

STALIN'S NEW PURGE -- The First Account Published Anywhere

Purges the Majority of Trade Unions' Officials

Kremlin's Henchmen, Living Like An Upper Class, Have Been Devouring Workers' Funds For Their Own Purposes

By JOHN G. WRIGHT

Stalin is now in the midst of a new mass purge.

The first to suffer are the Komsomol (Russian Communist Youth) and the Trade Unions. Already purged, according to official statistics, are 137,637. Of this number 29,637 are Komsomol officials (out of a reported total of 45,580, that is, the purge has hit a 65 per cent majority of the Komsomol apparatus); and a somewhat more modest majority of 53 per cent of the Trade Union apparatus, 108,000 officials out of a reported total of 203,821. A major operation, even for Stalin.

Whereas previous man-hunts were ostensibly conducted against "wreckers, diversionists, saboteurs, traitors, agents of the Mikado, agents of the Gestapo, agents of French, English and other imperialisms," etc., in a word, against "Trotskyites", this man-hunt is termed one against *darmoyedniki* (scoundrels who eat bread that they haven't earned) and *bezdelniki* (rascals who idle away their time).

In their milder moments, and of course under their breath, the Soviet masses must have doubtless applied these homely and colloquial epithets of *darmoyednik* and *bezdelnik* to many a bureaucrat. But to have used these terms in public meant an invitation to the collars of the GPU and a bullet in the back of the head. Stalin is now, however, compelled to apply them, if not to the whole bureaucracy, at least to the purged section.

Stalin Must Expose His Imitators

Stalin today finds it necessary, as we shall describe, to reveal the true visage of his henchmen, their arbitrary rule, their parasitism, their vast padded staffs, embezzlements, petty grafts—even their complete isolation from the masses.

The bureaucratic summits of the Kremlin find it now necessary to indict the lesser and lower bureaucratic ranks for those very crimes and abominations which flourish below only as a pale reflection of the monstrosities at the top.

The majority of the Komsomol and the Trade Union officialdom has been charged with and has (naturally) pleaded guilty to: 1) lack of contact with the masses; 2) absence of a democratic regime; 3) failure to call not only membership meetings, but even committee meetings; 4) the upkeep of a swollen apparatus by diversion of membership dues and even sums allotted to industry; 5) padding the payrolls with *darmoyedniki* and *bezdelniki* and of similar practices, labelled, in the official double-talk, as "deficiencies."

Cabled Stories Suppressed by Stalin

No correspondent has been permitted to cable this story from the Soviet Union as, likewise, the story of Stalin's new anti-labor legislation which I described last week. Even the provisions of the new laws against labor, which of course were published in Pravda for the information of the bureaucrats, were deleted from press dispatches, as Gedge of the New York Times has just reported upon leaving the Soviet Union. Moreover, for months at a time it is impossible to secure abroad copies of Soviet newspapers. We are now, however, able to tell the story.

On July 26 Pravda carried an innocuous notice to the effect that the Tenth Plenum of the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions (C.C.T.U.) would convene on the next day, with only one point on the agenda: "The Elimination of Certain Deficiencies in the Trade Union Apparatus and the Improvement of the Functioning of the Trade Union Organs." In point of understatement this notice can be matched only by the wording of the announcement of the Ninth Plenum of the

C.C.T.U., held a month previously, which it turned out, demanded "in the name of the Soviet trade unionists" the passage of the new anti-labor legislation, but which was called, said the announcement, to consider "The Question of the 8 Hour Day." The style is the regime.

The members of the Plenum were graciously greeted on July 27 with a special editorial in Pravda addressed to the Plenum and entitled: "You Must Attract Broad Masses to Active Trade Union Work."

After an innocent and ritualistic introduction in which homage was paid to the achievements and importance of Trade Unions in Socialist Society and after affirming that "without their participation not a single serious economic or political measure is carried out," the editorial suddenly interposed an ominous "BUT".

What the "Trade Unions" Really Are

"But," snarled PRAVDA, "many leading workers in the Trade Unions forget the main thing; they forget mass work; they forget to maintain constant contact with the masses; they take to the road of functioning in an office-bureaucratic manner through an enormous paid apparatus; and not infrequently they transform the trade union into a poorly functioning departmental bureau. These deficiencies are glaringly revealed in countless instances of a swollen paid trade union apparatus in individual enterprises, in departments as well as in regional committees and in Central Committees of the Trade Unions." (PRAVDA, July 27).

To its horror and indignation, Pravda had suddenly discovered that the Moscow Auto Plant alone supports 931 paid trade union officials. The Gerki Auto Plant is in an equally insufferable position with 648. "It is instructive," continues Stalin's official organ, "that the paid staff of certain trade unions does not decrease but on the contrary is increasing from year to year." For example, the State Trade Workers Union had 2,807 officials in 1938; it was then split up into six independent unions and the paid staff increased to 3,546.

Squandering the Workers' Dues

Pravda immediately trumps that by citing no less instructive instances of how cultural-educational work is carried on. The workers in the Moscow Auto Plant, it appears, got together and organized a chorus and a dramatic circle. No sooner did the Trade Union learn of this than it appointed: One Chorus Leader, salary 800 roubles; one Assistant Chorus Leader, salary 500 roubles; one Art Director, 1,000 roubles; one Chief Concertmaster, 600 roubles; one Theatre Manager, 750 roubles... Pravda cuts its description of this pay-roll short with a modest though mysterious "Etcetera" and goes on:

"Facts of this kind, and they are by no means isolated ones, bear witness to the fact that many trade unions are squandering the income of the trade unions, maintaining at the expense of this income a swollen paid apparatus, in some cases, plain *DARMOYEDNIKI* and *BEZDELNIKI*."

After this discovery, Pravda is ready to tell the Plenum just how to attract the masses: "This situation can no longer be tolerated... The main portion of the funds accruing from membership dues must be expended not on the upkeep of a paid apparatus but to provide cultural-educational service to union members and to render them material aid."

The Tenth Trade Union Plenum was well attended by the Chairmen and Secretaries of the

(Continued on Page 4)

U. S. SENATORIAL CANDIDATE IN MINNESOTA IS GRACE CARLSON

MINNEAPOLIS—The Minnesota Section of the Socialist Workers Party, together with its hundreds of friends and sympathizers, swung into action this week behind the candidacy of Comrade Grace Carlson for United States Senator. Because of legal obstacles, the name of the Socialist Workers Party cannot appear on the ballot. Dr. Carlson will therefore appear on the ballot as the candidate of the Trotskyist Anti-war Party.

The first stage of the campaign will be marked by the drive to obtain the necessary 2,000 or so signatures to insure placing our candidate on the ballot for the general election November 5. In the very first day of the signature campaign, over two hundred voters enthusiastically signed. With anti-war sentiment running extremely high among the masses of this state, little difficulty is anticipated in fulfilling the quota.

Campaign headquarters have been established at 919 Marquette avenue, Minneapolis, and at 138 East 6th street, St. Paul. Ten thousand copies of a campaign leaflet setting forth the platform upon which Dr. Carlson will run have been printed, and other cam-

For Union Control of Military Training

The twelve-point platform of the Trotskyist Anti-War Party opposes imperialist war, fascism and totalitarian dictatorship. It calls for universal military training under trade union control. It calls for trade union wages in the military forces.

Other platform planks include: Trade union wages and hours on all defense and public works programs. For the 30-hour week. Take over without compensation the national defense industry.

For the defense and extension of civil liberties and workers' rights. Against the persecution of aliens.

Genuine economic and social equality for women. Full social, political and economic equality for the Negro people. Job opportunities at union wages for the youth.

Good Farm Plank. The farm plank calls for the cancellation of land and seed loans to the farmers, the cancellation of farm mortgages, and "Land to those who till it."

Dr. Carlson will call for a na-



Dr. GRACE CARLSON

tional labor party based upon and controlled by the trade unions; for the defense of the Soviet Union against imperialism and Stalinism; and for a Socialist United States and a Socialist world.

In the general election Dr. Carlson will confront the incumbent Henrik Shipstead, renegade Farmer-Laborite who recently deserted to the Republican party; and ex-governor Elmer Benson, Stalinist stooge who won the nomination in the Farmer-Labor primaries September 10. The Democratic candidate is John Regan.

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FLINT AUTO WORKERS TAKING STRIKE VOTE

S. W. P. Plenum--Conference Opens Friday in Chicago

A plenary session of the National Committee of the Socialist Workers Party will be held, jointly with an active workers' conference of delegates from all branches, in Chicago, September 27-29.

The Plenum-Conference will serve as the mobilization of the party to give reality to Comrade Leon Trotsky's last words: "Please tell our friends I am sure of the victory of the Fourth International. Go forward."

The principal question under discussion will be the fundamental task of party policy toward the militarization of the United States. An unfinished article by Trotsky on this basic question was on his desk awaiting completion when the assassin struck him.

A discussion on this question has been going on for some time in the party branches, on the basis of a resolution drafted by the National Committee. The fruits of the branch discussions

will be presented by their delegates to the Conference.

Branches are being informed directly of arrangements for housing of delegates.

Reservations for the banquet may be made by writing to Room 308, 160 North Wells Street, Chicago, or by telephone at DEarborn 7562.

The schedule for the Plenum-Conference is as follows:

FRIDAY, Sept. 27

2:00 P.M.—Session of the National Committee.

8:00 P.M.—A Mass Meeting to greet the National Committee and the delegates, at the Medical and Dental Arts Building, 185 N. Wabash Avenue.

SATURDAY, Sept. 28

10:00 A.M.—Opening of the Conference.

SUNDAY, Sept. 29

10:00 A.M.—Continuation of the Conference.

8:30 P.M.—A Banquet closing the plenum at the Epicurean Restaurant, 316 South Wabash Avenue.

Fisher Body Fight Is For Showdown

But Company Maneuvers to Push AFL-CIO Fight Into Foreground and to Shove the Really Basic Issues Out of the Picture

FLINT, Mich., Sept. 16—A mass turnout of members of Fisher Body Local No. 581, UAW-CIO voted unanimously yesterday at an emergency membership meeting to take a strike vote in order to demonstrate to General Motors the union's determination to put back to work the 19 key union militants suspended last week by the corporation on frame-up charges.

The company's attempt to kick these key union men out of the Fisher Body plant is the culmination of a long corporation campaign of provocation and intimidation which has aroused the fighting spirit of the local.

