

FORD UNION DRIVE AT CRUCIAL STAGE

Cafeteria Local
Elects Militants

**United Front Ticket In Local 302 Is
Victorious In Fight To Drive Back
Reactionary Red-Baiting Right Wing**

BULLETIN

NEW YORK, Dec. 18.—Latest returns on balloting in the Local 302, Cafeteria Workers, Hotel and Restaurant Union (AFL) elections give the United Union Ticket, progressive slate, a sure victory. Branch A, half the local, had a 3500 vote turnout yesterday, which will reach 5000 today, and on basis of present vote tabulation is expected to give approximately 500 majority to the united front progressives. Branch B votes today. The United Union ticket is expected to carry Branch B by 3 to 1 majority.

Ten thousand members of Local 302, Cafeteria Workers of New York, will go to the polls December 17 and 18, to elect their union administration for the next year. Sixteen paid offices, the Council, and the Executive Boards of Branch A and B are to be elected.

There are two slates contending for the union administration: the United Union Committee and the United Right Ticket. The struggle has attracted widespread interest in the entire New York labor movement. In particular over 75,000 workers organized in the different food workers' locals are awaiting the outcome for Local 302 is the key local in the Hotel and Restaurant Union (AFL).

In the last few weeks the struggle has been intensified by continuous appeals of the right wing to the International to step in and save their hides from the aroused union membership.

The militant membership has, however, succeeded in defeating every one of the attempts of the right wing to hold on to their jobs by disrupting the election.

In spite of struggles in previous elections between the groups now organized in the United Union Committee, they have joined hands in the election to save the union from the threat of an unscrupulous, red-baiting right wing.

GROUPS WHICH UNITED

Various political tendencies in the working class movement as well as many nationalities and crafts have united in this inspiring demonstration of solidarity against the reactionary, red-baiting attack of the right wing. The United Rank and File Club, The United Progressive Club, which has been the banner bearer of progressive unionism in the cafeteria field for many years; the militant United Spanish Club, with a strong following among the most exploited miscellaneous workers; the Independent Hellenic Club, and the Chefs and Cooks Committee—these are the groups that comprise the United Union Committee.

The United Union Committee has adopted a militant program. It contains the main points of the program of the United Progressive Club.

The issue of arbitration (Adjustment Board), on which the United Progressive Club and the United Spanish Club have always joined in differing with the Rank and File Club, was settled by adopting a clause in favor of a membership referendum on this major issue after the elections. The Progressive and Spanish Clubs are

opposed to the arbitration set-up and will seek to do away with the Adjustment Board through the referendum.

In contrast to the forthright militancy of the program of the United Union Committee, the right wing has no trade union program whatsoever. In sheer desperation it has unleashed a campaign of red-baiting and slander that has broken all previous records for this age-old trick of labor fakery. The right wingers yell loudest about the Trotskyists and Stalinists uniting against them. The United Union Ticket answers that it is proud of the fact that it is composed of workers of different political beliefs as well as many nationalities and races, who have united on a program of militant unionism and against the corrupt right wing officials.

The United Union Ticket has adopted a full slate. It is headed by the four candidates for General Offices: Costas Dritsas (United Rank and File) for President; Sam Kramberg (United Rank and File) for Secretary Treasurer; Larry Phillips (United Progressive Club) for General Organizer and Juan Aviles (United Spanish Club) for Labor Chief.

The Progressive Club is well represented on the rest of the slate, with Sam Roth running for Vice President and Pillsbury and Fox running for Business Agents. Three Progressives are running for the branch executive boards and two for the Council. Three Progressives are running for the central bodies: for the Central Labor and Trades Council, James Gordon; for the Joint Board of the Food Workers Unions, Larry Phillips; for the United Hebrew Trades, Sam Roth.

(The full text of the United Union Committee program appears on page 2 of this issue.)



Grace Carlson

Grace Carlson Starts
National Tour Jan. 2

**Opens In Milwaukee; Will Speak In At
Least 35 Cities; Schedule Listed**

Preparations for the mass meetings and conferences to hear Dr. Grace Carlson, who begins her national lecture tour January 2 in Milwaukee, are in progress throughout the country.

Comrade Carlson secured 8761 votes in Minnesota for U. S. Senator in the last elections as the candidate of our party. Distinguishing herself as a brilliant speaker, Comrade Carlson gained more votes than Norman Thomas and Earl Browder combined in Minnesota.

Among the topics on which Comrade Carlson will speak, according to the preference of the branches, are The Road to Socialism, American Imperialism, The Right to Life and The Rise and Fall of the Minnesota Farmer-Labor Party.

The schedule of the Carlson tour has just been announced as follows:

Day	Date	Place
Thurs.	Jan. 2	Milwaukee
Friday	Jan. 3	Chicago
Sat.	Jan. 4	"
Sun.	Jan. 5	"
Tues.	Jan. 7	Flint
Wed.	Jan. 8	Detroit
Thurs.	Jan. 9	"
Friday	Jan. 10	Toledo
Sun.	Jan. 12	Cleveland
Mon.	Jan. 13	Akron
Tues.	Jan. 14	Youngstown

Thurs.	Jan. 16	Buffalo
Fri.	Jan. 17	Rochester
Sat.	Jan. 18	Syracuse
Sun.	Jan. 19	Boston
Mon.	Jan. 20	"
Wed.	Jan. 22	New Haven
Thurs.	Jan. 23	New York
Tues.	Feb. 4	Newark
Wed.	Feb. 5	"
Thurs.	Feb. 6	Allentown
Fri.	Feb. 7	Reading
Sat.	Feb. 8	Quakertown
Sun.	Feb. 9	Philadelphia
Mon.	Feb. 10	"
Wed.	Feb. 12	Baltimore
Fri.	Feb. 14	Pittsburgh
Sun.	Feb. 16	Indianapolis
Mon.	Feb. 17	Louisville
Wed.	Feb. 19	St. Louis
Fri.	Feb. 21	Memphis
Sun.	Feb. 23	New Orleans
Mon.	Feb. 24	"
Tues.	Feb. 25	Houston
Fri. to	Feb. 28	Los Angeles
Thurs.	March 6	and vicinity
Sat.	March 8	San Francisco
Sun.	March 9	"
Mon.	March 10	"
Tues.	March 11	"
Fri.	March 14	Portland
Sun.	March 16	Seattle
Wed.	March 19	Plentywood
Thurs.	March 20	Williston
Fri.	March 21	Fargo
Sat.	March 22	"
Sun.	March 23	Twin Cities

Enforcement of Union
Contract--Flint Style

FLINT, Mich.—The Fisher Body local No. 581 has just given the UAW membership a short lesson in how to enforce union conditions in GM.

The other day the Fisher Body management decided that it would lay off several men in the Trim department. After the lay-off they told the men working in the department they would have to fill in on a few odd jobs which others had performed previously. In other words the management "stole" a job.

Promptly the steward protested, and the entire department began to raise a rumpus about it. The leader of the group was then sent home by the company.

