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FOR MILITARY TRAINING UNDER TRADE UNION CONTROL

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CIO OPENS ROAD TO MILITANT STRUGGLE

MINNESOTA VOTE TOPS MINORITIES

Final Returns Show Carlson Above CP And SP Combined

MINNEAPOLIS, Minn. - The state canvassing board which met November 19 in the state capitol has released the following official figures for the minority parties:

By V. R. DUNNE,

U. S. Senator Grace Carlson (Trotskyist) 8.761 Carl Winter (C. P. sticker candidate) 256

President Aiken-Orange (S.L.P.) Thomas-Krueger (S.P.)5,454 Browder-Ford (C.P.)2,711 Governor

John Castle (S.L.P.)3,175 Martin Mackie (C.P. sticker candidate) 360

Lieutenant-Governor William Herron (C.P. sticker candidate) 306 Secretary of State

Clara Jorgenson (C.P. sticker

candidate) 278 Because the candidate of the Socialist Workers Party appeared on the ballot as the Trotskyist Antiwar Party candidate, it is certain that the 8,761 votes for Comrade Carlson represent conscious sup-

anti-Stalinist program. The support for the Trotskvist candidate is thus even greater than earlier figures had indicated. The candidate not only topped the Thomas-Krueger vote but received a vote larger than the combined vote for Thomas and Browder.

port of a proletarian revolutionary

Each of the 87 counties in the state furnished votes for our candidate. This would indicate that the ideas of Trotsky have penetrated the American consciousness even deeper than our most optimistic supporters have hitherto estimated. Fittingly the largest number of Trotskyist votes came from the three industrial counties -- Hennepin (Minneapolis), 1.755; Ramsey (St. Paul), 1034; St. Louis (Duluth), 525.

Following this general pattern other counties showing a heavy the navy is left to the discretion registration of votes were those of the executive branch of the outlying counties in which there government. are industrial workers such as packinghouse workers, miners, tion, the bureau endeavors to timber workers, and where union organization has penetrated.

Although it was impossible because of meager finances to carry special rating and branch to our campaign outside the Twin Cities to any extent, the record of the Trotskyists in the union and unemployed movement has obviously made a deep impression upon the workers in the state. Among the iron miners on the

Range, there are a large number of former Communist Party memeers who have for years supported the Russian revolution. There were many who voted for our candidate, a Trotskyist, and not for the Stalinist candidates.

Counties where the militant nished a substantial vote to the Trotskyist Anti-war candidate.

Those counties in which state institutions are located and whose employees belong to the State, County and Municipal Employees known figure) also recorded an impressive total.

With complete precinct votes available from St. Paul and Minneapolis a gratifyingly close correlation is shown between the distribution of Socialist Appeals and the vote for the Trotskyist candidate. Our Socialist Appeal had been distributed in these precints over a period of months. Excellent use was also made of the special Minnesota election edition of LISTED AS "ACCIDENTS" the Appeal, and the leaflets and other literature issued in the cam-

The total vote, though indicative of our support, is of course and Chemical Corporation, have not the chief value of the election been officially listed as "accidents." campaign. Many people have been Of the tragedy at the Trojan Powbrought closer to us by hearing der Co. plant, Hoover stated: for the first time in this campaign | "Here the explosions occurred in his fear lest the boss press cry by War Dept. officials, there have gram

Vultee Strikers Point to Boss Profits



Mass picket lines at the Vultee airplane plant in Downey, California, had the factory closed down tight. Shouts of the bosses and government agents about "reds" were answered by placards publicizing the huge profits the company is obtaining through its war contracts.

Demand Freedom For Negro Sailors

Letters of protest, demanding the freedom of the Negro People in a letter to Secretary reside and work in Harlem, 90 sailors on the U.S.S. Philadelphia and an end to the Jim-Crow Knox stated that the colored percent of whom are Negroes. practices in the Navy, began to pour into the offices of Pre- people of this country "are bitter sident Roosevelt and Secretary of the Navy Knox last week, at the same time that the government announced its intention of standing by the policy of segregquarters of the Navy, and that ating colored sailors to the mess

attendants division only. The policy of the Navy Department was reiterated in a statement issued by the Bureau of Navigation as follows:

ROOSEVELT'S POLICY "After many years of experience, the policy of not enlisting men of the colored race for any branch of the naval service, except the messmen's branch, was adopted to meet the best inter-

ests of general ship efficiency. "The selection of men to man

"In the exercise of this discrefurnish naval vessels with crews consisting of men best qualified to meet the requirements of the which they are assigned.

"This policy not only serves the best interests of the navy and the country, but serves as well the best interests of the men themselves."

In plain English, this means that the President of the United States (executive branch) thinks that colored sailors are best qualified to be Jim-Crowed off into the kitchen and servants

this policy helps not only the country, but the Negro sailors as

The letters from various organizations and individuals printaroused over the case of the imare eager to express their resentment over conditions in the Navy.

The National Association for

Aircraft Profits Soar Skyward

"The aviation industry continued in the nine months (January-September, 1940) to establish new records for profits..." states the New York TIMES, November 24, 'as it has done each year for the last few years.'

The combined net profits of the seven leading companies for the first nine months of this year are \$33,034,590, or ar 81 PERCENT GAIN over the 1939 comparable period, which yielded net profits of \$18,-259.877.

about the treatment of their men in the armed forces of the nation ... We wish to enter a most vigorous protest against this ac- Women Want tion and to request you, as Secretary of the Navy, to intervene." To Join The Army

The N.A.A.C.P. upheld the accreasing number of people are lief that they had a just com- whom had apparently not even plaint which ought not to be read the requirements. weakened by an anonymous let-

> and Knox by the Workers Relief War. & WPA Union of Newark, N. J., signed by George Breitman, secrctary, which asked for an imfinement to the ship for "further investigation," molestation and inquisition suffered by the boys 'whose only 'offense' is that they complained with much cause against a brutal system of

discrimination and segregation." The unemployed union also deuse their powers to put an end to these conditions.

HARLEM UNION OFFERS SUPPORT

Another letter, for Local 32 of the Building Service Employees International Union, signed by J. O'Gold." He's the only recruit

the Advancement of Colored has a membership of 2,000 who "We feel as you (The Courier)

(Continued on Page 3)

With only 99 positions now tion of the mess attendants in open for "hostessess" in the Arbravely signing their names to my, the War Department has been the published letter of complaint, swamped with 7,000 applications last week showed that an in-

> illusion that the Army was going The Courier also quoted from to need women workers in canthe "pointed letter" to Roosevelt teens, etc., as in the last World

until the men are sent abroad to die on foreign battlefields before mediate end to the arrest, con- they can expect a wide demand for women workers even in the factories at home.

End of Rainbow

Although James Roosevelt is on active service as a captain with manded that Roosevelt and Knox the United States Marine Corps against the union when we had at San Diego, California, he will he permitted to continue his motion picture producing activities this fight until we get what we and without a reduction in pay. want!" As his first major production, James has elected to make an claborate musical comedy, "Pot ager, explained that the union life to be the end of the rainbow. union by the hundreds.

Strike Wins Pay Raise At Vultee

DOWNEY, Calif. Nov. 27-The Vultee strike was settled today with unanimous ratification of a 16 months agreement which includes compulsory arbitration and wage increases from 3 to 121/2 cents an hour. The good ment that there will be "no mass re-employment" and "it will be a slow process; the men will be scrutiny as when they were originally employed."

DOWNEY, Calif., Nov. 22-Vultee Aircraft Company profit- noon the convention delegates becers here that the aircraft work- came as a single mighty voice ers are through with the slave declaring the will of the CIO to wage of 50 cents an hour.

silent Vultee buildings.

While the Dies Committee representatives and the Department of Justice through Attorney General Jackson are vieing for the "honor" of breaking the strike, the strikers are sticking to their union demands against the phoney "red" issue. As one worker at a picket fire stated, "I thought the unions were run by a gang of reds and I was against it. But a guy has to be a 'red' to get a decent wage around

pressed by the charge of "sabot- Workers, etc. age of national defense" being hurled by the company, which has a back-log of \$85,000.000 in plane orders for the U.S. and However, the women must wait Great Britain, and is expected to clean up a net profit of not less than \$12,000,000 in the next year.

The strikers are learning fast. and have a splendid chance of withstanding the boss propaganda and pressure, if the leadership itself continues to hold firm. A typical striker's statement, heard around one of the camp fires, reflects the true spirit. "I voted the election in the plant. Bu' that was a mistake. Now I'm in

As a result of the strike, a tremendous organizational impetus has been given to the workers in

Convention Upholds Industrial Unionism

By FELIX MORROW

ATLANTIC CITY, N. J., Nov. 23-The CIO has successfully rallied its major forces to continue the fight for industrial unionism. That is the great achievement of the five-day convention which closed last night.

It was in the three and a half hours of debate over this fundamental question that this convention came fully alive. That was Tuesday afternoon. Almost everything that took place after that was not in the nature of an anti-climax. Not that vital issues were lacking in the ensuing three days. Indeed, life-and-death questions facing the trade union movement and the workers

faith of the employers is ques- came up. But those other questionable in view of their state- tions were evaded or falsely answered.

The answer given to Sidney Hillman and his master, Roosesubjected to almost as close velt, in that Tuesday afternoon session, was not only a true one. Lut felt to be true by almost all the delegates, and they burned accordingly with a zeal that, unfortunately, did not again appear 24-hour mass picket lines tonight in the convention after that continued to serve notice on the afternoon. But, for that afterlive on and fulfill its historic Outside the plant gates numer- mission of organizing the induscus camp fires before the im- trial proletariat of this country provised shelters of the strikers into the only kind of unions that throw their defiant glow over the can organize them-industrial

HILLMAN'S GAME

Sidney Hillman's spokesmen could say what they pleased, the delegates clearly understood the real meaning of Hillman's proposal: to push the CIO into immediate unity negotiations with the AFL under conditions favoring the craft union moguls; to surround the negotiations with an overwhelming hue and cry in the boss press, radio, movies, and ail other methods of communication and pressure, pushing for The solidarity and militancy of unity on the AFL's terms; and to the strikers, who are mostly "unite" over the broken bones of young men without previous the new industrial unions which union or strike experience and have been built since 1935-the who have come into this rapidly Steel Workers Organizing Comexpanding industry from every mittee, the United Electrical and section of the nation, is truly in- Radio Workers, the United Autospiring. They are totally unim- mobile Workers, the Rubber

Hillman's career as a "stateslabor movement—i.e., united unwhich the bosses can play one against the other. Obediently therefore. Hillman sought to achieve this objective.

That if he were successful it might in the end mean disaster not only for all industrial unions the other aircraft plants, and the but the weakening of his "own" Cyril Fullerton, executive man- we've heard of who found army workers are flocking into the clothing workers, troubles Hillman not at all. His eves are

henceforth fixed on government

HILLMAN ARRIVES AFTERWARD

Hillman himself was not present during the docate on this basic question. He arrived the next day and explained his absence: he had been consulting with Bethlehem Steel officialsit was plain he had been hoping to bring back a bone from them to justify himself, but he didn't get a bone.