The struggle which was climaxed by the suspension of the 19 unionists began last Monday, Sept. 9, when AFL members still hanging on to the defunct Martin outfit, which was so thoroughly defeated in the NLRB polls throughout GM, provoked CIO members into fights in the plant. Immediately the company accused CIO men of rioting and brawling and closed the North and South Fisher units down.

Hides Real Issues

It was obviously an attempt by the company to provoke the union membership, and to cover up the real issues which had already created a tense situation in many GM plants. By dealing with AFL committeemen, and then following up with this attempt to focus all attention on an AFL-CIO fight, the corporation seeks to sidetrack the real issues at stake.

These issues are the corporation's flagrant violation of the GM contract, wage decreases by means of "reclassification" of jobs, speed-up, etc.

At the membership meeting of Fisher Body workers of the CIO the day following the lockout, the Fisher workers showed a militant determined spirit. All were conscious of the company's long cam-

Cold Water Reuther

In this first flush of enthusiastic militance the Fisher Body workers were met by Walter Reuther and R. J. Thomas, International Board representatives, who laid the blame for the crisis not on the company but on the union men themselves!

This scissorbill line of Reuther-Thomas did not go over with the Fisher boys. They voted at that meeting to give the International Board instructions to get down to serious business at once to get the suspended men back to work, and backed this demand up with evidence that this suspension was just part of the corporation's offensive against the union. Reuther was given one week to take up the suspensions with the management, and to report back to the membership.

Men's Determined Stand

At yesterday's meeting Reuther made his report. From all indications he is having difficulty getting satisfaction from the company.

The militant Fisher men then unanimously passed the motion to take a strike vote at once. The

(Continued on Page 2)

MINOR STRIKES IN AUTO TOWNS SHOW THE POT IS SIMMERING

FLINT, Sept. 16—Two strikes are already in progress in Flint, while the Fisher Body fight to reinstate 19 unionists suspended by the company is reaching a decisive phase.

The entire bus (street car) system has been effectively paralyzed by a strike of the bus drivers, members of the Transport Workers Union, CIO.

The bus strike, now in its fifth day, is the result of the firing of the union president by the company. Company officials have refused to meet with the union, but parleys are expected today. The union has organized the bus drivers 100% and thus far no attempts to run busses with scabs have been made.

The five and ten cent girls of the Grand Silver store here have turned out to be million dollar pickets, as they marched out of the scab open shop firm and established a picket line on the busiest street in town.

The girls are organized in the United Retail and Wholesale Employees, affiliated with the CIO. The girls are striking in order to force the company, part of the multi-million dollar H. L. Green

Stores, 902 Broadway, New York, to bargain with its employees, and to raise the miserable wages from \$12.50 weekly to a living wage.

DETROIT—The Diesel Division of General Motors went on strike this week, and pickets have been covering the plant gates since Friday, September 13th, when members of the Mechanical Educational Society of America, an independent union, struck the plant.

The strike was the result of company refusal to grant pay raises to tool and boiler room employees, and the failure of the company to provide vacation pay.

Matthew Smith, general secretary of the M.E.S.A., announced Monday that no meetings with the corporation were yet arranged for.

The press of Detroit and vicinity is raising a fuss about the strike, with plenty of faked patriotic fervor as an excuse to attack the workers, since the plant is at work on engines for submarines.

The M. E. S. A. won the National Labor Board election in the Diesel Division of G. M.

TROTSKY ASSASSIN IS QUESTIONED

Covers GPU Trail By Refusing to Answer Questions

MEXICO CITY, Sept. 13—Judge Carranza Trujillo conducted further questioning of the assassin of Trotsky, Jackson, this afternoon at the hospital where Jackson is in bed because of stomach trouble.

The assassin was shaved, his hair has started to grow back in, and he is beginning to look as he did before the crime. He refused to let the press take his picture, holding his hands or his arms in front of his face, and refused to talk until the photographers had been sent from the room.

Judge Trujillo permitted Albert Goldman, Trotsky's attorney, to put a series of questions to Jackson. To most of the questions Jackson said he didn't know or he didn't remember. He didn't remember any part of the contents of his false Canadian passport, and no amount of questioning could get him to recall anything in it except the name of Jackson. He had burned the passport along with his other papers precisely in order to cover up any trail that might lead investigators to his GPU superiors.

Talkative—About Nothing

It is characteristic of Jackson's testimony that whenever non-essentials are involved, he is very talkative and precise. For example, on June 13 he had sent a suitcase with some 25 items of clothing to New York. He named every item to the judge and did so precisely and volubly. "Isn't it peculiar that you could easily recollect all the contents of your suitcases and remember nothing at all about your passport?" Goldman asked. The assassin was silent.

"I don't remember" was his answer to all questions concerning the subjects of such conversations as he had with Trotsky after first meeting Trotsky at the end of May. This phase of the questioning led to:

Q: Then you mean to say that you do not remember the subjects of the various conversations but you only remember that you were disillusioned?

A: Yes.

Q: And you mean to say further, that you do not remember the particular subject which caused your disillusionment,

Natalia's Letter To Cardenas

MEXICO CITY, Sept. 13—A letter sent by Natalia Trotsky yesterday, thanking President Cardenas for a personal visit he and Mrs. Cardenas had made, was released today by the Presidential Palace and published in the press.

The text of the letter follows: "Mr. President: Permit me to offer to your wife and yourself my most profound appreciation for your visit, for your sincere sentiments, for your unalterable conviction in the honor of Leon Trotsky and for the contempt manifested by you toward calumny and lie.

Calumny and lie are not weapons sufficient to assure a definitive victory to those who are using them. My meeting with you on August 24th constitutes for me a moral support for the rest of my life.

"There has never been in history an epoch as overshadowed by lie, calumny, crime and inhumanity, as that today. Honorable fighters fall as victims. Their memory, nevertheless, will be eternal.

"Unfortunately my husband could not know you personally. Our life, despite that, was linked with yours by the bonds of your generous disposition

and by your aid in our days of difficulty, which were so frequent. In Norway, we found ourselves imminently menaced with death, and not a single country in the world ventured to aid the disinherited. The exception came from legendary Mexico, with its generous people, expansive and independent. You prolonged the life of Leon Trotsky for 43 months. I carry in my heart my gratitude for those 43 months. Not only I, but hundreds of thousands of incorruptible fighters, who struggle for the emancipation of humanity.

"Your tender attention sustained us in the sorrowful moments of the loss of our son in February, 1938. And again you came to help us after the perfidious attack of our enemies against our house on May 24, Saturday (August 21) once more you proved your activity in favor of him who had from you the possibility of living on Mexican soil. Permit me, Mr. President, to repeat here the expression of my deepest gratitude to the people of Mexico, to its government and to you particularly.

"NATALIA S. TROTSKY"

but you simply remember the disillusionment?

A: I remember the subject and the disillusionment. I remember the dishonest proposition which Trotsky made to me that I go to the Soviet Union and carry out acts of sabotage, and so forth and so forth, as I have declared and written in the letter which was found on me.

Q: Was it during that conversation that Trotsky proposed you assassinate Stalin?

A: Trotsky did not propose exactly that I assassinate Stalin.

Q: What precisely did Trotsky propose?

A: I don't remember.

In other words, the assassin is beginning to forget the precise formulations of the GPU letter, in which it was categorically stated that Trotsky told him to

go and murder Stalin! He thought Goldman's question was a trap and tried to differentiate between what Goldman said and what he, Jackson, had said; then, realizing his mistake, he retreated to his usual "I don't remember."

This came out in this interesting way:

Q: Do you remember what you said about this (Trotsky's orders to assassinate Stalin and others) in your letter?

A: I don't remember.

Q: Do you refuse to answer my questions because you do not remember what you said in your letter?

A: This is a tendentious question and I won't answer it. A few moments later came this amazing exchange:

Q: Will you answer these questions that I ask you, if I

(Continued on Page 3)

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.

New Worker Learns What It Means to Be Chained to a Factory Machine

EDITOR:—

I am twenty five and soft. The last few years I have spent in professional life. But now I have become a socialist and a revolutionary. I am trying to remake myself.

Our revolution is a factory revolution. That fact is self evident to a Marxist. So I looked for a factory job. I must learn all the problems that confront the working class, the day-to-day ones, as well as the "larger" ones.

At last I found the job I was looking for. The foreman put me to work in "production," on a short line, trimming sheetmetal for auto roofs. I couldn't even look around, or notice anybody I was so busy. When there was a let-up and I tried to talk to nobody could hear me, because there was such a racket in the place. I wondered when I was going to get a chance to talk socialism.

My wrists got awfully tired, and the small of my back began to ache a lot. But I tried hard not to show it because everyone else was so quiet—so hard looking and so uncomplaining. Then the sheetmetal went through my glove and cut a finger so that it bled quite a bit. But it was not much of a cut, and I was surprised that the fellows were so sympathetic (because they seemed so tough). And they made me go to the first aid room. I went, although I was a little afraid of being thought sissish to take time off for that.

I tried not to look tired, so nobody would say I couldn't take it. But I was secretly glad when the cutting machine operator took us to the toilet room where we could rest a minute without the foreman watching.

The only subject of conversation was the lousy wages and the poor union in the place. I decided I better go easy about socialism, and I chimed in about the wages very strongly, and tried to tell what I knew of unions in Detroit and why they succeeded when they did.

One boy even mentioned what

a shame it was to be working so hard just to pile up money for the boss. He sounds good. But I'm already learning not to go just by the way people talk.

At lunch time I just sat down and ate by myself because I didn't want anyone to think I was butting in anywhere. After all I didn't know the fellows. And they all gathered in little bunches.

After lunch I was back on the job a minute late and the foreman yelled at me. A couple of the fellows sneaked a grin, and one guy winked.

Towards the end of the day, the thing that kept going through my mind was how different it is to go on a tour through a plant (Ford's, for instance) and to work in one. In the first case, what you observe is machinery, endless, expensive and massive—what Marx calls the concentration of capital. You hear its din and you see its products pouring out. But it's only when you work in a factory that you really understand how human beings are chained to the machine—how when the machine speeds up then must speed up—and how much blood and sweat goes into the making of the shining products that the machine "makes."

I felt this in my muscles. And I began to want to make a revolution right away. I began to hate the boss with a real hate not just a literary one. I kept thinking how many there were of us, and how strong most of the fellows looked.

The main power the boss seems to have is just the foreman, the stool pions and a few signs. Of course all the bosses together have all the police and the machinery of state as well. One sign above the tool-room door reads:

"If you don't like our country that you live in

Go back to the land from where you came.

