have been given high positions in the C.I.O. Despite a flood of complaints and grievances from C.I.O. workers throughout the country, Lewis has not uttered one word of criticism against his Stalinist allies. And they in turn have kept their part of the bargain by trumpeting his praise throughout the union movement.

Now the Stalinist section of the alliance is being hammered with telling blows in union after union. The last issue of the Socialist Appeal reported the defeats administered the Bridges regime on the West Coast and the Curran gang on the East Coast. A day or two later David Dubinsky announced in the press that his union would not participate in the scheduled C.I.O. New York State Convention.

Lewis May Back Split

Is Lewis planning to save his rapidly waning prestige and power by throwing in his lot with a split engineered by the Stalinists in the auto union? There are some strong indications that this is the case. First, Frankenstein's emphatic remarks in Toledo on the planned rump convention: "... we will advise with and be guided by the C.I.O. and its leader John L. Lewis." No rejoinder or denial from Lewis on this statement.

Secondly: No refusal to handle funds turned over by local unions of the U.A.W. to the C.I.O. office, and no public statement that he will remit these funds to the official

C.I.O. International Union, United Automobile Workers of America, and thereby save it from financial paralysis.

These are two strong indications. The holding of the splitters' convention will finally answer the question: Is Lewis actually "advising and guiding" the Stalinist wrecking crew in the auto union?

Whatever the truth of Lewis' present role may be, this much is certain: the auto union is fighting for its life against a host of enemies. The progressives must unite to save the U.A.W.

Enemies in Martin Camp

It is time to say a word about the chair-warming reactionaries and opportunists camped in Martin's own backyard. It was their stupid, bonehead policies which built up the inordinate strength behind the Stalinists. Now they imagine that they have a field day to clean the militants—all militants—out of the union. What is this but the reverse side of the Stalinist medal which aims to clean out the militants via its traditional methods. Let these gentlemen look to their stewardship in the service of the union before they begin to contemplate any expulsions or removals of loyal, militant union men who have carried the load of union organization and responsibility on their shoulders.

The records of not a few of the officers on the side of Martin will not stand the glare of public exhibition. The rank and file of the union is in no mood to see a purge of militants by people with shabby records, by Stalinists or by anybody else.

Hands off! The way to fight the split is by fighting the splitters! The way to fight the split is by building the United Automobile Workers through the 20-point program: fight the wage cuts; organize the competitive plants; restructure the organization of the Ford Motor Company—in a word, BUILD THE UNITED AUTOMOBILE WORKERS!

Signal

PRINTING CO., Inc. 316 E. 61 STREET, N. Y. C. Phone REgent 7-0690

Appeal Army

We want to thank Abe Miller and some of the New York branches which sent in greetings to the Socialist Appeal last week on the occasion of its first anniversary. These donations came from the Needle Trades Branch, the Village Branch and the Lower East Side. All the more credit is due these comrades in that we made no special effort to obtain these greetings.

There's another month and a half left on our subscription contest. So far, no one appears headed for the first prize which requires a minimum of 24 new subs. Here's the standing to date:

- T. R. Dostal, St. Paul..... 8
- Grace Carlson, St. Paul..... 7
- Karl Shier, Chicago..... 7
- E. Ponicali, Detroit..... 6

All prizes are still open and anyone should be able to put on a spurt during the last and final month.

Subs picked up a bit last week. Here's the list:

- MINNEAPOLIS 7
- NEW YORK CITY 7
- NEW YORK STATE 7
- St. Paul 5
- Massachusetts 4
- Texas 4
- Colorado 2
- Chicago 2
- Detroit 2
- California 1
- Connecticut 1
- Wisconsin 1

TOTAL.....43

The Appeal Poster Shop has just issued its first job—an extremely attractive large-size poster advertising our paper. Copies will shortly be sent to all branches throughout the country.