In his absence three of his dependents defended his position -Frank Rosenblum and Franz Daniel of the clothing workers, and George Baldanzi of the textile workers. I have just consulted the stenographic record to verify my first impression and it confirms that feeling-Hillman's boys did a very poor job. Not the least reason for that, perhaps, is that none of them believed what they were saying! They, unlike Hillman, may plan to continue living in the trade

AFL CONVENTION STORY NEXT WEEK

A full report on the AFL convention, which is still in session in New Orleans, will appear in next week's issue.

union movement after the consequences of Hillman's proposal would become fully apparent!

POOR CASE FOR UNITY

Their argument for unity negotiations came down to: (1) The CIO had received very bad pubman" in the service of Roosevelt licity in the previous negotiations requires that he remove from -through no fault of the CIO, himself in the eyes of the bosses | they hastened to add-and was any stigma of responsibility for therefore held responsible by the the continued division of the "public" for labor disunity, so labor movement. Roosevelt and now it should show it wasn't to the employers want a "united" | blame; (2) to be for immediate unity negotiations didn't mean der a hidebound, conservative, that they were for surrender to impotent leadership like that of craft unionism; (3) "this time of Messrs. Green, Woll. Frey. with national and world crisis" makes the workers in war industries unity imperative so that labor divided up, if they are organized can "make its rightful contribuat all, into scores of craft unions | tion to the cause of national defense.'

No other Hillman supporter asked for the floor and, as a result, the pro-CIO forces had the floor during most of the afternoon and they made the most

A delegate from Wisconsin read into the record a letter from the AFL central body in Milwaukee which revealed that it was attempting to smash the United Auto Workers local at the Allis-Chalmers plant and replace it with a score of craft units. The letter explicitly repudiated the idea of uniting all the workers in the plant in one. local and boasted that its "organizing campaign" had the direct help of the AFL national office.

AFL'S JIM CROW POLICY A Negro delegate, Neil Weav-

er, passionately brought to the fere the AFL crafts' "lily white" policy: the only jobs open to his people under that policy, he said, are hod carriers and porters. Where is there any sign that the craft moguls will cease their Jim Crow policy? And what had the AFL ever done for the packinghouse workers, except keep them unorganized? Weaver's was scarcely a polished speech, but that only made it all the more terness of the Negroes and the packinghouse workers against the aristocrats of labor.

There had been many rumors

(Continued on Page 3)

FOR PROFIT--Farm-Holiday movement once had great prestige and power also fur-The Story Behind the Explosions in the Chemical Plants

Federal Bureau of Investigation agents assigned to uncover seare against militant union work- publicity. And for good reasons, bor; lack of safety devices; dan- as "sabotage." Grace Carlson, was active for a evidence of "sabotage" in connection with recent explosions in ers. He warns, "A continued hue number of years and is a well- munitions and chemical plants, have uncovered instead proof of murderous speed-up, negligence and unsafe working conditions which in the past ten months have slaughtered 97 workers and burned, blinded and dismembered 400 more.

This was admitted last week by J. Edgar Hoover, head of the FBI, in an interview in the New York Journal and American, Nomainly to spreading "sabotage" propaganda.

Hoover had to report that two of the three blasts on November 12, those at the Trojan Powder Co. and the American Cyanimic

ders were being fabricated. It was plainly the result of negligence." Commenting on the third ex-

United Railway Signal Co. work lared after the most recent ex- plosions in these plants would replosion, which took 11 lives of vember 19,-an interview devoted ers at Woodridge, N. J., Hoover said, "Despite reports to the contrary, the Woodridge company had neither Government contracts nor sub-contracts. Naturally the disaster is still under investigation, but there is no cridence of sabotage.

"WOLF! WOLF!"

truth in this instance flows from line which had been condemned from where the Government or often, and discredit his planned of similar character since January Statistics). Longer hours and steadily worsening conditions in WORKERS FOR PROFIT!

campaign to invoke a "sabotage" | 1940 which have received little speed-up; "cheap" non-union la-the war industries will be branded and cry about sabotage every time there is a serious industrial accident is bound to have damaging animid and Chemical Corporation. effects on the national morale."

prove the existence of a gigantic sabotage plot."

PRESS CRIES "SABOTAGE" While the press ran huge "sabotage" scare-heads in connection with the blasts two weeks ago and the one two months ago at

There have been three each in the plants of the du Pont munitions trust and the American Cy-

These open-shop corporations have The statements of the FBI chief been turning the workers' blood thus give the lie direct to the Dies into a golden stream of super-pro- dence points to MURDER FOR Committee, whose spokesman, fits. Any real investigation into Rep. Thomas of New Jersey, dec- the causes of the recurrent explosions that they "definitely yeal a grisly tale of brutal indifference to the safety of the work

GREED FOR PROFITS

Industrial accidents brought inas compared to 1,375,000 injured in 1938. While employment rose ployed in their plants." the Hercules Powder Co., where only 7 percent in 1939 over 1938 Hoover, in the interview, re- 51 died due to the use of a meth- average hours worked rose 13 per veals that his concern for the od of manufacturing nitroglycer cent and disabling injuries from industrial accidents increased 14

gerous "time-saving" methods and profits brought injury to all these that accidents and coincidence ac

Why, then, the smoke-screen about sabotage, when all the evi-One reason why is revealed by

the anti-labor statement of Rep. after the last explosions: "Much to crack down on suspects em-

COVERS REAL CRIMINALS

The New York Post declared processes; -- in a word, greed for editorially: "The chance exists

count for the explosions yesterday (November 12) . . . But for sale ty's sake our authorities should act as though the three explosions were the work of sabotage."

"For safety's sake" the Post deliberately covers up the real criminals, the profit-mad bosses! And Thomas, of the Dies Committee, the workers who face daily danger of death and injury because of of the blame for what has happen- the conditions imposed by the ed should be placed at the door bosses are being told to shut up of the NLRE, which has intimid about employer responsibility for pury to 1,600,000 workers in 1939 sted employers so that they fear these explosions under threat of genuine a reflection of the bitbeing treated as "saboteurs." Imagine workers as "saboteurs," plotting to blow themselves to pieces! It is in an ocean of such Thus, behind the loud "sabot nonsense that the bosses and their in the corridors about division age" campaign is revealed a deli- kept press seek to drown the truth within the leadership of the berate plot to terrorize the work- -the truth that it is the bosses United Mine Workers: that was the revolutionary Marxist pro- a section of the plant far removed "Wolf! Wolf!" falsely once too icen cleven other blasts and fires bercent (U. S. Bureau of Labor of the plant far removed "Wolf!" falsely once too icen cleven other blasts and fires bercent (U. S. Bureau of Labor of the plant far removed by the participation in

ORKERS' Militarism and Workers Rights By JAMES P. CANNON II. Our resolution on military policy product ciple but at the product of the demand for of the d

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.

Tenement Children Forced to Sacrifice For War

Editor:

ists and their tool organizations robbing the poor to pay the rich?

will eat meat loaf instead of tur- deprived of their only opportunity key at an 11 A. M. Thanksgiving all year long for such a delicacy. party, so that the difference in cost may be sent to help children | deed! in England. The plan was an- W. W.

pounced yesterday by officials of Children's Aid Society's Jones Memorial Center at 407 E. 73rd St. where the party will be held." No doubt one forfeited turkey

in the house of Rockefeller, Du Just how long are the capital | Pont, or Roosevelt,-which would never be felt,-would more than going to be allowed to keep on cover the amount to be raised. But no. -the great sacrifice to help Yesterday's Daily News carried British children (and the rich ones, at that!) must be made by "About 130 tenement children tenement children, who are being . . . and justice for all." In-

New York City

Stalinist Manager Fired For Excusing Absentees

ist labor code is illustrated by a roff generously excused them for story which the Associated Press | their absence from work. got past the Moscow censorship recently.

the Kluieff saw mill on Lake Bai- do with the case. The men missed hour is to find a realistic basis for the federal government and ty organ, Prarda, complaining their protector and should be ex- iton in the arena of war and milised from his position by the district committee of the Communist charges of protecting tardy work-Party.

The mill being far from the colthe workers to go fishing in their to show its "benignancy." "spare time" and bring the catch But that such an incident could

tossed about for two days before ers.

The working of the new Stalin-| being rescued by a cutter. Red-

However the district committee was dismissed and tried on ers and disorganizing work.

The story reached the press only lective farm market, he explained, because the bureaucracy wished to he had organized expeditions of purge the district committee and

back to the restaurant at the mill, occur at all is sufficient commen-Forty of these amateur fisher- tary on the arbitrary character of men were caught in a storm, and the Stalinist rule and the degree eleven carried far out from shore of its separation from the work-

Minneapolis Sunday Forum **Analyzes Workers? Vote**

Workers believed the Democ- ervation of social gains at home ratic party was their party in the | workers are willing even to sublast election, Ted Dostal, St. Paul | mit to conscription; because "they organizer of the Socialist Workers feel a rearmament program really party, told a Sunday Forum au- will keep them out of war and dience in Minneapolis November maintain social gains." 14. Because they associated gains they had made themselves with ican capitalism today is that the Roosevelt administration, the American imperialism must ex workers supported the Democratic pand in every direction," Dostal

candidate, he said. Against Hitler and for the pres- labor party.

"The primary problem of Amersaid. The contradictions which Workers believe that Roosevelt | capitalism has created are such is the symbol of reformism. Trust- that "only socialism will solve the ing falsely in his domestic poli- problems of the world." the speak er stated, and closed with a call eign policy or the war to which for military training under workhe is leading the United States. er's control and an organized

Marxist School Finishes Successful Term in N. Y.

School has just finished a very his course from 7:10 to 8:40 and successful semester both from the Farrell Dobbs follows from 8:50 point of view of the calibre of the to 10:20. The registration fee is at the classes. At least 175 work- per session. ers attended the school with a all of the courses. William F. "Materialism" was the best attended with a registration of 101.

There was such a large demand ership" by Farrell Dobbs that ital." tures. All those who want to reso at once either at the office of of the great masters of Marxism. the school at 116 University Place for they have applied for memberor at Irving Plaza, 15th and Irv- ship in the Socialist Workers Par- gone mad with militarism. ing Place where the lectures are ty and are now ready to partake being held every Monday evening. actively in the battle for socialism

NEW YORK-The Marxist! William F. Warde is continuing

Hitler Offers People Socialism and Dog Meat

Adolph Hitler and a significant meat was legalized as an item of one for the German working class, human food for the workers of made great advances in the last Three things happened.