No one here will ever miss you. And only your ignorance is to blame."

Most of the workers are Polish and Italians. Nearly all are second generation. But none of them seem to want to go to Europe. And they all want higher wages. So I guess I'll stick around.

NEW WORKER

Here Are Some of the Anti-Labor Clauses in Roosevelt's Conscription Law

The principal points in the Burke-Wadsworth Draft Law provide that every citizen from 21 to 36 years of age shall be liable to at least one year's military service. A close study of the law as passed discloses many defects which work to the disadvantage of the ordinary worker.

YOU'LL GET YOUR JOB BACK—MAYBE

1. The Draft Bill does not give any guarantee that conscripts will get back their jobs. The section on arrangements for job-return contains a large loophole for the employers in the clause stating that employers must rehire conscripts, only if they apply within thirty days of completing service and "unless the employer's circumstances have so changed as to make it impossible or unreasonable to do so."

Men who aren't reinstated may file suit in the United States Courts against the offending employer. Thus the employed conscript faces the prospect of a pro-

longed lawsuit with a good chance of losing out in the end, as so often happens today under the provisions of the Wagner Labor Relations Law. Meantime, the worker can starve.

STARVATION WAGES ARE "PATRIOTIC"

2. This is made easier by the fact that the pay for privates is \$21 for the first four months and \$30 thereafter. Few conscripts will be able to save any nest-egg at these pay rates. Moreover, no provision is made for discharge pay to enable the conscript to tide over the period between discharge and employment.

ONLY TWELVE MONTHS—IF NOT MORE!

3. The law does not restrict the term of service to twelve months. That is simply the minimum. If the President decrees a state of national emergency or in case of war, conscripts may be compelled to serve indefinitely. After completing his year of training, the conscript is liable to be

called up for service any time in the next ten years.

4. The law makes no provisions for dependents. While this may cause only little hardship at first when those with numerous dependents will probably be placed in deferred classifications, it will inflict tremendous hardship when these men are called up later, when war comes.

NO PROTECTION AGAINST CREDITORS

5. Insurance policies, mortgages, installment-purchases, and other partially-paid for goods are safeguarded very loosely, if at all. The only provision regarding installment purchases states that the seller may not repossess them for non-payment during the time the draftee is in service, but there is nothing to prevent the seller from taking them immediately after. That is why stocks of finance companies remained unaffected by passage of this law.

A PARADISE FOR FINKS

6. It is important to note that

no specific regulations for exemptions or deferments are included in the law itself. These are left to presidential decree. According to the regulations drawn up by the Joint Army and Navy Selective Service Committee in 1926 in anticipation of this hour, workers will have to submit two affidavits, one from his immediate superior, the other from his boss. This gives employers a perfect chance to rid themselves of troublesome trade-unionists and fill their places with finks or inexperienced suckers.

One consequence of the law is that young workers are already finding it increasingly difficult to get jobs. Testimony to this effect was published in a letter to the N. Y. Times, Sept. 10: "As a young man just halfway between the ages of 21 and 31 I have recently encountered among prospective employers a decided unwillingness to interview for vacancies persons likely to be drafted for military service."

Labor Control Of Military Training Debated By Union

The Stalinists and the Hillman forces are clashing bitterly in the CIO. But that these two groups are not too far apart was demonstrated when both turned their fire against a militant delegate at the first biennial convention of the United Paper, Novelty and Toy Workers International Union (CIO), last weekend in New York City.

The story is significant and worth telling. It throws considerable light on the meaning of the fight between the Stalinists and the Hillman forces which is scheduled to come out into the open in full blast at the CIO state convention this weekend.

Hillman Gang's Strategy

At the United Paper convention the Hillman forces sought to prevent a serious discussion of the effects on the labor movement of the "National Defense" program. Their strategy was to stall this question until the last hour of the convention and then, with a plea for adjournment, refer the question to the International Executive Board, which is completely under their control.

Their plans were, however, miscalculated. On the second day of the convention, the fight broke out over the report of the Executive Board. In question was the section of the report dealing with

National Defense, which was merely a duplicate copy of Sidney Hillman's patriotic position "approving the program of national defense now being unfolded..."

A severe attack on this section was made by one of the delegates of the United Paper Workers Union of New York.

For Workers' Control

The local union for which the delegate spoke had gone on record at its last membership meeting "in favor of military training under the control and supervision of the trade unions."

In its resolution the local demanded that the government supply the facilities, equipment and instructors necessary to train the workers in the military arts and sciences, to develop the versatile trade union militants to become workers' officers upon election by their fellow worker-soldiers, and that the program of training be under the control of the trade unions. This position had been adopted by an overwhelming vote of the local union.

No sooner had the delegate concluded presentation and argument for the resolution which his local had instructed him to in-

troduce, when the Hillman pack started a move—to discredit the resolution by questioning the fact that the delegate was properly seated by the credentials committee!

Stalinist Yellow-Bellies

And what did the Stalinists do? They started a contest with the Hillman gang to see which of these two groups could outdo the other in derogatory speeches against the resolution for workers' control of military training. The Stalinists took a disgustingly pacifist position on this fundamental question. And these scoundrels dare to claim the heritage of Lenin!

The resolution could not pass in the face of this "united front" of Stalinist and Hillman forces. This reporter did witness, however, a group of about fourteen delegates who expressed their agreement and sympathies to the delegate who had introduced the resolution.

Incidentally, even some of the pro-Roosevelt supporters protested when the administration railroaded through a resolution in favor of a third term for Roosevelt in crass bureaucratic fashion, permitting no discussion.

Air King Strike Is Over, Judge Smothered It

The strike of the workers at the Air King Radio Co., Brooklyn, N. Y., ended last week. The dispute, which has raged for the past fifteen weeks, was forced into arbitration by Judge Nova. The Air King Co. applied for an injunction against Local 430, United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers (CIO), and Judge Nova, before giving his decision, forced the union to arbitrate with the company and Local B-1010 (AFL).

The arbitrator, Dr. Lapp, after listening to evidence for four days gave his decision in favor of the company and the I.B.E.W. He maintained that a contract signed by the company with seal-holder William Beedie, International Representative of the I.B.E.W., was legal in spite of the fact that not one worker in the shop voted to accept the contract. He told the workers to go back to work and gave the boss the right to select which of the strikers he would take back.

Through a ruse Beedie prevailed upon a member of the strike committee to call a strikers' meeting at the AFL Headquarters last Friday, Sept. 13. He proposed there that before any of the Air King strikers could get their jobs back in the plant they would first have to help him break other shops away from the CIO union and into his own private racket. The workers at a U. E. (CIO) shop meeting on Monday Sept. 16 rejected his scheme and will remain with the U. E. The union will endeavor to place all of the workers who have lost their jobs in other U. E. shops.

SUPER-ACTIVITY IN YOUNGSTOWN ! !

One of the most heartening signs of the continued success of mass Appeal work is the flood of rousing reports sent in each and every week. Take this one from Youngstown, as an example of what keeps our morale up:

YOUNGSTOWN, Ohio—"We were all pleased at receiving your letter of commendation. But in real American, 'you ain't seen nuttin' yet.'"

"At present we handle our Appeals as follows: First—each comrade takes an individual bundle order for his contacts. He reports on them at the following meeting.

"Then, considering our fine industrial area we have found it necessary to give up house-to-house work, in order to do justice to our work at union meetings and factory gates. The main factory we are working at is a large rubber plant, where the CIO won a recent election. We cover four other CIO meetings, with more in sight.

"In one CIO meeting a worker was heard to remark, with the APPEAL spread out in front of him, 'What's the matter with you guys? You afraid to get one? It's a damn good paper.'"

"In another meeting some of the officials came out and told us to come around with the paper at the CLOSE of the meeting, as the workers read it constantly during the meeting and this disturbs order.

"A third time a CIO official entered into an argument with the comrade standing there with Appeals. The argument centered around union control of military training for the workers. After a long discussion, in which the comrade was supported by the union members standing by, a promise was extracted from the official to propose that his union adopt this program. Sorry to say he didn't keep his promise; but we're still hitting them with the Appeals, and the promise will not be forgotten.

"To get 100 copies of the Appeal out in a town this size is far from adequate. We feel we could handle 500 papers a week and pay for them if we didn't have to pay quite so heavily each week on the bill incurred before the split. We feel, as we hope you do, that it is more important to

get 500 Appeals to the trade unionists and militants of Little Steel, than to struggle along at the pace we're going now. Couldn't we work out some compromise arrangement?"

Needless to say, Youngstown is now getting its 500 Appeals each week—and making good on its promise to pay for them!

BOSTON'S RESULTS ON APPEAL WORK

BOSTON, Mass.—"We received our first return on our mass work with the Appeal. We received a letter from a young worker asking for information on the party. Matthews (Boston organizer) and I visited him and found a young worker on the road of independent thinking and thinking seriously about the socialist movement. He is against Roosevelt and Willkie both and is for a workers' party."

"He was in the C.C.C. for two years and states the food was lousy and the reason because the officers pocketed plenty and the boys suffered."

"We gave him some Appeals and literature and talked with him for an hour or so. We will keep after this contact and there is a good chance to get him into the party. He is about 20 years old and lives in the slums of the same town I happen to have been born and raised in, and where five of us Irishmen in the Boston Branch came from and into the party at about the same time. We hope to get him in; he will help us in our work."

HOUSE-TO-HOUSE IN CHICAGO

CHICAGO, Ill.—"...We have finally come to a point where the whole neighborhood in which we have been concentrating knows of our existence and the name 'Socialist Appeal'. Our thorough method of work has enabled us to do the following things:

"1. It popularizes the Appeal in a working class neighborhood.

"2. It gives us a contact list from which we can build a bigger branch in that neighborhood.

"3. It also helps us to determine whether it's worth while working where we are now or to move into another location.

"On September 17th we are holding an open meeting to test the results of our work in this neighborhood."

Jobless Negro Lad Tries To get Into The U. S. Army . . .

NEWARK, N. J.—For many months, a strong, giant Negro youth had been unsuccessfully seeking work. Everywhere his color was against him.

One day last week, impelled by hunger and attracted by a colorful poster which proclaimed "Uncle Sam Needs You. Join the Army Now," he entered a local recruiting office. The fat, well-dressed looking officer, gave him a distasteful look and said, "We don't want no damn black boys in the Army now. You have to wait for conscription."

