

# N. J. SURVEY SHOWS WORKERS WANT UNION CONTROL OF MILITARY TRAINING

## CAL. BOSSES WANT TO STOP "LABOR ROWS"

Drive Against Unions On Pretext of "National Defense"

LOS ANGELES—The Merchants and Manufacturers Association has plastered Los Angeles with full sized outdoor advertising signs which read, "WHAT DESTROYED FRANCE? OUR NATIONAL SAFETY DEMANDS STOP LABOR ROWS!"

This will prove to be only the first in a series of public statements to miseducate the American workers even more so than ever before. And it is a bold step for the first.

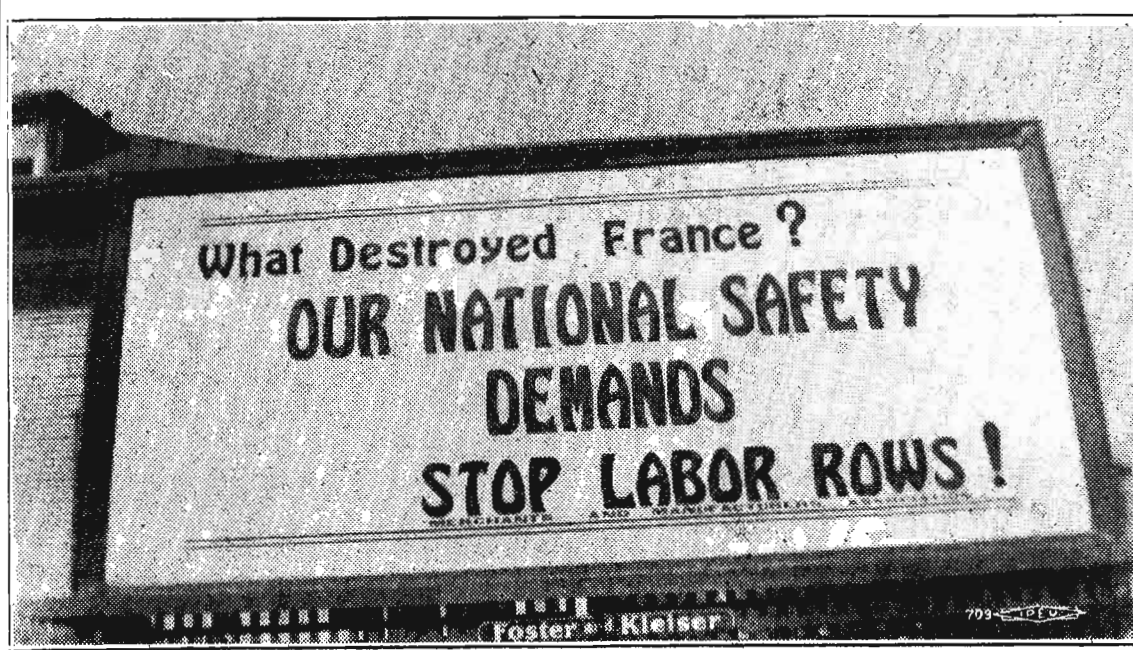
They are telling the American workers not to strike for more wages in spite of the increasing cost of living being caused by the boss war. They are telling the workers they know what is best for them. That is what Hitler told the German workers when he was rising to power; that is what he is still telling them today. And precisely that happened in France and led to its defeat.

These despicable creatures, whose use of thugs and scabbers was exposed by the LaFollette Civil Liberties Committee have the gall to propose that democracy shall be "saved" by strangling the working class!

### Workers Aren't Fooled

The alert workers are not fooled. They know this is no isolated cancerous growth. They know it is only the spearhead of a broad national movement, and behind it are the industrial bosses of the nation. And the industrial bosses of the nation, those gentlemen who are telling the workers not to strike against wage cuts and lengthened hours, are the very ones who are striking against the government, and have been consistently refusing airplane, naval, steel and armament contracts from the government so long as the government asked that they be satisfied with fair and reasonable profits. Seven or eight percent profit are not enough; they want unlimited profits. These gentlemen who want unlimited profits are telling the workers not to strike even for costs.

Watch out for the next statement by these open-shoppers and in the mean time build your union and fight for military training under control of the trade unions.



Once Again

## Who 'Destroyed' France?

In an organized propaganda campaign, American boss groups are trying to terrorize the unions into silence by holding up the horrible example of France.

"What destroyed France?" ask their roadside signs. "Our national safety demands: Stop labor rows!"

American workers must not fall for this baloney.

It wasn't "labor rows" that made for the collapse of France. It was the French bosses who opened the way to Hitler's hordes.

The French bosses placed their own "safety" ahead of the "national safety."

Weygand, the French generalissimo, came before the French cabinet in those fateful days last June and warned of workers' unrest resulting from the German victories. He compared the situation in France to the situation in Russia in 1917, when the Russian soldiers turned their arms on their own officers and joined the workers and peasants in revolution. "It must not come to that," Weygand told the ministers. Surrender to Hitler had to be made, he said, so that the remaining French armies could be preserved "to maintain order and quiet in the country."

That's the real story of what happened!

But it was the Popular Front government, we are then told, which in the years preceding the war rendered the country powerless before Hitler, the "labor" government of Blum & Co. This, they say, was the real source of the defeat. This is why American workers should be docile and take all the lumps, for the "national safety."

This is sliced off the same baloney. The Popular Front Government was not a government of labor. It was a government entrusted by the bosses with the job of dispersing the marching army of labor. Blum and the Communist Party (this was in the days before the Hitler-Stalin pact, when Stalin was still flirting with the French capitalists) told the workers that "labor rows" would bring on Hitler.

The "labor rows" of that time—1936—were virtually a revolution. The French workers held power in their hands. They had occupied all the factories and plants in the land.

But the workers made the mistake of listening to these false leaders, to Blum and the Stalinists. They gave up the positions they had conquered. They stopped their "labor rows" so that the bosses could assure the "national safety" against Hitler.

But when the showdown came, the bosses left the country wide open to Hitler. They preferred Hitler to workers' rule. And with Hitler's help they are now attempting to destroy every remnant of the French labor movement.

That is the real story of the collapse of France. That is the real meaning that lies behind this vicious propaganda in this country, conducted by those who want to destroy the workers' organizations. The bosses don't want Hitler, but they want to Hitlerize this country themselves.

We want no part of this. The greatest guarantee of the "national safety" lies in the increase, not the decrease, of the power of the workers.

The experience of France showed that the "democrats" who act for the bosses cannot safeguard the "national safety." Only the workers of France, acting in concert with the workers of Spain, France, Belgium, and Britain, could have stopped the Nazi menace once and for all and ended these brutal national struggles by internationalizing Europe on a socialist basis.

This is our answer to the question: "What destroyed France?" This is also our answer to the question: "What threatens to destroy America?"

Boss rule threatens to destroy America if it is allowed to continue unchallenged. Workers' rule alone will defend the land. Workers' rule alone will ensure to all the people that they are defending what is theirs and not the fleshpots of the Sixty Families.

Workers' power will defend our homes and establish real bonds with the workers of all other lands in common fight against the boss warmongers and warmakers. That is the lesson of France. Down any other road lies conquest by Fascism, either from abroad or by our own home-grown Hitlers.

## Approve Enactment of Conscription, But Also Favor Union Control of It

Newark S. W. P. Polls Representative Body of Workers To Get Views on Training

By GEORGE BREITMAN

A carefully-conducted poll of a representative group of workers in New Jersey, completed last week, established that a majority of them are in favor of the conscription bill which has just been enacted into law, but that a majority are also in favor of placing military training under control of the trade unions.

These significant conclusions were the result of a four-week survey among workers in Newark, in a poll conducted by the Newark branch of the Socialist Workers Party.

The material tabulated was secured by visiting the homes of nearly a thousand workers in two representative working class neighborhoods, the Ironbound section, heavily populated by industrial workers, and the Third and Fourteenth Wards, heart of Newark's Negro population.

Those who conducted the poll were extremely careful not to influence the answers given by the workers. Those questioned—chosen at random—were told that a poll of the neighborhood was being made, that their names would not be taken, and that their replies would be kept strictly confidential. They were not told who was conducting the poll before they answered.

They were asked two questions: 1. "Are you in favor of the conscription bill which is now being debated in Congress?" and 2. "Would you be in favor of military training of workers if they were to be trained under supervision of their trade unions?" They could answer to each question, "yes," "no," or "don't know."

Here are the results in percentages:

Question	Don't Know		
	Yes	No	Know
Question 1	47	26.7	26.3
Question 2	50.5	22.8	26.7

One thing is startlingly clear from this and other tables which were tabulated from the answers: pacifist tendencies among the workers can hardly be said to exist. Of the whole, only 7 per cent are opposed to both forms of military training! 71.9 per cent favor one or both forms of military training. (The remaining 21% were against one form and didn't know about the other, or didn't know about both forms.)

Interestingly enough, when these figures were broken down still further, it was found that pacifist tendencies were even smaller than the general 7 per cent, among union members (4) and Negroes (5.8).

The general conclusions to be drawn from the poll may be formulated as follows:

### Pacifism Is Bankrupt

Workers are looking for some means of military training. Most of them favored the conscription bill just adopted by Congress because it appeared to them as the answer to the problem of military training. Most of them, however, likewise are in favor of military training under the control of the trade unions, once the idea is presented to them. This is especially true among the employed union-member and Negro sections of the working class—i.e., the most decisive sections of the labor movement.

The housewives and the unemployed who, by virtue of their status, tend to be less informed and politically developed than the others, give smaller majorities to both forms of military training, but generally show the same tendency as the others. Negro workers show themselves to be particularly receptive to the idea of

### Our Program Realistic

On the basis of this poll, which we believe quite accurate—it should be carefully repeated in other parts of the country to check it—it appears to be an established fact, that the Socialist Workers Party's program for military training under trade union control is a popular and practical basis for winning the workers. Needless to say, it is a program against which the capitalist class will fight like cornered rats.

## AUTO LOCALS IN FLINT PREPARE TO FIGHT G. M.

FLINT, Mich., Sept. 22—To this date none of the 19 key union men suspended by the Fisher Body division of General Motors have been put back to work as a result of the hearings on the cases which have been conducted by the UAW-CIO and the corporation management for the past two weeks.