In Berlin, the Fuehrer decorat- until January 1, 1941 for the delied 85 "soldiers of labor" for their cacy. This supplements horse loyal cooperation behind the lines meat which has been available for time. They have had to fight evin furthering the conduct of the some time. And the "schooner ery inch of the way to gain the war. All of them, including 40 Adolph" did his third deed for smallest concessions, and then to women, were armaments workers. the day when he promised behind fight all over again, and continu Hitler disclosed the purpose of the lines workers that Germany's ously, to keep them. In the course the little bribe of medals in his main duty-after the war, though of these fights the workers have accompanying speech which ex- -was to serve as a "model social developed a fervent devotion to horted the workers to display ist state." greater unity and determination | They get dog-meat; they are to hate and distrust the bosses to bring a quick victory for Ger-

Things have got to a state, however, where medals alone seem an that is the way it will be-dog insufficient reward. Therefore meat in the pot, socialism in the tant American workers have de on the same day a decree was future.

November 14 was a big day for issued and a promise made. Dog

workers anywhere wait for those police and local authorities who up above to give them things,

the new conditions. In line with all the programmatic documents of the Fourth International, the resolution says: "The imperialist war is not our war and the militarism of the capitalist state

is not our militarism . . . We are against the war as a whole just as we are against the rule of the class that conducts it, and never under any circumstances vote to. give them any confidence in their onduct of the war or preparations for it—puot a man, not a cent, pot a gun with our support. Our war is the war of the working class against the capitalist order." (Socialist Appeal, October 5).

So much for the principled posion of Trotskyism, which alone among all the tendencies in the international labor movement remains consistently revolutionary in times of war as well as in times of peace. But, despite our opposition, we have the militarism and tomorrow we will have the war in full scope. That does not change our principle, but it imposes upon of direct clashes with these local as a certain line of tactics since we do not want to remain aloof as mere oppositionists. We do may carry on continuous and ef- is inclined to flinch away from in their rights, as indeed they of the Communist Party ruled fective agitation leading toward any conflict with "the man with are. V. Redroff, former manager of that the "storm has nothing to the goal. The problem of the the whiskers." the popular name A WORKERS' QUESTION kal, wrote to the Communist Par | work. The manager acted as for our irreconcilable class agita | its police agents. that he had been unfairly dismis- pelled from the party." Redroff tarism which now, and for a whole epoch, will dominate the world. This is the aim of our government"—this is not only the resolution on military policy.

> A PROGRAM OF AGITATION Our military program is intendorder to be effective such a pro-shown by the strikes against the gram must take into account not WPA, but the great majority aponly the objective circumstances proach any prospect of a conflict also the present consciousness the feeling that "you can't get they are convinced in their bones lialists. that it is unavoidable and that regards the draft for what it is— Guardsmen who left town last ing mothers and sweethearts,"

under capitalism, to "Keep Amer-

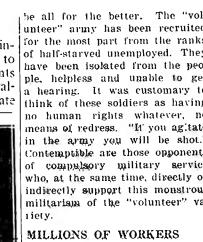
HATE AND FEAR FASCISM The workers are profoundly impressed by the fate of the European countries which have been hate and fear fascism. So far

Our military resolution takes jective and subjective, as its point of departure and attempts to show the workers how to carry on their BOSS EXECUTIVE daily struggle against the bosses COMMITTEE over into the new field of mili-

NEW UNION MEMBERS

The American workers have Greater Germany if they can wait six years. Millions of new recruits have been drawn into the trade union movement for the first their unions. They have learned promised socialism. As long as who directly exploit them and the help the bosses.

In strike after strike the milimonstrated that they have no fear have known, and the change will



JAMES P. CANNON

THE ACE CARD

"You can't strike against the dictum of Roosevelt, but also the feeling of the great majority of American workers at the present time. Some of them think they ed as a program of agitation. In have a right to do it, as was (the epoch of militarism), but with the federal government with and mood of the workers. The away with it." These illusions of American workers are against the workers are the ace card up war, they are fearful of war, yet the sleeve of the American imper-

A letter from a Toledo comrade the millions of young men who highlights this attitude: "I and are being drafted and sent up for other comrades have noticed in military training are destined to agitating at employment offices on be cannon-fodder. A comrade our military program the followwrites from Buffalo: "A large ing response. White workers section of the working class, and agreed that military training is perhaps all of it subconsciously, needed, and express distrust of the methods of the present conroing to war. Even the National scription bill, they are extremely sceptical of the possibility of getmonth were accompanied by weep | ting the unions to control training or of winning union condi The workers like to hear the tions in the army. 'You can't promises of Roosevelt and Will- strike against the government.' 'If kie that American boys will not you agitate in the army you will be sent into foreign wars, but the be shot.' 'You need trained miligreat mass of them do not believe tary men to have good training." word of it. Neither do they These are the three most common believe the isolationist and paci- answers . . . Even some of the fist liars who say it is possible, politically developed sympathizers of the party say that our program has value only in an agitational sense but that it cannot be ac-

complished." (My emphasis).

MISTAKEN OPINION By such expressions-which are overrun by Hitler's army. They quite typical—the workers express the mistaken opinion that the they see it incarnated only in the class struggle ends when they foreign foe, and they are ready if leave the arena of the union and necessary to go to war against the factory and enter the new it, especially if the war is pre- arena of war and militarism. They lectures and the large attendance 50c. for the three lectures or 25c. sented to them, as it surely will do not anticipate in advance the be, in the guise of "defense" tremendous new experiences Many of those who have taken against a "foreign" attack. Fac- which are destined to make such goodly portion of them attending Murray Weiss" excellent course on ing the prospect of war it is ob a powerful impression on their "Elements of Marxism" have al- vious to the serious-minded work-minds, and that in a comparativ-Warde's course on "Dialectical ready registered for the additional ers that military training is need-ely short time. Even the reported lectures of William F. Warde, who ed. That is why they submitted remarks of some of our sympathin the coming sessions will give universally to conscription; with livers to the effect that our prospecial attention to the dialectical out enthusiasm, it is true, but gram "cannot be accomplished." for a continuation of this course, method used by Marx in creating also without any serious opposi- reveals an unconscious tendency as well as of "Trade Union Lead- his great economic work "Cap- tion. This attitude of the rank to accept as permanent a situation and file of the American working which is radically changing bethese instructors were prevailed It is very heartening to report class is a thousand times more fore our eyes and which will con anvil in his bare feet. But in upon to give three additional lec- that many who have attended the practical and realistic than that tinue to change with increasing the military machine, in the pres-Marxist School have shown that of the pacifist muddle-heads who speed and sweep. Respect for the ent set-up, the officers corps from gister for these lectures may do they have imbibed the teachings proclaim the necessity of social status quo is out of tune with the top to bottom is dominated by ism and yet oppose compulsory times. War and militarism will people of this boss type-class enmilitary training-in a world uproot the workers from the old emies who regard the workers in environment in which their presthe ranks as cannon fodder, and statement out of its context and the foregoing circumstances, ob- pose new and terrible experiences and safety. Why shouldn't the upon them and compel them to workers, in such a situation, put think in new terms.

The workers have yet to learn hat the government, which now appears as a sacrosanct institution standing above the classes, is in reality the executive committee of all the bosses. Experience under the conditions of militarism and war, aided by our agitation, will teach this necessary lesson in the coming period. In the course of these developments our program. if we present it with simplicity and clarity, will not only have success in an "agitational sense:" the awakening workers will pass over its extremely modest and elementary demands as advancing troops pass over a bridge to a new point of vantage.

The army of conscription will be different from the comparatively small standing army we

have been isolated from the people, helpless and unable to get a hearing. It was customary to think of these soldiers as having racy," the right to a little democ no human rights whatever, no means of redress. "H' you agitate billions of dollars of federal funds militarism of the "volunteer" va-

Our military transitional protion and simply repeat our ulti- remote power which cannot be gratifying initial success. It is this fetish. That is the purpose mate alms as a set of soul-saving combatted. The average militant up to us then to convince these of our agitation around the proformulas. We seek in each and trade unionist, who considers a workers that our demands are gram. every situation to devise the tac-battle with local cops as a part reasonable and practical in the tical slogans around which we of the day's business in a strike, present situation, and fully with-

Our aim, it must always be re-

quibbling factional opponents who in the form of literary exercises. but workers who take the quesment. In fact, they also were ciples to new conditions." once "illegal," and more than one worker has been "shot" for advocating them. The workers' conviction that they need these things in the factory, in order to ploitation, is the result of their

UNEXPLORED TERRITORY

which are the substance of their also in the prussianized militarence of the workers will come gram in the military epoch. powerfully to the aid of our program, giving it a burning actualreaction to it.

Our slogans carry the class line ciples of Bolshevism on war. nto the new conditions of militarism. In the factory a militant trade unionist wouldn't trust an employer or an agent of the ement convictions were formed, im have no regard for their welfare tries to make it appear that I

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be all for the better. The "vol-|forth the demand for officers from unteer" army has been recruited the ranks of the workers and the

RIGHT TO DEMOCRACY

rlsking their lives for "democ-

racy for themselves? Out of the

in the army you will be shot." rppropriated for military pur Contemptible are those opponents poses, why shouldn't a certain of computatory military service sum be earmarked for the estabwho, at the same time, directly or lishment of special camps to train indirectly support this monstrous workers to become officers? mand? And, for that matter, what ed by the delegates. The Atlantic class-conscious proletarian fight, is "illegal" about it? Indeed, if City gathering voted to launch a er. He prefers to seek gains for a serious militant worker who large-scale CIO organization In the army of conscription the hates and distrusts the bosses and drive, with Ford, Bethlehem and situation will be radically change their agents for good reason, will aircraft at the top of the list. ed. It will consist of millions of stop to think about it. he must young workers—the proletariat in be impressed by the extreme modarms! They are accustomed to esty of the demands of our transcertain rights. Their mighty num- itional program. They represent bers will confer a sense of power not the last word but, rather, the upon them. It will not be pos- first. Most workers today have sible to treat them like cattle for the illusion that the class lineup any length of time without creat- which confronts him in the facing a profound discontent in their tory and on the picket line, is by some miracle eliminated in the comain of war and militarism. authorities and police. But in gram is not for a day, but for Our program of transitional detheir overwhelming majority, the tomorrow, for a long time. If mands, proceeding from the Marxworkers still think of the nation- only a part of the militant work ist principle which never recognot rest content with general op- al government as something dif- ers take interest in it and regard nizes a suspension of the class position to capitalism and general ferent. They respect it and at it as a good thing if it could be struggle in the class society, is advocacy of the socialist revolu- the same time they fear it as a accomplished—that is already a designed to break this illusion,