Infuriated, the youth reached over the desk and yanked the frightened officer to his feet. "Listen, Mr. Army Man," he said, "even if you don't want to allow any Negroes in the Army, you better take my name down. When you draft me, I ain't coming. I'll have nothing to do with your Jim Crow army. You'll have to come and get me—and you better bring your lily-white army along with you."

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WORKER INSISTS WE MUST PREDICT THAT U. S. - SOVIET PACT IS COMING

EDITOR:—

I believe the Appeal should carry a steady stream of articles concerning the coming U. S.-Soviet Union pact. We must predict it. We must explain how a Marxist analysis enables us to foresee this. We must denounce the Comintern for not informing their ranks of it. We must demand of the rank and file C. P. why he hasn't been told, and then explain to him why, i. e. because the C. P. line will switch to support of the U. S. government.

I am doing this at present to the C. P.'s in my local and it is very effective. Their change in line following the Hitler-Stalin pact confused them terribly—now they feel that anything can happen. Here's some of their remarks when I predict the coming pact—"Who told you—a bird?" Then I explain the problems confronting American imperialism and the Kremlin bureaucracy showing them that following the defeat of Britain the interests of both become "parallel." Then I demand of them a categorical answer on whether they will support the U. S. gov't. First they deny that, then they modify that with "well under certain conditions it might become necessary etc." We must follow the development closely and give it wide publicity in our press.

A week or two ago, LOOK magazine carried an article by Pearson and Allen concerning the "parallel" interests of Russia and the U. S. Knowing the relationship between these columnists and the government, and knowing the certainty of this development one can definitely say that this article in such a mass publication was directed by the propaganda machine of the government for a twofold purpose: first, to orient the public mind in such a direction (most of whom think this fantastic), second to sound out public opinion by the letters to

the editor it receives and their attitude.

The next stage of the development of the S. W. P. as the mass revolutionary party of American labor will be the splitting of the C. P. and the winning over of its revolutionary elements to our ranks. We must understand this and orient ourselves accordingly. A vigorous campaign around the coming change in line will play a decisive role in achieving this objective.

DETROIT, Mich.

J. D.

It is important to add to what comrade J. D. says this further point: Stalin is unlikely to switch partners so long as Hitler is in a position to punish his satellite for switching. The same factors which motivated Stalin in concluding the

JOHN BROOKS WHEELWRIGHT

Our friend and party comrade, John Brooks Wheelwright, was fatally injured by an automobile and died in Boston, Sunday, September 14. He was forty three years old.

Comrade Wheelwright had demonstrated his firmness and loyalty to the revolutionary movement. When, under the impact of the second world war, so many petty-bourgeois intellectuals deserted the revolutionary movement, John stood firm on the solid rock of Marxism.

Far from conceding that his background was a handicap in a revolutionary workers' movement—he was born into one of the oldest families of New England a descendant of the Rev. John Wheelwright who founded Wells in Maine and Exeter in New Hampshire—he used to insist most solemnly that he came to

pact with Hitler—fear of the powerful German military machine, the terrible weakness of the Red Army after the purge of its commanding cadres, the abyss between the Kremlin and the Soviet masses, hence the fear of direct involvement in the war—will keep Stalin close to Hitler's side so long as Hitler dominates Europe. Stalin will switch over to the side of the United States only under the protection of U. S. armies and navies—i. e., only after American victories over Hitler in the coming war. That is why the present campaign of the U. S. State Department to woo the Kremlin is doomed to disappointment; Stalin will only switch in the course of the war, and then only if America is winning victories, and not before the war.—EDITORS.

us precisely on the basis of his family tradition. But there was a twinkle in his eye as he said it.

Yet somewhere he had imbibed a rebel's instincts. Despite an education at Pay School and St. George's School, private schools of the rich, at Harvard he defied the famous Boston police strike of 1919. Naturally he brought upon himself the wrath and calumny of the Harvard authorities and Massachusetts plutocrats and was forced to resign his post as editor of the "Crimson."

Not the least of his roads to the Fourth International was his poetry.

The revolutionary party is rooted in the working class, but it draws to itself the best from all classes. Among them was John Brooks Wheelwright. A last Salute, comrades!

Auto Workers' Strike Vote

(Continued from Page 1)

vote will undoubtedly be overwhelmingly for arming the Fisher executive board with strike power.

In the face of this determined stand it is probable that the corporation will be forced to drop its frame-up charges against the 19 Fisher unionists and reinstate them on the job. If they don't, they will be faced with a strike, because there is no doubt that the Fisher Local No. 581 means business. They know well enough that should the corporation be allowed to get away with this action against the 19 key men it will all but destroy the union.

The militant spirit of the union has not died down, but has actually increased since the meeting of a week ago. The meeting hall yesterday was full to overflowing.

While the UAW membership in Flint and elsewhere is full of fight, the local leadership is inexperienced and in constant danger of being outmaneuvered by the company. The International Board members have shown their inability to get the company to live up to the contract, while at the same time they try to tone down the fighting spirit of the men.

Locally, the militants show a tendency to become confused in the face of both the corporation's violation of the contract, and the International leadership's self-satisfied policy of doing nothing. As a result of this, the smoldering resentment of the ranks stores up heat, and suddenly explodes in the face of everyone.

Planning Ahead Needed

More conscious union militants recognize that it is necessary for those who claim to be leaders to take a firm hold, to plan a campaign that will force the company to cease its anti-union tactics, to live up to the agreement, and will also force the International Board to get off its swivel chairs and undertake to whip the company into line, stop the speed ups, wage

cuts, and general intimidation.

The union has a clear case in the Fisher Body. It is only necessary to present the facts to show that the corporation tried to use the AFL issue to smash the union, and get rid of the key CIO men.

Alert militants are now convinced of the necessity to bring out the real issues facing the union: they realize it is necessary to pile up a record of evidence to show that the corporation has all but abrogated the contract, refused to settle grievances, intimidated union men, etc.

It is not enough to allow these grievances to smolder in the breasts of the rank and file. The record must be made against the company in black and white, and the union must adopt an impregnable position of attempting to enforce the agreement, while the company refuses to live up to it.

Struggle Only Beginning
The struggle against GM is only beginning. A great responsibility falls on the leadership. In the next weeks the grievances will pile up even higher. Rank and file militancy will surge up everywhere.

But this rank and file courage will ebb and die unless it is organized, unless it is led, unless it is given a program of action based upon a cool understanding of what the union must do.

There are plenty of potential leaders in the UAW-CIO. The membership is well-known for its courage and fight. The Fisher events show that well enough. It is now up to the leadership to come forth and show the magnificent fighting membership that it is able to lead a successful fight against the huge GM corporation.

The International Board has already been forced to get busy by the Fisher Body Local No. 581. Other locals will follow suit and insist on action to settle the mountain of grievances they have had on the fire for months.

The GM contract, rammed down the throats of the UAW member-

ship by the Reuthers and the Thomases, is obviously a poor agreement. The grievance procedure is long and drawn out, the "impartial umpire clause" is a foolish illusion that there can be anything "impartial" in a fight between company and workers.

But in general a union contract can be made as good as the union members can make it by their organized strength. The GM contract has never in actuality been put into effect. The company ignores its provisions. And the union due to its inexperience, has done little to enforce its provisions, and to make use of it to the fullest degree.

The contract provides that wages shall be negotiated on a plant basis; but instead of this the company has been allowed actually to cut wage levels in many plants. The contract provides that speed or time standards shall be negotiated on a plant basis, but this too has not been effectively done.

The union is well enough organized to enforce these provisions and force the company to agree to union conditions on wages and time standards. All that is needed is a planned campaign, and serious action to show the company they cannot get away with their present openly arrogant attitude.

A start has been made in Fisher Body, where first of all the union is determined to reinstate the 19 suspended men, and when this is done, to follow up with a strong campaign to settle on union terms the multitude of injustices the corporation has up to this point forced upon the men.

Keen interest has been shown by workers in other plants in the Fisher struggle. It is to be expected that from now on the union will become more aggressive, under pressure from the ranks.

The Negro Struggle

by Robert L. Birchman

Negro People Hold the Balance

The 1940 elections are of tremendous importance to the colored race. They take place in the midst of world shaking events. The war in Europe sharpens and the day comes closer when workers, colored and white, will be called on to give their lives to protect Wall Street's profits. The crisis of unemployment remains with us, in spite of the huge expenditures for armaments. Wages stand still, relief and WPA go down, and the cost of living shoots up. The conscription bill is rushed for debate and passage, while the Anti-Lynch Bill lies a-sheddering in a drawer. The Army keeps shouting that it needs men, and it keeps rejecting Negro volunteers. The Ku Klux Klan gets bolder, and gives out leaflets on the streets of northern cities.

All these things affect the lives and conditions of every worker. They affect the colored worker most of all because he is always hardest hit in every crisis. The Negro people cannot ignore these things, they have to do something about them. But in order to know what to do, they must understand what the situation really is, and why.

The first step on the Negro's road to freedom is an intensified participation in politics. An old argument against this is: "We don't have enough political strength to gain anything." Recent studies by the Gallup Poll prove this argument completely false. In May this Poll found that there are eleven states in which the Negro vote is the decisive one, the vote which will probably swing these states. They were Delaware, Indiana, New York, Minnesota, Illinois, New Jersey, Michigan, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Connecticut and Nebraska. Notice that this does not include the heavily Negro-populated states in the South, where Negroes are shot if they so much as try to vote. And still these eleven states will determine the course of the national election!

True, the colored man has not benefited much from politics so far. But that is because he has used his political strength against his own interests. A majority of the colored workers have always voted for either the Democratic or Republican Parties. A brief examination of these parties and their presidential candidates will show why this has been a tragic mistake. Here we will not take up at this time their policies in regard to the general questions of war, low wages, unemployment, etc. Just analyzing their policies in regard to the special problems of the colored race is enough to expose them for what they are. In the words of Roosevelt, "Let's look at the record." Let's look at his record.

The Roosevelt Record

During almost eight years in office Roosevelt developed the idea of "must legislation". By this was meant the bills in Congress that he badly wanted passed, and on many occasions he has publicly thrown his weight behind such bills. Often he has made the proposals himself, on such things as money for armaments, conscription, etc. During these eight years several versions of the Anti-Lynch Bill were introduced. Not once did he offer a single word in favor of such bills! Each time he was as mum as a dummy while his party joined hands with the Republicans to kill the bill. In his years of office he has made hundreds of speeches, talked on thousands of things—but never once a speech, or a sentence, or a word about the Anti-Lynch Bill.