Send all contributions and subs to:

SOCIALIST APPEAL
116 University Place
New York City

SOCIALIST APPEAL and NEW INTERNATIONAL Can be Obtained at the Following Newsstands

- NEW YORK CITY**
MANHATTAN: Fourteenth St. at University Place, S. E.; at Broadway, S. E.; at Fourth Ave., S. W.; at Fourth Ave., N. E.; at Fourth Ave., S. E. (1 and 2); at Third Ave., S. W.; at Third Ave., N. W.; opp. Jefferson Theatre; at Second Ave., N. W.; at Sixth Ave., N. E.; Rand Book Store, 7 E. 15th St.; 12th St. Prospect Ave.; Allerton Ave. Station; Freeman Ave. and Southern Boulevard; 174th St. & Boston Rd.; Kingsbridge Rd. & Ave.; East Moshula Subway Sta.; 3897 Sedgwick Ave.
BROOKLYN: Havemeyer Avenue and South 4th St.; Strauss St. near Pitkin Ave.; Sutter Ave. near a Sinderen Ave.
LONG ISLAND: 23rd St. & 45th Ave.
BRONX: Jerome Ave. & 170th St.; Jerome Ave. and 167th St. (opp. Loew's Theatre); Sorokin, 206th St. and Bainbridge Ave.; Jerome and Burnside Aves.; 160th St. and Prospect Ave.; Allerton Ave. Station; Freeman Ave. and Southern Boulevard; 174th St. & Boston Rd.; Kingsbridge Rd. & Ave.; East Moshula Subway Sta.; 3897 Sedgwick Ave.
- NEWARK, N. J.**
Reitman's, cor. Broad & William
- NEW HAVEN, Conn.**
Nodelman's Newsstand, Church St., bet. Chapel & Center
- CHICAGO**
S.W.P., 180 N. Wells, Rm. 308
Cor. 12th & Blackstone
Cor. 12th & Kedzie
P. O. News, 37 W. Monroe
Ceshinsky Bookshop
- ALLENTOWN, PA.**
R. Zetlemeyer, 637 Hamilton St.
Otto Yost, 383 Hamilton St.
- PHILADELPHIA**
1806 North Franklin St.
Cor. 13th and Market Sts. (N.W.)
Cor. 11th and Market Sts. (N.W.)
40th St. & Girard Ave.
8th St. & Arch St.
- BOSTON, MASS.**
Andelman's, Tremont St. (opp. Hotel Bradford)
- CAMBRIDGE, MASS.**
Felix's, Massachusetts Ave. at Harvard Square
- LYNN, Mass.**
S.W.P., 45 Central Sq., Rm. 12
Sam's Corner, Olympia Square
- ROXBURY, MASS.**
Friendly Variety, Warren St. (Grove Hall)
- MINNEAPOLIS**
Labor Book Store, 919 Marquette
Shinder's, Sixth & Hennepin;
Kroman's, Fourth & Nicollet.
- ST. LOUIS MO.**
Foster Book Company
410 Washington Blvd.
- CLAYTON MO.**
The Book Nook, 24A Meramac
- YOUNGSTOWN, Ohio**
Nick's, Wick St. and Commerce
- SAN FRANCISCO**
MacDonald's Bookstore, 65 6th St.
SAN DIEGO, Calif.
Universal News Co., 242 B'way

BUILD THE SOCIALIST APPEAL!
FORWARD TO CIRCULATION OF
10,000!

Peace & Plenty

On the fortieth anniversary of the occupation of the Philippines by American troops...

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...

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.

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...

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 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.

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 a "bare subsistence" wage of \$6.93 a year...

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.

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.

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.

Trotsky 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 an other country. Therefore I don't ask you, if you are my uncle, cousin, etc. I must write to a strange man. I took

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

TENUOUS TRUCE IN BORDER WAR

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 truce 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-

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 arian 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 any possibility."

"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.