No sooner was this done than the whole department downed tools and walked out of the plant. The result was a shut-down of Fisher Body and, very soon, curtailment of production at Buick.

The company when faced with this militant opposition practically went out of its head. They were so anxious to get production started again that they offered not only to settle the grievance immediately, but to go out and call for the steward who was fired and bring him back to work!

The steward was nowhere to be found. The management sent out messengers, flunkies with cars to scour the town, but the steward just wasn't to be found (by the company) and no production went on that night. The lesson was brought home to the company...

Finally, at his leisure, the next day, the steward reported back to work, and the trim department achieved a complete victory.

This incident is similar to one which occurred at the Briggs Body plant not long ago, in which one department walkout over the speed-up and firing of a steward resulted in a complete shut-down, and in a speedy victory for the union.

Many Thousands
Boldly Join Up

**But Ford Will Fight to the Death, and
It Will Take More Than NLRB Elections
To Beat Him; UAW Must Prepare to Fight**

DETROIT, Mich. Dec. 16.—With 40 UAW-CIO organizers concentrating all their energies on a drive to organize the Ford Motor company, and with a union publicity campaign which has succeeded in hitting all the front pages, reports from reliable union sources indicate that Ford workers are joining the UAW by the thousands.

From every point of view the UAW now has a great opportunity to break the notorious Ford open shop once and for all. Union sentiment is sweeping the ranks of Ford workers in a mighty wave. Ford has shown his anti-union policy again by refusing to consent to an NLRB vote after Michael Widman, CIO organizer in charge of the Ford drive, made the request. Even Sidney Hillman, "labor commissioner" on the National Defense Council, has been forced to make a statement on Ford's anti-union policy and to demand that the Army cancel a \$2,000,000 contract for airplane engines with Ford. (Hillman did not, however, mention the \$123,000,000 worth of other defense contracts with Ford.)

The recent signing of a new agreement with Chrysler and Briggs, raising the pay of Chrysler workers to the highest in the industry, and the securing of a union shop agreement with the Hudson Motor Car Company by the UAW, act as an inspiration to the Ford workers and increase the rising tide of union sentiment.

Ford, however, has shown that he intends to fight, and fight bitterly.

Every day dozens of Ford workers are laid off, fired, transferred and intimidated by one means or another for union activity. The ranks of Ford workers who have been thrown out of the plants after joining the union increases by the hour. There is no doubt that the crucial days for the union are just ahead.

The question now is:—what will the UAW leadership make out of the now favorable situation at Ford? Will they courageously step out and use the militant methods necessary to attain victory? Will they take the example of the organization of General Motors in the great days of 1937? Or will they stall around and wait for Hillman and Knudsen to solve their problems?

Will they spend the next six months in litigation for an NLRB vote? And meanwhile will they let the Ford membership wilt away? This is how the problem is now posed. Only a determined stand against Ford can inspire the Ford workers and establish unionism among the 100,000 employees of the most notoriously scabby outfit in American industry. An NLRB vote with a victory for the UAW would of course be a great moral victory. But that and that alone will not establish unionism. Governmental pressure will not and cannot establish unionism in Ford and crush the Ford Service Department.

ALL EYES ON FORD

All eyes are on the Ford drive. A successful Ford drive would lead to a rebirth of union action in all auto plants, would pave the way to establishing the closed shop in auto as a whole.

With the International Board still following a pussyfooting policy, afraid of strikes, yielding to the reactionary pressure of the Hillmans and Knudsens, angling for jobs on the Defense Councils, there is great danger that the Ford drive will be muffed. Only the greatest pressure from the vigilant militants in every local can force these leaders to take the only road—the road of militant action.

Workers Favor Collective
Bargaining Rights In Army

**Detroit-Toledo Poll Also Shows Considerable Sentiment
Favoring Trade Union Control of Military Training**

TOLEDO, Ohio. — American workers accept universal military training, but favor collective bargaining rights for soldiers through representatives of their own choosing. In addition, there is a strong trend to prefer military training for the workers under the control of the trade unions.

The Hillman leaders apparently decided that it would be unwise in a closely-contested convention to bring into the open their real position on industrial unionism, so they put it away in the background. The Lewis-Stalinist wing permitted them to do so.

These are the sentiments expressed in a poll of a representative group of workers in Detroit and Toledo. The poll was conducted by the Toledo and Detroit branches of the S.W.P.

A total of 363 men and women, selected at random by visiting homes in working class neighborhoods or by meeting them at factory gates, were asked the following three questions:

1. "Are you in favor of the present Burke-Wadsworth Conscription Act?"

2. "Would you prefer military training under trade union control?"

3. "Should soldiers have the right of collective bargaining for better conditions through their elected representatives?"

75.4% were in favor of the conscription law. 13.7% against, and 10.7% undecided.

34.7% of the total group polled were in favor of trade union control of military training, while 13.2% were opposed.

A very significant majority were in favor of collective bargaining rights for the common soldiers, 78.2%. Only 12.2% were against, with 9.3% undecided. A higher percentage of those polled were in favor of this than favored conscription. The ratio of 6½ to 1 is sufficiently decisive to establish as a fact that the workers of this vital industrial area draw a direct analogy between the boss army and the boss factory.

Those who conducted the poll were extremely careful not to influence those questioned in any way. The workers questioned were simply informed that a poll of the neighborhood or plant area was being undertaken, that they did not have to give their names, and that their individual replies would be kept confidential.

It is interesting to note that while 39.6% of the trade unionists favored military training under trade union control, a higher percentage than for the total group including non-unionists, 15.5% of the trade unionists were definitely opposed to this idea.

Some of the statements made in explanation of their negative opinion on this question indicate that the replies of many trade unionists were conditioned by their distrust of the conservative and reactionary bureaucratic trade-union leaders, rather than

by any opposition to the general idea of military training under union control. As one garage mechanic put it, "I would favor union control if the proper men were in charge."

Among the Negroes, adding weight to the conclusions of the poll conducted by the Newark branch of the SWP two months ago,—there was a majority in favor of trade union control of military training. This reflects the healthy hostility of the Negro workers toward the Jim Crow army system.

This Detroit-Toledo poll, while too limited to be conclusive, adds weight to the contention of our party that the American workers are becoming more and more aware that the leadership of the Army is in the hands of those who represent the same boss class that controls industry. Hence the workers, thinking of curbing this boss control, overwhelmingly favor collective bargaining in the Army, as in the factory.

In addition, an important section of the workers are ready to go beyond the limited curb of the bosses which is provided by collective bargaining, and are prepared to support trade union control of military training.

(The tabulation of the Detroit-Toledo poll appears on page 2.)

ON THE WAR FRONTS

by GEORGE STERN

Prince Radziwill, aristocrat and landowner, is one of the few refugees from "democratic" Poland who have been able to make their way into this country.

Now safe in this country and secure with the bank balances his class doubtless had maintained here for just such eventualities, Radziwill has assumed the pose of adviser on American war policy. His first essay into this field is in a lengthy letter published in the New York Times on December 11.