> In my speech to our Chicago Conference I devoted a big section to our agitational approach to the workers who think it necessary to defend the country membered, is not to convince against fascism by military means. but imagine it has to be left in wage a fictitious political struggle full charge of the bourgeois rulers. I argued against this prejudice in terms and by means of tion, as they take all questions. | illustrations which I thought seriously. That is why we hinge might be effectively employed by our agitation around illustrations our party agitators. I summed from the life they know, that of up a whole section devoted to the factory and the union. Their such arguments with the followclass attitude in the factory is ing statement: "The workers the product of their experience. themselves must take charge of aided by the agitation of the more this fight against Hitler and any conscious elements. The right of body else who tries to invade their the workers to organization, to rights. That is the whole prinnave union officers of their own ciple of the new policy that has thoosing, to be represented by been elaborated for us by Comshop committees of their own rade Trotsky. The great differrusted people-these precious and ence between this and the socialnecessary rights were not confer- ist military policy in the past is red upon our workers by benevol- that it is an extension of the old ent bosses or an impartial govern- policy, an adaptation of old prin-

AN EXTENSION

From a reading of the text of my speech (Socialist Appeal, October 12) it is clear beyond posset limits to oppression and ex- I was arguing against the prejucover that the oppression, exploit, as well as the resolution adopted flesh. ation and class discrimination, at the Chicago Conference and the published letters and comsubject are all permeated with ism of the capitalist state in a this idea. We stand now as beform that is more intensive, more fore, on the principles of Bolshevbrutal and more contemptuous of sim and we aim to advance these human life. The military experi- principles by a transitional pro-

Anyone who wants to conduct an honest dispute with us must begin ity and make it the banner of their by stating our actual position first struggles for a minimum of fairly and honestly and then criclass independence and self pro- tic'ze us from one of two standtection. Our program anticipates points: (1) the principles of Bolthis experience and attempts to shevism are wrong and, likewise, prepare the minds of the workers the practical slogans designed to for a speedier and more conscious apply them; or, (2) the transitional program violates the prin-

METHOD OF CONFUSION Shachtman, writing in Labor

Action (November 4) employed a ployers as far as he can kick an different method of attack, a method designed not to clarify, but to confuse. At the beginning of his article, as the first "point" which sets the tone and shapes at the convention. Murray is a will grow sharper in the period the character of his article as a "labor statesman." He is not a ahead. whole, he "lifts" my above-quoted am arguing not against the prejudices of the workers but against he principles of the modern Trotskyist movement! Then, with mock seriousness, he asks: "Of which old policy is our military program an extension?"of the "Liberals, social-democrats plaining to us that "Trotsky above all taught the movement that the the 'old' policy?" But I had explained in the sen-

enunciating any different prin- factional contentions. ciple but simply attempting to apply "old principles to new condi- TRUE TO FORM calculates that by the time he military policy adopted by our appear next week.)

Haven't the workers, who are

by Farrell Dobbs

ATLANTIC CITY—The recent AFL-proclaimed "spirit of cictory" over the CIO has expired in the womb. After a spirited discussion on the second day of the CIO convention, the industrial union workers gave Frey. Hutchinson. Woll and their mouthpiece. Green, a clearcut answer: No capitulation to craft unionism! Forward to a ten-million-membered CIO! Throughout the sessions this theme was echo-

VULTEE SHOWS WHAT

IS COMING Meantime, events in the Vultec gathering to oppose the CIO in this drive. Charges of "treason" have been levelled against the Vul tee strikers. Congressmen, administration officials and the sided attack on the union. The Dies Committee has announced that it will investigate the strike. This announcement provoked a public statement by Attorney General Jackson that the FBI has already investigated and found that the Vultec strike was started and prolonged by "communists."

Headlines in the boss press are heginning to brand all strikes as impediment, if not outright sabotage, of "national defense." Comment is being introduced in of supporting Roosevelt were only the press through the Gallup poll a disagreement on tactics. and by other means to imply that public opinion is in favor of drastically curbing the unions. From various quarters demands are al Realizing this, they made a ridiready arising for compulsory culous spectacle of themselves at arbitration of labor disputes the convention trying to keep involving "defense" production. their "Draft Lewis" movement on The appointment of Doctor Mil- its feet. However, the best they is signalizes a sharp turn to could do for themselves was to the right by the NLRB. The get Joseph Curran elected as a increased participation of military vice-president. Murray will prune officials in the mediation of labor quite a few of the Stalinists out disputes foreshadows an added of the CIO apparatus but there use of the military boot against will not be an immediate wholestriking workers.

GREEN AND HILLMAN'S JUDAS ROLE

The AFL leadership will, no doubt, attempt new incursions into CIO territory in the mass production industries. Strlving for ultra-respectability, the craft unionists will play a miserable role in this effort. As in the past. they will frequently furnish a pre-

text for the corporations and their as reflected in a somewhat disgovernment stooges, to repressibility of misunderstanding that ent struggles for wages and spirit of class solidarity among conditions as jurisdictional fights dices of the workers and not a hetween unions. They will give hest illustrated by the attitude of gainst any principles hitherto some support to certain forms the Negro delegates at the conmaintained by our movement. On of anti-labor legislation and anti-vention. Their role at Atlantic Their scepticism regarding the the contrary. I took pains to as labor White House policies when ('ity stood in sharp contrast to possibility of realizing analogous sert that our new concrete prac directed mainly against the CIO. the role of the Negro in the lilyconditions in the field of militar. tical slogans are simply "an ex In their eager desire to weaken white past of the craft unions. ism arises from the fact that for tension of the old policy, an adapt- the CIO, the craft unionists will The Negro delegates at the CIO them it is as yet unexplored ter. ation of old principles to new con- forget that by these actions they convention spoke without any apritory. But they will soon dis- ditions." My speech as a whole, are also feeding on their own parent feeling of restraint or sub-

Sidney Hillman, whose speech at Atlantic City reached a new the convention was their convendaily lives as workers, reappear ments of Comrade Trotsky, on the low in grovelling before the pow-tion. Every Negro delegate who ers that be and playing on every took the floor, and there were a chord of reaction among the work. number of them, poured out the ers, will prove to be more of a pent-up wrath of his persecuted detriment than a benefit to the race. And of equal importance-CIO. Hillman made it clear in the Negro delegates were treated his convention address that above as equals by the white delegates. everything else he is out to help This factor in itself reflects the build the war machine.

THE ROLE OF MURRAY AND JOHN L. LEWIS

ble of "government, industry, labor and the consumer." He places this method above trade union action, instead of using such forms of pressure as a supplement to it. Murray will not go very far along strike were giving a clear indica the road of class struggle, and tion of the forces of reaction as far as he does go he will step very gingerly. John L. Lewis is still a power-

ful factor in the CIO despite his withdrawal from the presidency. What has been said above of Murboss press have launthed a many ray applies with equal force to Lewis. The two will collaborate very closely in the coming period. While Lewis may influence Murray to greater militancy lagainst the AFL and towards some increase in tempo in the projected organization drive, they will find no disagreement between themselves on fundamentals. Murray and Lewis see eye to eye on the question of relations with the hosses and the bosses' government. Their differences on the question

The Stalinists will find themselves in a less comfortable position in the CIO under Murray. sale purge. As a matter of fact, the present position of the CIO indicates that Murray, just as Lewis before him, cannot afford to indulge in any form of outright red-baiting.

INSPIRING SIGNS AT THE CIO CONVENTION

The most encouraging sign of CIO strength lies in the spirit and determination of the membership. torted form at the convention. The the industrial union workers was

servience. They felt that the CIO was really their union and that real strength of the industrial unions of the mass production work-

While their delegates were at Phillip Murray, the new CIO the convention, the CIO members national president, has indicated back home were busy carrying on ability to resist outright capitula- the struggle against the bosses. tion to craft unionism under gov- The wave of job actions among ernment pressure. He also ap the industrial union workers conpears capable of going a certain tinues to rise. They are winning distance in an organization drive an adjustment of their grievances in the face of the growing pres- and improvements in their worksure from the bosses and their ing conditions. They are throwgovernment. However, it is no ing the finks out of the plants; accident that he placed the strong-they are beginning to go on strike est emphasis on a demand for for contracts. The industrial unmore "defense commissions." one on workers are clearing the decks for each industry, in his remarks for action. The class struggle

gets to the end of his juggled | party, Shachtman runs true to back and show what we really to the adult members of our movement as an unscrupulous "twist-

tions." But Shachtman, obviously In his lengthy attack on the

and misapplied quotation the cas- form from beginning to end. The ual and unsuspecting reader will dubious methods which he embe too muddled and confused to ployed in his premise are mainknow the difference. To answer tained throughout the article. him it is only necessary to go Misrepresentation is followed by falsification and reinforced with said and what we really meant. a spice of outright literary forand solemny pretends that I may The interested reader, who takes gery. In debating with Shachthave been speaking of the policy the trouble to read the quotations man one needs not a pen but a in their context-and that is an pair of hip boots and a shovel and Stalinists." Then, after ex absolutely necessary precaution in order to dig down and clear whenever Shachtman is "quoting" away the filth which he piles over --can get the matter straight. He the essence of every dispute. It workers themselves must take will also get an insight into the is not a very agreeable task but charge of this fight against Hit- polemical methods of Shachtman in the line of duty I shall return ler," he ends the first "point" and which became so notorious in the to it again, insofar as the expremise of his article with the factional struggle which he con- posure of these methods of the devastating question: "If that was ducted jointly with Burnham a political underworld helps to facilthe 'whole principle of the new gainst Trotsky and the majority litate the explanation and clarificapolicy' what was the principle of of our party. He became known tion of our military transitional program to workers who are seriously and honestly interested in tences he quoted, and can only er" of quotations and a perverter the question-the most important repeat here again, that we are not of historical incidents to serve and burning question affecting their lives.

(Editors note: This is the second of a series of articles by Comrade Cannon. The third will

HILLMAN IGNORES JIM CROW

It is not only on the question of awards to corporations guilty of refusing to recognize the rights of trade unions that Sidney Hillman is being attacked nowadays. It is also because he has taken no steps to do anything about the war production industries' almost universal policy to refuse to hire colored workers at all, or to hire them only as porters, etc.

One instance after another has been widely publicized in the Negro press, giving names of scores of the largest corporations receiving contracts from the federal government, that openly announce their Jim Crow hiring policies.

Hillman has not done a thing about it to date, any more than he has done anything else generally for the working class in his post of Labor Commissioner of the National Defense Council.

His announced intention of resigning as vicepresident of the CIO in order to devote himself fully to protecting the bosses' interests in the labor field should produce no tears from workers, Negro and white, for whose interests he has shown by his actions he has no intention of

HARRISON APPOINTMENT **PROTESTED**

Vigorous protests were entered this week against the rumored appointment of George M. Harrison as next Secretary of Labor by both the National Urban League and the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. Harrison is the grand president of the Brotherhood of Railway Clerks, and his policies and record in the labor movement with regard to Negro workers were offered as more than adequate reasons why he should not be permitted to receive a post where he would have wider jurisdiction for his Jim Crow policies.

Harrison, according to the Urban League, has as head of this union, concurred in its membership policies which shunt colored railway clerks off into "auxiliary locals" where they pay the same dues as the white workers but have no voice in the determination of union policy and no representation on the policy-making bodies, or conventions.