Analysis of Alleged Letter Reveals Glaring Inconsistencies; Kidnappers Exposed

A SKILLFUL FORGERY

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 photostatic copy were made by me in red pencil upon first reading the letter.

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."

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.

4. From the point of view of the handwriting, the salutation and the signature draw attention. Clearly they have been written at different times (different shade of ink) and in a somewhat different hand. There is only one alternative: either the author of the letter hesitated a long time as to what salutation and what signature to use, and resolved the question only after the letter had been finished; or the forger had already samples of the words "Trotsky" and "Frederic" before him from old correspondence while the rest of the letter had to be composed from individual characters. Therefore the greater naturalness and ease in the outline of the salutation and signature.

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 "Camille," 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.

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 Sino-Soviet 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¢

PIONEER PUBLISHERS

100 FIFTH AVENUE NEW YORK

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.

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."

FOLLOWS VYSHINSKY PATTERN

8. Then follow accusations of an "internal" order intended to serve as motivation for Klement's break with the Fourth International and with me personally. It is curious that this part of the letter should begin with a reference to my "Bonapartist manner," that is, it seems to return to the epithet applied by me to the Stalinist regime. In passing, all the accusations in the trials against the Trotskyites are built on this pattern: Stalin plasters his political opponents with crimes of which he himself is guilty or with accusations which are advanced against him. Vyshinsky, the G.P.U. and its agents carry out this operation almost automatically. "Frederic" submissively follows the strictly set pattern.

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 POU M FRIENDSHIP

10. "You have delivered the P.O.U.M.," continues "Frederic," "to the mangling of the Stalinists." This phrase is absolutely 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.

REVIVE OLD PSEUDONYM

11. The accusations which refer to a later period are of no less false character. "Recently our organization was abandoned by such people as Sneevliet and Vereecken, who showed such great political sense and wisdom in the Spanish question." Sneevliet and Vereecken in reality showed their sympathy for the P.O.U.M., which was accused by the Stalinists of being connected with fascism.

BRANDLER DRAGGED IN

12. "We were abandoned," he continues, "by Molnier, 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-

CRUDE WORK OF G.P.U.

7. On the fabricated conversations between Klement and me concerning the admissibility of "temporary concessions to fascist heads for the sake of the proletarian revolution," the letter represents only a belated repetition of corresponding "confessions" at the Moscow trials. "Frederic" does not even attempt to introduce any vital, concrete feature into the Moscow frame-up. More than that, he declares simply that the "bloc" with fascism was concluded on "a basis not altogether clear to me" (Frederic), as if this renouncing in advance any attempt to understand or explain the methods, tasks, and purposes of this fantastic bloc. Thus it seems that somehow I found it necessary in the past to initiate "Frederic" in to my alliance with Berlin, but

did not initiate him into the meaning of this alliance. In other words, my "frankness" had the single purpose of helping out the G.P.U.

"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. But the whole thing is that "Frederic," in passing attempts to defend the American, Carleton Beals, and other friends and agents of the G.P.U., must consequently compromise the very accusation of connection with the G.P.U. Therefore this clumsy trick by means of which the suspicion is extended—in my name—to such people as evidently it cannot be applied at all. This again is the style of Stalin-Vyshinsky-Yagoda-Yezhov.

14. The name "Beals" is spelled incorrectly in the letter: "Bills." Only a person not familiar with the English spelling could write in such a manner. But Klement knew the English language well, knew the name, Beals, and was very pedantic in spelling out names.

KLEMENT INITIATES CONFERENCE

16. Worthy of attention, too, is the reference to the forthcoming International Conference, by means of which, I hope, in the words of the letter, "to save the situation" for the Fourth International, in reality, as can be seen from ample correspondence, Klement was the initiator of the Conference and took the most active part in its organization. The G.P.U. insofar as it was aware of the inner affairs of the Fourth International (through the press, internal bulletins, and possibly through secret agents) might have hoped by kidnapping Klement prior to the Conference to stop the organization work and prevent the Conference itself.