Meanwhile the Fisher Local No. 581 is preparing for any necessary action, with strike kitchens already set up with full equipment, and all decks cleared for action should the militants not be put back to work and a satisfactory decision reached on their cases.

The 19 men were suspended by the corporation after fights broke out in the huge body plant between AFL and CIO members. The incidents, obviously the result of company provocation in an effort to sidetrack the increasing militant objection on the part of CIO men to the Company's failure to live up to the GM contract, resulted in a two-day lock-out.

Following the lockout an agreement was reached to start production again pending hearing of evidence and settlement of the 19 cases.

### Local Will Act

There is no joking about the CIO local's determination to get justice for its key shop militants whose suspension, Local 581 has already proved, was the result of a well-laid plan between the corporation and a few AFL men to create trouble. The company planned, the union has pointed out, to divert attention from the many grievances, such as wage reclassifications and speed-up, to the AFL-CIO fight . . . an issue which the company figured would give it the advantage of saying the trouble was merely between two unions, and not between the company and the CIO.

But Local No. 581 has so far made an effective fight. And it is prepared to use the strike power given the local's Executive Board by a big membership meeting last week.

Even Reuther, Thomas and Frankenstein, International Board members of the UAW, had to take a more militant stand last week under pressure from Local No. 581.

### Buick Gets Going

Inspired by the determined stand of the Fisher local, the Buick Local No. 599, which has a mountainous list of grievances which have never reached the

## Coffins Are Just Part of the Army's "Many Gadgets"

The United States Army has been making a survey of the casket industry, to find out how many coffins are being produced now, how many more can be produced in an emergency, etc.

Newspaper men asked the army to comment on its survey. An army spokesman, Major A. Robert Ginsburgh, said:

"When you have an army you have to figure it's going to fight some day. Fighting means casualties and casualties call for caskets. That's all there is to it. Just a simple matter of being prepared with essentials. Caskets are like the rest of the gadgets we use."

## Capitalist Greed Was Cause Of Hercules Powder Tragedy

NEWARK, N. J.—The Dies Committee has lost no time in using the Hercules Powder Co. explosion as a pretext to extend its anti-labor "red hunt" to New Jersey. Though army experts and company officials stated that they did not suspect sabotage, R. Parnell Thomas, New Jersey Congressman and member of the Dies Committee, immediately issued a statement blaming the explosion on the "Fifth Column" and announced that the committee would investigate.

The first step taken by the Dies Committee in its "investigation" has been the seizure of Communist Party state election petitions. Meanwhile, the explanation of the explosion considered most probable by munition experts has

## S. W. P. PLENUM OPENING THIS WEEK IN CHICAGO

As we go to press, a big New York delegation is leaving for the Plenum-Conference of the Socialist Workers Party in Chicago, September 27-29. Reports from all parts of the country give assurance that similar delegations will be present in Chicago. It is already certain, therefore, that this important gathering of party delegations will be one of the most representative in the history of our movement.

### Conference on Saturday

After a plenary session of the National Committee on Friday, the Conference sessions open Saturday morning at 10:00 A.M. and will continue throughout Saturday and Sunday.

This is the first meeting of the

National Committee, and the first conference of branch delegates, since the death of Leon Trotsky. The task of the Plenum-Conference is therefore clearly indicated: to mobilize the party to carry out Comrade Trotsky's last words: "Please tell our friends I am sure of the victory of the Fourth International. Go forward."

### Workers Invited

Friends and sympathizers will have an opportunity to join in two of the activities scheduled for the week-end. One will be the Mass Meeting to greet the National Committee and the branch delegates. It will take place at the Medical and Dental Arts Building, 185 N. Wabash Avenue on Friday evening.

The other will be the Banquet

closing the Plenum-Conference. It will take place at the Epicurean Restaurant, 316 South Wabash Avenue on Sunday evening.

### Militarization Main Point

The main political question on the agenda of the Plenum-Conference will be the determination of party policy toward the militarization of the United States. A fruitful discussion on this key question of this epoch has already taken place in the branches, on the basis of a proposed resolution, drafted by the National Committee. Three internal bulletins have been issued to the party on the question, including discussion articles by party members.

Headquarters in Chicago for the Plenum-Conference are at the Mark Twain Hotel, Division and Clark Street.

Convening at this crucial moment in the history of the American working class, the Plenum-Conference has a tremendous responsibility for mobilizing the advanced workers in the defense of the labor movement against the capitalist war-mongers and their agents in the labor movement.

We may say in all modesty however, that the Plenum-Conference will undertake that responsibility in the unconquerable spirit in which Leon Trotsky trained and indoctrinated us.

Every comrade, friend and advanced worker will be able to acquaint himself with the discussions and results of the Plenum-Conference by reading the reports in the SOCIALIST APPEAL next week.

# WORKERS' FORUM

Write to us—tell us what's going on in your part of the labor movement—what are the workers thinking about?—tell us what the bosses are up to—and the G-men and the local cops—and the Stalinists—send us that story the capitalist press didn't print and that story they buried or distorted—our pages are open to you. Letters must carry name and address, but indicate if you do not want your name printed.

## If Trotsky Lived By The Sword And Died By It, What About Abraham Lincoln?

(The following letter was sent by a Cleveland worker to the CLEVELAND PRESS, as an answer to an article appearing in that paper, but was refused publication and returned.)

Editor:

William L. White, writing on the assassination of Leon Trotsky in a local newspaper, illustrates glaringly the extremely low calibre and entire lack of responsibility that afflict many small men who have access to the columns of public news vendors.

Mr. White deduces from the fact that Trotsky was killed by a pickaxe that this was a logical method for his dispatch. He alleges that the Russian Revolution was achieved by means of similar weapons in the hands of mobs led by Trotsky among others.

Abraham Lincoln was shot to death while witnessing a theatre performance. Would the fact that Lincoln was dispatched by bullets rather than by a pickaxe, dignify the murder? If so, then the numberless bullets which failed to reach their target—Leon Trotsky—in the attempt on him on May 24 should defy him above Lincoln in Mr. White's regard.

That the first World War toll of the lives and persons of some 20 million men, women and children and that the proportionately greater part of this misfortune fell to the lot of the Russian people; that the initial move away from this world catacomb of horrors and toward peace was taken under the inspiration of Lenin, the co-worker of Trotsky; that the "pickaxe" Russian Revolution was achieved with less casualties than occur from traffic accidents in this nation in a single month and that the largest part of the casualties sustained after the Russian Revolution resulted thru foreign invasion and civil war inspired by the invaders; that on the authority of the German general Ludendorff, the Germans were defeated not by pickaxes, poison gas, tanks, bombs, shrapnel, etc. but by Bolshevik propaganda, are facts which Mr. White will not find it necessary to investigate.

Hitler, Stalin, Weygand, Petain and the old men of France; Chamberlain, Halifax, Henderson and all the rest of the betrayers of the European peoples, are immune from pickaxes, as are those of similar bent in this country. They are men of infinite material resources and backing.

Thomas Paine, the immortal inspiration and political strategist of the American Revolution, was permitted to rot in a French Bastille and later to die, almost unattended in his fatal illness, a lonely old man in the U.S.A., the nation which he, more than any other man, fought to bring into existence. While Mr. White has been taught to extol George Washington et al., he, just as a hundred million other schoolboys, is probably unaware of Paine's creative role in the origin of this nation; or if he is, perhaps he regrets that Paine was not destroyed by the pickaxe staffs or the guillotine of the tribunal of the French Revolution.

Mr. White waxes sarcastic about the interminable debates between the Stalinists and Trotskyists. Read history, Mr. White, and discover anew the white hot discussions which preceded the American and French Revolutions and of the plucking of Europe

and North America out of the mud of the Middle Ages following these great changes. Or does he believe that the vulgar football-rooting politics indulged in during the nominations of Willkie and Roosevelt, were also discussions and more indicative of democratic methods? Perhaps discussions and fearless writing like Mr. White. No doubt he prefers the military exploits, political rackets and secret police of Hitler, Stalin and Co., not to mention other varieties closer home!

CLEVELAND A. A.

(It will interest our correspondent to know that, appropriately enough, this Mr. White who slanders Trotsky was, before the Hitler-Stalin pact, an ardent ally of the Stalinists. He devoted his column on scores of occasions to defending him—not against reactionaries but against progressive critics. We recall particularly his defense of Stalinist wrecking in the Auto Workers Union and his whitewashing of their murder squads behind the lines in Loyalist Spain.—EDITORS.)

## Worker Wants Unions To Take Control of Military Training

(The following letter was brought into the St. Paul headquarters of the Socialist Workers Party by a worker.)

Fellow worker,

I believe that this country is headed for war; I believe that we workers are going to be regimented into the military machine of this country. I do not like the discipline of this army set-up; I don't believe that it should be necessary, for us workers to be herded like sheep without having anything to say about what we are doing. In my opinion, as is the case in other unions, we decide by a majority vote when we strike or when we do anything else. We also elect our own leaders and if we decide that they are not the best we elect new ones.

That should be the nature of our military training. We should train ourselves to be able to handle firearms to protect our unions and our homes from anyone that may threaten them. We should, I believe, be prepared to fight against the Hitler here in America, such as the Fords and Morgans and the Rockefeller who have been fighting our unions for years. Especially should we be prepared to shoulder a gun in time of war when the bosses will feel that they can break any strikes that might be forced upon us because the increased cost of living. We must improve our skill in the use of arms because we will have to use them.

Now I think that the best way to get this done without being bullied by sergeants and peanut lieutenants who think they know everything is to get the unions to which we belong to sponsor military training for all its members who will choose their officers and can remove them whenever they see fit. In this way we will get the necessary experiences to be able to better protect ourselves and we will really be defending the interests of the workers and not the interests of the Morgans and Rockefeller in the same foreign land. I say let's have the unions organize this training and let's have democracy in this union controlled army.

St. Paul, Minn.

A Fellow Worker

## ST. PAUL UNION PAPER BLASTS UNION CHIEFS IN GOVERNMENT

The enclosed editorial on Daniel W. Tracy and other deserters from labor's ranks who have gone into the government was printed in the Sept. 17 St. Paul Union Advocate, the official organ of the AFL Central Trades & Labor Assembly. It ought to be reprinted by every workers' paper in the country.

I send it to your paper especially because I was very much pleased with the editorial on Dan Tracy that you carried.

St. Paul, Minn.