Eight southern states use a poll tax to keep the colored people from voting. Several bills, supported by Negroes and the labor movement, have been introduced in Congress to eliminate this vicious legislation. They all went where the Anti-Lynch Bill went. And Roosevelt continued to make speeches about democracy... in Europe. From him, not a word, not a syllable, only the silence of the grave, on the poll tax.

Jim Crow Is a General

As Commander-in-Chief of the Army, Roosevelt has much to say about its policies. No important decisions are made without his approval. But the history of the Army under Roosevelt is the same history of discrimination against colored soldiers and applicants as under the Republicans before him. Negroes are given the dirtiest jobs in the Army, they are denied the opportunity to advance themselves, they suffer insult and segregation. Jim Crow is a general in the Army, but the Commander-in-Chief has never been heard to say a word about it.

All this absolute silence from a man who talks so much means only one thing: Roosevelt favors the policy of discrimination!

Roosevelt was not elected and re-elected on the basis of his smile alone. His election was made possible by a political machine. This machine is well known as the Democratic Party. Its main source of strength comes from one place, the "solid south". There the Democratic Party rules supreme. There the Negro suffers everything but legal slavery. There is the home of the lynch mob. There such good Democrats as Senator Bilbo, who wants to ship the colored people back to Africa, and Cotton Ed Smith, and the other Ku-Kluxers and night-riders, are the masters, and when they say, "A third term for Roosevelt!", it means something. What self-respecting colored worker can deliver him his vote?

The Democratic Party belongs to these men. Support them and you will be supporting the whole system of Jim Crow. Put them back in office and you will be putting them in a position where they can tighten the chains of opposition around you. Fight for them and you will be fighting to keep the Anti-Lynch Bill and other progressive legislation in the drawer. Vote for them and you will be voting for discrimination in private employment, on relief, civil service and in the armed forces.

(Next week: The Republicans)

Trotsky's Assassin "Doesn't Remember"

(Continued from Page 1)

show you that they were not asked of you before?

A: I will not answer because you want to make me fall into contradictions. I will answer no more than what I have already said: I don't remember the dates nor the subjects of conversations I had with Trotsky.

JUDGE: If you are answering truthfully, then you should not fear that you will fall into any contradictions by repeating your answers.

The whole fraud of Jackson's explanation, designed solely to cover up the GPU, is summed up in the final question and answer of this afternoon:

Q: You claim, then, that you never received any letter of recommendation from the alleged member of the Bureau of the Fourth International to Trotsky; you claim further that Trotsky knew that you did not speak Russian and that he knew you were not an organizer in the Fourth International and not even a member of the Fourth International; you claim further, that within six weeks or so after you first met Trotsky, he told you to proceed to Russia to organize acts of sabotage and make attempts on the life of Stalin and other leaders of the bureaucracy, and you claim also that Trotsky did not give you any details but simply told you to go ahead and do those things. Is that right?

A: Yes, I didn't know what was in Trotsky's mind and I didn't make any calculations.

The assassin, as can be seen, is extremely cautious and extremely hard; it is doubtful if more can be done with him than to prove that he is lying. But that is being proved to the hilt! And it is of course clear to all honest people that the only purpose he has in lying is to cover up his GPU roots.

New C. P. Moves

Unlike the attacks on Cardenas appearing in the U. S. *Daily Worker*, the Stalinist party here is crawling on its belly to Cardenas. A C. P. delegation waited hat in hand to see him yesterday, but he would not receive them. The delegation met one of his secretaries and whined for an hour about their support of Cardenas. He, of course, stands by his denunciation of the "agents of a foreign power" who murdered Trotsky.

Having cautiously waited for three weeks to make sure that Jackson's accomplices were not caught—they have undoubtedly fled the country by now—and having assured themselves that Jackson won't spill anything, the Communist Party officials have come out proposing an investigation of the C. P. to establish their innocence. Since a systematic investigation of the assassination is already going on, and since an equally systematic investigation is being carried out concerning the May 24 attempt on Trotsky, for which David Serrano, member of the Political Bureau of the C. P. is being held for trial, it costs the C. P. exactly nothing to make this public proposal for an investigation.

Simultaneously, however, the C. P. has issued a special edition of *La Voz de Mexico* with another line of defense. It consists of one long spurge about Almazan, the key to which is this sentence: "The Communist Party ardently calls on all the people to concentrate all its forces in the decisive fight against the seditious and reactionary plans of Almazan." And forget about the assassination of Trotsky, naturally. While yesterday these scoundrels claimed that the anti-Communist propaganda was being used as a red herring to divert attention away from Almazan, today they are themselves using Almazan as a red herring to divert attention from their own crime.

A civil war in Mexico today would be a godsend to the Stalinists!

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Siqueiros, Leader of May 24 Attempt On Trotsky, Defends His Foul Deed

By WALTER ROURKE

MEXICO CITY, Sept. 14.—The Mexican public has been witness to the curious spectacle of a GPU agent writing to the press in order to defend his crime and revile his victim. David Alfaro Siqueiros, admitted leader in the May 24th assault on the Trotsky house and fugitive from justice, has written four letters and articles from his hiding place.

He repeats the usual Stalinist slanders against Trotsky, criticizes the Cardenas Government for "persecuting" the guilty, and insists that the Communist Party had nothing to do with the crime. He says that the only reason that he is in hiding is his fear of being caught in jail if Almazan revolts and thereby he would be prevented from participating in the struggle against the reaction.

The Communist Party of Mexico, of course, disowns Siqueiros. But he is a product of Stalinist "training," a member who was "expelled" because he had bigger things to do; he was to serve in Stalin's secret police. *

The writings of Siqueiros may be accepted as the voice of the GPU; either Siqueiros himself has written these articles and letters on the instructions of superiors—or other agents are writing them and forging Siqueiros' name. In either case the signature really reads "GPU". These signed documents present with surprising frankness the real Stalinist policy as known by that highest organ of Stalinism—its secret murder society, the GPU.

STALIN'S COMPLAINT AGAINST CARDENAS

In an article entitled "The Real Political Identity of the Cardenas Government" published in a weekly, HOY, Siqueiros discusses the reasons for Cardenas' "persecution" of the assassins. Cardenas, he says, is the "... loyal, mechanical executor of the violent repressions and condemnation by that (bourgeois-democratic) State against the transgressors of its Law, without stopping to consider the political propositions and the human reasons for their procedure. Without considering also the political position of these persons." And why did Cardenas act so arbitrarily? In order to demonstrate that "... his Government ... was not a Bolshevik Government, the insolent Socialist Government that the noisy campaign of the extreme right of the North American press talks about ..."

Siqueiros' criterion of a progressive government is the degree of freedom the GPU is allowed—the degree to which being an agent of Stalin excuses crimes against the working class. The GPU's conception of a "Bolshevik" Gov't is one on the Russian pattern where frame-up and legalized murder is developed to a high technique. Cardenas should take into consideration that "... the supposed responsible persons for the assault were not professional delinquents, but rather recognized fighters of the Revolution, who had fought in Mexico and abroad ..."

For the same principles as those supported by Cardenas. (We might ask who "recognizes" as fighters for the revolution such agents as the Arenal brothers, Serrano, Carlos Contreras, Siqueiros and the murderer himself—Jackson.)

The GPU insists through Siqueiros that a "progressive" government should give its members the same rights they have in Russia—to murder opponents with impunity in the name of the "Revolution." Such is the service of the Stalinists to the cause of Bolshevism. A more frightful slander of the significance of Bolshevism could not be devised by the most reactionary members of the capitalist class.

It will be remembered that after the May 24th attack, the GPU, following its usual practice, attempted to frame the victim and make him appear as the culprit; it tried to turn accuser into accused. The official and unofficial Stalinist press developed the theory of "self-assault," i. e., that Trotsky had shot up his own house. This theory was no doubt a substitute for the original intention to frame the guards in the event that the attack had succeeded in killing Trotsky. However,

we can be sure that the GPU had several alternative stories, just as it had several alternative plans to carry out the murder. Siqueiros reveals one of those stories which, although it never came into actual use, has the unmistakable earmarks of a GPU lie.

In the event of civil strife or trouble, the GPU planned to attack Trotsky's house in the role of enraged citizens instead of policemen; "... complacencies and lack of legal energy on the part of the State before its reactionary and imperialistic opposition inevitably carries with it the 'illegal' sporadic force of the base of the people ..."

It is, of course, ridiculous for Siqueiros to pretend that an attack of twenty-five gangsters, showing an intimate knowledge of the interior of the house, with five cars, several machine guns, uniforms of the police and army, with the aid of women spies who operated for months before the attack was a "sporadic" act of the "base of the people." What Siqueiros describes to us is an unused alibi of the Stalinists. Following the intense campaign in *LA VOZ DE MEXICO* (official C.P. organ) and

EL POPULAR and *FUTURO* (unofficial organs) calling Trotsky an enemy of Mexico in 57 different varieties, an attack on the Trotsky house could have been named a "sporadic" act of the "base of the people." Since no difficulties arose over the elections by the time of the first GPU attack, this excuse was dropped.

The remainder of Siqueiros' articles is simply a repetition of the Communist Party line from which he diverges only to justify the murder. Thus in a certain sense he is more honest than official policy. In words as in action, Siqueiros carries this policy one more step to its logical conclusion. He not only accepted the lies of Stalin that Trotsky was the greatest renegade in history, a friend of Almazan, a counter-revolutionist etc., but also accepted the order of Stalin—to murder his most uncompromising enemy. "Without anti-Stalinism," says Siqueiros, "Trotsky would have died from hunger"; this should read "Due to Stalinism, Trotsky did die from a pickaxe."

Not only did he accept the murder assignment but he also defends his crime. Why does he

write such self-incriminating letters? Possibly the GPU hopes to distract attention from Serrano—a member of the Political Committee who has been detained by the police since June for the May attack. If Siqueiros is out of the country, this course would present little danger for him.

Or is the GPU planning to kill Siqueiros? If so, they may hope to blame friends of Trotsky as the murderers; thus they could have him write his slanderous and self-incriminating letters against Trotsky in order to provide a "motive." Or do they think that such letters will convince the world that there is no connection between Siqueiros and the Communist Party? In any case they will fail. A mere distraction is of little value. If Siqueiros is killed, everyone will know that it was not the revengeful hand of Trotskyists, but the silencing hand of the GPU that did the job. And no one will permit the Communist Party to free itself of responsibility by announcing that Siqueiros was "expelled." His words are those of a GPU agent and his acts the fulfillment of an order from Stalin.