Radziwill sees Mussolini's Italy in a precarious position as a result of its military reverses. He says "the heavy threat of interior revolution hangs constantly over Italy." That threat could be averted for the present by "a complete surrender to a German military and diplomatic protectorate."

Mussolini, he goes on,

"standing before the choice of complete submission to Germany or of a revolution, might eventually consider a third solution, that of peace, which would certainly be welcome to the whole nation. I have the feeling that maybe the moment is near when American diplomacy could develop a very cautious activity for a daring, no doubt, but in my opinion not necessarily hopeless, attempt in this direction."

The speculations of this Polish prince are very illuminating. He poses Mussolini's two choices—surrender to Hitler or overthrow by an anti-Fascist revolution—and turns away from both of them with a shudder. And we may be quite sure that for him the prospect of an anti-Fascist revolution is by far the worst of the two alternatives.

Stalin's Latest Ukase!

On June 26, 1940 the Kremlin decreed what has become known as the "June laws."

They abolished the 35-hour week (7-hour day, 5-day week, with the 6th day off), replacing it with the 48-hour week (8-hour day, 6-day week with the 7th day off), and made it a criminal offense to quit one's job, punishable by imprisonment or by forced-labor terms to be served at the same place of employment at 25% less pay.

The Kremlin also assumed the right to compulsory transfer of any worker from any part of the country to any other part. These infamous laws have been systematically extended to the whole population until now they have been applied to the lower ranks of the bureaucracy and to the "Stakhanovists," the labor aristocracy.

These facts appear here for the first time in this country, just as the Socialist Appeal was the first to publish the facts about the "June laws". On page 3 of this issue we publish this latest article by John G. Wright. Read it and read Comrade Wright's articles regularly—they appear here almost every week—if you want to understand how Stalin is strangling the Soviet Union.

(Continued on page 4)

WORKERS' FORUM

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

Negro Steel Worker Tells of Jim Crow In the Last War

I can be mistaken, but as I have seen it for the past 21 years, it is very ignorant for a black man to beg the U. S. government to let him enlist in the U.S.A. Service. When they want you, they will send for you and Jim Crow you up to your neck and say to you that it is Equal Justice.

I still remember being Jim Crowed with regard to not being given a chance to take a bath. My outfit was the H. Q. Co. 811, Pioneer Infantry. After sailing out of Camp Dix, N. J., we were on board ship for 11 days. During this time we were unable to take a bath for shortage of water but the white soldiers were able to get a bath.

After that 11 days we made landing in Liverpool, England, at one of the so-called rest camps in Camp Winchester, England. We had orders from the Co.

Commander to go for a bath, but we found the government had a Jim Crow Bath House. The white Americans who were in charge of the Bath House told the men that we could not bathe there. After that we went back and reported to the Co. Commander. He went down but did not say what the results were. So the next day we asked a first lieutenant about a bath. So he went down to find out the trouble. Being a fair-minded man, he said to us the orderlies at the bath house first told him they had orders from the Camp Commander that nobody could have a bath but a commissioned officer. "But you can rest assured," he said, "that I found out that the camp is Jim Crow. You will have to wait until you get to another rest camp as we are now leaving soon."

Just a half hour before, a battalion of white soldiers had finished bathing.

From the time we left Camp Dix, N. J., until we had a bath in (Nantes) France, it was 30 days.

A Colored Steel Worker

AFL-CIO Lumber Workers Win Gains Despite Stalinist Sabotage

Raise and Vacations Won in Joint Strike Which Stalinists Tried To Break Up

PORTLAND, Ore., Dec. 12—The joint strike of the AFL and CIO lumber workers, which had tied up most of the logging and saw-mill operations in Oregon and Washington, is over, the strikers returning to work with a compromise settlement including a 5 cent hourly pay hike and one week's vacation with pay.

Original demands of the strikers were for 7½ cents more an hour and a week's vacation with pay. The employers first attempted to head off the strike with the proposal of a 2½ cent raise for unskilled and 5 cents for skilled workers. Following the progressive spread of the strike, on the basis of a united action pledge of 350 rank-and-file delegates of the AFL Lumber and Sawmill Workers and the CIO International Woodworkers of America—made at a joint meeting in Centralia December 1—the bosses came forward with a straight 5 cent raise offer but balked at the week's vacation with pay. But then the bosses had to come through with the paid vacation.

The settlement was reached despite a treacherous strike-breaking move by the Stalinist-controlled executive board of the IWA-CIO, which so undermined the CIO locals in the strike as to endanger the entire strike movement at the most critical juncture.

STALINISTS ATTACK STRIKE

Despite the fact that the joint strike had been approved by the local membership of almost every CIO local, including the affiliates of the key Columbia River District Council of the IWA, the IWA national executive board met in Seattle on the Wednesday following the Centralia meeting and passed a resolution condemning the strike alliance of a "faction" of the IWA with the AFL lumber workers. The resolution, disregarding the progressive significance of the labor solidarity achieved in this strike, and concerned solely with re-enforcing the waning prestige of the Stalinists in the lumber industry, stated that the united strike action "can only result in retarding the growth of the IWA and in the betrayal of the cause of the woodworkers."

This strike-breaking move threw consternation into the ranks of the CIO locals. It sufficiently disoriented the ranks to slow up CIO participation in the strike. The AFL and CIO members already out on strike were forced to move more rapidly to a settlement and under worse terms than they might have secured with a more complete united front.

This action of the Stalinists was not unexpected. With their influence gone in the IWA locals, particularly in the important Columbia River District Council which has a reputation for militant and progressive policies, the Stalinist tops have been trying to secure a new base.

In printed leaflets, the Stalinists called on workers in Snoqualmie, Washington, to pass the picket lines of the AFL at the Snoqualmie Mill Company.

At Everett, Washington, the Stalinists are reported to have made a deal with the Weyerhaeuser bosses in order to block the strike of the AFL—a deal whereby the fabulously rich and bloody-handed Weyerhaeuser interests gave a "contract" to the Stalinists to head off AFL organization. The most-hated boss in lumber,

Weyerhaeuser, cooperated to the extent of permitting the Stalinists to set up a recruiting table inside one of the mills. At Everett also, the Stalinists put out a printed leaflet telling the workers not to heed the strike call.

Indicative of the resistance of the Northwest CIO lumber workers to the Stalinists, is the action of leaders of the Columbia River District Council in securing an injunction against O. M. Orton, acting president of the IWA, to prevent him from disposing of a \$13,000 organizational fund of the IWA. While it is an unwise policy for union men to take their internal affairs into a boss-controlled court, the action demonstrates the hostility of the rank and file members of the IWA to the Stalinist leadership.

WORKERS WIN GAINS

The strike was militantly conducted and sufficiently widespread, despite the Stalinist treachery, to compel the bosses to grant genuine gains. Flying picket squadrons mobilized from Tacoma, Snoqualmie and the Morton-Mineral area shut down many plants, including seven plants in Seattle where the men had previously secured an agreement for the 5 cent raise. Despite this fact, the 2000 AFL members in these seven plants refused to go through the picket lines and joined the strike in solidarity with the rest of their union brothers.