6. REVIVE OLD PSEUDONYM

17. This same part of the letter contains a reference to the proposal of including Walter Held in the International Secretariat "apparently by orders from over there." In other words the author of the letter wishes to impute that Walter Held is an agent of the Gestapo. "The absurdity of this information is apparent to all who know Held. But naturally, casting a shadow upon one of the prominent adherents of the Fourth International is one of the designs of the G.P.U.

18. The letter ends with these words: "I have no wish whatever to come out openly against you; I have had enough of it all, I am tired. I go and leave my place for Walter Held." The falsity of these phrases is absolutely evident. "Frederic" would not have written this letter if he or his masters did not intend in some way or another to utilize it subsequently. In what way? This is not yet apparent. Possibly it may be used in particular in the Barcelona trial held behind closed doors against the "Trotskyites." But possibly too it is for a larger purpose.

What conclusions follow from the foregoing analysis? At first upon receipt of the letter I had almost no doubt that it was written by Klement's own hand, but in a very nervous condition. My impression is explainable from the fact that I was accustomed to receiving letters from Klement and had never had any reason to question their authenticity. The more I scrutinized the text, however, the more I compared it with his preceding letters, the more I became convinced of the fact that the letter is only a very skillful forgery. The G.P.U. has no lack of specialists of all kinds. My friend, Diego Rivera, who has the refined eye of a painter does not at all doubt that the handwriting is forged. To

Polish C. P. Dissolved; Call Stalinist Chiefs 'Spies'

Reports persist that the Communist International has dissolved the Communist Party of Poland and has declared that until further notice there will be no C.P. in that country. Since these reports have not been denied by the Stalinists, it can be taken for granted that they are true.

The reason for the dissolution as given by the C. I. is that the Polish C. P. has been led by spies and provocateurs. No explanation was, of course, given how it could happen that a party should be under the leadership of enemies of the revolutionary movement for a long time without the geniuses of the C. I. having suspected it until recently.

No one in Poland, outside of the fanatical Stalinists, gives the slightest credence to the fantastic charges of the C. I. It is taken for granted that the leader of the Polish C. P., Lensky, has fallen from grace and, together with his supporters, has been liquidated by the G.P.U. Most of the leaders have been living in the Soviet Union for many years.

FRENCH POLICE RESPONSIBLE

[Reports received from France, after investigation by handwriting experts, confirm Trotsky's conviction that the letter is a forgery—Ed.]

If it should be established, as I believe, that the letter is a forgery, all the rest will become clear of itself:

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.

At first, as I have already stated, I assumed that the letter was written by Klement—at the point of a revolver or out of fear for the fate of people dear to him; or more correctly, not written but copied from an original placed before him by G.P.U. agents. In case this hypothesis is confirmed, the possibility is not excluded that Klement is still alive and that the G.P.U. in the near future will attempt to extract further "voluntary" confessions from him. "Confessions" of this kind dictate their own reply from public opinion: let Klement, if he is alive, come out openly before the police, before the judicial authorities, or an impartial commission and tell them all he knows. We can predict in advance that the G.P.U. will in no case let Klement out of their hands.

CAPITULATION UNLIKELY

Theoretically a third supposition is possible; namely, that Klement had suddenly radically altered his views and gone over voluntarily to the side of the G.P.U., drawing from this all the practical conclusions, that is, consenting to support all the frame-ups of this institution. One can go even further and assume that Klement has always been a G.P.U. agent. But all the facts, including the letter of July 14, make this hypothesis absolutely inconceivable. Not a few times Klement could have granted the G.P.U. the greatest services so far as it was a question of taking my life, the life of Leon Sedov, or determining the fate of my collaborators and my documents. He had the possibility of coming out openly during the Moscow trials with his "revelations," which in those days at least would have made a much greater impression than now. But during the Moscow trials Klement did what he could to unmask the frame-ups, actively helping Sedov in gathering data. Klement showed great devotion for the movement and a serious theoretical interest in the discussion of debatable questions. To his pen belong a series of articles and letters showing that he had a very earnest, even ardent attitude toward the program of the Fourth International. To feign devotion and theoretical interest for a movement for a number of years—is a task more than difficult.