It was also pointed out that Harrison had played a prominent smelly role in the fight against colored freight-handlers (reported in the article below.) The NAACP telegram to Roosevelt said, "Negro Americans and their white fellow workers who are seeking full democracy in the labor movement view with justified alarm possibility of having as Secretary of Labor a man who believes that Negroes are not entitled to full membership in organized unions,"

Both organizations also objected to the "trade union segregationist" who is already in the Department of Labor, Dan Tracy, head of the AFL Electrical Workers Union.

SEEK SHOWDOWN AT AFL CONVENTION

Efforts were being made this week to bring to the floor of the AFL convention the story of a fight being conducted by the colored National Council of Freight Handlers, Express and Station Employees, representing about 50 federal union locals and 2,000 workers throughout the country, to protect their rights as union mem-

After six years of struggle to establish these federal locals, during which they received no help whatever from the Brotherhood of Railway Clerks, and during which they obtained contracts from a number of important railroads. they were ordered last September by William Green to comply with the order of Harrison, head of the BRC, to turn in their charters and their treasuries and join powerless, Jim Crow auxiliaries.

Meeting in Cincinnati at that time, delegates from these locals voted not to abide by Green's order. They demanded either a separate international charter from the AFL or the right to join the BRC with the same rights that other members enjoyed. In the meantime they decided to continue their work under the National Coun-

Harrison has indicated that "we will not surrender jurisdiction over these workers" in his letter to Arthur Williams, head of the Council. Green is backing him, of course, in spite of the fact that the AFL's official position, as written down on paper at several conventions, condemns all forms of discrimination on account of race or

JIM CROW WOMEN TOO

It's not only men who get Jim-Crowed by the Army. Women are eligible for this treatment too. An example will show that women can be hurt pretty hard by this kind of treatment too.

Mrs. Burmeda Coleman and Miss Hattie Combre, employed by the Louisiana Industrial Insurance Company in New Orleans, took a civil service examination for tabulating machine operators at Camp Beauregard, near Alexandria,

On November 7 they received telegrams from the Camp to report for work. They then quit their jobs, which were relatively quite good ones, and spent a bit of money travelling from New Orleans to Alexandria.

When they got there on November 11, however, they were met by Major Dupont. commanding officer in charge of the camp, who told them that it was not known that they were Negroes. and that Negroes could not be used in that capacity at the camp.

So there they were, Jim Crowed as hard as any private in a separate regiment, without any reimbursement for the expenses they had incurred, and no jobs. It's a great country!

The "LABOR WITH A WHITE SKIN HIGHIGHTS of the C. I. O. Convention MARX." Highlights of the C. I. O. Convention

things about the convention was of their own. They were concomplete absence of speeches by spicuous by their silence. Matles, government officials and other Quill and Curran were their only capitalist politicians, such as big-guns who took the floor and filled the first week of the AFL then only to agree with adminisconvention. Whatever motivation tration proposals. The only time John L. Lewis may have had for their Fur Workers delegation thus arranging things, the net sent a man to the microphone result was fine. Think of it! A was to speak for a resolution trade union convention in which against the government's frameonly trade unionists talk!

In its own way the capitalist the floor! press indicated which convention it considered most important. The crackerjacks came to Atlantic City, while the second-string men were sent to New Orleans. A total of 105 reporters registered with the press committee.

That 43-minute ovation to John L. Lewis on the first day was a pretty mechanical affair, engineered by the Stalinists and perfunctorily participated in by the rest. But, make no mistake about it. the ovations he got during and after his Tuesday afternoon speech on "labor unity" were the real thing. Lewis made the greatest come-back I have ever seen. He could get practically anything out of that conventionexcept one thing: re-election to the presidency. He made it quite clear, however, that he'll be back for that next year. And in his speech after election, Murray made clear-in an almost-involuntary ejaculatión which was edited out of the stenographic record—that he was under no illusions as to the "guirk of fate' which had given him the job.

The Stalinists were crazy enough to try to persuade Lewis to stand for re-election. After the "Draft Lewis" resolutions. passed in whatever locals they could manage it, the Stalinists flooded the convention with enormous buttons bearing the legend, "Forward with Lewis and CIO." Lewis poured cold water on all this in his very first speech the first day, but the Stalinists till kept hoping. None of them. however, dared to take the floor and make the proposal. Nor, for to send to Congress the stark-

(Continued from Page 1)

tigures: Van Bittner, Secretary-

Treasurer Thomas Kennedy,

John Owens. They went over the

history of the last five years and

pilloried the AFL leadership's at-

tempts to smash the new indus-

James B. Carey and James

Matles spoke of the growth of

their union, the United Electrical,

Radio and Machine Workers.

They claimed an additional 50.000

organized during the last year.

What they had to say was par-

ticularly impressive for it is an

open secret that, whatever con-

ceivable concessions the craft

unions may come to make to

other new unions, the U. E. now

the fourth largest union in the

CIO, will be dismembered if there

is "unity" in the immediate fu-

John L. Lewis was the final

speaker against the Hillman pro-

posal, and it was unquestionably

one of the most effective speech-

es ever made by that powerful

orator. Not the least of the reas-

ons for his effectiveness was

that on this question Lewis found

himself in a position where he

could speak with absolute hones-

The AFL has not recognized

the principle of industrial union-

ism in the mass industries, said

Lewis. Can we make them recog-

"There is no peace because

you are not yet strong enough

to command peace upon honorable terms. And there will be

no peace with a mighty adver-

sary until you possess that

strength of bone and sinew that

will make it possible for you

to bargain for peace on equal

Lewis publicly threw down the

gage of battle to Hillman. He

recalled the defection of Dubin-

sky and Zaritsky, "And now

piercing wail and the laments of

the Amalgamated Clothing

workers. And they say, 'Peace it

is wonderful.' And there is no

peace." "Dubinsky took the easy

way. Zaritsky took the casy way.

If there is anybody else in the

CIO that wants to take the easy

way, then in God's name, take

The convention delegates EXPOSE AIM

with delight as Lewis interspers- tendants on the Philadelphia

RIDICULES AFL TOPS

ty and truthfulness.

HILLMAN

LEWIS CHALLENGES

nize it? No. not now:

trial unions.

the debate of the union's chief

One of the most wonderful that matter, any other proposal | up of the union's leadership. And Harry Bridges never once took

> With the national elections over and done with, an attempt by the clothing workers' delegates to work up some indignation against the CIO NEWS' failure to print pro-Roosevelt speeches was a flop. One of them dramatically (so he thought) pointed to the fact that the post-election number was "perhaps the only paper in the U. S. that didn't carry Roosevelt's picture." He got very little applause for his pains. A Negro delegate followed him to the mike and asked him why the CIO "should cringe before the powers that be"; the applause was good and strong.

ment barring Communists from get very far. Nor did the Hillthe Lewis-controlled resolutions Morgan Defense Commission. committee brought in a thoroughly reactionary resolution denouncing communism, a resolution which can easily become the base for a red-baiting campaign commies vote for it." They did.

Next to the debate on "labor unity," the high point of the convention was the discussion on the poll tax. The way in which it enables a tiny handful of Bourbons to perpetuate a naked dictatorship over the eight Southern states where the poll tax still is in force;

"We have explored every

proposition" said Lewis. "What

have we all been doing? I have

been an explorer in the Ameri-

can Federation of Labor. Ex-

plore the mind of Bill Green?

Why Bill and I had offices next

door to each other in the same

corridor for ten years. I have

done a lot of exploring in Bill's

mind, and I give you my word,

mind? I did. It is the mind of

an insurance agent, who used

his position as an officer of the

AFL to promote his insurance

business. It is so because I told

him so and he agreed with me.

"Explore Tom Rickert's

mind, of the United Garment

Workers? I did, and here is

what was in his mind. He said

"We have one aim and that is

to see that justice is secured for

are now being unjustly punished

roared and hugged themselves | Since their arrest, the mess at | forgotten by our people while

ed logical argument with some have been joined by sailors from part of the messmen of the U.S.S.

screamingly funny Shakesperean at least three other ships who Brooklyn, . . . are prepared to sac-

comedy, ridiculing the Amalgat- have spoken out and in most rifice the time that we have in

ed Clothing Workers resolution's cases signed their names, cor- here and ourselves to help

men and American citizens."

MESS ATTENDANTS

proposal to "explore the possi- roborating their testimony about remedy this condition."

above all the clamor comes the possible means of support in its write:

the colored men in the Navy who hope Johnson, Goodwin and the

for demanding their rights as that of the N.A.A.C.P., and other

"Explore Mathew Woll's

there is nothing there.

CIO Opens Road---

| bilities" of peace.

est reactionaries of all, who through long tenure in Congress rise to hold most of the all-powerful committee chairmanships in Congress and thereby spread their rule over the whole country-all this was brought out by a series of dramatic speeches by Negro and white delegates from the South.

Incidentally they showed how deep is the bond of black and white solidarity in the CIOit was just a matter of course to them and the rest of the convention that a delegate was a brother no matter what the color of his skin. What a contrast to that painful moment at an AFL convention, when the lone Negro delegate. A. Philip Randolph of the Railroad Porters, rises to plead with the "lily white" craft unionists for justice for his

The high point—carefully prepared for and finally reachedof Hillman's speech was his declaration that he had the "full confidence of the President of the waited for the applause. It was pretty tepid. The speech was a The Hillman crowd had pro- it fell flat. Hillman's strong point of defense" and assured his minkposed a constitutional amend- is committee-room and stringpulling stuff; he is neither an paid office. Fortunately it didn't orator nor has he the necessary presence for the platform. In admanites carry the issue to the dition, of course, he had a very floor. Unfortunately, however, had line to sell-the duPont-

John L. Lewis has the best poker-face in the business. Ho gave no sign of any kind during Hillman's speech, but kept doing bit? in any CIO union. As the vote two things as he sat on the platwas called for, a grinning SWOC form facing the audience. He SALVATION AT LAST organizer called out: "Watch the kept teetering back in his chair until he had to grab something to save himself from falling. And he kept spitting on the floor.

> Hillman scored off Lewis just once, but that was very effective. That was when Hillman, in the course of his speech, reminded the delegates that the United Mine Workers' constitution bars communists from membership. "What's

After telling the story of how

the AFL chieftains had des-

perately attempted to break the

Auto Workers strike against

General Motors, Lewis turned to

fact that at the negotiations with

the AFL for unity, the AFL ne-

getiators had said of the Steel

in certain organizations but. Mr.

Murray, with respect to your

Steel Organization, that is a mat-

ter upon which you will have to

confer with the officers of the

various organizations in the

AFL, some 21 in number, who

claim jurisdiction in that indus-

try, and we can't take in the

workers in the steel industry un-

til you make peace with each one

(To Be Continued)

to submission. But these con-

stant letters to you are the only

rest of us have to get your help.

such organizations throughout

the country so that this case will

not be dropped into obscurity and

conditions remain the same. We.

of those organizations."