A decisive showdown is brewing between the IWA rank-and-file, especially in the vital Columbia basin area, and the Stalinist finks on the international executive board.

Meanwhile both the AFL and CIO workers are looking forward to a real showdown with the lumber barons this coming March, when most of the contracts now in force, both AFL and CIO, will end simultaneously.

Attention Chicago!

New Year's Eve Celebration

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Results of Detroit-Toledo Poll on Military Training

QUESTION I: Are you in favor of the present Burke-Wadsworth Conscription Act?	Yes	No	Un-decided
QUESTION II: Would you prefer military training under trade union control?	Yes	No	Un-decided
QUESTION III: Should soldiers have the right of collective bargaining for better conditions through their elected representatives?	Yes	No	Un-decided
A. Total group polled (363)	75.4%	13.7%	10.7%
Question I	75.4%	13.7%	10.7%
Question II	34.7%	43.2%	22%
Question III	78.2%	12.2%	9.3%
B. All trade union members (101)	88.1%	9.3%	6.9%
Question I	88.1%	9.3%	6.9%
Question II	39.6%	45.5%	14.8%
Question III	63.3%	17.8%	6.9%
C. CIO union members (61)	88.5%	9.4%	6.5%
Question I	88.5%	9.4%	6.5%
Question II	37.7%	47.5%	14.7%
Question III	68.8%	22.9%	8%
D. AFL union members (34)	88.2%	9.2%	9.8%
Question I	88.2%	9.2%	9.8%
Question II	32.9%	52.7%	14.2%
Question III	82.7%	9%	7.2%
E. All women polled (141)	69.5%	20.5%	18.3%
Question I	69.5%	20.5%	18.3%
Question II	39%	29%	31.9%
Question III	85.1%	9.4%	9.9%
F. Males of draft age (91)	91.2%	5.4%	3.2%
Question I	91.2%	5.4%	3.2%
Question II	32.9%	52.7%	14.2%
Question III	72.5%	19.7%	7.6%
G. Negroes (111)	70.2%	18%	11.7%
Question I	70.2%	18%	11.7%
Question II	42.3%	36%	20.7%
Question III	82.7%	9%	7.2%
H. Unemployed (38)	73.6%	23.6%	2.6%
Question I	73.6%	23.6%	2.6%
Question II	29.2%	47.3%	13.1%
Question III	83.9%	10.5%	5.2%

Flint Auto Locals Demand GM Action

But Reuther Gets Executive Board to Refuse Request From Flint Unions

FLINT, Mich.—An attempt by local unions here to air the problems of the General Motors workers and to force a program of action on the International leadership, was initiated last week by Buick Local No. 599, UAW-CIO, but the proposal was met this week by a slap in the face from the International Executive Board, whose GM representative, Walter Reuther, succeeded in putting off a refusal to listen to the locals in a meeting of the GM Council in Detroit.

The Buick Local, supported by the membership and officers of all Flint locals, had demanded in a resolution the calling of a delegated GM conference to take up the GM contract and the general problems facing the GM workers.

WORKERS WANT RESULTS

This resolution was passed at a meeting of all Flint local executive boards. Obviously, both the leadership and membership in this key GM city is greatly dissatisfied with the failure of the International Board to settle grievances with GM management, and with the policy of conservatism and anti-militancy on the part of Walter Reuther and the whole executive board.

The feeling of dissatisfaction with the leadership has taken different forms. Some of the local leaders demand the ousting of Reuther; others demand the revocation of the GM contract which they believe is the root of all the evil. The best informed militants, however, understand that the first requirement for effective action is a policy, a program of militant action in settling grievances and in enforcing the agreement with GM. Such a militant program could then be concretely contrasted to the policy of the International Board—which confines its activities to crawling on its knees to the government and making repeated "flats" to the local unions threatening reprisals against "unauthorized action."

Once a sizeable group of local unions launches a program of militant enforcement of the GM contract, Reuther and Co. would either have to follow along or face being pushed into the background in the fight against GM and thrown out of office at the next convention.

THE FIRST STEP

Experienced unionists know that although this GM agreement is not the best in the world, far from it—nevertheless the FIRST STEP is to enforce it and squeeze out of it the last ounce of benefit for the workers. This is not being

done now.

If a strong militant stand were taken by the union, or by a sizeable section of the union not only could the present agreement in GM be enforced, but many beneficial changes could be secured. That however requires a union which depends for its gains not upon the Hillmans and the Knudsens of the National Defense Council, but upon its own independent organized strength.

The refusal of the International Board, and Reuther in particular, to act favorably on the demand for a GM conference by the whole Flint UAW, only chalks up another piece of evidence that these men are afraid of the rank and file, and have no intention of allowing the membership to set the course for militant action.

The membership however will not take this slap in the face quietly. Those who inaugurated the campaign for a GM conference can be expected to continue their demands. The powerful Buick Local No. 599 which inaugurated the campaign, Fisher Body Local No. 581, Chevrolet Local 659 and other locals will not stand by for long while the officers refuse to do a thing about the many problems confronting the membership.

The December issue of the Fourth International is now on the newsstands.

A feature of this edition is "France Under Hitler and Pétain," a Manifesto of the Fourth International.

Of particular timely importance is a panoramic description of the imperialist fight for South America by the Argentine revolutionist, Quebracho, entitled "Imperialist Struggle For South America."

Leon Trotsky's "Class, Party and Leadership," is published for the first time in this issue of the Fourth International. The document, although not finished, is sufficiently complete to give clearly Trotsky's analysis of the causes of the Spanish proletariat's defeat.

A review of the recent AFL and CIO conventions is provided in an article by Farrell Dobbs, National Labor Secretary of the SWP.

John G. Wright contributes "New Legislation in the Soviet Union," on the latest laws against the workers passed by the Kremlin.

Other important articles are "Milwaukee's Brand of Socialism" by James Boulton, "Engels on Dialectics of Nature" by Wm. F. Warde, "Discipline in the American Army" by Michael Cort and a review by Joseph Hansen of Tom Wintringham's book "New Ways of War."

TRADE UNION NOTES

by Farrell Dobbs

STRIKES ARE "TREASON"—BUT NOT LAYOFFS

About 1800 men have been laid off for over two months at the Boeing aircraft plant in Seattle and, are not expected to be reemployed until after January 1st. The reason given is "lack of parts," but the union (A F L) claims that the company is subcontracting parts to other aircraft outfits because it can make more money that way. Hence there is a virtual stoppage of production in this Seattle plant.

When the Vultee workers went on strike, the bosses' daily press and the bosses' stooges in Congress howled "Treason." But nothing is said about the present situation at Boeing.

SWOC DUES SLUMP: SOME REASONS WHY

Plans are being made by the Steel Workers Organizing Committee, CIO, to present new demands to U. S. Steel. At a recent conference of the SWOC directors, the following general terms were mentioned: increased wages and abolition of wage differentials, an improved seniority system and vacation plan, and an improved dues collection system.