CONCLUSIONS CONFIRMED

P. S. All the above had already been written when I received from Paris a letter by Comrade Rous, dated July 21, each line of which confirms the above conclusions.

PORTFOLIO STOLEN

2. On July 8, that is five days prior to Klement's disappearance, his portfolio of papers vanished in the subway. It is understood, of course, that the portfolio could not be found. Klement, who well knew that the G.P.U. in Paris acts as if it were in its own home, immediately informed every section of the Fourth International of the theft of the portfolio, suggesting that they cease sending letters to the old addresses.

3. On July 15, after receiving "Adolf's" letter postmarked Perpignan, the French comrades visited Klement's room. His table was set, everything was in order, not the least sign of preparation for departure! The importance of this circumstance does not need any elucidation.

RUSSIAN STYLE

4. Comrade Rous points out that the address on the letter from Perpignan was written as the Russians write it, first the name of the city, then at the bottom of the envelope the name of the street. It can be considered beyond all doubt that Klement, as a German and a European, never wrote addresses in this manner.

5. Why, asks Rous, is the name "Beals" written as in Russian, "Bills"; in other words, the Russian transliteration of the name is simply written in Latin characters?

Omitting other remarks from Rous' letter (Rous and other French comrades will themselves bring these considerations to the attention of the public and of the French authorities), I shall limit myself now to stating that the first factual information received directly from France fully confirms the conclusions at which I arrived on the basis of the analysis of the letter signed "Frederic"; that is, Rudolf Klement has been kidnapped by the G.P.U. Coyoacan, D. F. August 4, 1938

SOCIALIST APPEAL

Vol. II—No. 34 Saturday, August 20, 1938

Published every week by the SOCIALIST APPEAL PUBLISHING ASS'N at 116 University Place, New York, N. Y. Telephone: National Office: ALgonquin 4-8547

Subscriptions: \$2.00 per year; \$1.00 for six months. Foreign: \$2.50 per year. Bundle order 8 cents per copy. Single copies 5 cents.

All checks and money orders should be made out to the Socialist Appeal.

Entered as second-class matter September 1, 1937, at the post office at New York, New York, under the Act of March 3, 1879.

MAX SHACHTMAN
Editor

HAROLD ROBERTS GEORGE CLARKE
Associate Editors
S. STANLEY
Business Manager

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 workers' 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.)

The New York *Daily News*, claiming to have a story from a person whose identity "we are not at liberty to reveal" asserts that "Cardenas is Trotsky's cat's paw for the furtherance of Trotsky's hoped-for World Communist Revolution." The *Daily News* obviously thinks the best method to prepare the American people for intervention in Mexico to protect the interests of the oil operators is to raise the bugaboo of a "Trotskyist-Communist neighbor on the southern border."

No intelligent American worker will believe such an absurd charge. There is a very clear difference between the role of Cardenas and that of Trotsky. The former is a progressive bourgeois democrat; the latter, a revolutionary Marxist.

Naturally, Trotsky, like every other revolutionary Socialist, sympathizes with and fully supports the Cardenas regime in depriving the American and British capitalists of an opportunity to exploit the Mexican people. But the responsibility and credit for expropriating the oil industry belongs to the Mexican people and not to Trotsky.

The answer of the American workers to the campaign of the reactionaries should be: 1) While it is immaterial who is responsible for the expropriation, the charge that Trotsky is behind it is false. 2) We, like Trotsky, will defend the right of the Mexican government to take the oil belonging to the Mexican people away from the British and American capitalists.