SIDNEY HILLMAN

Today He Is the Chief Lieutenant Of the Bosses in Labor's Ranks

As the war crisis deepens, Big Business no longer cares to exercise its rule through their puppet politicians. Politicians are greedy and undependable. Big Business moves directly to the control room of the government.

The control room in the defense program is the National Defense Advisory Commission. This group is in charge of organizing the production and purchasing the goods needed by the war machine. What can be more pleasantly profitable and patriotic than leaving a \$100,000-a-year job in industry to become a dollar-a-year man on the Commission or one of its staffs—and making millions by ordering goods from one's own firm or utilizing the stock market moves prepared in the Commission?

The National Defense Commission is Big Business personified, at the control room in Washington. BUSINESS WEEK for August 10 lists the personnel of the Commission and of its staffs, administrations and divisions. Among the corporations represented are: General Motors; U. S. Steel; Burlington & Quincy; Air Reduction; J. G. White Engineering; S. K. F. Industries (mining); Eastman Kodak; Malcolm Bell & Co. (tin); Chas. Hardy & Co. (antimony); Mica Insulator; Union Carbide & Carbon; Bethlehem Steel; General Foods; J. P. Stevens (textiles); Wellington Sears (cotton); du Pont; Scott Paper; Mellon Institute (chemical and coal products); Union Pacific; N. Y. Central; Libbey-Owens-Ford; United Aircraft; Curtiss-Wright; Ethyl Gasoline; Studebaker; McGraw-Hill; Motch & Merryweather Machinery; Giddings & Lewis Machine Tool; American Telephone & Telegraph; General Electric; Union Cargo Line (barges); Columbia Broadcasting; R. H. Macy, etc.

Among the trade associations represented are: Rubber Manufacturers; Iron & Steel Institute; Edison Electric Institute; Wool Manufacturers; Tanners Council; Association of American Railroads; Lake Carriers; National Association of Motor Bus Operators; American Trucking; National Petroleum; Federal Reserve Board; Millers National Federation; Russell Sage Foundation, etc.

HILLMAN HELPS TO MASK ALL THIS

In ordinary times the people would be alarmed at the prospect of the banks, the stock exchange and the employers' associations descending on Washington to install themselves in the seats of power. The concept of national defense helps mask the move. The fact that President Roosevelt, still popular, invites Big Business to take its place at the festive board, helps. The fact that one member of organized labor was induced to join the seven-man board,

Sidney Hillman was designated for a post on the National Defense Advisory Commission because he is labor's outstanding statesman; that is, he can sell out his followers smoother and slicker and with less conscience than al-

most any other figure in the labor movement. Hillman's Social-Democratic training accentuates these qualities.

The industrialists who serve on the Commission are there for one purpose: To Get. They mean to get orders for themselves and the corporations they represent, and to get concessions from Congress.

Sidney Hillman and his fellow labor statesmen are on the Commission for one purpose only: To Give. Their sole task is to induce organized labor to bow to the war-time needs of Big Business, to give up one condition after another, one weapon after another, and above all, not to resist. The garment workers have raised Hillman as high above their heads as they can reach. It is Hillman's task to betray them and the whole working class. He must induce the workers to accept the speed-up; to give up their best weapon, the strike; to give their sons to the army; to give their loyalty to the employers and the government that rob them and organize their misery and death.

Hillman has made a career of this sort of job. For thirty years he has been an expert class-collaborationist. He can have no illusions about his functions on the National Defense Commission. His own paper, THE ADVANCE, published by the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, reprints Ludwell Denny's article from the WORLD-TELEGRAM:

"Hillman is supposed to keep labor in step with the defense production speed-up—and organized labor does not like speed-up and stretch-outs. He is supposed to prevent stoppages and strikes—and unions rely on strikes as their legitimate and best weapon... He is supposed to develop wholesale apprentice training in war industries—while unions restrict their rigid apprentice systems to control labor supply and wage rates, and oppose governmental interference..."

"His chief asset is the confidence he inspires. He is trusted almost as widely in business as in labor circles... His chief weakness is that his loyalty to the President is a blank check—if it is Roosevelt, it's right!"

Indeed Hillman is understood and trusted by business. The July issue of THE ADVANCE publishes editorial excerpts from fifteen large daily papers lauding Hillman the labor statesman!

The August issue of the same paper boldly describes a phase of Hillman's activity:

"At 4 o'clock the morning of July 4, Sidney Hillman put down his telephone, relieved himself with a happy sigh, turned out the lights and went to bed. His intervention, by long distance, had been successful. There would be no strike of CIO cooks and stewards on

American merchant ships. A truce had been declared in San Francisco."

There were no happy sighs from the cooks and stewards, who had to go to work with their demands unmet.

WHAT HILLMAN DID TO THE BOEING STRIKE

A typical Hillman job is the threatened strike of 6,000 members of the AFL Machinists Union at the Boeing Aircraft Company. If ever a strike was justified, it was this strike, voted by 97% of the unionists involved, in a situation where the company was proposing to slash the hourly wages for hiring-in from 62½¢. to 55¢. The Machinists were demanding a wage scale more nearly comparable with the scale paid for similar work in other industries.

This situation was important not only to the Boeing workers but to all workers in war industries.

As Lundquist, leader of the Aeronautical Mechanics Union Local 751, said in his press release:

"The union recognizes that the successful conclusion of its negotiations with the employer will act as an opening wedge in a nation-wide campaign by workers in war industries to gain for themselves a fair share of the enormous armament expenditures. The establishment of wage standards and working conditions as demanded by the union will serve as a model for the rest of the industry, and as a vivid example to workers everywhere.

On the other hand, failure to gain these basic principles will be a set-back not only to aircraft workers, but will possibly encourage employer-interests to attempt to lower still more the living standards of all workers."

Hillman and Knudsen, working together with the president of the International Association of Machinists, first put through a ten-day truce, and then maneuvered the union back to work with its unmet demands to be thrown into arbitration. Instead of the Boeing struggle providing an inspiration and a rallying point for workers in defense industry, the outcome of that fight has been a set-back for all workers.

In one of his last messages to his comrades in the United States, Leon Trotsky warned that life in this period will revolve around the war, that the war will develop centralization and military dictatorship; that during the war, the bourgeoisie cannot allow the workers any new concessions, and must rescind old concessions; that unless there is an awakening of the spirit of criticism and independence of the war machine, the unions will be reduced to sort of philanthropic institutions; and that if the workers don't place themselves and their unions on a military basis, the unions will be doomed.

Hillman's road is the road of disintegration and death for the unions. Only the road of struggle and independence can save labor now.

The Chinese Get a Lesson In Democracy

By GEORGE STERN

Thirty-six Chinese seamen last Saturday completed an elementary course in Anglo-American democracy at Pier 97, North River.

These men signed on the British freighter Silverlarch a year and a half ago for two years' service in Far Eastern waters. They were periodically in home ports and could renew among their own people the self-respect and integrity so brutally trampled on by their British masters.

When the war came, however, the vessel was transferred to the trans-Atlantic run. The Chinese crew had to go along willy-nilly. They ran the submarine gauntlet in convoys running between American and British ports. To their miserable quarters and paltry pay the British masters added the risks of war and virtual imprisonment aboard ship.

For in Britain and Canada wartime laws hemmed them in and in United States ports no Chinese may land—on pain of a \$1,000 fine for any shipmaster that lets him set foot ashore.

The United States, great and good friend of dear, heroic China, is like the anti-Semite whose best friends are Jews. Morally and physically syphilitic refugee millionaires from Europe are welcome with their sacks of money and gems. But no Chinese—excepting an occasional student, business man, or diplomat, may defile these shores.

The Chinese seamen on the Silverlarch, however, had no more stomach for breasting the perils of Britain's war. Chinese seamen, better than most workers of the Pacific, know that Britain's battle is no battle of theirs! They were in the first and front ranks of China's own battle against Britain not so many years ago. And there is nothing enough to do at home in China's own cause.

So they started off in a body from the Silverlarch to try to see the Chinese consul, to state their grievances, and somehow to get back home.

At the foot of the gangplank they met American democracy. To them it materialized in the form of two gun muzzles, pointed in their direction. As they tried to make their peaceful and reasonable intent plain, screaming sirens announced reinforcements for the gun muzzles. Three radio cars and eighteen cops. By this small army they were backed up the gangplank.

THE SINS OF THESE CHINESE

British officers told police a sneering story. The Chinese seamen were "upset" when anti-aircraft guns were put aboard and tested at Singapore. They saw several ships torpedoed. "That was about all the Chinese nerves could stand..." The British official press is all aglow about its own "nerves" under the Nazi air attack. But Chinese nerves have been braced against Japan's equally brutal assault for more than three years and were braced before that for a hundred years against the repeated shock of British steel against Chinese flesh.

But the Chinese aboard were not only sinning in trying to keep out of the way of German bombs meant for British ships. They were also, it seems, getting a little tired of the arrogance of the white man's burden-bearers. Here's how it is told by the Herald Tribune:

"The Chinese were a bit more cheeky than they have been before, (a) man from the ship said. One Chinese who waits on table for the ship's apprentices, young men serving a four-year stretch preparatory to becoming officers, told one apprentice he did not want to be called 'Boy' anymore but wished to be addressed as 'Mr. Kong.'"

"One of the apprentices laid later they felt there was no use in knocking the Chinese down when he made the remark, but decided instead to report the incident to the steward and have his pay docked for insubordination."

BRITAIN'S REAL FACE SHOWS

Out of this little story stares the face of British imperial rule over its Oriental slaves. In China inflated British clerks can employ Chinese servants for decades and never know them by any other name than 'Boy'. Hewers of wood and bearers of water are not persons entitled to names. And lo, should one of them demand of his masters to be called by his name instead of a tag, it is time to show the famous British self-control. Don't knock him down—just have his pay docked...for insubordination! In the old days on the China coast the mess boy Kong would probably have had his head smashed for his impertinence. But right now the British are fighting for democracy. So Kong is merely kept an unwilling prisoner and gets his pay docked.

Through this single tiny incident runs all the threads that make up the ugly pattern of imperialist rule and inter-imperialist conflict, bourgeois morals, and bourgeois lies and prejudices.