The October dues report was the highest in the history of the SWOC. However, there was a noticeable slump in the November dues payments. One reason for that was Lewis's Pro-Willkie speech. But not the only reason.

Iron Age, official publication of the steel bosses, reports "voluntary" wage increases among some of the smaller companies in the industry. "In other sections of the metal working industry," notes *Iron Age*, "wage controversies have come to the forefront, resulting in strikes in some instances."

One such instance, which the *Pittsburgh Press* bemoaned as "marring a three year record of contractual relations," occurred last month in the Crucible Steel Corporation at Midland, Pennsylvania. 4,500 workers walked out of the Crucible plant in protest against company stalling in the settlement of grievances, some of which dated back four months and more. The workers complained of a speed-up system, "under which a man hardly had time for lunch," Clinton S. Golden, Regional SWOC Director, urged that the "unauthorized" strike be called off. Under pressure from the SWOC of Midland, the workers voted, 52% to 48%, to go back to work without having their grievances settled.

About a week later, Golden spoke before a gathering of bosses at the Hotel Pennsylvania in New York City. The occasion was a dinner in connection with a conference on "management." In his speech Golden said that "Labor leadership" today has changed its early concept of "fight the management."

BOOM FOR THE BOSSES BUT NOT FOR WORKERS

The CIO *Economic Outlook* has issued a graphic chart of "Prosperity and Unemployment" based on statistics compiled by the various governmental bureaus and by the CIO itself. It shows the Federal Reserve Board index of industrial production for October 1940 at an all-time high of 127. This is almost 18% above the 1929 level.

In contrast to this boom for the bosses, we find that while 92% of all workers were employed in 1929, only about 83% of all workers were employed in October, 1940. This decline in employment becomes even more significant when it is realized that the total working population has been increasing at the rate of 500,000 to 600,000 a year.

This pronounced decrease in percentage of all workers employed reflects the effect which technological change has had on the workers under capitalist "management" and capitalist "planning." Fewer workers are producing more goods to further swell the super-profits of the bosses and, at the same time, plunge millions of workers into the dismal swamp of unemployment.

STALINISTS VOTE TO BAR REDS AS UNION MEMBERS

The National Convention of the CIO adopted a resolution condemning communism. However, this resolution also contains the statement: "There is room for us all in this great movement," thus indicating that no wholesale campaign of red-baiting was intended.

Acting on the report of its convention delegate, the CIO Industrial Council in Pittsburgh went a step further and passed a resolution banning from membership those whose ideas are "inimical to the American system." Anthony A. Federoff, the Council delegate to the CIO convention, called upon the local central body delegates to "exercise their influence in their own unions to the end that these unions shall vote into their constitutions regulations barring such persons from membership."

Just as they voted to condemn communism at the CIO national convention, the Stalinists voted for the red-baiting resolution in the Pittsburgh Council.

DANGEROUS INCREASE IN LENGTH OF WORKING WEEK

The Department of Labor's Bureau of Labor Statistics has released a compilation of average weekly hours worked in some of the basic industries for October 1940. They are as follows: engines, 44.4; automobiles, 44.3; shipping, 41.7; aluminum, 41.4; blast furnaces, steel works and rolling mills, 38.8; machine tools, 44.1; aircraft, 41.3; electrical machinery, 41.3.

With the present trend of weekly hours worked rising above the 40 hour level and with nine to 10 million workers still looking for jobs, the bosses are howling for a further lengthening of the work week. And they have the full backing of the admirals and the generals.

The bosses seek to avoid yielding up any part of their war profits to the workers through increased pay rates for more workers under a shorter work week. Therefore, they brazenly advocate longer hours of work at prevailing rates of pay. They also want a permanent army of unemployed to provide a "favorable" labor market, i. e., to pit the workers against one another in the competition for jobs.

The slogans for a 30 hour week at 40 hours pay in auto, and for a six hour day at eight hours pay in steel indicate the course which the trade union workers must take in their fight to raise their standards of living and combat the evils of unemployment.

AFL TOP LEADERS CRAWL ON THEIR BELLIES

Emphasizing that the AFL convention at New Orleans pledged "full and sincere support of the defense program, even if such support entailed strict self-discipline and important sacrifices," the *AFL Weekly News Service* makes a big point of the fact that "the two strikes affecting the defense program involved CIO unions and that there has not been a single strike by any American Federation of Labor union which has impeded the government's preparedness efforts."

"However, the CIO Vultee strike on the West Coast, which Attorney General Jackson attributed partly to Communist machinations, and other similar developments in the CIO camp," the statement continues, "have given anti-labor groups an excuse to pounce on all of organized labor with unrestrained attacks."

No clearer example is needed to illustrate the cowardly type of "leadership" the AFL workers will get from their top officials in the coming period of rabid anti-union activity on the part of the bosses and their government. Subordinate yourselves completely to the war program; don't provoke the bosses or they might get tough—that is the advice which the AFL officialdom is giving to the rank and file.

TROTSKY MEMORIAL FUND

Additional Contributions to the Trotsky Memorial Fund are as follows:

Newark	30.00		
Philadelphia	6.00		
Flint	10.00		
Buffalo	3.15		
Boston	16.25		
Akron	3.00		
Pittsburgh	6.00		
Los Angeles	37.05		
New Haven	5.75		
Minneapolis & St. Paul	100.00		
New York	80.00		
TOTAL	\$297.20		
Branch	Quota	Amount paid	%
Boston	\$ 100.00	\$ 117.00	117%
Milwaukee	\$ 5.00	\$ 5.10	102%
Baltimore	10.00	10.00	100
Rockville	7.00	7.00	100
Toledo	50.00	50.00	100
Detroit	200.00	200.00	100
Lynn	100.00	85.00	85
Chicago & Indiana Harbor	200.00	135.07	68
Newark	150.00	100.50	67
Los Angeles	150.00	93.70	62
Pittsburgh	10.00	6.00	60
New Haven	20.00	11.25	56
San Francisco	100.00	55.00	55
Minneapolis and St. Paul	1000.00	530.00	53
Flint	150.00	79.00	53
Philadelphia	30.00	14.00	47
Buffalo	25.00	11.15	45
New York	1000.00	435.00	44
Akron	10.00	8.00	40
Allentown	15.00	6.00	40
Youngstown	50.00	6.00	12
Individual Contributions		2.30	
TOTALS	\$3509.00	\$1962.07	56

Cleveland, Hutchinson, Portland, Quakertown, Reading, Rochester, Texas, and St. Louis have not yet started payments on their pledges.

N. Y. Cafeteria Workers' Program

We publish below the full text of the militant program which the United Union Committee of Local 302, AFL Hotel & Restaurant Workers, pledged itself to carry out upon being elected.