R. K. D.

We are glad to reprint the UNION ADVOCATE'S editorial for it does demonstrate that some sections of the trade union movement are beginning to realize what Tracy, Hillman and their ilk are in the government.

However, we ask R.K.D. and everyone else to note the fundamental difference between the UNON ADVOCATE'S editorial and ours (which appeared in the August 3 issue of the APPEAL under the title "Which is the Crime"): The UNION ADVOCATE concludes that the crimes of Hillman and Tracy "demonstrate the futility of Labor getting into politics." We, however, concluded that "union officials who enter the capitalist government can thereby serve only the capitalist class and never the working class." But we ARE wholeheartedly in favor of "Labor getting into politics"—but into Labor, independent, working class politics. The UNION ADVOCATE policy, though critical of Hillman and Tracy, ends up where they do: it leaves the capitalists forever in control of "politics," i.e., of everything. Our policy, on the other hand, leads to the working class taking over this world and transforming it into a society of peace and plenty.—EDITORS.

(The full text of the UNON ADVOCATE'S editorial follows)

The appointment of Daniel W. Tracy, president of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, as second assistant secretary of Labor, brings to the fore the very much discussed question of Labor in politics.

Whenever a Labor leader is given a political appointment it is patent to all that the one granting the appointment is on a fishing expedition for Labor's support. In a word, it is a form of political bribery, and it constitutes one of the gravest menaces the Labor movement is compelled to face. The Minnesota Labor movement has had its full share of experience in this line.

Some time ago Mr. Roosevelt named Sidney Hillman to his newly-created war jitters board. The President said he chose Mr. Hillman because he was midway between William Green and John L. Lewis. The President would have been nearer the truth had he stated that he named Hillman because Hillman's Amalgamated Clothing workers had endorsed Mr. Roosevelt for a third term.

As soon as the White House felt the reaction of this appointment Mr. Roosevelt felt the need of making another appointment as a gesture of appeasement, so he named Daniel W. Tobin as a sort of errand boy between the A. F. of L. and the White House. Tobin took the job, but the real job he craved went to Dan Tracy, and there hangs a strange tale that amply illustrates the point of this piece—that it isn't always Labor that is getting into politics—it is more often a case of politicians getting into the Labor movement.

What can Mr. Tracy do for Labor as second assistant secretary of Labor? What became of his prestige as head of a great international union the moment he went on the payroll of a politician? What can he do—as a rubber stamp stooge in the Department of Labor—to oppose one Thurman Arnold, also a government employee, but one with authority to send international union officials to the penitentiary? What can he do to further the fight he began long ago against the discriminations of the National Labor Relations Board?

The answers are obvious. His prestige as head of one of the largest unions in the United States totally disappeared when he ceased to be the head of that international union to become a yes-man for Madam Perkins. There is nothing he can do for organized Labor that Madam Perkins does not want him to do, and after all is said and done—Madam Perkins is a politician and not a trade unionist. He cannot oppose Thurman Arnold without jeopardizing his own job, and Mr. Tracy evidently wanted that political job or he would not have taken it in the first place. Furthermore, he has become a member of the weakest sector of the President's cabinet and a mere errand boy for Madam Perkins, whom the President, for some unknown reason, refuses to eliminate from his official family. Mr. Roosevelt has gradually shorn the Madam of most of her responsibilities—but she remains as Secretary of Labor, and Dan Tracy, whether he relishes the idea or not, must take his orders from her.

All of which should demonstrate the futility of Labor getting into politics. Whenever it gets into politics it immediately loses sight of its economic objectives. That's what happened in Minnesota. That's what happened to Dan Tracy, an otherwise capable, competent and worthwhile union executive.

The following letter was brought into the St. Paul headquarters of the Socialist Workers Party by a worker.)

Fellow worker,

I believe that this country is headed for war; I believe that we workers are going to be regimented into the military machine of this country. I do not like the discipline of this army set-up; I don't believe that it should be necessary, for us workers to be herded like sheep without having anything to say about what we are doing. In my opinion, as is the case in other unions, we decide by a majority vote when we strike or when we do anything else. We also elect our own leaders and if we decide that they are not the best we elect new ones.

That should be the nature of our military training. We should train ourselves to be able to handle firearms to protect our unions and our homes from anyone that may threaten them. We should, I believe, be prepared to fight against the Hitler here in America, such as the Fords and Morgans and the Rockefeller who have been fighting our unions for years. Especially should we be prepared to shoulder a gun in time of war when the bosses will feel that they can break any strikes that might be forced upon us because the increased cost of living. We must improve our skill in the use of arms because we will have to use them.

Now I think that the best way to get this done without being bullied by sergeants and peanut lieutenants who think they know everything is to get the unions to which we belong to sponsor military training for all its members who will choose their officers and can remove them whenever they see fit. In this way we will get the necessary experiences to be able to better protect ourselves and we will really be defending the interests of the workers and not the interests of the Morgans and Rockefeller in the same foreign land. I say let's have the unions organize this training and let's have democracy in this union controlled army.

St. Paul, Minn.

A Fellow Worker

## UNION CONDITIONS IN THE ARMY IS ONLY PART OF LABOR'S NEED

The Minnesota State Federation of Labor at its just concluded 1940 convention had before it a resolution concerning the military training of the workers under union control. This convention, through some of its spokesmen, lauded the advance of the labor movement of the past few years. But on this resolution—one that concerned the very life of the workers' organization—the convention went only part way. It agreed that "we call for union wages and conditions in the military forces." But the convention failed to take the next logical step to bring these conditions into realization, namely, that organized labor should control the military training camps.

What does a union do when it wants to get union conditions in an unorganized place, such as Ford? It does not simply go on record. It must do more than that. The union must set itself the task of getting to the workers at the plant and organizing them into the union. If they are unemployed and are waiting to be called back to work, the union must fight for them on WPA or in unemployed organizations. If unions do this for workers when they are unemployed, they find these same workers easier to organize when they do go back to the factory.

Exactly the same thing must be done insofar as the military forces are concerned. The future soldiers must be contacted now before they get into the army, a very difficult place in which to organize. It is more difficult, even, to organize in the army than in the labor-hating Ford

concern. All the more reason that a campaign to organize the future soldiers must be started immediately.

To realize the aim of the Minnesota Convention—that of obtaining trade union wages and conditions in the army and on all defense projects—the organized labor movement must begin now, by calling on the government to supply funds and equipment to unions that will train men democratically, in a manner that will be agreed to by the men themselves. Then these men will really show enthusiasm to fight Hitler and Fascism and anyone else who may desire to take away the rights of labor.

So long as the army is unorganized, it will always serve as a threat to labor in the form of a strike-breaking organization. The strength of organized workers depends on their ability to extend their organization. Certainly, the auto workers could not feel secure if they organized Detroit alone; they had to organize all the auto workers. In the same way, the unions to be secure must organize the soldiers in the army so that the reactionary officers will not use the soldiers as herd of scabs. Let's get going now!

St. Paul, Minn.

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St. Paul, Minn.

T. ALLEN

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Man wanted to share an apartment. All improvements. Call at Apartment, 27, 244 East 13th Street, New York City, between 6-7 p.m.

## Minn. Federation Fights For Anti-Labor Law Repeal

ST. PAUL, Sept. 19—Thwarting an attempt by reactionary State Federation of Labor officials to betray the workers of Minnesota into taking a stand for mere amendment of the vicious Stassen Slave Labor Act, Minneapolis delegates emerged victorious in the Sept. 16-18 50th Anniversary convention of the state labor body by keeping it officially on record for complete repeal of the act. A long and stormy debate in which well-known progressive trade unionists of Minneapolis beat down this disgusting display of boot-licking of Governor Stassen ended in a decisive victory for the militant delegates who took a resolute stand for reaffirming the action of the 1939 convention which demanded repeal of this unbusting legislation.

In his report to the convention, President Robert Olson stated that he "strongly recommended that the decision of the 1939 convention be rescinded and that we go on record for amendment rather than repeal of the State Labor Act." This paved the way for the report of the legislative committee which recommended concurrence with the resolution of federation officers calling for amendments to the act. Although a large number of delegates appeared before the legislative committee to speak against the resolution and in favor of repeal, the committee recommended adoption of the amendment stand.

One after another delegates took the floor to protest against this backward step proposed by federation officials. Gene Larson, delegate from the Minneapolis Milk Drivers, opened the fight for repeal. Brother Larson was remembered by delegates as the man who brought in the minority report last year calling for repeal of the act and it was his report that was then adopted.

The Stassen Act was adopted after the election of Republican Governor Stassen. It enforces a 10-day waiting period before a union may strike, restricts picketing, moves a long way toward compulsory arbitration, etc.

"If we vote for amending the law, that means we approve of it in principle," said Larson.

Among those who spoke for repeal were Walter Frank, Central Labor Union; Walred Smedberg, Building Service Union; Tom Hagen, State, County and Municipal Employees; John Boscoe, Central Labor Union; Louis Boerbach, Painters; Harold Olson, Building Laborers; Walter Harsh, Upholsterers; Walter Hagstrom, General Drivers, all of Minneapolis, and many from St. Paul also spoke.

All pointed out the evils of the law and demanded to know why the reactionary state legislature that had passed the law would even amend it to benefit labor.

Dunne Sums Up

Miles Dunne, delegate from the Teamsters Joint Council, Minnea-

polis, summed up the debate by reminding delegates that what the state federation had called for some time back was a "little Wagner Act" for Minneapolis, to provide what the national law did not provide. He stated, "the Stassen Act does not even faintly resemble the bill drawn up and presented by the federation. To vote for anything but repeal is to give aid and comfort to the employers in other states."

Recognizing their defeat, the officialdom of the state federation through their spokesman, George Lawson, federation secretary, moved for an amendment to the resolution. The amendment provided for the introduction into the 1941 legislature of the old Federation Bill which in itself calls for the repeal of all other affecting labor laws. Failing this enactment, federation officers were directed to work for amendments to the present act that would eliminate its most undesirable features and to fight against any amendments that would further hamper organized labor. This amendment was adopted unanimously by the convention delegates.

Other Resolutions

Other resolutions adopted at the convention included a demand for a state housing authority; re-

peal of the Woodrum amendment; restoration of citizenship rights to the WPA prisoners; repeal of the Homestead lien law; condemnation of Thurman Arnold's anti-trust campaign against the unions; against the registration of the fink Associated Independent Unions and all company unions; for union wages and conditions in the military forces and on all defense projects; for the 6-hour day and the 30-hour week.