Workers union: "We will take

Hillman, Needless to say, the Stalinists have never, in this whole period, ever published that disgraceful fact about the constitution which John L. Lewis rules over.

trugged in routine. Then, sudspeaking on the need for more fink. demogracy, told what happened

to him in 1918 when he came good enough for the CIO." said back from France to the Southern town from which he had been drafted. "They ripped the medal from my breast and the uniform from my body and drove me back to the cotton fields." There were enough moments like that in the convention to make it more than For long, dreary hours the worth while. Never mind the convention would drone along, "responsible" speeches of Lewis and Murray and their associates. tenly, some delegate would come their talk of collaboration with alive at the microphone and the employers, etc. etc. That conrouse the entire convention, vention was as much a part of sometimes with just a single sen- the class struggle as any picket tence. As when a Negro delegate. Ime that ever slapped down a

SOCIETY NOTES

The Waldorf-Astoria is seething! with social consciousness. The National Association of Day Nurseries holds its second annual concrence under the aegis-as who United States." He stopped and does not those days-of national preparedness. The Rev. Dr. Ralph W. Sockman told the delegates supreme effort by Hillman, but how "the child is the first line draped audience that day nurser ies are an important link in the nation's preparedness program, Far-sighted, these bourgeols Munitions must be made for papa to use on the nasty enemy. Mama wants take papa's place in the factory. But something has to he done with junior. So the Day Nursery springs into action as a munitions-plant auxiliary. Who says Park Avenue isn't doing its

> Grace had been said. Sixtythree starved, homeless men sat around the breakfast board at the Salvation Army Social

Service Center in Pittsburgh. Amen had hardly been uttered when they dug ravenously into a meal including angel-food cake and pancakes. In a few minutes two of them rose from the table, staggered across a hall and fell dead. Nine more died in hospital beds, and fiftytwo others lay retching and writhing for days. Roach poison had been served in the panat last solved the unemploy- week.

ment problem for at least eleven men.

PAINLESS PRINTS

The move to help hig business build better blacklists was given a delicate shove forward on November 14 when members of the Architectural League of New York interrupted a pleasant luncheon to be finger-printed by Detective James F. Kenny, purely in the interests of the "anthropometric method of identification." They were photographed in radiant smiles, presumably to show that finger-printing doesn't hurt. It doesn't. It's the use to which the prints are put that does.

ANOTHER WAY OUT Domenic Stevens, 23 and a native of Belgium, was hauled into a psychopathic ward after having made several attempts to get himself run down and killed by automobiles. His parents were murdered by the Nazi invaders of Belgium and he had been torpedoed on his way here. He found it pretty hard to laugh at fascism and

SCALP BELTS

A fancy shop advertises "scalp belts" of leather with eight dar£:1ing gilt disks, on each of which is engraved the initials of "one of the men in your life." How about tatooing this data around the waistline? It's just as colorcakes. The Salvation Army had | ful and can't be changed each

TROTSKY MEMORIAL FUND

The following additional contributions to the Trotsky Memorial Philip Marray, who confirmed the Fund have come during the last two weeks:

Boston		32.50
Rockville	\$	2.00
Lynn		8.00
Detroit		50.00
Los Angeles		29.15
Milwaukee		1.00
St. Paul and Minneapolis	1	30.00
Individual Contributions		2.30
Newark		20.50
Younstown		6.00
Toledo		15.00
Chicago		20.00
	-	
mom . T	^	

\$316.45 Buffalo has pledged \$25.00 to the fund. Allentown pledges \$15.00 and Texas \$5.00. CHICAGO INCREASED ITS PLEDGE TO

he did not propose to let the		\$200.00.			
Amalgamated Clothing Work-	What Do	Branch	Quota	Amount paid	%
ers into the AFL if he could	They Expect?	Baltimore	\$ 10.00	\$ 10.00	100%
help it. I said to him that he	In an editorial of the Army and	Rockville	7.00	7.00	100%
was getting \$20.000 a year	Navy Register for November 16	Toledo	50.00	50.00	100%
graft out of the advertising	we read the following:	Lynn	100.00	83.00	83%
monopoly in the AFL, and I	"Troops have been encamped in	Boston	100.00	59.50	60%
had a paper in my pocket to	these days of chilly night in tents		200.00	115.00	58%
prove it. He knew it and agreed	with less than a quarter of the	Chicago and			
to that as true. And I thought	Sibley Heating facilities. Troops	Indiana Harbor	200.00	105.07	53%
then I had explored his mind	have been for weeks in camp	Newark	150.00	70.50	47%
enough.	without hot water for washing	Allentown	15.00	6.00	40%
"Explore the mind of Bill	and bathing."	Milwaukee	5.00	2.00	40%
Hutcheson? I did. There wasn't anything there that would do	Well, what do the draftees ex-	Flint	150.00	56.00	37%
you any good. So what? Waste	pect—snug well-heated quarters like the officers? After all some-	San Francisco	100.00	35.00	35%
more time on unprofitable ex-	one has to get hardened up to do	Los Angeles	150.00	49.15	33%
plorations?"	the fighting for Wall Street.	New York	1000.00	255.00	26%
		Minneapolis & St. P	Paul 1000.00	230.00	239
	Milwaukee	5.00	1.00	20%	
Domand Ex	aadam	New Haven	20.00	3.50	189
Demand Fr	eeuviii	Youngstown	50.00	6.00	129
(Candiana d Sana 190 and 1)		Akron	10.00	00.00	00
(Continued from Page 1) do that Jim-crowism when cap-	treatment of Negroes in the	Buffalo	25.00	0.00	00
tioned by that lofty term, 'The		Cleveland	70.00	00.00	00
American Way', or race discrim-		Hutchinson	10.00	00.00	00
ination even when covered by the	j j	1	30.00	00.00	00
American flag to disguise its		1	10.00	00.00	00
viciousness stinks to the high		1	10.00	00.00	00
heavens nonetheless.	that they understand what is go-	Quakertown	7.00	00.00	00
"We are definitely united to	ing on behind the closed doors of	Reading	5.00	00.00	00
lend your worthy paper every	1	Rochester	15.00	00.00	00
possible means of support in its		St. Louis	5.00	00.00	00
dive against this outcropping of	They are trying to make an	Texas	5.00	0.00	00
injustice which has now come to	Chample of Johnson and Good	Individual Contributi	ons	2.30	
the surface in the United States	win (two of the Philadelphia men)				-

to try to scare the rest of us in- TOTALS

\$3507.00

Pioneer Publishers announces that the new pamphlet "Defend the Negro Sailors" by Albert Parker will be available to the branches in bundle orders at 11/2c per COPY PLUS POSTAGE.

1145.02

NOTEBOOK Of an Agitator

"BANDIERA ROSSA"

The biggest and most important news that has yet come out of the bloody and destructive war of the imperialists is contained in a little news item tucked away in the corner of the paper last Friday. A United Press dispatch from Athens, dated November 22nd, says:

"News of Koritza's fall, given to several thousand Italian prisoners in camps here, started off a spontaneous demonstration. Anti-Fascist Italians sang 'Bandiera Rossa', the Italian revolutionary song."

What a message of hope and promise for tomorrow that brief item contains! And what testimony to the real feelings of the Italian soldiers which found tumultuous expression at the first opportunity. Now the world can know the real meaning of the defeats of the Italian army. The brave soldiers who sang that song to celebrate Mussolini's defeat at Koritza were saying for all the world to hear that they have no interest in the tyrant's war of conquest and that for them, as for the oppressed masses in all imperialist countries, the main enemy is at home.

RESOUNDS THROUGHOUT THE WORLD

Above the sound of the biggest guns that message resounds throughout the world today. For eighteen long and terrible years now the Italian masses have known the yoke of fascist tyranny. But deep in the hearts of the enslaved there abides the memory of their song of freedom. At the first opportunity it came spontaneously to the lips of the imprisoned Italian soldiers in Greece.

When the journalists and commentators speculate about the further progress of the war, they are in the habit of considering only the pronouncements and plans and schemes of the statesmen and generals in the rival camps. They leave out the people. It is customary also for cynics, capitulators and renegades to rule out the people—the workers—in the fascist countries as an independent factor in coming events. The people haven't spoken yet but they are going to say the final and decisive word. The revolutionary song of the Italian soldiers in the Greek prison camp is a signal. The explosive which will blow the fascist tyrants to hell is located in their own countries.

HEROIC ITALIAN WORKERS

The heroic Italian proletariat showed its mettle in 1921. The workers occupied the factories and were ready for the next decisive steps. Betrayed by pusillanimous leaders, and lacking a strong party of Bolshevism which alone could lead the resolute struggle for power to the very end, the great movement of the Italian workers suffered defeat. In the reaction from that defeat they fell under the iron heel of fascism. But we must believe that they have lived all these terrible years on the memory of their great hope that the people will yet go forward ("Avanti o popolo") under the scarlet banner ("Bandiera Rossa").

A POIGNANT MEMORY

The brief dispatch from Athens recalled to me the poignant memory of the departure of the Italian delegation from the Fourth Congress of the Comintern in Moscow, at the end of 1922. The news of the fascist coup d'etat had arrived and the delegates were returning home to take up the underground fight. The great hall in the Kremlin resounded to their song, "Bandiera Rossa," in which the delegates of all the other countries joined. Many of those communist fighters went to their death; and so did thousands and tens of thousands of others of the flower of the Italian proletariat, in the course of these eighteen tragic years.

SEED OF COMING REVOLUTION But the blood of these martyrs is the seed

of the coming revolution. It flowered spontancously in Greece the other day for the first time, at the first opportunity. We have ground to believe that those Italian soldiers in the Greek prison camp expressed the profoundest sentiments of the enslaved masses at home and the equally enslaved soldiers in Mussolini's army of conquest. In that sentiment in the hearts of the workers in all the warring countries-and in that alone—resides the hope and the confidence that the bloody and terrible war into which the imperialists have plunged the world will be brought to an end by a victory of the people. "Avanti o popolo!"-go forward, people, under the scarlet banner! "Bandiera Rossa trionfera"!

An Analysis of the Two Conventions AFL---CIO

What are the differences separating the AFL and CIO? Will there be unity between them? Are the bosses preparing to crack down on American Labor? Will the trade unions survive the war? Speaker:

FARRELL DOBBS Labor Secretary, S. W. P. Wednesday, December 8:30 P.M. IRVING PLAZA

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A fortunate circumstance makes it possible to offer this

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FIGHT WITH THE SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY

ON THE WAR FRONT:

For:

- 1. Military training of workers, financed by the government, under control of the trade unions.
- 2. The establishment of special officers' training camps, financed by the government and controlled by the trade unions, to train workers to become
- 3. Confiscation of all war profits—all company books to be open for trade union inspection.
- 4. Expropriation of all war industries and other operation under workers' control.

5. Trade union wages for all workers drafted into the

- 6. Full equality for Negroes in the armed forces-
- Down with Jim Crowism. 7. An end to secret diplomacy.
- 8. A peoples' referendum on any and all wars.