- For a militant progressive union.
- No discrimination against any member on ground of race, color, creed, nationality, age or political belief.
- The union shall actively resist any attempt by the bosses to discriminate against any member in our ranks.
- For the organization of the unorganized through the active participation of the entire membership.
- Large-scale voluntary organizing committees shall be set up and put to work through the entire city. Only through this method can we carry on successful organizational campaigns. Special organization campaigns shall be conducted among the unorganized National Chains, such as Bickford's, Horn and Hardart, Waldorf, as well as many independent shops. While spreading out in this new territory, we must safeguard the jurisdiction rights of Local 302 and conduct a determined fight against all outside forces who encroach upon us.
- For a referendum on the adjustment board.
- We believe that a referendum on this question is the best possible solution. The membership shall have complete freedom of expression on this question at special membership meetings to be called primarily for this purpose. The forces herein united maintain their complete freedom to either defend or oppose arbitration during the period of discussion.
- UNEMPLOYMENT
- For practical steps to alleviate the serious plight of the unemployed situation.
- Equal and just distribution of jobs.
- Efficient organization of Labor Chief's office.
- Strict enforcement of pro-ratio.
- There shall be but ONE manager recognized in each establishment.
- All others using similar titles to come under the jurisdiction of our union and be dealt with accordingly.
- Prohibition of replacement of chefs by cooks and cooks by kitchen men.
- Bring back "extra" lunch

jobs" to countermen by eliminating chefs or cooks from working behind counters.

g. Grievances and complaints of unemployed.

Any complaints or charges against a Labor Chief for discrimination, favoritism, unequal distribution of work or abuse of official duty shall be promptly turned over to a Grievance Committee for deliberation and action.

h. The Council shall authorize the Unemployed Committees with limited powers dealing with any matters involving the unemployed.

V. CONTRACT

a. To meet the rising cost of living and to maintain and improve our present standard of living we propose a general raise in wages for all categories of work, particularly higher minimums for the miscellaneous workers.

In the meantime we prepare our union morally, financially and organizationally for the coming struggle to achieve our new contract.

b. Establish a uniform wage scale in our industry and bring the wages of Branch B workers to the level of the entire union.

c. Uniform seniority rights in all shops.

d. To insure against a lower-

ing of our living standards through the rising cost of living, we propose to include a clause in the contract to protect us against such an eventuality.

e. The incoming General Council should search out ways and means for the future establishment of a controlled system of promotion, from miscellaneous to skilled work, based upon the length of time a worker is employed in his shop and the length of time he held membership in our union.

f. For a one year contract.

g. For a one week trial period.

h. For the seven hour day for all women.

i. Girls doing men's work shall receive equal pay for equal work.

j. For the recognition of seniority rights of night workers in the event of vacancies on the day shifts in their shops.

k. To guarantee the payment of one week's vacation with pay; that each employer places a bond as security against any chiseling.

VI. PROTECTION OF CONSCRIPTED MEN

a. Any member who is conscripted shall be guaranteed his job upon his return and full seniority maintained.

b. Replacement of conscripted men by men.

c. In the event of labor shortage and women taking the place

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The Negro Struggle

By ALBERT PARKER

The Hampton Institute Conference

Roosevelt blessed the Hampton Institute Conference on the Participation of the Negro in National Defense, because he knew who was conducting it and knew that they were not interested in embarrassing his schemes for the war and its preparations.

In spite of that, such is the logic of the position of the Negro in American life that the resolution on military and naval policy adopted by this group of Negro petty bourgeoisie, teachers, doctors, lawyers and so on who on the whole support the war, is a slap in the face to Roosevelt!

The resolution asks that Negroes be permitted to serve in all branches of the armed forces with out restriction; that the exclusion policies barring Negroes from the marine corps and the army nurse corps be abolished; that the War Department be asked to put into effect the law passed some time ago by Congress, providing for training of Negro aviation pilots; that additional Negro officers be trained; that Roosevelt and local congressmen be asked to appoint Negroes to the naval academy at Annapolis, and that they be given equal opportunity if they get there (there are none there now); that Negroes be employed in all branches of the selective service system; that Negro soldiers and officers in the army be in proportion to the Negroes in the total population, etc.

The resolution is weak. It fails to demand an end to the "separate regiment" policy of the Army. It fails to ask that colored officers be permitted to serve in all regiments, and seems satisfied if "colored officers and professionals be assigned to the four colored regular army regiments." Above all, it fails to indicate how equal rights are to be won by the Negro masses, it doesn't say what is to be done when Roosevelt and Congress and the War Department are asked for these things and won't give them.

It will not surprise our readers to learn that the conference did not even consider the position supported by the Socialist Workers Party: that the only way to end Jim Crowism in the armed forces is through a well-organized struggle for trade union control of military training. After all, there wasn't a single trade unionist present, or even a worker, so far as one could learn from the conference publicity.

Schuyler's Writing And His Action

Before the Hampton Institute Conference was held, many of the Uncle Tom "leaders" were talking things up, pointing to it as the way out, as the instrument of struggle against Jim Crowism in the armed forces. The only person who gave a correct indication of what was going to happen was George S. Schuyler, in his column in the *Pittsburgh Courier* of November 30, sent to press before the conference was over. What he said deserves to be quoted and remembered:

"It is very rarely that anything new or unusual is uttered in any of these addresses, or anything really helpful added to the cause or causes for which the conference is ostensibly held. After the ordeal of speech-making comes the round table discussions, where various egos battle for utterance. Out of all this tinsel and ear-torturing usually comes a set of resolutions so general and so platitudinous as to make tragically wasteful the spending of so much carfare, unless the real purpose is to enrich the railroads and gasoline companies.

"Of the 200 'authorities' assembled at Hampton, it is probable that few had anything worthwhile to offer to solve the question of the Negro's place in the current National Defense scheme' or anything else. I have sat through several such conferences and always left with a feeling of dejection.

"To solve the problems of the Negro in America calls for a social revolution, and social revolutions must be preceded by revolutionary thinking and be led by revolutionary leaders. Solving the Negroes' problems (if, forsooth, they CAN be solved) is going to be a long, hard and messy job. And the kind of soft-handed, well-groomed, cultured, income-tax-paying, pillars-of-society who foregather at these conferences, after a night in a Pullman drawing room or a dash by airplane, shudder at the thought of anything revolutionary. They are mostly house-broken by government berths or sinecures, institutions owned or controlled by the very people who keep race prejudice alive...

"There has been very little consistent, persistent and intelligent action (to solve the Negro's problems) because, to tell the simple truth, we have had no real democratically organized, nationwide and ably led organization controlled from below and responsive to the needs and demands of the masses of colored people everywhere.

"If there were such an organization it could go into action on any and all problems faced by Negroes in our American barbarism. And because it financed and backed its elected delegates and agents, they would be free, yes, compelled to represent only the Negro masses, and not be concerned about what anybody else thought.

"If we had had such an organization, it would have been working on the army and navy discrimination problem through the years, educating the masses of Negroes by consistent and persistent propaganda and action. It would have worked out some technique of fighting other than sending letters and telegrams of protest... By this time it would have been so powerful that a national conference would have aroused far more than the indulgent smirk which doubtless greeted the Hampton talkfest...

And yet, two days after this excellent article had appeared on the news-stands, Schuyler was down in Washington participating in another conference on "national defense", attended for the most part by people who had attended the Hampton conference!