On Military Training

The resolution on military training, as originally presented to the resolutions committee, concluded with the following: "that we call for union wages and conditions in the military forces and on all defense projects, and to that end we demand that the government furnish expert military instructions and equipment to the trade unions so that the organized labor movement, rather than the anti-labor military machine, will control the defense training program."

The resolutions committee, however, left only the following in its final version as presented and adopted by the convention: "that we call for union wages and conditions in the military forces and on all defense projects." It was voted without debate.

## Steel Workers Use "Quickies" To Win Demands

### Victory at Republic Steel in Youngstown Is Latest Example

YOUNGSTOWN, Ohio—The organized steel workers here are making use of a union tactic similar to the "quickie strikes" employed so effectively by the West Coast sailors when they were building their union.

The Steel Workers Organizing Committee does not feel strong enough—that, at any rate, is the feeling of the Murray leadership—to wage a general battle against "Little Steel." Meanwhile hundreds of grievances have piled up in every plant. As a result, in certain departments the workers have resorted to a form of guerrilla warfare which, although it is not endorsed or encouraged by the SWOC leadership, is at least not stamped on by the union officials.

Concretely, the tactic involves the shutting down of a single department until certain grievances are adjusted. So far these shut-downs have been quite successful.

Fight at Republic Steel

A typical example of this occurred last week in the Inspection Department of the Electric-Weld Mill of the Republic Steel Corporation. About 150 men were involved. The grievance centered on the question of "doubling up" on shifts. For a number of months the company had instituted the practice of requiring the men who work eight hour shifts, to do two eight hour shifts with only eight hours rest between. The men demanded that either they be allowed sixteen hours rest between shifts or else that they be paid time and one half for the second shift. Almost three months ago the superintendent, McCoy, agreed to their demand but nothing was done.

About three weeks ago, they again went to him and again he promised to fix it up but again nothing happened. After waiting for about two weeks, the men mostly SWOC members, called a meeting of their department and decided to stop the work until their grievance was adjusted.

Accordingly, the following day, as the 7-3 shift came off duty, they stopped the 3-11 shift from going in. For more than two hours they waited at the gate, refusing to get to work in spite of all the pleadings and promises of their immediate superiors until McCoy finally came and settled the matter.

The workers got what they wanted and as a result the SWOC has been given another spurt forward not only in this department but throughout the mill. Of course the local newspaper carried no news of this episode at all.

## C.P. HELPED ELECT OLSON, HE'S OUTLAWING THEM NOW

SACRAMENTO, Cal., Sept. 23.—The California legislature, convened in special session by Governor Olson, is about to consider a resolution, sponsored by Olson and the Democrats, to ban the Communist Party from the election ballot in November and to abolish the Communist Party in California.

The Socialist Workers Party has wired protests against this resolution to Governor Olson.

The Socialist Workers Party is also proposing that joint action be taken by the entire labor movement—Socialist Party, Communist Party, S.W.P., the trade unions, etc.—for a joint campaign against this reactionary resolution.

It is ironic that Governor Olson should be taking the lead in this vicious move—ironical both in the classical tradition of his type of "democrat." And it certainly ought to be an eye-opener to Communist Party members concerning the policies pursued by their leaders; for Olson was elected with the full support of the Communist Party.

That, of course, was in the honeymoon days of the "collective security," "Popular Front" line of the Stalinists, when any scoundrel who would yell for world war "against fascism" was certain to get the support of the Communist Party.

These same scoundrels, lifted into office with the help of the

Stalinists, are now paying them back in the usual coin of such "democrats."

Nevertheless, the crimes of the Communist Party should not prevent us from defending the right of all sections of the labor movement to exist. We, the advanced workers, must settle accounts with the Stalinists within the labor movement, without any "help" from the capitalists.

The Social Democrats in Germany were directly responsible for the assassination of Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg; yet the revolutionary Communist Party of those days defended the Social Democrats against the capitalists. Likewise we must defend against the Stalinists, degenerate though they are, responsible though they are for the murder of Trotsky—we must defend them against the capitalists.

In NEWARK, N. J. buy the APPEAL at: Neusstand, Broad & Wm. Sts. Cohen's Confectionery, 11 SPRINGFIELD AVE. near Court House. or write for delivery to S.W.P. P. O. B. 352, Newark, N. J.

## The MARXIST SCHOOL

FALL TERM 1940

- Classes Begin Monday, October 21
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    - How Hegel Revolutionized Logic.
    - The Main Laws of Dialectics.
    - Dialectical Materialism and Natural Science.
    - Trotsky, the exponent of Dialectical Materialism.
    - The Contemporary Critics and Opponents of Dialectical Materialism.
  - What is Trotskyism—James P. Cannon. These lectures are on the specific contributions of "Trotskyism" to revolutionary Marxism.
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    - Trotsky's theory of the Russian Revolution.
    - The Struggle between Trotskyism and Stalinism: Its theoretical basis.
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    - The Revolutionary Fight against Fascism: Germany, France, Spain.
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  - The Epoch of Imperialism.
  - The Death Agony of Capitalism and the Rise of Fascism.
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    - The Role of the Trade Unions in the Class Struggle.
    - Trade Union Leadership.
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REGISTRATION

Registration may be made at the school office, 116 University Place, every day (except Sunday) between 12 noon and 7 P.M. On Wednesdays and Thursdays the office will be open from 8 PM to 10 PM. Registrations can also be made by mail or by calling Gramercy 7-9817

ATTENDANCE

Those who do not wish to register for a full course may attend single lectures. The charge for single lectures will be twenty-five cents.

SCHOLARSHIPS

A limited number of scholarships are available to unions, clubs, and unemployed. Information about these can be had by writing to the school office.

### 100% PROFIT

President Roosevelt has personally promised that no corporation will coin profits from the arms boom. Well, the Thompson Automatic Arms Corporation, maker of the notorious "Tommy" machine-gun, has just declared a special dividend of \$5.50 a share.

At the current price of the stock that's a fifty percent bonus! Supplying machine guns to the international gangsters is as profitable as selling them to the Capones. And that's only a beginning. Financial circles estimate the year's earnings of the company will be from \$10 to \$16 a share, more than one-hundred percent!

Isn't it time the government nationalized these superprofiteering arms-industries?

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# The Negro Struggle

By ALBERT PARKER

(Continued from last week)

## Generous—When it Costs Nothing

Will a vote for Willkie and the Republicans be any better than a vote for Roosevelt and the Democrats? The facts say no.

The record of the Republicans on Negro legislation is every bit as bad as the Democrats'. From 1920 on the Republicans sat in power, in the White House and in most states. From them the Negroes got nothing. That was why no colored worker spent much time weeping in 1932 when they were swept out of office and became a minority in Congress.

Then overnight, they became "the Negro's friend and champion"! In a magical way Republicans appeared on the floors of Congress with Anti-Lynch Bills and Anti-Poll Tax Bills. "The Republican Party," they said, "has been the friend of the Negro people since the days of Abraham Lincoln, and still is. Don't you see what we're trying to do for you in Congress?"

What generous people! During the years when they had the power to pass such bills, they were nowhere to be found. The Anti-Lynch Bills which came up in Congress when they had a majority, were always shelved and forgotten by them in the same way the Democrats do it now. And now, when they are sure that the Democratic majority will defeat such legislation, they very boldly propose it!

There are two reasons for this hypocrisy. First, it is a cheap way to build themselves up as "friends of the Negro." Secondly, it embarrasses the Democrats who have to take the responsibility for laws that neither party really wants passed. Only simple people will fall for this kind of fraud.

Take Wendell Willkie, the utility boss who was picked by that small section of the race that alone is responsible for and benefits from Jim Crow, the bankers and big businessmen.

Because he is an "out" now, and wants to get "in," he chooses his words about the colored people very carefully. He remembers the eleven states where the colored vote will be decisive on November 5. But every once in a while he makes a slip, and gives the game away, showing that all his fine talk about "equal opportunity" is nothing more than the hot dog and glass of beer that ward-healers give away "free" before elections.

## Willkie Likes a Jim Crow Book

Recently the New Jersey *Herald News*, a Negro paper, addressed an open letter to him. In it they questioned his enthusiastic praise of the book, *Capitalism The Creator*, by Carl Snyder. The author of this contemptible book writes in defense of "the greatly misunderstood and abused millionaires." He vigorously defends the right of plutocrats to keep robbing and exploiting the great mass of the people. He asks that taxation of the wealthy be stopped. His reason? They deserve everything they have! He thinks it is terrible for the unions to try to get higher wages for the workers. That will "block the road to recovery," he says.

Naturally, such an enemy of the working class is an enemy of the most oppressed section of the working class, the Negro workers, and a friend of Jim Crow. "We must realize that certain races are naturally inferior," says this ardent champion of the rich. By this he means they shouldn't have equal opportunities and rights, they should be seen and not heard, they shouldn't have the same schooling they shouldn't be allowed to sit in the same theatres and restaurants, they should do the dirty work, cleaning the toilets, acting as janitors and washwomen, while their "superiors," the rich, do more important things such as going to the dog show.

Public endorsement of this book by Willkie means that if he is elected, he can be expected to carry out the ideas in it! And those colored workers who fell for Willkie's promises before elections will be given the privilege of shining his shoes as reward for their support.

Between the two boss parties the Negro has no choice. Neither will help him, each will betray him, both are his mortal enemies.

## Trouble—And Double Trouble

The life we live in 1940 is a strange thing. The workers produce everything, and they live in misery. The bosses produce nothing, and they live in comfort and luxury. Because of the profit system, the bosses make the workers live in unhealthy tenements. Often they shut down the factories and throw the workers into the streets to starve or live on miserable relief allowances. When the workers dare to ask for a little more from life, the strength of the whole system is thrown against them: the laws, the police, the newspapers, the courts. When this decaying profit system faces a crisis, the bosses of the different countries put guns in the workers' hands and send them out to kill each other to decide which bosses shall get the gravy.

As workers, the Negroes suffer all this. But that isn't all. Because they are Negroes, they are treated even worse. The Republicans and the Democrats defend this way of life, but they won't do anything to let the colored workers have at least the same rotten conditions and opportunities that the white workers have. The colored workers are herded into the worst of the bad houses. They are given the dirtiest and worst-paying jobs. They are hired last and fired first. They aren't even permitted to join their bosses' Army. Many of them are terrorized and lynched when they try to vote like other workers, even for Republicans and Democrats. Insult is always added to the injuries they suffer under capitalism.