Britain fighting for its "democratic" empire lashes its colonial slaves in its galleys. "Democratic" America—its press and politicians bleating about "tolerance"—showed on Pier 97 the real face of its racial hatreds and prejudices, exalted in the laws of the land and represented by its guns.

The thirty-six Chinese seamen on the Silverlarch are learning about "democracy". It is good to remember that the staunchest fighters of the Chinese revolution came from the ranks of the thousands of Chinese workers taken to France, during the last war to do "coolie work" behind the lines. They, too, learned about "democracy."

Join the Socialist
Workers Party

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Fight with the Socialist Workers Party for:

1. A JOB AND A DECENT LIVING FOR EVERY WORKER.
2. OPEN THE IDLE FACTORIES—OPERATE THEM UNDER WORKERS' CONTROL.
3. A TWENTY-BILLION DOLLAR FEDERAL PUBLIC WORKS AND HOUSING PROGRAM.
4. THIRTY-THREE—\$30-WEEKLY MINIMUM WAGE—30-HOUR WEEKLY MAXIMUM FOR ALL WORKERS ON ALL JOBS.
5. \$30 WEEKLY OLD-AGE AND DISABILITY PENSION.
6. EXPROPRIATE THE SIXTY FAMILIES.
7. ALL WAR FUNDS TO THE UNEMPLOYED.
8. A PEOPLE'S REFERENDUM ON ANY AND ALL WARS.
9. NO SECRET DIPLOMACY.
10. AN INDEPENDENT LABOR PARTY.
11. WORKERS' DEFENSE GUARDS AGAINST VIGILANTE AND FASCIST ATTACKS.
12. FULL SOCIAL, POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC EQUALITY FOR THE NEGRO PEOPLE.

On Conscription

Conscription is now the law of the land. How did it get to be a law? What shall the workers do now to defend themselves against the abuses, both in the army and in the factories, which the law embodies?

It is first of all necessary to understand that it is *not* true that the conscription bill became law against the *organized* will of the masses of the people. The perfunctory opposition to the bill that was registered by the AFL, the CIO and the Railroad Brotherhoods was just that—perfunctory. Green, Lewis and the rest went through the motions of recording their opposition—and that's all. And how could it be otherwise? Their sole argument against conscription was that the same army could be raised by "volunteers"—i.e., by a vast jingo campaign to drum up enough unemployed who could be coerced and pushed to go, urged on by their joblessness and hunger. It was easy enough for the army generals and the pro-conscription forces in Congress to establish that the "volunteer" method was less democratic than the lottery system of the draft; and their trump card was that the "volunteer" method simply would not provide enough men in the same time as the conscription system.

Hence, it was without any inner conviction at all that Messrs. Green, Lewis and the others made the record against the Burke-Wadsworth bill. They didn't call any mass meetings against it. They didn't call any demonstrations. They sent no instructions to the local unions to mobilize their forces in meetings and demonstrations or any other form of activity against the bill, except for passage by the locals of routine resolutions addressed to their congressmen. And that was all. Hence it was a foregone conclusion that, in the face of a passive labor movement, Congress and Roosevelt could do as they pleased.

But this is not the whole story. It would be false to assume that Lewis, Green and the others were thus engaged in a deliberate conspiracy to thwart the will of their membership. Had that been true, there would have been significant instances of revolt by local unions here and there against such a conspiracy. No, the fact is that Lewis, Green & Co. were able to stand passively by thanks to the fact that the CIO-AFL membership had no firmly-grounded convictions against the conscription bill. That is indicated by the Gallup polls which, allowing for their bias and inaccuracy, nevertheless indicated that a substantial cross-section of the workers felt that it was necessary to institute universal military training.

Yes, the workers wanted military training. But they were also extremely uneasy about the Burke-Wadsworth bill. Quite apart from those provisions of the bill affecting the situation of workers who remain in the factories—the weapons given to the bosses to break unions by pushing key union men into the army while keeping links in the factories, etc.—the workers felt troubled about putting millions of their fellows into the hands of anti-labor army officers. This sentiment is attested to by the warm welcome which our leaflets receive, from workers who have never heard of us, but who immediately agree with our slogan of "Compulsory Military Training? Yes—But Under the Control of the Trade Unions!"

The real crime of John L. Lewis, William Green and their fellow bureaucrats is that they took advantage of the *present* state of mind of the workers, of their lack of clarity, and utilized that to help passage of the Burke-Wadsworth bill. Were Lewis-Green really *leaders* of the working class, instead of brakes on the working class, they would have analyzed the confused sentiments of the workers and then moved to clarify the workers'

minds in a progressive direction. In a word, they would have understood and accepted the workers' instinctive feeling—and a good instinct, too, in this epoch of militarization!—of the necessity for military training, and would have given it a *working class content*: For Military Training—Under Workers' Control.

We do have that faith. We KNOW that only the workers can put an end to this bloody cycle of war and hunger of the capitalist world. Naturally, they can't do it with bare hands—not in these days! Hence they must learn to be adept at the military arts. Therefore, we say YES to the proposal for compulsory military training. But we say NO to the bosses' control of that training.

The fight from now on must be, therefore, one which is NOT directed against compulsory military training, NOT directed against the abstract principle of conscription, but is entirely directed against the control of conscription by the capitalists and their lackeys. Conscription? Yes!—But under the control of the trade unions.

While this fight is organized and carried on, many workers will be conscripted under the Burke-Wadsworth Law. Let them go, and let them learn whatever they can. What they learn will serve the working class at one stage or another of the coming period. And not the least of the reasons they should go is that their fellow-workers are going; he who will not share the fate of his fellow-workers is not one of them and will have no voice among them now or in the future. Revolutionary workers cannot be conscientious objectors who ask for special, individual exemption from the fate which the entire working class must share.

FOR COMPULSORY MILITARY TRAINING UNDER CONTROL OF THE TRADE UNIONS—that is the only serious slogan for the working class in this epoch of militarism and reaction.

Moscow's Blackout

John G. Wright's account of Stalin's new purge, which we publish in this issue, is the first time that this story has been told outside the Soviet Union. Likewise Comrade Wright's account, which we published last week, of Stalin's new anti-labor legislation, was the first time the story has been told.

This fact gives us a new insight into the extraordinary stringency of the Kremlin's censorship. Gedye, the New York Times correspondent in Moscow, having left there when it became obvious that it was absolutely impossible to get any news past the censors, reports one particularly astonishing detail. When the Kremlin's *ukases* (this Czarist term for decrees came back into use in this last period) establishing the new labor laws were published in *Pravda*, Gedye filed with the censor a cable transmitting the news. The censor snipped out of the cable the PROVISIONS OF THE LAW—such as six-months' terms of imprisonment to be worked out at the factory at a 25% cut in wages, etc.—which Gedye quoted directly from the law! To our knowledge this is the first time that the censor has had authority to keep from the outside world the texts of Kremlin legislation. What a commentary on the regime, that it must try as long as possible to prevent the outside world from knowing what laws it is imposing on the people!

The only remaining public source of knowledge about the Soviet Union is, therefore, the Soviet press. But here, too, strange things take place. Without any formal notice, individual subscriptions to *Pravda* and other Soviet papers have been in effect cancelled; i.e., the papers simply do not arrive here. The only papers that have been arriving at all that we know of are some small bundles through Soviet institutions in this country—for, after all, the GPU and its friends must still be kept informed. Even these, however—which the ordinary person may buy if any are left—do not come, sometimes for months. For example, we know of no source for copies of *Pravda* from January 1, 1940 until May 21 of this year! Yes, we believe there is one exception—the *Pravda* issues received by the U. S. State Department in diplomatic pouches.

Having secured some copies of *Pravda*, the ordinary reader of Russian will find himself no better off than without them. The one direct source of information he will find in them is the Kremlin legislation, the texts of which are published. But what they relate to, what prior *ukases* they displace, why the new legislation is needed—all this remains largely incomprehensible to the ordinary reader.

The real situation explains, of course, the reason for all these extraordinary—in actuality, desperate—methods of censorship. The real situation is, and we choose our words carefully, cataclysmic chaos. Last week we described the Draconian legislation which chains the workers to the factories. This week we describe the latest purge arising out of this bitter struggle between the bureaucracy and the workers. Next week we will describe the crisis in agriculture, and ensuing articles will give the terrible picture as it is. The censorship is but one measure of Stalin's desperation.

Another measure of his desperation was his assassination of Leon Trotsky. With all the contradictions of his regime convulsively deepening under the test of a world at war, Stalin's program, the sixteen years of his regime, are proven bankrupt.

The Soviet masses are stirring and need only leadership to save themselves from the fatal policies imposed by the Kremlin. Stalin remembers just enough Marxism to remember that such a moment is the moment for the revolutionary leadership of a Trotsky to link itself to the masses. Hence he murdered Trotsky.

But the contradictions of Stalin's regime pile up. And Trotsky left behind him his ideas, his program, his banner, his party, the World Party of Socialist Revolution. Stalin cannot assassinate that! On the contrary, our world party will carry out Trotsky's historic task.

STALIN'S NEW PURGE

(Continued from page 1)

Central Committees of the various Trade Unions as well as by "several hundred Moscow trade union activists (read: the G.P.U.—JGW)."

Shvernink in the Confessional

The reporter to the Plenum was Shvernink, Tomsy's successor as Chairman of the C.C.T.U. The account in *Pravda* gives only the high lights from his speech.

Following the line laid down by *Pravda*, he began by pointing out the achievements and importance of the Trade Unions, especially "on the threshold of Communism". The main source of trade union strength, said Shvernink, consists of ties with the masses. But unfortunately, he had to report that the Soviet Trade Unions "have still very weak ties with the masses." Why? Because of the "swollen apparatus of the trade union organizations."

"The paid apparatus devours the major part of the membership dues which should provide the means for carrying on cultural mass work and rendering material aid to union members and which are used instead by the trade union organs to maintain not a few DARMOYEDNIKI and BEZDELNIKI" (*PRAVDA*, July 28). Who should know if not Shvernink?

At this point, however, Shvernink digressed to make it clear that this "deficiency" was discovered not by him, nor by the C.C.T.U., nor by the various trade union organizations, not even by *Pravda* but only by the Central Committee of the Party (i.e., Stalin).

The Scope of the Purge

After a proper pause, Shvernink announced to the assembled audience that it was now crystal clear that the paid staff could easily be cut one-half, even two-thirds. As a matter of fact, a Commission which had already studied the problem found it "possible to drop 108,000 paid workers from 169 trade union bodies."