(Next week: The Courier Conference)

Stalin Extends His Compulsory Labor Laws

Technicians, Stakhanovists No Longer Free To Choose Their Place Of Employment

By JOHN G. WRIGHT

Sunday, October 20, will be remembered as Black Sunday by the entire Soviet technical and administrative personnel, and by all the skilled workers. Something had been brewing for weeks. Every engineer, white-collar specialist, Stakhanovist, every petty underling could tell this just by sniffing the air, or by adding up mentally the number purged in the last 24 hours. That Sunday, when they read the Pravda, they learned the news.

The June 26 laws had been extended to apply to them! They, too, like the ordinary workers, were henceforth to be shackled to their jobs in the enterprises and institutions which Stalin has converted into virtual penitentiaries. If the common workers were life-term prisoners, then they had become permanent supervisors, task-masters, turnkeys, guards,—trusties!—not only de facto, but de jure.

That could be perhaps endured, except by those in the provinces. But that was not all. They could no longer choose their place of employment, that would be decided for them, and was, in fact, already indicated in advance for many—the provinces, the Kuznetsk Basin, the Urals, Siberia and all points East. Still more: directly involved were those who had at long last succeeded, by hook or crook, to locate themselves in Moscow, Leningrad, and other capital cities of the Soviet Union, i.e., those with cushiest jobs, in best lodgings, with best schools, best supply of food, of amusements, clubs, and all other good things in life.

The Sunday edition carried only the text of the ukase; the editorial was devoted to the marvels of Tadjik-Buryat-Mongol and other native arts. Comment was reserved for Monday. Stalin loves such week-end details.

TEXT OF THIS CRIM UKASE

Or it may be that comment was really superfluous. The ukase speaks for itself, curtly and to the point. The preamble reads:

"The task of assuring competent cadres in new factories, plants, shafts, mines, construction projects, transport, as well as in the enterprises shifting over to new forms of production—demands a correct allocation of engineers, technicians, master-workmen (foremen), employees, and skilled workers among the different enterprises; and necessitates the transfer of workers from industries already disposing of competent cadres into other industries which are in need of them."

Article 1 of the ukase lists those affected: "Engineers, constructors, technicians, master-workmen (foremen), draftsmen, bookkeepers, economists, accountants, employees in the finance and plan departments, as well as skilled workers above and including the sixth category." Categories above and including the sixth include the Stakhanovists. All said persons are subject to compulsory transfer "from one enterprise or institution to another independently of the territorial location of said enterprises and institutions."

Article 5 fixes the penalty: "All persons guilty of failing to comply with orders... are considered as having left their enterprise or institution arbitrarily and are remitted to the courts on the charge of violating Article 5 of the June 26 ukase of the Presidium of the Supreme Council of the USSR." The penalty is the GPU dungeon.

To dispel any illusions among those working on short-term contracts—which applies especially to the provinces—Article 6 abrogates "as of October 20,

"This guarded formula refers to the conversion of many plants into armament and munitions factories, not foreseen by the Third Five Year Plan but made necessary by the Finnish experience and the growing war danger.

1940 all short-term labor agreements" and empowers the authorities to "retain the above-specified engineers, employees and skilled workers in those enterprises and institutions in which they are now working on a contract basis." (Pravda, October 20).

"As of October 20!" With Sunday as the deadline, even the most agile and nimble-witted could not possibly get-in under the wire. The Kremlin knows its rascals.

PRAVDA EXPLAINS WHY

Pravda's belated Monday editorial clears up the little details and bears the modest, if wearisome, title: "A MEASURE OF GREAT STATE IMPORTANCE." Attempting to provide a rational explanation for this blow against its labor aristocracy, nurtured so long and so carefully, Pravda blurts out:

"In many new constructions, especially those far removed from the regional centers, a section of the specialists, employees and skilled workers enter into short-term labor agreements. An engineer or a worker arriving at a factory on a 1-2 year contract feels not infrequently that he is only a temporary guest. In the Kuzbas mines such engineers and technicians were some time ago spoken of as people with a 'suitcase on their minds.' The miners would say contemptuously: 'This fellow is sitting on his suitcase...', in referring to those who showed very little concern for the fate of the enterprise, as they bided the day of their quick departure. But the normal functioning of a modern plant or mine requires a stable and competent cadre, and not prima donnas. It is necessary to have stable cadres who constantly perfect their knowledge, who become familiar with the enterprise in which they work."

...Pravda thus corroborates the fact that the real brake on productivity of labor is not the inadequacy or backwardness of the mass of the Russian workers but the character of the technical-administrative staffs. Prima donnas, cheats, chislers, and careerists bred by the fatal regime itself are to be transformed into devoted and competent cadres by the magic of shackles and the whip—if only the Ukase is "fulfilled honestly and to the letter," promises Pravda.

WHY STALIN USES COMPULSION

Up to now, explains the editorial, very little success has been attained in "transferring engineers, employees and skilled workers in adequate numbers from one enterprise to another. A section of the workers has shown no concern for the interests of the state and has refused to transfer. A number of employees and specialists, from among the reduced central apparatuses in Moscow, have tried to settle down in the same old place instead of leaving for the periphery where they could benefit the country greatly." (Pravda, October 21).

The seemingly casual phrase underscored by us in the above passage discloses that the October 19 ukase is only the consummation of a whole series of steps already taken by the Kremlin in its campaign to make-over and discipline the lower ranks after the dismal failure of Stakhanovism. A silent purge had taken place in the central apparatuses. But the "reduction" failed to produce the desired results, and has been supplemented by state-police action. It will fail as dismally.

Pravda cautiously computes that the concentration of "competent cadres" in the "periphery" i.e., the provinces—is about one-quarter of the concentration in Moscow, Leningrad, and other capital cities. The inference is obvious. While the apparatus swells to monstrous proportions in places where life is "easiest and merriest," the outlying regions suffer more and more from an acute shortage of necessities and of men, for example, the vast industry of the Kuznetsk Basin. "The same situation exists in a number of

other enterprises, especially in Siberia, in the East." The stress placed by the Kremlin on the Far East is unquestionably connected with feverish war preparations.

"At the same time," PRAVDA continues with its murderous self-indictment, "there is a surplus of engineers and technical workers in many old enterprises especially in the industrial centers and in the cities, above all places like Moscow and Leningrad. The transition to the 8-hour day and 7-day week has likewise freed a section of the skilled workers. The whole task is to transfer them in an ORGANIZED WAY to those enterprises which need competent cadres." (Emphasis in the original.)

"ENORMOUS" NUMBERS AFFECTED

While the exact number of those slated for transfer from the centers to the provinces cannot be computed, it obviously runs into hundreds of thousands. Approximately one-half of those now in the "old enterprises" must be shifted to correct the officially acknowledged disproportion.