Why is this? Why must colored workers carry a double burden?

(Next week: What Causes Jim Crow?)

# Mexico After the Elections -- By GRANDIZO MUNIS

## Danger of Reactionary Coup Grows, Aided By Corrupt Stalinist-Toledano Methods

This time, much more than on any previous occasion, the Mexican presidential elections have been extremely important. Powerful interests are in play on both sides, having mobilized themselves for the struggle with an activity which has not been known for many years. The strictly national importance of the conflict is augmented by the existence of the European war.

It is necessary to give a short sketch of the conditions under which the country is now living and the interests opposing a revolt against the control exercised on all the presidents of the Republic by Plutarco Elias Calles, the real ruler. Cardenas himself was only raised to the presidency because he was thought to be a man who could be easily manipulated by Calles's order.

In rejecting Calles, Cardenas had to find some support in the poorest classes of the city and country. By defending the right to strike, which Calles desired to stamp out, he won the goodwill of the workers; by promising to divide up the large estates he won the good-will of the peasants. By these two simple means he succeeded in carrying through the political move and changes which permitted him to defeat Calles.

The latter's principal support, the National Revolutionary Party was dissolved and the Party of the Mexican Revolution (Partido de la Revolucion Mexicana) was created in its place. In opposition to the trade-union movement of the Mexican Regional Workers' Confederation (CROM) completely controlled by Calles, Cardenas initiated the creation of the Confederation of Mexican Workers (GTM) and the National Peasants' Confederation (CNC). The establishment of the ejidos, by dividing up numerous large estates among the peasants, the establishment of a minimum wage of two pesos a day, and the expropriation of the national railways and of the oil companies, are the basic measures which gave Cardenas's government its early popularity and its democratic character.

### THE LIMITS OF WHAT CARDENAS ACHIEVED

But however important these may appear, they have only served to confirm our estimate of the character of modern social movements in countries of colonial or semi-colonial economy. From the first day, the bourgeoisie and petty bourgeoisie had been rejecting Cardenas's modest reforms. The reforms have irritated the bourgeoisie without having succeeded in satisfying the workers and peasants. The PRM, which consists of the top bureaucratic and military hierarchies, the CTM and the CNC, constitute fundamentally the same party that served as a base for Calles. Any right swing on the part of the victorious presidential candidate will find the same basis and adaptability in the PRM as did the left swing of Cardenas.

The CTM and the CNC, in the hands of an extraordinarily corrupt bureaucracy, play and traffic with the workers' interests in exactly the same way as a piece of goods is trafficked. The general line of the leaders is submission to the government, the line being accompanied with pure and simple selling out to the employers. In many unions the leaders of the CTM are in the pay of the bourgeoisie, from whom they receive a regular wage.

The situation of the small new proprietors in the countryside has not improved with the dividing up of the lands. If before they were exploited by the landholders they are now exploited by the bank which lends them money, by their leaders, and by the companies to which they find themselves compelled to sell their products at a low price.

The bankrupt situation of the railways and oil wells has recently been given public notice. This is due in part to the boycott and to the maneuvers of the American imperialists, but to a great extent the responsibility falls on the bureaucrats of the CTM. Being the real administrators of both undertakings they grant themselves extremely high salaries and bonuses, while the economic position of the workers has either not improved or has obviously deteriorated. The rise in prices, which has been going on for years now, aggravates the situation of all the poor classes. Accordingly the hatred of the workers and peasants is concentrating itself against the bureaucrats of the CTM, of the CNC, and the government.

### THE REACTIONARIES RALLY AROUND ALMAZAN

For its part the feeble Mexican bourgeoisie, always opposed to Cardenas's reforms, has exploited the situation in order to rise in a tumult of totalitarian fever. This is the origin of General Juan Andrew Almazan's candidacy, conceived in Monterrey, the most important grouping in the Mexican bourgeoisie. Upon arriving in Mexico City as candidate his first declaration was made in condemnation of the class struggle, proclaiming himself the candidate of "order" and of the "integrity of the family."

Almost all if not all the petty bourgeoisie lined up behind Almazan immediately. Certain backward elements among the workers and peasants were also pushed towards him by the corruption of the trade-union leaders. In general three-quarters of the importance which the Almazanist movement has acquired is due to the repulsion inspired in the masses by the activities of the CTM bureaucracy, directly linked up with the Stalinist bureaucracy. As has been proven many times in Europe the reaction receives its chief strength from the reformist bureaucracy.

To the destruction of the working class represented by Almazan, the official party, P.R.M., opposed its own candidate, General Avila Camacho.

### CAMACHO'S PROGRAM DOES NOT EXIST

Avila Camacho's program?—some impudent Trotskyite will ask. It doesn't exist. In order to calm the most conscious workers Lombardo Toledano's bureaucrats take pleasure in repeating that Avila Camacho is going to create Cardenas's work.

But, regardless of what Lombardo Toledano's camarilla says, the attitude Avila Camacho will take towards the working-class gains is more than suspect. In a speech made at Puebla he finally said that it was necessary to "direct politics into Christian paths." In other perorations he allowed it to be seen that his policies would be directed against the proletariat and the peasants. After proclaiming his victory in the Chamber of Deputies the press that once sympathized with Almazan is now submitting itself to Cardenas, inducing him to start a radical change of men and methods. In this way the Stalinists and Lombardists, by removing from the electoral campaign the demands of the poor classes, have made possible with Avila Camacho's victory the annihilation of those gains already made.

### ALMAZAN DANGER STILL IMMINENT

But the danger which the trade union bureaucrats and the lack-

neys of Moscow have brought close to us is much greater. The menace of Almazan has not subsided with the proclamation of Camacho's victory. The candidate of "order" and the "family" has made an appeal for a reactionary insurrection. Immediately afterwards Calles made an appearance in Texas at a secret conference with his Almazanist cronies. The selection of Texas is not accidental; it has all the conditions of favorable surroundings and financial support which the reaction needs in order to execute its plans.

Almazan has persistently sought the support of Yankee imperialism. The latter, which does not feel itself threatened in the slightest by Avila Camacho cannot be inclined to provoke a civil war in Mexico, particularly now, when the Monroe Doctrine has just as much value as the American navy, according to old Theodore Roosevelt's expression. But the Texas politicians have a different point of view and seem disposed to support Almazan to the finish. He will receive money and war material from Texas, in case an Almazanist uprising breaks out. The workers' organizations of this state should begin to act against Almazan and the American politicians aiding him.

We need scarcely say what the victory of an Almazanist insurrection would mean for the working class and the peasants. There would be a return of the epoch of mass deportations to the Maria Islands and of unpunished shootings; all democratic liberties would be suppressed, the land would be torn away from the peasants and wages would fall even below what they are already. Against this threat the living conditions now enjoyed by workers and peasants are not, however, sufficiently attractive to throw them with enthusiasm into the struggle against Almazan. The latter is hoping that the impoverished masses, deceived and betrayed by the Lombardist bureaucracy, will view any reactionary uprising with passivity.

### CORRUPT BUREAUCRATS HELP ALMAZAN!

The reaction always counts for its victory upon the dissatisfaction provoked by reformist policy,

to which in Mexico there must be added an unbounded corruption. It counts upon the dissatisfaction in the bourgeoisie and petty bourgeoisie, always afraid that the masses may pass from reformism to genuine revolutionary action; and on the dissatisfaction in the proletariat and peasantry, whose economic condition is not improving noticeably and is in many cases getting worse. Blaming the corruption of the reformist bureaucracy on the revolution, the bourgeoisie seeks to neutralize the working class in order to impose its yoke upon it. A bourgeois pays a Lombardist leader for him to liquidate a strike or fire a revolutionary worker, and then goes on to make some reflections of the "revolutionary" morale of the working-class leader! In this way the bureaucracy performs the double service for the bourgeoisie of freeing it of the workers' revolutionary action and giving it argument against the workers' movement. The success of this bourgeois propaganda is most considerable in the backward sections where the workers cannot distinguish between the corrupt trade union bureaucracy and a revolutionary class policy. In case Almazan succeeds in making an insurrection he will not fail to counter an auxiliary, passive at least, in the repugnance which the activities of the trade union and Stalinist bureaucracy have provoked among the workers.

There is only one way to stop any reactionary success, whether it comes about from a seizure of the state by Almazan or a cold and gradual swing on the part of Avila Camacho: a program of workers' and peasants' demands capable of interesting the masses and mobilizing them against the reaction.

Stalinists and Lombardists have abandoned any demand of this type. They are avilacamachists because they hope to continue the enjoyment of all their privileges under Camacho. They are not interested in the slightest by any advance of the workers' gains. In this way avilacamachism has provided a weighty contribution to the progress of almazanist. Only the weak Mexican section of the IV International proposes a program of demands based on the improvement of the living conditions of the working class and peasants. But the Mexican section of the Fourth International is today too feeble for its voice to have as yet any important repercussions in the social struggle. The determining element in these hours is the policy of the CTM bureaucracy, aided by the Stalinists. This policy seems to have been specially thought up to aid the reaction. As to whether the progress of the latter will be prevented in the form of an Almazanist insurrection or a rightist swing on the part of Avila Camacho is something that cannot be predicted. In any case, the Stalinists and Lombardists have given almazanist encouragement and disarmed the working class by means of avilacamachism. They will be the ones responsible for the victory of the reaction, wherever it may come from.

Mexico D. F. September 13, 1940

## Negro Sharecropper Facing Trial For Murder of Boss

CHATHAM, Va., Sept. 20, 1940.—Protest telegrams pouring in to the court put a halt today to the attempt to railroad Odell Waller, young Negro sharecropper, to the electric chair by rushing his trial only three days after he was indicted.

Judge Clement of the Circuit Court of Pitsylvania County, Virginia, backed by Commonwealth attorney Whitehead, had refused to continue the case or give the defense time to summon

important witnesses. The protest telegrams brought a sudden change and the judge granted a continuance until September 26.

Waller, 23-year-old Negro sharecropper, is charged with shooting to death his white landlord in a dispute over the division of the crops. Waller is married, has no children but supports a widow mother. He has had three years of high school education.