"After their staffs are reduced," predicted Shvernink, "the Trade Unions will have the untrammelled opportunity of carrying on their work on the income derived from membership dues, and our state will obtain several hundred million roubles to use for further strengthening the economic power of our socialist fatherland."

In closing he promised a new regime. "It is necessary to call general membership meetings of the trade unions regularly."

The discussion which ensued was summed up by *Pravda* as follows: "The speakers cited a great number of instances which illustrate the urgent need of liquidating the deficiencies in trade union work, paring down the swollen staffs and attracting the activists."

Moisseyev, Chairman of the Central Committee of the Central Construction Workers Union, announced to the Plenum that the paid personnel of his union had already been cut "70 per cent, a saving of about 11 million roubles."

Meshakin, Chairman of the Flour Mill and Grain Elevator Workers Union, was able to announce a reduction of 59.5 per cent.

But the speakers really warmed up to their task only during the next day's discussion, which *Pravda* summed up with satisfaction as follows:

"Every one who took the floor spoke of the excessively swollen apparatus which devours hundreds of millions of roubles and obstructs the advancement of trade union activists" (*Pravda*, July 30).

Levine, Secretary of the Central Committee of the Ural and West Siberian Industrial Construction Workers Union confessed that: "We reduced our staff 15-18 per cent last February. But it became immediately clear to us that this was not enough. We have now dropped 876 out of 1,401 on our staff."

An Astounding Admission

Moskatov, one of the Secretaries of the C.C.T.U., displayed exemplary zeal: "Suffice it to state that 25 Central Committees of the Trade Unions spent from 100 to 134 per cent of the total membership dues collected in order to maintain their apparatus." He also singled out one Central Committee which contrived to expend on its apparatus "1,820,000 roubles while receiving dues to the sum of 1,350,000. Not so much as a kopek of the membership dues was spent on cultural work. More than that, the salaries of the trade union workers swallowed up in addition

funds assigned to industrial organs." If so much is admitted, what must be the whole truth?

In his book "The Revolution Betrayed" Trotsky refers to a scandal which broke in 1930 when it was revealed that "out of the budget of the trade unions, amounting to 400,000,000 roubles 80,000,000 go for the support of the personnel." That was 20 per cent of the dues.

In 1940, admissions are blithely made of 100 to 134 per cent of the dues expended for the support of *darmoyedniki* and *bezdelniki*. Here is a slight measure of the degeneration of the bureaucracy since 1930.

The Income of the Bureaucracy

Vladimirov, with the preservation of his own skin and salary uppermost in his mind, blurted out that at the beginning of 1940 the Frozen-Meat Workers Union carried 1,354 officials whose salaries totaled "more than 6 million roubles." The personnel was now cut 70 per cent, saving "many millions". The average annual wage of the bureaucrats in this union, therefore, was in excess of 4,400 roubles. This sum does not include, of course, the special privileges enjoyed by the *darmoyedniki* and *bezdelniki*, namely, choice city apartments, country homes, vacation tours, sanatoria, private use of cars, etc. The average annual wage in the Soviet Union was officially put at 3,467 roubles (1938). For the mass of Soviet workers 1,800 roubles a year is a high wage. For the first time, we have an "official" gauge of the portion of the national income devoured by these self-admitted sloths and idlers.

But the most revealing data was cited by K. Nikolayeva, another of the Secretaries of the C.C.T.U., who in her anxiety not to be outdone, became overzealous and said the following:

"The swelling of the apparatus was noticed neither by the leaders of the Central Committees of the Trade Unions nor even (!) by us, the members of the Presidium of the C.C.T.U. We were under the impression that our paid staff was a trifle over 150,000 and now it turns out that in 1939 there were 194,434 paid workers in 179 trade unions, while in 1940 there were 203,821. The sum spent on them amounted to 1,025,385,600 roubles."

With the above figures as a basis, the average annual wage of a trade union bureaucrat rises above 5,100 roubles.

And These Are the Smaller Leeches!

The total annual wage fund for the whole USSR was officially given as 34.95 billion in 1933 and 96.4 billion roubles in 1938. If a single one of the feeble branches of the bureaucracy swallowed up 1.02 billion a year, then how much was devoured by the assassins of the GPU, the leeches in the government apparatus and other more powerful branches up to the Supreme Gang in the Kremlin itself?

The discussion closed with a rabid attack on *Trud*, the official organ of the Trade Unions. The *Trud* is conducting "a poor fight in the struggle to eliminate deficiencies". Even the editors of *Trud* do not relish apparently the prospect of losing 70 per cent and more of their subscribers.

Naturally, there is an intimate connection between this purge in July and the resistance of the masses to the June anti-labor legislation. The press has already been compelled to report thousands of violations.

Why Stalin's New Scapegoats

Stalin must have new scapegoats; once again he has to resort to preventive measures. The familiar pattern of the purge reappears, but this time with significant alterations.

The preventive character of the purge finds its expression in the fact that the fire is levelled first against those sections of the bureaucracy which are most directly subject to mass pressure. The Youth and the Trade Unions must be discredited, and above all rendered immune to pressure from below. At the same time, as a sop to the masses, a section of the bureaucracy is sacrificed. Stalin undoubtedly aims to limit the purge. But like all its predecessors, this purge has a logic of its own and must penetrate every nook and cranny of the regime. The masses will respond warmly and in their own way to such slogans as:

"Down With All DARMOYEDNIKI and BEZDELNIKI, With Stalin At Their Head!"

'Draft Wealth' Item in Draft Law Is a Fraud

By SAM MARCY

About a month after the Burke-Wadsworth bill was introduced, a proposal made its way on the floor of Congress, whose alleged aim was to "draft wealth into the service of National defense." Just as labor is carrying its share of the burden of National Defense, said its spokesman, so industry must also do its share. Labor pays its price in supplying the manpower for the coming war, in curtailing its demands upon the bosses, in refraining from strikes and in putting up with the ever mounting cost of living. Industry would do its share by subordinating the rapacious appetites of the bosses for profits, and submit to the "impartial" control of the government. The government would take over the munition industry, at least in war time. Before then it would at least "commandeer" the important munition producing plants.

So all through the summer months a sham battle, between the "liberals", New Dealers and their labor lackeys on the one side, and the arrogant, arch-reactionary conservative section of the capitalist class on the other side, resounded in radio and in the pages of the capitalist press.

To be sure, Roosevelt was on the side of "drafting wealth." He who once "fought" the economic Royalists would not now at such a grave moment in the history of the country, allow the economic Royalists to push the entire program of the coming war on the shoulders of the workers. At least not during an election campaign.

When the bill was first introduced in the Senate die-hard Republican politicians branded it as a scheme for "socializing industry". The apparent seriousness with which the big capitalists regarded the bill could lead one to believe that it was something more than a mere scheme to divert the attention of the masses from the Burke-Wadsworth Bill and to dampen their opposition to it. But now that the bill has finally passed both houses of Congress and been signed by Roosevelt it can easily be seen that it is a sham and a fraud.

Just a Lot of Hokum

All that the "draft wealth" provisions of the Draft Law boil down to are a number of innocuous provisions calculated to be held as a threat to the smaller war producing plants in the remote event that a manufacturer refuses to execute an order placed by the War Department. Thus, if and when a manufacturer refuses to execute an order, the government may take over the plant and operate it. But the owner of the seized property will nevertheless get the full value of his property under the law during the time the government operates it and then returns it to the original owner.

So "socialistic" are the provisions of this bill that even the rabidly reactionary Hearst Press approves of them and calls the plan "fairly good".

That the "draft wealth" provisions will apply to only small manufacturers and not at all to the real munition magnates and capitalists is made plain by the fact that the big munition makers, the Du Ponts, the Morgans, and Fords, as a matter of fact do not refuse to sign the war contracts with the government. That is because they have succeeded in imposing their own terms upon the government. It was exactly with this purpose in mind, that the capitalists refused any cooperation to Roosevelt in his war program until he appointed a so-called National Defense Commission, composed of the biggest industrialists, motor magnates and steel kings who are directly tied up with the munition industries.

Good Fellows Get Together

It is the National Defense Commission, which negotiates the contracts with the big armament makers. Only last week so-called defense contracts reached \$3,956,000,000. The terms and conditions were those of the armament makers. The big armor plate and ship-building companies, the aviation and automobile magnates refused to budge an inch until they had their way. The members of the National Defense Commission, who are the blood-brothers of these armament kings, are certainly not the men to stand in the way of profits. Hence the signing of so-called defense contracts totalling almost four billion dollars. Hence the "breaking" of the so-called log jam in the defense program.

But these four billion dollars are only the first, of a long series of billions whose end is not even in sight, which will be spent by the government and the expense of which will be borne by the masses.

Not enough that the workers offer their lives, they must also bear the brunt of the expense of the war.

No wonder Roosevelt and his administration have need of a fraudulent scheme to "draft wealth"! No wonder that he must incorporate this fraudulent scheme right in the heart of the Burke-Wadsworth Conscription Law. He must do this so that his political cohorts and Labor bureaucrats may dazzle it before the eyes of the workers, and shout "See, Roosevelt, conscripts men, and wealth, too."

For Workers' Control of the Munitioneers

But even if the Roosevelt Government had seriously contemplated conscripting industry that effort ought to get no support from the workers.

A munition industry, or any other industry under the control of the government or the army or navy would be an industry under the control of the capitalist government, a control exercised exclusively on behalf of the capitalists. Under the capitalist system it cannot be otherwise.

There is however another choice left open to the workers. That choice, however, does not lie between the fraudulent "draft wealth" provision or any other scheme by which the capitalist government exercises control over the munitions industries.

It is the choice of Workers' Control of all Munitions Plants! Only by the exercise of workers' control by Labor's independent organizations can a minimum of safety and security be accorded to the workers.

Chicago Mass Meeting

TO GREET THE PLENUM OF THE NATIONAL COMMITTEE AND THE DELEGATES TO THE ACTIVE WORKERS CONFERENCE

SPEAKERS: James P. Cannon, National Secretary; Farrell Dobbs, Labor Secretary;
V. R. Dunne, Minnesota Organizer; Murry Weiss, Organizer, Local New
York; Grace Carlson, Candidate for U. S. Senator from Minnesota.

22nd Floor
Medical and Dental Arts Building
185 N. Wabash Avenue, Chicago

Friday, September 27
8 P. M.