Sabotaging the Anti-Fascist Struggle

For the workers of Spain, for the workers of the whole world, there is nothing more important at the present moment than to defeat the Spanish, German and Italian fascists. For that not only is it necessary to have the utmost unity of the working class but also correct policies. There are those who do not see the overwhelming importance of correct policy but demand unity. We ask them to consider: who is responsible for breaking the unity of the working class in the face of fascist attack?

To jail the most valiant fighters against fascism, those who drove the fascists out of Barcelona in July, 1936; to accuse them of being fascist spies is to break the unity of the working masses, to bring demoralization into their ranks and to prepare the ground for the victory of the fascists.

That is what the Loyalist government, under the prodding of the Stalinists, has done. About three thousand of the most heroic fighters against fascism are in the jails of Barcelona— anarchists, left-wing socialists, members of the Party of Marxist Unification (P.O.U.M.).

Reports are current that leading members of the last-mentioned organization are to be placed on trial (or have they already been tried?). The Loyalist government has not seen fit to give the world definite information about the arrest and trial of these working-class fighters.

The failure of the Loyalist government to state when and where the defendants will be tried is a highly suspicious circumstance. It is, in fact, proof that the methods of the Moscow trials are being transferred to Spain. Otherwise the Loyalist government would reveal its intentions, and it would invite investigation on the part of working-class organizations.

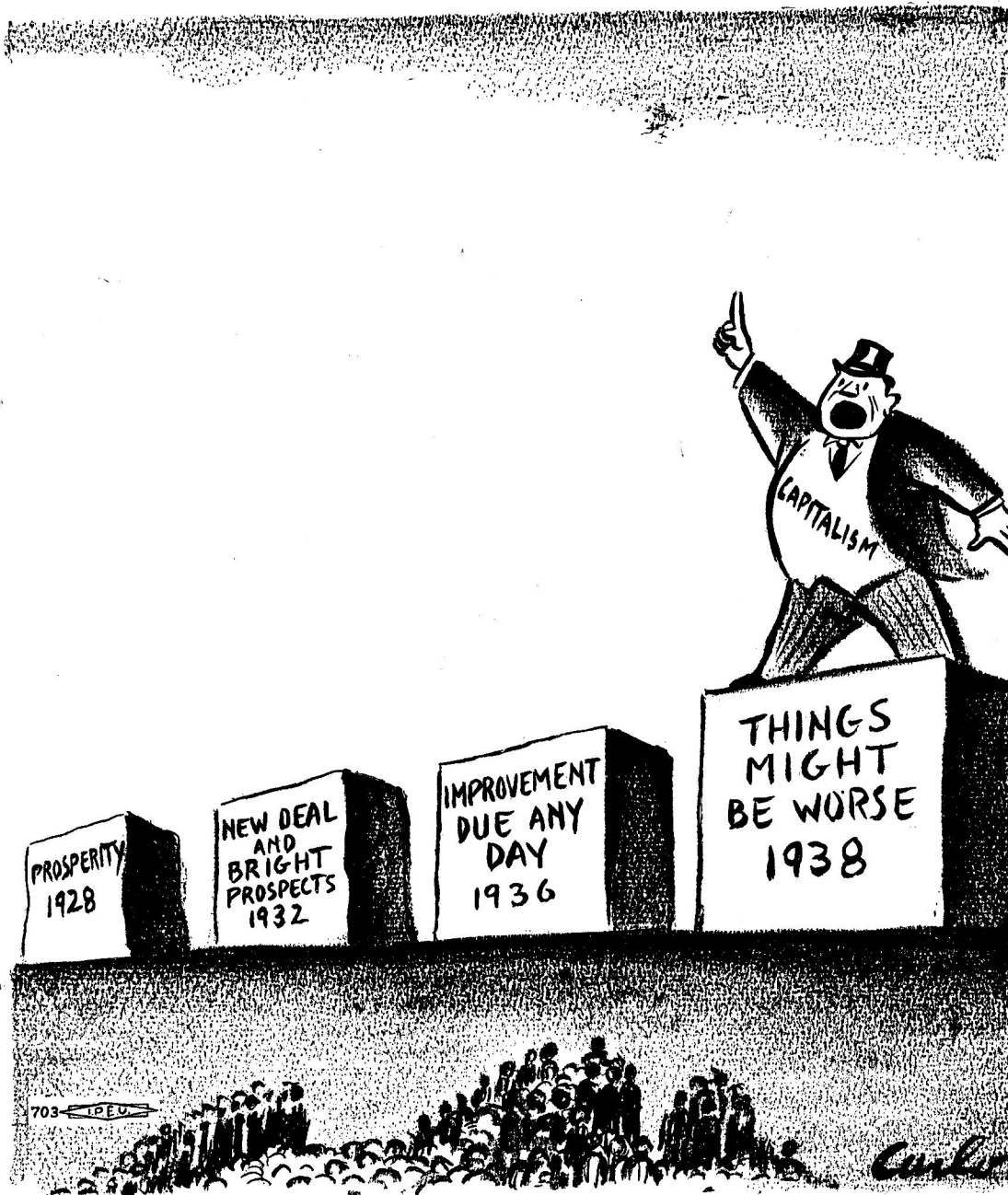
Every indication points to the conclusion that there will be (or was) a "Moscow trial" in Spain.