On January 2, 1939, Waller moved into the land of Oskar Davis, near Gretna, Va. The land was set out in tobacco, corn and wheat. Davis agreed to furnish supplies and tools, while Waller was to furnish the labor and receive one-fourth of the product.

After Waller had worked on the tobacco crop, Davis decided to take advantage of the Federal Government subsidy and plow under the crop, informing Waller he would not be paid for his labor. Davis also owed Waller's mother for four weeks midwifery and nursing at \$7.50 per week, having paid her only \$2.50 per week. After some dispute, Waller finally abandoned any immediate claim to money due him on the tobacco and fertilizer, and went to Maryland to work. In his absence, his wife and mother, both of whom had worked on the aforementioned property, were evicted by Davis.

When Waller returned from Maryland, he went to get the wheat which had been worked on by his wife, mother and himself.

**Self-Defense Involved**

He went armed, having been threatened by Davis and knowing his temperamental. Davis refused to allow him anything at all, and reached for the pocket in which he usually kept his pistol. In fear of his life, Waller shot and killed Davis, and fled, fearing mob violence. He was captured a few days later in Columbus, Ohio, whence he was extradited on August 6th to Chatham, Virginia.

Lawyers Thomas H. Stone and J. Byron Hopkins, both from Richmond, Virginia, are co-operating in the defense.

The defense attorneys are fighting to get a change of venue. Judge Clement showed his bias by his insulting remarks to defense counsel Hopkins, a Negro. The local businessmen of Gretna and Chatham are united in crying "that damn nigger ought to be killed." Waller committed the "unpardonable sin"—resisting a white boss. They want to burn him to maintain the vicious "cropper system."

The first skirmish has been won, but victory will demand a long hard fight. The Waller Defense Committee in Richmond, Virginia, calls on workers and friends to organize local Waller Defense Committees, uniting Negro and white in a common national struggle on this case. Labor and Negro organizations are urged to cooperate by holding protest meetings and heing to raise the necessary funds to fight the case through to a victory. Send mail to E. Campion, Waller Defense Committee, c/o T. H. Stone, 1519 E. Main St., Richmond, Virginia.

## Communist League of China Honors Memory of Trotsky

The Central Executive Committee of the Communist League of China issued the following statement on the death of Leon Trotsky:

"The Communist League of China, section of the Fourth International, deeply mourns the passing of Leon Trotsky, who met his death at the hands of a brutal assassin employed by Stalin's international Mafia. To Natalia, his devoted wife and comrade, we send all our sympathy in this irreparable loss which we so sadly share.

"After several unsuccessful attempts, the Borgia of the Kremlin has finally succeeded in stilling the voice of the greatest leader of the revolutionary socialist movement. Trotsky was murdered because, as the legitimate bearer of the traditions of the October Revolution in Russia and the pre-eminent leader of the world-wide movement of the revolutionary proletariat and the oppressed masses, he represented the greatest menace to the totalitarian bureaucracy which, with Stalin at its head, dominates the Soviet Union and crushes the masses under the weight of its lucrative privileges and the violent rule by which it maintains them.

"The murder of Trotsky was also an act of personal vengeance by Stalin, the foul crowning deed in a series of murders which has claimed the lives of Trotsky's two sons and two daughters and thousands of his devoted followers in Russia.

"By the death of Leon Trotsky, the workers and oppressed peoples of all the world, including China, have lost their most gifted and ardent champion. Tirelessly and selflessly and without thought for his personal welfare or safety, he battled for more than forty years in the cause of the downtrodden and oppressed. To this great liberating struggle he brought a diversity of talents rarely given to a single man. Together with Lenin he led the Russian Revolution to victory and created the Red Army which fought off its enemies. Despite the later degeneration of the Soviet state, he continued its most able revolutionary defender and labored indefatigably for its revival by promoting the cause of the international socialist revolution. He kept undeviatingly to this course in the face of streams of slander, monstrous frame-ups and continual threats against his life by the Kremlin clique and their hired agents.

"The hand of Stalin, guiding the hand of the assassin who encompassed his death, has brought the career of the great revolutionist to a premature end. In his writings and labors, as well as by his exemplary life as a man and a revolutionist, Leon Trotsky has bequeathed a rich heritage to the international proletariat and all the oppressed. Under the banner which he un-

furled and so bravely upheld until his last breath—the banner of the Fourth International—his great work will reach fruition. This will be an imperishable monument to Leon Trotsky, who lived and died for the emancipation of mankind."

### CENTRAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE COMMUNIST LEAGUE OF CHINA

Shanghai, August 23, 1940

The following letter was sent to Comrade Natalia Trotsky by the Executive Committee of the Communist League of China on Aug. 23:

The Chinese comrades send you these few words in the hope of comforting you in the dark days of sorrow which you are now passing through because of the loss of our beloved Comrade Trotsky. We wanted to send you a cable or radiogram, but circumstances here are such that we must write instead.

We had always hoped that you and we would be spared the grief which has now fallen upon us, but it was not to be. Despite all the precautions which were taken, an assassin employed by Stalin succeeded in carrying out his vile task.

We had hoped that Comrade Trotsky would live many more years to continue his great work in the cause of the socialist revolution. Now we can only take comfort—and we ask you to take comfort—in the thought that before he died Comrade Trotsky had already performed enormous labor for our cause. This work must now be carried to completion by others, less fitted for the task, but inspired by his selfless and gifted devotion to the cause of the downtrodden and the oppressed.

We recall with especial gratitude the great contributions which Comrade Trotsky has made to the revolutionary movement in China. His labors have armed us with a program which in the end will triumph. When the masses of China, marching under the banner of the Fourth International, throw off the chains of imperialism and step forward on the road to socialism, they will learn of the great part that Comrade Trotsky played in assuring their triumph, and they will appropriately honor his memory.

Dear Comrade Natalia: we grieve with you in this terrible bereavement and we honor you as the beloved wife and comrade of our departed leader. Please accept our fraternal love and sympathy. We shall continue to uphold the banner of international socialism, the banner of the Fourth International under which Comrade Trotsky lived and died.

Executive Committee, Communist League of China (Section of the IV International)  
LI FU-JEN

# Has Mike Gold Made His Last Blunder?

Since Mike Gold lives in the United States and, to give the devil his due, isn't fool enough to accept one of those cordial invitations from the Kremlin to please come over and participate in the November 7 celebrations, the GPU cannot arrange to have him liquidated in the usual official manner.

Nevertheless the GPU must put an end to Mike Gold's official status as columnist of the *Daily Worker*. Many a time in the past Gold has blurted out things which no discreet GPU agent or Stalinist functionary should have whispered, let alone put into cold print. The other times Mike ate lots of crow and was permitted to go on. But not this time.

For this time Mike Gold has talked out of turn about the one crime which, above all, the GPU is desperately determined to cover up its connection with—the assassination of Leon Trotsky.

A few facts are first necessary in order to understand the enormity of Mike Gold's blunder.

### Bosom Friend of Mike Gold

David Alfaro Siqueiros made a get-away just as he was about to be arrested by the Mexican police for having led the May 24 machine-gun assault on Trotsky's house. About a dozen of his accomplices, however, were caught and arrested. Most of them realized the jig was up and signed depositions confessing their participation in the assault.

From these depositions and other evidence gathered by the police it was established conclusively that Siqueiros, dressed in the uniform of a high official of the police, had led the machine-gun band, similarly disguised in police uniforms. Luis Mateos Martinez, a Communist Party member, one of those arrested, confessed that he had been commissioned to buy those uniforms by David Serrano, a member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Communist Party. Serrano's former wife, Julia, confessed that she and another woman had been commissioned by Siqueiros to occupy a house near Trotsky's, to seduce the small police guard stationed outside the Trotsky house. She had reported the results of her spying on the Trotsky household over a period of months to Siqueiros.

Siqueiros' flight from the police was itself a confession of guilt. In addition, however, when those arrested gave the show away, the GPU decided it was unwise to attempt to maintain that Siqueiros was innocent. Instead it was decided to develop the line that Siqueiros was indeed guilty, but that he was in no way connected with the Communist Party. In accordance with this line Siqueiros (or the GPU in his name) sent four letters to the police and the press, admitting his guilt and defending his crime as a "political act"; while the Communist Party of Mexico denounced Siqueiros as an "irresponsible" who had been expelled from the Communist Party for some time. The next step was to label Siqueiros as a reactionary and a Trotskyist! To this end, David Serrano blandly declared before the investigating judge that Trotsky and Diego Rivera had given Siqueiros funds for a publication.

This story was fantastic enough, as every intelligent person in Mexico knew. For there had never been a word of criticism of Siqueiros in the Stalinist press; on the contrary one could cite numerous times when he was praised in the friendliest terms. Siqueiros, moreover, had served as a "colonel" in a Stalinist-controlled regiment in Loyalist Spain and was, at the time he fled, President of the Association of Ex-Combatants in Spain, the Mexican equivalent of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade here. However, the Stalinists attempted to brazen it out, sticking to their story that Siqueiros was not a Stalinist but an agent of dark and sinister forces—until Mike Gold spilled the beans.

### Couldn't Have Read Report

Apparently Mike had been in rustic retreat and hadn't seen the GPU bulletins. At any rate we rubbed our eyes when we saw his column in the August 31 *Daily Worker*. We quote some of it:

"It is as preposterous to believe that Siqueiros would become the leader of an assassination plot as to believe it of Gary Cooper. And why? Because the face, the hair, the manner of speech, the whole personality of Siqueiros is almost as well known in Mexico as the personality of Gary Cooper in this country.

"Communists do not believe in assassination, because with Disraeli they believe that no assassination ever changed the history of a country....

"Siqueiros, I understand, was not a member of the Communist Party of Mexico. BUT HE ACCEPTED ITS LEADERSHIP; the outstanding Mexican intellectual who did so, and for this renegade like Rivera had hated him with a peculiar venom. Now Rivera and the fascist-Almazan gang to whom he now gives his adherence, are using their chance to destroy Siqueiros. They would try to weave the same plot around a Gary Cooper or a Charlie Chaplin in America, if they could, and it would be as murderously grotesque as a Hitler invention.

Gold is, of course, ready to write that what was "murderously grotesque" yesterday was in reality a fact, and that Siqueiros was never within twelve thousand miles of the Communist Party. But the damage is done. No recantation by Gold can undo it. Gold must therefore be liquidated. The GPU is now deciding just what is to be done with him.