AT HOME:

For:

- 1. A job and decent living for every worker.
- 2. Thirty-thirty-\$30 weekly minimum wage-30 hour weekly maximum for all workers on all jobs.
- 3. \$30 weekly old age and disability pension.
- 4. Full social, political and economic equality for the Negro people.
- 5. Workers Defense Guards against vigilante and fascist attacks.
- 6. A twenty-billion dollar Federal public works and housing program to provide jobs for the unemployed.
- 7. Expropriate the Sixty Families.
- 8. An Independent Labor Party based on the Trade
- 9. A Workers' and Farmers' Government.

Vultee Strike

When more than 3,000 workers at the Vultee aircraft plant went out on strike for a rise in wages, the employers screamed like a hog with its foot in

And in order to save the poor employers who are going broke on a backlog of \$84,000,000 in orders for planes, with "reasonable" profits guaranteed and the industry expanding at an incredible rate in view of unlimited future orders, government agents swooped down from all sides.

There is good reason for this alarm on the part of the bosses and their government agents. Success for the workers in the Vultee strike can give the impetus that will lead to complete unionization of the airplane industry and provide such a spurt to the labor movement as it has not received since the great days of the first ClO upsurge.

The FBI as usual cried out "Reds!" And claimed to have scooped the Dies Committee in uncovering these "subversive elements" on strike at Vultee. Which should prove an object lesson to the 3,000 Vultee workers that the FBI and the Dies Committee are agencies of the bosses and that a "red" in their language is a worker with enough militancy to stand up for his rights.

But the Dies Committee and the FBI now have a new competitor in the field. None other than the "New Leader," organ of the Social Democratic Federation, which claims that it is "devoted to the interests of the labor movement.'

This rag expresses its "devotion" to the labor movement by crying out in a front page headline of its Nov. 23 issue: "Reds Cripple Vital Plane Production at Vultee."

Like the FBI and the Dies Committee, the "New Leader" feels it a personal insult that a rise in pay should even be mentioned to bosses rapidly becoming millionaires out of the armament busi-

Together with the FBI and the Dies Committee, the "New Leader" is acting the role of a strikebreaker at Vultee. The "New Leader" is interested in labor the same way an executioner is interested in getting his victim into the electric chair without a struggle.

Tampico Incident

Last week when the press reported that war ships of "unknown nationality" had caused the scuttling of one German freighter a few miles from Tampico and the return of three others to port, the Socialist Appeal made the supposition that these warships were American warships and that their action constituted the first step of military participation by the United States in World War No. 2.

Additional information now confirms this sup-

On November 18, Tampico port authorities re-

Child Labor in USSR ported they saw the silhouette of American warships in the distance and recognized among them the destroyer Plunkett.

The Mexican press was almost unanimous in

Lieutenant Zavala, commander of the Mexican

gunboat, Queretaro, who warned one "foreign war-

ship" out of "Mexican territorial waters," is re-

ported as chief authority for the belief that at

least one American destroyer entered Mexican

Later in the day of November 18, three United

States destroyers crusing close to Tampico where

the German boat was scuttled detained and ex-

amined the papers of two neutral ships, one the

Honduran freighter Ceiba, the other the Mexican

tanker, Cerro Azul. This occurred within the 9-

mile limit off the Mexican shore. The American

destroyers were reported to be the Plunkett, the

U. S. Naval vessels stopped any merchantmen near

Tampico. At the same time Under-Secretary of

State Welles declared that the American destroyers

alleged to have turned back the four German

Ships had not entered Mexican territorial waters.

as to the *identity* of the warships which did drive

back the German ships, his statement can be taken

sued a declaration which was pointedly silent as

to whether American destroyers had violated

Mexican territorial waters, but added significant-

ly: "The German craft attempted to leave Tampi-

co with duly cleared papers; American destroyers,

after they were some hours at sea played search-

that it was American war ships which turned back

the German freighters and which violated Mexican

wars commence without a formal declaration of

war. Incidents such as this one in Mexican waters

simply increase in number until the nations be-

come involved in major military operations. De-

termining the "aggressor" in the conflict is simply

a legal question that not even the bourgeois jurists

proof that the Administration in Washington is

cold-bloodedly and deliberately taking this nation

step by step into the second world war. "Aid to

Britain short of war" becomes increasingly vague

as Roosevelt under this formula prepares to march

American soldiers onto the battlefield to die for

The fate of the trade unions in France is an

ominous warning to the trade unions in the United

States. In France the workers made tremendous

gains, including the 40-hour week, vacations with

pay. In 1936 they could have gone a step farther

and placed a genuine workers' government in

power. But they failed to do that and instead be-

wages. Then they accepted wholesale increases in

hours, wholesale decreases in wages in the face of

mounting cost of living. They gave up their 40-

hour week. All this was done in the name of "na-

But when the Nazi machine rolled over the

Now the Vichy government has dissolved the

frontiers, the bosses sold out. They sold out the

French workers who had been stupid enough to

trade unions in France by decree. It is against the

law in France to belong to a trade union. All the

union funds and union property have likewise

wages, but in time of war they end up by wiping

out the trade unions. Let the fate of the French

trade unions not be lost upon the American

Cynical Propaganda

"all that America stands for."

can Revolution.

The bosses begin with chiselling on hours and

In order to make the Second World War for

profits and colonies more palatable, the entire

capitalist press is busy painting up the Allies of

Wall Street as simon pure democracies fighting for

subject for hounding by the Dies Committee, their

capitalist governments allied with Wall Street

have been covered with a coon skin cap and en-

rolled in the ranks of the Daughters of the Ameri-

of November 18, declares in relation to the war

between Italy and Greece that "Two forces are at

the Times has seen fit to print in some time. It is

well known that Greece is governed by a totalitar-

ian dictatorship with as brutal and cruel record in

repression of workers' organizations as the blood-

iest of them. We may be sure that if Metaxas had

seen fit to swing into the orbit of Berlin instead of

London, the *Times* would have likewise seen fit to

drag out his evil record as a totalitarian dictator

and print it with appropriately scathing comment,

including perhaps even his imprisonment of mem-

press is also concerned that they are covered with

the sweetest smelling names. In this respect they

stop at no lie no matter how brazen, even to calling

Metaxas a democrat and Roosevelt a friend of

But where profits are concerned, the capitalist

bers of the Fourth International.

work here: totalitarianism and democracy."

The New York Times for instance in its issue

This is just about as cynical a declaration as

While European workers are still only aliens

tional unity," and "national defense."

believe what the bosses told them.

been confiscated by the government.

First they accepted chiselling on hours and

gan conceding to the offensive of the bosses.

Ominous Warning

What is important in this incident is its clear

It can thus be taken as officially established

It has become a commonplace that modern

as merely a diplomatic evasion of the question.

In view of the fact that Welles remained silent

The Mexican government on November 22 is-

The Navy Department denied officially that

Broome and the Gilmer.

lights on them ..."

territorial waters.

Wall Street.

themselves can settle upon.

the belief that the warships were American.

Stalin Issues Decree Driving Soviet Children From School In Order to Create Larger Labor Reserve; Decree Retroactive

By JOHN G. WRIGHT

By ukase of October 2, Soviet children 14 years of age and over are immediately subject to draft into a conscript labor force; the right to education so solemnly 'guaranteed" by the Stalin Constitution, has been abolished, without a formal constitutional amendment, or consultation of the Supreme Council of the USSR. The doors of secondary schools and universities have been slammed shut in the faces of the Soviet

youth. RETROACTIVE LAW

The retroactive law passed by People's Commissars introduces September 1, 1940, in the eighth, ninth and tenth grades of secondary schools, and in universities." emphasis).

In Moscow, Leningrad and capital cities of the Soviet Republics, he tuition in secondary schools is set at 200 roubles a year; "In all other cities and villages-150 roubles a year." Tuition in universities is 400 roubles a year in Moscow, Leningrad and capital cities of the Soviet Federation; 300 roubles in other cities (where universities are few and far between). Art schools-fine arts, drama, music and other highest paid professions—500 roubles. State subsidies to university students have been withdrawn, exrept for the "best students." The rest, and this means approximately 98 per cent, will have to support themselves. The supply of Soviet scientists, engineers, technicians, already meager, is thus further reduced at the very education is no longer free.

SCHOOL INACCESSIBLE

TO POOR The average wage of a Soviet worker is below 200 roubles a month; the mass of the peasantry earns far less. Secondary schooling is therefore inaccessible to the sons and daughters of workers and peasants, and within reach only of the privileged progeny of governmental, party and trado union bureaucrats, functionairies of the GPU, labor aristocracy (Stakhanovists), factory directors and administrators, engineers, doctors, and so on. Thousands of children who had already started the current school year must now leave the secondary schools, not to mention those poor students still able to penetrate into the universities and technological institutes.

AMERICAN PRESS SILENT Not a word of this has been al lowed to leak out in the American press. In the last of a scries of articles purportedly devoted to the "cultural and economical well-being of the people of the USSR," featured by the Daily Worker, one G | Stanley writes: "After the Revolution the doors of universities were thrown wide open to all the working people." (Daily Worker, November 16).

He forgets to mention a trife newly added by Stalin: tuitions. This article is dated, Moscow, Noember 15, six weeks after the publication of the above decrees, six weeks after "all the working people" were kicked out through the wide open doors. Mr. Stanley is under orders to suppress the fate of one of the remaining conquests of the October revolution. As for the capitalist press, the editors are well informed but keep silent lest the diplomatic negotiations between Washington and Moscow be hindered unnecessar-

STALINIST BOAST

What about other educational facilities so precious to all the 'Friends of the Soviet Union?" The same Stanley in the same article still boasts brazenly: "But the network of educational institutions is not limited to ordinary schools. There is also a wide network of correspondence courses available to all Soviet citizens. Thus, while continuing to work in the factory, office or on the collective farm, one may qualify for the degree of engineer, teacher, agronomist etc.'

Stalin's pen-prostitute again beys orders. The readers of the Daily Worker must not learn that correspondence courses are henceforth restricted likewise to those who have the cash in their pockets to pay-one-half of the respective school and university fees. The Soviet press is even conducting a campaign to place lectures at clubs, enterprises, collective farms on a paid admission basis. People, it appears, don't like free lectures.

The official motivation of the cultural expropriation of the Sovict youth follows:

"After duly considering the higher level of material welfare of the toilers and the considerable sums expended by the Soviet government on constructing, equipping and maintaining the incessantly expanding network of secondary and highest educational instituCommissars of the USSR finds it necessary to place a share of the educational expenditures in secondary schools and universities in the USSR upon the toilers themselves, and has in this connection decided ... to introduce the above-listed tuitions." (PRAVDA, October 3).

To believe the Kremlin, the toilers are now so well off that their children need no longer go to school.