Every worker is in duty bound to prevent a hideous frame-up against loyal proletarian revolutionists.

Demand a public trial for the accused! Demand the right to have an impartial commission present at the trial with an opportunity to examine defendants and witnesses.

To defeat the fascists we must fight for the liberation of the anti-fascists.

Still Spieeling . . .



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 fall to see the clever demagoguery 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 dictatorship. 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 of floor 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 preparation 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 be offered 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, in spite of the tremendous resources of the government, and in spite of the fact that the government, from all reports, prepared the case well and conducted it with skill. That five of the jurors held out for a conviction is proof certain that the evidence against the defendants was overwhelming, and the case clear as daylight.

One can get an idea of the difficulty involved in obtaining a conviction against the coal barons by imagining a trial, in the same court, against workers attempting to organize the miners. (One really does not have to imagine such a thing; it has actually happened about six years ago.) Instead of the sleek-looking, well-dressed, important people coming from their homes or clubs (since they were out on bail) there would probably appear unshaven, ill-fed, badly-dressed workers guarded by deputies. The judge and prosecutor would look with contempt and hatred upon the defendants and not with the respect that successful businessmen and fellow club members deserve.

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

It Might Have Happened!

(Continued from page 1)

the French cop grinning with admiration while Mussolini's cut-throat band broke into the Ethiopian household and wrecked, killed and stole everything they could lay hands on. Then it was the turn of the British cop to hold the hands of the Spanish people while the sluggers of Franco and Hitler and Mussolini pounded them with every known weapon in their arsenals. And finally both the British and the French cops stood around and whistled a sad tune while Hitler kicked Austria in line.

By this 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 a 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.

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 trucking 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 countenance 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 skulduggery—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 Krumbin, 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, Krumbin takes pains to stress directives for "fraction 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 employes 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 whereof he speaks.

This disclosure lends weighted significance to Roosevelt's perverted 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.

Not far from Madison, in Waukegan, Illinois, workers who were on strike were sentenced to as high as six months in jail and were fined up to a thousand dollars for violating an injunction against picketing.

How easy for the oil companies and their officers to pay the small fines. For the average worker a \$500.00 fine means a jail sentence for the simple reason that it is impossible for him to raise such a sum of money.

We shall assume (a violent assumption, I admit) that in both the case in Wisconsin and the case in Waukegan the judges were scrupulously honest and followed the law. But what a difference in the actual punishment of the two sets of defendants!

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.

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 vein.

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 commended 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 W.P.A. 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.