A Columbus, Ohio, woman is shot through her hands while they were elevated in prayer. It's an odd kind of God that can't protect his people even when they're in his presence.

## SOCIALIST APPEAL

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The Workers Will Not  
Tolerate a CIO Split

The split in the New York state convention of the CIO, which took place last weekend at Rochester, N. Y., is an alarm-signal to the rank and file of the CIO workers everywhere. What happened in Rochester is a deadly threat to the unity of the CIO as a whole; and the criminally irresponsible behavior of the contending factions make it clear that both the Hillman faction and the Lewis-Stalinist faction must be called to order by the CIO membership.

First of all, we can dismiss with contempt the various pretexts offered by both factions to justify the state convention split. Both groups attempted to pack the convention and both were prepared in advance to split unless they controlled the convention. Nothing would be illuminated by an examination of the legalistic arguments offered by either faction to explain its shameful behavior.

Let us get down to fundamentals on the situation in the CIO. Is there any justification whatever for a split in the CIO? For that is what is involved, a national split. For if this clash of cliques goes on, it will lead to a split throughout the CIO. Is there any justification for it?

We are not mealy-mouthed preachers of unity in the labor movement at all times and under all conditions. On the contrary, we supported the CIO—then a committee within the AFL—in its struggle against the AFL top bureaucrats; we supported the CIO all the way to the formation of an independent organization outside the AFL. Because the issue at stake made irrelevant all questions about who was to blame for this or that move. The issue involved was whether or not the basic industries, the mass production industries which could not be organized under the AFL craft union forms, were to be organized.

Whenever such a fundamental issue shall be involved in a conflict within the trade unions, we are prepared to support the progressive wing in whatever steps are necessary to succeed. It is, as a matter of fact, seldom that such a conflict requires an organizational split in the trade union movement.

The conflict within the CIO today, however, is in no way analogous with the conflict within the AFL out of which the CIO arose. There is nothing fundamental in the conflict between Hillman on the one side and John L. Lewis and the Stalinists on the other.

That was demonstrated by the Rochester scandal last week. Neither side issued a clear-cut statement of principle issues at stake. All statements were down on the low level of blaming each other for trying to pack the convention, and those statements did not include a single statement about any other principle except the "principle" of who was to control the convention. Had either side held a well-clarified principled position in opposition to the other, we can be sure that its statements would have centered around that principled position and not around the secondary details of convention rules and procedure.

Just remember how effectively John L. Lewis enunciated the principled position of the CIO forces in 1936 and 1937 against the AFL bureaucrats. But today he cannot distinguish himself from Hillman, nor can the Stalinists do that for him, despite their unquestioned ability to cut anything they want out of whole cloth.

For—to get down to cases—the fight between Hillman and Lewis is nothing but a clique fight. Hillman is undoubtedly trying to push Lewis out of the leadership of the CIO; Lewis is retaliating in kind. But principled issues? Where are they? The Stalinists try to invent some. They picture Hillman as a sell-out artist who at Roosevelt's bidding

forces an end to strikes or prevents the strikes from taking place, and shoves rotten settlements down the throats of unwilling workers. The Stalinists then go on to draw a contrast between Hillman's behavior and Lewis'. The most cursory examination of the picture of Lewis concocted by the Stalinists demonstrates, however, that it is a sheer fraud.

Hillman drove the aluminum workers into a rotten settlement? True. But Lewis was in on it. Hillman is trying to throttle the militancy of the auto workers? True. But Lewis has at least as much, and in fact more to say, in the Auto Workers Union, than Hillman; and Lewis is telling the auto workers exactly the same thing that Hillman is telling them. That is precisely why the Stalinist *Daily Worker* (and of course the Stalinists in the locals involved) has been quiet as a mouse while the Auto Union leadership (a combination of Hillman and Lewis forces) has been crushing the militancy of the Detroit and Flint auto workers.

In a word: show us one union situation in which Lewis has been advocating a class-struggle program as against the class-collaboration program of Hillman. You can't show it because it doesn't exist.

A militant wing in the CIO today would be conducting an irreconcilable struggle against the Roosevelt administration's throttling of the unions. And this struggle would naturally be directed against Roosevelt's agents, such as Hillman. Such a struggle would, however, not necessitate any split in the CIO.

But Lewis is not conducting such a struggle. On the contrary, the difference between his policy and that of Hillman is not discernible to the naked eye. At most, it could be said that the Lewis faction thinks Hillman is selling ten cents too cheaply. Under these conditions, therefore, it is a crime against the labor movement for these two unprincipled factions to be driving toward a split of the CIO.

The Stalinists have, of course, very special reasons for pushing Lewis toward split. They have no intention of letting go of the protective covering offered them by Lewis; no matter how identical is the policy of Lewis with that of Hillman, they will continue to praise and fawn upon Lewis. For they know that without his protection they would be cut to pieces in the unions. At the same time, however, in order to keep their following, the Stalinists require the fiction that Lewis is more progressive than what Hillman represents. Since that fiction cannot be bolstered by evidence of a progressive policy actually practiced by Lewis, the Stalinists are trying to clothe that fiction by the evidence of an organizational split between Hillman and Lewis.

In this criminal venture they are immeasurably aided by the presence in Lewis' inner circle of Stalinists like Lee Pressman and Len de Caux, who have made a fine art of flattering Lewis and giving him to understand that he is the Messiah of American Labor.

This is the ugly situation in the CIO today. Every CIO militant must understand it. Then he must fight it. The CIO membership must tell Hillman and Lewis: We will not tolerate a split in the CIO!

The fundamental cure must go further. Every militant must fight for a militant program of defense of the workers' interests against the bosses and against the government's strangling of militancy. Once the unions go into action on behalf of the workers, neither Hillman nor Lewis nor the Stalinists will have the power to split the workers' ranks.

## Equality In Wartime?

A group of men and women recently entered the swank Hotel Savoy in London, went down into the hotel's swank subterranean restaurant and air raid shelter and demanded they be allowed to remain during an alarm.

Nor is this all. It now comes out that the poor of London were even being kept out of the deep subway stations and with many of them unable to find room in the public shelters, while nobby hotels and night clubs were offering (those who could pay) a snappy combination of drinks and food, entertainment, comfortable beds and what-not in bombproof shelters from which, of course, the poor were excluded.

Protesting delegations have secured from the British government a promise that shelters, whether publicly or privately owned, will henceforth be available to all, rich and poor alike. The government could scarcely avoid making this promise. However, we are ready to predict that the promise will not be carried out. A capitalist government cannot possibly create equality between rich and poor in any sphere.

It appears that the Communist Party of Britain played a role in raising this demand for equality in the shelters. The British Labor Party leaders denounce the Stalinists for making political capital out of the misery of the people. We are quite ready to agree that the Stalinists are utilizing this as a means to get out from under the universal hatred which the British masses feel against these puppets of Stalin.

But why did not the British Labor Party leaders take the lead in defending the interests of the people? For a very simple reason. They are in the government; they therefore will do nothing to embarrass their capitalist partners in the government. And their capitalist partners did not want to deal with this problem.

The important point to keep in mind is this: far from defending the workers' interests by participating in a capitalist government, the labor lackeys of capitalist governments serve to thwart the will of the workers. Britain is not an isolated example of this. Just look at the role which Sidney Hillman, Dan Tracy, Dan Tobin and their kind are playing in the Roosevelt administration.

The Crisis In Soviet  
AgricultureReveal Once More Character of Regime  
Stalin's Latest Decrees Against PeasantsNumber to Be Purged  
Is Raised by "Izvestia"

In his report to the Tenth Plenum of the Central Committee of the Trade Unions as reported by PRAVDA, Shvernik had announced that 108,000 paid functionaries would be dropped from the rolls. As we explained in last week's APPEAL, this means ousting a majority of the union functionaries. This figure it now turns out is a typographical error, the actual number involved is 128,000. "The Commission of the CCTU which is investigating the personnel of the trade unions has found it necessary to cut the apparatus by dropping 128,000 people." (IZVESTIA, July 30)

In the same issue IZVESTIA declares: "It should be pointed out that the reduction of the paid workers in the trade union organizations is not taking place without resistance." Could this perhaps be a subtle hint to Comrade Shvernik and his confederates?

By JOHN G. WRIGHT

(This is the third in a series of articles on the present crisis in the Soviet Union).

The collapse of the Third Five Year Plan in industry is accompanied by equally grave developments on the agricultural front.

In June, 1934, Comrade Trotsky predicted that war-time conditions in the Soviet Union under Stalin would lead to the following consequences in agriculture:

"Under the influence of the critical need of the state for articles of prime necessity, the individualistic tendencies of the peasant economy will receive a considerable reinforcement, and the centrifugal forces within the KOLKHOZES (the collective farms) will increase with every month of war." ("War and the Fourth International.")

Reality has verified this prediction. Under war-time conditions that have existed in the USSR since the signing of the Stalin-Hitler pact the individualistic tendencies have been growing by leaps and bounds.

There was a forced growth of these tendencies even prior to the outbreak of war. The text of the new income laws issued on April 9, 1940 contains the following declaration: "The fiscal income of handicraft workers... has increased from 2,557-billion roubles to 5,133-billion roubles in 1938, that is, it doubled in four years." "Handicraft work" is of course outside the collectives. But the functioning of the collectives was not seriously impaired during this period.

The very first year of war-time conditions, however, found the peasants reducing the Spring sowing, delaying deliveries to the state, concentrating more and more on the cultivation of their own land strips, engaging more extensively in selling in the open market.

And now in 1940, despite the most rigid censorship, it is apparent that the individualistic tendencies within the collectives have grown to the point of endangering the very existence of the collectives.

This year's Spring sowing has been the worst on record since the terrible period of forced collectivization. The collective farmers are refusing to fulfill plan-quotas.

Mr. Gedye, the Moscow correspondent of the N. Y. Times, enumerates from Bulgaria the following items, which he had gathered from the official Stalinist press, and which the Moscow censors refused to pass:

"IZVESTIA'S editorial on bad state of Spring sowing... Reference to IZVESTIA'S editorial saying 'IZVESTIA once again calls attention to bad Spring sowing'... Soviet press statement, 'No single republic fulfilled the potato plan last year'... Official report showing cotton sowing decreased by nearly 30 per cent since last year... Figures for price increases of necessities, varying from 25 to 150 per cent." (N. Y. Times, Sept. 14).