REAL MOTIVE

The real motive for the cultural expropriation of the youth lies in payment for instruction, from the child-labor decrees promutgated on the same day. The Pravda, in an editorial hailing these 'historic decrees of October 2" (Pravda, October 3, 1940. Our incidentally, no comment has yet appeared in any Soviet paper on the equally "historic" abrogation of free education-declares openly that child labor was made necessary by the scarcity of labor which, in turn, was primarily due to the refusal of peasants to leave

"In pre-revolutionary Russian villages...millions of poor peasants would leave each vear to hire themselves out in cities...In the USSR...the collective farmers lead a secure life. But for this very reason the old sources which assured a spontaneous influx of labor forces into industry have been shut off, have disappeared." (PRAVDA, October 3.)

PREFERRED THE LAND

During the first two Five Year

child-labor reads:

ment has been destroyed, poverty and pauperization in city and country forever abolished. and in view of all this we haven't got people who would be compelled to knock at factory gates and beg admission into the factories, thus spontaneously forming a constant reserve of labor power for industry."

All "spontaneous" sources of adult labor supply have been cannot be compelled "to knock as factory gates and beg admission," there still remains the youth. Un- DRIVEN INTO BLIND ALLEY able to get adult workers, the Kremlin proposes to tap the reser-

DRIVEN OUT OF SCHOOLS

tarms are instructed by law to 'designate two (children) for every 100 members of the collective farm." Smaller collectives, at least one. In the urban centers. the city soviets will do the "designating" with 'this difference. that city quotas are not fixed in advance. In other words, the urban youth will be driven into industry at a speed depending upon the circumstances. But this child labor itself must have a "reserve." In order to create such a "spontaneous" reserve it was indispensable to drive the children of workers and peasants, the overchildren, out of schools. And so they were driven.

Crazy as a Fox

20 millions from the stockholders of his company.

Hopson's doctors had testimuch, had a sensation of "wandering about through celthe time.

raving bug-house material.

tions, the Council of People's | ing class pressure in advanced countries, to legislating child labor out of the basic industry. One is almost embarrased to repeat this elementary fact. Yet Stalin not only reintroduces—on the very eve of the Twenty-third Anniversary of October-this bestial relic of barbarism but envisages it as the only available reservoir of labor power for Soviet industry. The irreconcilable conflict between the further rule of the bureaucracy and the further eco nomic, cultural and social advan gement of the Soviet masses dic tates the logic of Moloch-Stalin's

WINDOW DRESSING

But will not the children first go to "trade schools"? Doesn't the law provide for 1-2 years' training at "government expense"? Won't they serve only as apprentices?

All this is window-dressing, for the consumption of the gullible faithful abroad, and the venal apologists of the G.P.U. The decrees provide that the Council of People's Commissars, through a specially appointed board, has sole and complete jurisdiction over the "disposal of the labor reserve" This ominous clause invalidates in and of itself any and all other provisions, assuming of course that the gang in the Kremlin feels itself in any way bound by the scraps of paper it labels "laws." There are no facilities for housing let alone training. If any further verification of the real aims of these decrees is required we cite the date set for the in duction of child labor into basic industries-coal mines, ferrous and non-ferrous mines, iron and steel, non-ferrous metallurgy, oil industry, building trades: It is six months. That is, approxim living and working conditions ately the time it will actually take to fully organize the draft.

ENSLAVING YOUTH

The bureaucracy avows, in so nany words, that it cannot oper ate Soviet industry today and has no prospect of operating Soviet industry in the future except by enslaving the youth of the country, by chaining them to industry just as it has sought to chain the adult workers. That is its program "on the threshhold of Com munism."

It may be argued that by em ploying child labor the bureaucracy will be able to alleviate at least partially the crisis now convulsing Soviet industry. In any case, succeed in smashing the res listance of the workers to the June laws. Moscow fervently hopes so But other and much more immo diate consequences must flow from this ruthless attempt to enslave the youth. It is as if Stalir was deliberately bent on convincing every child in the Soviet Un-"shut off" by the fatal regime of ion that his regime is the mortal the bureaucracy. But if adults enemy of the youth whom he has ically, but culturally and socially

Except for a thin layer of priv ileged and exempt children, the voir of child labor, to create by mass of the Soviet youth can no ukase hereditary industrial serfs. longer cherish any illusions about their future. In the period of the first two Five Year Plans, these The chairmen of collective illusions-"Wait till we finish the Second Five Year Plan and enter Communism!"-played an enor mous role in stabilizing the re gime. Driven into a blind alley the youth has no perspective, no alternative other than to engage in an open struggle for self- preservation. Stalin has lit the fuse to a charge with the greatest exblosive power.

The first steps in this struggle have already been taken by the younger workers in their resistance to the June 26 laws. The October 2 legislation will not reduce but intensity tenfold this whelming majority of the Soviet resistance. They have acquired the land, especially the sons and daughters of the millions recently incorporated into the Soviet Federation.

Nor is the bureaucracy blind to

BUREAUCRACY SEES DANGER

the danger. But it deludes itself with the assurance that the totalitarian machine of repressions will again see it through. All the gears of the apparatus are grinding overtime. The party and the Komsomol (Russia YCL) have orders to "engage in vast political mass activities which will insure the fulfillment of the ukase, and in particular obtain a considerable flood of voluntary declarations of enrollment in the schools" (read: child labor army). All campaigns in the press have been sidetracked in favor of this latest one. Newspapers shriek hysterically about the "unanimous approbation of these great historic decrees; rave about the great uplift of alleged factory mass meetings all equally unanimous; and, above all, greet ecstatically the least rumor of "voluntary enrollments." It is as if Stalin intended to leave nothing undone in exposing to every child in the Soviet Union the methods and inner-mechanics of his rule.

Go Forward

Latin American **Workers Face** U.S. Imperialism

By JOSEPH HANSEN =

Vice-President Wallace, the press informs us, has been studying Spanish the past few years. His interest in this language is not strictly cultural. He is learning Spanish the better to represent the interests of American imperialism in the coming period. For the expansive force of imperialism follows geographic lines and the first area of conquest for U.S. imperials ism is Latin America.

Wallace has already been detailed to represent Washington at the inauguration of President-Elect Camacho in Mexico City on December 1. Almazan, who pretended to be the legally elected president of Mexico has thus been discarded by Washington after being held on the shelf since last July pending "conversations" with the representatives of the Mexican bourgeoisie over the oil expropriations, naval and air bases, and the construction of military highways connecting with the great military highways in the United States.

The Junket of Wallace to Mexico City is thus part of the drive of U.S. imperialism south of the Rio Grande.

In Brazil, the controlled press applauded the idea of "mutual friendship" visits such as that of Wallace

For despots such as Vargas in Brazil and throughout South America it is largely a question of the price that can be obtained through conceding to one or another of the imperialist powers. And this price is expressed in the form of "loans" after "good neighbor" visits to Washington.

A commission from Argentina, for example, is holding out for a \$250,000,000 loan before cementing a "friendship" with the U.S. imperialism which would include construction of naval and air bases on the Rio Plata. Of the South American nations Argentina has up to date carried on the most independent policy in relation to the United States. This was due to the fact that her exports, grain, beef, hides, etc. were barred from this country by high tariffs and went to Europe, principally to England.

The commission which is dreaming of the \$250,-000,000 loan is also asking the Washington administration to make possible the export of agricultural products from Argentina to the United States. But this can only be done at the expense of the agricultural areas. And the switch in the farm vote in the recent election into the Republican camp has already given warning to Roosevelt that the farmers are in no mood to brook increased competition in a market already glutted with agricultural products.

The Roosevelt Administration which could find no solution to over-production save curtailing and destroying crops here at home, will find it scarcely possible to grant the Argentine request that the customs let down the barriers to her surpluses.

THE CASE OF MARTINIQUE

Already Washington has obtained eight new military bases from Great Britain along the Atlantic coast from New Foundland to Trinidad.

The use to which Roosevelt intends to put these bases are shown clearly in the case of Martinique, French possession in the Carribean.

Operating from the newly acquired base of St. Lucia, U. S. warships are patrolling the vicinity of Martinique, enabling British warships to withdraw for service in the North Atlantic. But the island of Martinique possesses one of the finest harbors in the Carribean, and on top of this there are 110 American bombers on the Island which were sold to the French government before the capitulation to Hitler.

Washington wants these bombers, the harbor, and in fact the entire island, and the neighboring one of Guadeloupe.

Already the capitalist press is laying down the appropriate barrage of propaganda preparatory to direct military action. The New York Times began the campaign with queries about these 110 airplanes gathering rust in the Carribean. But the New York Post has been the most blatant. In an editorial in the November 14 issue it demands: "Why is it important for the free nations of the Western Hemisphere to wrest control of the islands of Martinique and Guadeloupe from 'France' at once?" And then after an argument as to the desirability of Martinique coming under U. S. domination, the Post declares: "Our interests command action at once."

As if this language were not strong and plain enough, the Post editorial referred to what purports to be an inside story on conditions on Martinique published the previous day. The story describes the influx of Nazi agents who presumably were sent to agitate the native population against the United States. It speaks of military preparations for defense of Martinique, the possibility of Martinique being used as a base for German invasion of the Western Hemisphere.

The people are starving to death, the article reports-which is probably true as all the Latin American peoples suffer in frightful poverty, although without commiscration from the capitalist press until it is deemed feasible to seize them from a rival

The people of Martinique, reports the articlo "want to come under the wing of the U. S." and "the 250.000 inhabitants of the island are on the verge of revolution, but have no arms to rise against the rulers."

What is this but the classic formula of imperialist conquest? The islands are a rich prize; enemy forces are free to utilize them; the people are starving; they "want" to come under the imperialist wing; they are even ready to carry out a revolution if they are aided with arms-all this sounds like Hitler himself announcing the formula for further expansion. Imperialism speaks the same language the world

TIME TO LEARN SPANISH!

For the workers of the United States the expansion of American imperialism southward increases the need for stronger ties with the workers of Latin America in order to obtain greater unity and striking power against the common enemy.

Wallace's example is not bad-it is time to learn to speak Spanish!

position.

the land.

Plans more than 15-million peassource. Even in secondary schools ants swarmed into the cities. where conditions were better than in the country. As the housing, grew more and more intolerable the peasants preferred to remain on the land. With the inception of the Third Five Year Plan (1938), the flow of peasants was reduced to a trickle. The passage of the June laws has evidently shut off even this trickle. The acute shortage of labor was further aggravated by the mobilization of vast armies.

The text of the ukase restoring

"In our country unemploy-

Child labor cannot operate modern industry. This, by the way. was one of the reasons the bourgoisie was amenable, under work-

After months of stalling around, a federal court the other day finally denied the contention of the attorneys of H. C. Hopson, Associated Gas and Electric system executive. that he was mentally unbalanced, and ordered him to stand trial for milking some

fied that he was "lacking in spontaneity," worried too lars and basements" and had a compulsion to lie abed all

If it takes insanity to cause a utilities magnate to swindle 20 million bucks, then all the rest of the capitalists must be