Revealing as these newspaper editorials, comments, figures, etc. are, the administrative and repressive measures adopted to cope with the situation serve to disclose even more graphically the critical condition of agriculture.

Applying the Lash  
to the Peasants

New laws are now in effect governing deliveries of staple crops to the state. Hitherto these deliveries were based on a fixed proportion of the acreage sown and harvested.

On April 1, a ukase was issued fixing a new standard, independent of the actual crop but based on the total number of acres at the disposal of the collective farms.

The purpose of this emergency decree is twofold. Stalin hopes thereby to compel the collectives to carry out the sowing plans. But a more immediate goal is pursued. Through this administrative measure, the regime seeks to obtain from the *kolkhozes* a greater share of the sharply reduced 1940 crop, which has fallen so far below the plan that state-deliveries on the old basis would be catastrophically short of the needs of the cities for the coming winter, and would mean the depletion of accumulated reserve stocks. Here, then, we have the first stage of a thinly disguised return to forced collections.

Several other decrees followed. On April 11, a ukase ordered "obligatory deliveries of grain and rice"; on April 16 came another ordering "obligatory deliveries of potatoes."

In the text of the April 6th ukase it is suddenly proclaimed that the old policy of the regime fostered "an urge on the part of the *kolk-*

hozoes to reduce the plans for sowing grain, oil seed, potatoes, resulting in a reduction of areas sown for these crops."

## Prefer Working for Themselves

Translated into human language this bureaucratic formula means that peasants find it far more profitable to tend their own land strips, and that they prefer to sow and harvest those crops which bring highest prices in the market.

PRAVDA devotes its entire editorial on June 16 to "stressing" the need of rigid discipline in the collective farms. The *kolkhoz* members, admits PRAVDA, are spending only the bare minimum on work in the collectives while devoting their main energies to their own enterprises.

Leading party members in Orel are singled out for attack. While themselves members of the *kolkhoz*, these party members are spending all their time on their own land strips. (PRAVDA, June 17).

## The Peasants Are Resisting

The peasants are resisting by either delaying state-deliveries or refusing to make them altogether. The favorite pretext is lack of transport. While awaiting the trucks to come and gather the grain due to the state, the peasants are using their horse and ox-drawn vehicles to carry their own produce to the open market.

The columns of the official press are filled with "alarm signals" which are strikingly reminiscent of the "kulak grain strike" of 1928-1929.

In the Kuubishev district no deliveries were made in July (PRAVDA, August 2). Report from Voronezh: Delay in harvesting crops causing enormous losses. "Many *kolkhozniks* systematically refrain from coming to work, they prefer to take trips to the market" (PRAVDA, August 3). Report from the Starominsk district: Grain is rotting in the fields (PRAVDA, August 5). Literally by the hundred the reports are coming in, monotonously the same: no deliveries... arrears in deliveries... crops rotting in the field... collective farmers busy with their own affairs...

## Stalin's Latest Decree

On August 7, PRAVDA prints a special resolution on state-deliveries, signed by Stalin, in the name of the Central Committee of the Party, and by Molotov, in the name of the Council of People's Commissars.

The decree begins with the warning that it is "impermissible for the Party, the Soviet and the Agricultural organs to repeat last year's mistakes when the harvest was excessively delayed which led to large losses in crops in a number of Republics, Regions and Provinces owing to the negligent attitude of the leaders of the total organizations. The beginning of the grain harvest shows that these mistakes are again being repeated in a whole series of regions." (Our emphasis).

This preamble is followed by the statement that state deliveries are lagging behind or are not being made at all. Especially singled out are the Provinces of Omsk, Chelyabinsk and Kuubishev, the District of Krasnoyarsk and the Autonomous Republic of Bashkira "where many leading party and Soviet workers proved to be captives of the anti-state tendencies of isolated *kolkhozes* and *kolkhozniki*, and as a consequence of this, the plan of grain deliveries was not fulfilled and serious arrears have accumulated in the obligatory deliveries of grain."

In the "History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union" accredited to none other than Stalin himself, it is stated: "The collective farm peasantry, as the Sixteenth Party Congress stated in one of its resolutions, had become 'a real and firm mainstay of the Soviet Power'." (p. 312). Expressed here is Stalin's most cherished hope that his regime could be stabilized by the "prosperous collectives." Now another of Stalin's world-publicized boasts has been exploded.

We have not long to wait before news comes of purges of the "party, Soviet and Administrative organs" in the rural areas, together with another drive against the "anti-state elements" in the collectives. PRAVDA for August already carries accounts of the first trials of the administrative personnel of the *kolkhozes*.

The rumblings of the "kulak danger" are about to break into a storm that must exceed in its fury the ravages of the previous struggle against the peasantry.

Soviet Workers Resisting  
Stalin's Anti-Labor Laws

That Soviet workers are striking and in other ways resisting Stalin's anti-labor legislation was revealed officially by PRAVDA itself in a leading editorial which stated:

"CERTAIN FLOATERS AND DAWDLERS ARE INVENTING ALL SORTS OF LOOPHOLES WHEREBY TO EVADE THE LAW. SOME ARE CUNNINGLY PROVIDING THEMSELVES WITH SWINDLE-NOTES FROM THE POLYCLINICS, OTHERS ARE LOAFING AND IDLING AWAY THEIR TIME DURING WORK HOURS." (PRAVDA, August 5).

Never before has Stalin's official press allowed itself any reference, no matter how veiled, to strikes on the job or other forms of mass resistance on the part of the workers. If it does so now in so thinly disguised form, then it must mean that a mass-scale resistance is involved, and that the apparatus of repression must be lashed into action to overcome it.

Japanese Move  
To Checkmate  
Anglo-US Deal

It was revealed in Washington last week that tri-cornered parleys were underway among Britain, Australia, and the United States concerning their "common" interests in the Pacific. At the same time it was announced that the U. S. cruiser Augusta, flagship of the U. S. Asiatic fleet, would put in at Singapore for repairs instead of using the nearer-by facilities in the Philippines.

It didn't take the Japanese very long to put this two and two together. The U. S. and Britain were evidently working together at a much faster pace than the Japanese had anticipated. The brief pause in Japan's squeeze on Indochina came abruptly to an end. Tokyo decided to move in before Anglo-American cooperation could become effective in Far Eastern waters. Early on Sept. 23 Japanese troops moved into Indochina to carry out the agreement which had been "accepted" the previous day by the French.

The exact terms of the agreement have not yet been made public. According to the French government at Vichy the Japanese were given the right to use three Indochina air bases and to move in 6,000 soldiers to police them. Actually the terms are meaningless. What is happening in effect is that the Japanese are moving in on Indochina, taking over the Far Eastern holdings of the punctured French empire. The "status quo" in the Pacific which the U. S. and Japan agreed to "respect" last Spring is again being jugged out of shape.

To the Japanese Indochina constitutes a base for operations against southwest China. It places the Burma Road within relatively easy reach of Japanese bombers. But more than this, it brings the outstretched hand of Japanese imperialism a thousand miles closer to India and the Dutch East Indies and provides a third side to the Japanese encirclement of the Philippines.

## BATTLE OF BRITAIN WILL DECIDE

In Washington Secretary of State Hull "repeated for the record its 'disapproval' of the upsetting of the status quo," as the New York Times reported on Sept. 24. The State Department also went out of its way to deny the allegation in Vichy that the French had appealed to the U.S. and had been told that concessions would have to be made to the Japanese in the given circumstances.

What Hull had apparently told the French ambassador was that the U.S. could not move to checkmate Japan at the present time. This is still largely the case, except that the embargo on war materials to Japan is likely to be stiffened and pressure put on the British to re-open the Burma Road next month. The route was closed in July at Japanese insistence. But American "disapproval," as the Times put it, is still for the "record." The Battle of Britain must decide what action the United States fleet will take in the Pacific. And the Battle of Britain is not yet over.

The move into Indochina marks the triumph of the group in Tokyo which has favored a "southern" orientation instead of a northern orientation. Maritime Siberia, which has been one of the fixed objectives of Japanese expansionist policy for more than 20 years, is left for the time being to future actions. Right now Japan is concentrating on the twin task of swallowing the holdings of the already-defeated empires—the French and the Dutch—and in driving the British out of their Far Eastern footholds.

## RUSSIA'S FATE IN ABEYANCE

Like the Germans, the Japanese are holding the "Russian question" in abeyance. Like the Germans, they count on dealing with the Soviet Union later on. Like the Germans, they count themselves safe from Soviet attack. Like the Germans, they figure that the wealth of all the Russias will be easy pickings once the Western powers are defeated. Right now they have much more to fear from an Anglo-American combination to counter their moves.

The effectiveness of this combination is dependent upon continued successful British resistance to the German assault. The military-naval aspects of the combine would be vested largely in the United States fleet. In London there is already open talk of placing at the U.S. Navy's disposal, British base facilities not only at Singapore, but at Sidney, Australia, and along the West African coast for future operations in the Indian Ocean. This would seem to suggest that American participation in the war would take the form of an American-Japanese clash while Britain carried on the fight against Germany and Italy in Europe and the Mediterranean.

## U.S. IS BRITAIN'S HEIR

In other words, Britain would in effect be ceding to the U. S. its place in the East. It would all be couched in gentlemanly terms, to be sure, but it would amount in effect to a U. S.-dominated deal through which Wall Street expects to plant its flag and its dollars on the farthest Pacific bastions. The British might think it chestnut-pulling in their behalf, but if the base-destroyer deal is any criterion, it is fairly clear that the American imperialists will extract 100 cents on the dollar this time.

Thus the changes already so swiftly made in Europe are beginning in Asia. The empires established by the British, French, and Dutch by blood and iron conquests, are being cut into new patterns. France filched Indochina from the Chinese after two bloody, one-sided wars, in 1866 and 1885. They ruled it, directly and through puppets, with whip and sword. They bled it for nearly 80 years. Now their "God-given" rights to Indochina are being usurped by new conquerors. The British acquired their predominance in China by mercilessly beating the helpless Manchu Dynasty to its knees. Now they are on the downslide, being roughly pushed by their Japanese enemies and gently shoved by their American "friends."

We are on the eve of a new drawing of the Pacific map, with the impending changes vastly more sweeping than those made by the plundering powers in China around 1900 or by the victors in the First World War at Versailles. The conflict for the new mastery lies between Japanese and U.S. imperialism.