Unable to blame the regime itself for this catastrophic condition, Pravda, nonetheless, brazenly enough, fixes the blame in part on the June 26th laws:

"Prior to the June 26 Ukase... when there used to exist an ENORMOUS TURNOVER OF LABOR IN INDUSTRY, the new enterprises would obtain a part of their labor force spontaneously. Most often these were not stable cadres because many workers and employees moved on to other enterprises. Nonetheless a certain section of the workers did settle down. Today when a decisive struggle is being waged against labor migration, today when the self-willed departure of workers and employees from enterprises and institutions has been prohibited, it is impossible to count upon adequately filling the staff of the new enterprises on the basis of a spontaneous flow... This means that the new enterprises and those assimilating new types of production must have an ORGANIZED flow of qualified workers."

What a picture of chaotic conditions in industry!

The Kremlin foresees nothing, not even the consequences of its own laws. In addition, Pravda gives itself the lie direct. For weeks it has been swearing that the June laws were aimed at a very small section of the working class, not more than 3-4 per cent. Now comes an official declaration that the "decisive struggle" is being directed against an "enormous" section, skilled as unskilled, bookkeepers as well as engineers and technicians, all of whom participated in an "enormous turnover of labor in industry." The "Stakhanovist" in the Kremlin produces decrees at such record breaking speed that it is impossible not only to prepare for them politically, but even to reconcile today's explanations with those of yesterday, to say nothing of tomorrow.

The bureaucratic summits are becoming more and more isolated not only from the mass of the population but from the lower ranks of the bureaucracy as well.

BATTLE FOR PRIVILEGES

Within the lower ranks a muffled nationwide battle is now raging: Those in the provinces are pitted against those in the centers, engineer is pitted against engineer. Stakhanovist against Stakhanovist, one white-collar functionary against another, and so on down the bureaucratic ladder. The methods and weapons utilized in such a struggle transcend description. The arena of combat extends into the ranks of the party, for a great number of the combatants whose vital interests are affected by the ukase are party members, together with their wives and relatives, and hold various party posts. Those able to exert special pull will remain with the fleshpots in

the center. The vanquished will either go to jail, or to the Kuzbas, the Urals, Siberia, and all points East, all expenses paid.

It is too early to predict the course that the conflict between these discontented lower layers and the capricious irremovable tops will take. Sections closest to the workers may quickly feel the impulse to draw nearer to the mass. But between the mass and the main tiers of the technical and administrative machine there still remains an enormous gulf. Nevertheless one fact is already indisputable: The interne-cine strife must shatter beyond repair an important section of the repressive apparatus.

BACKED BY NEW FRAMEUP TRIALS

Within four days of the publication of the October 19 ukase, Stalin, in order to keep the conflict from reaching dangerous proportions, and to curb the discontent, has been forced to apply his sharpest methods: frame-up trials. And with them has been revived the threat of another blood-bath.

On October 24, the Soviet press began featuring day by day the trial of three defendants in the Moscow City Court. All three defendants are technicians. This establishes the audience for whose particular benefit the frame-up is staged. The GPU gets explicit orders on such items. A. D. Mityasov, the first defendant, is described as "former head of the Central Directing Bureau of ferrous metallurgy of the South and the Center"; T. P. Pervushina, a woman, is "an engineer-geologist"; and the third defendant, A. I. Karpushin—"an engineer employed by the Leningrad Institute Mekhanobor." All three are charged with being members of a "wrecking crew of slanderers who not only traduced honest Communists but took under their protection acknowledged enemies of the people." All three of course confessed. (Pravda, October 24, 25, 26).

The technique of the incumbent head of the GPU, Berya, is as primitive as that of his predecessors. The fraud is self-apparent. The criminal activity of the defendants is dated back to 1935, that is, one full year prior to the staging of the Zinoviev-Kamenov Trial of August, 1936. The defendants are charged with having slandered literally hundreds in the period of 1935-40. Among their very first victims were "37 students of the Leningrad Mining Institute who were accused of Trotskyite activity." And yet, in the same breath, we are told that: "Their reports were carefully checked and each time (in five years!)—JGW—the slanderous character of these reports was revealed. And as a logical consummation of their slander-activity, there they sit in the prisoner's dock..." (Pravda, Oct. 24). That is, the defendants "slandered" and were exposed as slanderers not only under Yagoda (who was shot) and Yezhov (who was purged), but also under Berya, but they were not brought to trial—until October, 1940! Such is Pravda's logic.

A NEW WITCH-HUNT BEGINS

The purpose of this frame-up really lies in the "confession" of the defendants that they shielded "enemies of the people"; in particular, a woman Trotskyite, D., who was exposed by the Leningrad party organization.

"How are we to explain the fact that you took upon yourself the defense of D.?" the defendant is asked by Prosecutor Khabarov.

"It was my mistake," softly answered Pervushina. (Pravda, October 26, our emphasis.)

The hunt is on again for the "enemies of the people." In the Leningrad organization of the party, the GPU uncovers a "woman Trotskyite, D." The Prosecutor dares not mention her full name. More significant is the fact that the term "Trotskyite" has reappeared in the columns of Stalin's press two months after he had Trotsky murdered.

Camacho vs. Almazan: Tempest in Teacup

Stalinists Deliberately Deceived the Masses in Supporting Camacho

By G. MUNIS

MEXICO, D. F.—During the election campaign the Stalin-Toledano heralds proclaimed at the top of their lungs the revolutionary character of Camacho as opposed to the reactionary Almazan. The whole weight of propaganda, discipline and coercion which the CTM (Confederation of Mexican Workers) bureaucracy could dispose of was put at the service of the "candidate of the revolution."

The Trotskyists, too weak to nominate a candidate of their own, declined, nevertheless, to endorse either of the candidates. Basically, both candidates had, a bourgeois character and the two also lacked a program, even a minimum one, which could guarantee the conquests of the workers and peasants.

The Communist Party thereupon accused the Trotskyites as "Almazanists." It is known how an ally and collaborator of Almazan. The "confession" of the assassin of Trotsky, Jacobson, insinuated something in the same sense. Stalinism cannot support, even in the slightest, the existence of a revolutionary policy; Stalinism carries on a calumnious campaign, attempting to identify revolution with reaction.

Nevertheless, Camacho's triumph has sufficed to give complete justification to the analysis made by the Trotskyists. Barely certain that he would occupy the presidential chair, Camacho summoned the newspapermen and made a few remarks which gave rise to great joy in the national and foreign press. In essence

they can be summarized thus: Fatherland, religion, order, and property. And in order to give point to his remarks, he started to go publicly to mass, no doubt to praise God and the souls of the Stalinists and Toledanists who brought him victory.

The reactionary nature of the new policy announced by the "candidate of the people" is so marked that the president of the Almazanist party hastened to proclaim his own and his party's support of Camacho. Twenty-four hours later he rectified his somewhat stunning words, but this correction as well as the previous grandiloquent threats of Almazan did not mean that political differences exist; it is a letter of exchange for greater political concessions and higher public posts. Almazanism had died as unnecessary.

The flag of reaction has passed without any transition or grave convulsions from the hands of one to those of the other. Some armed bands that rose against the government acted without coordination and have surrendered to the forces of the army. Almazan never solidified himself with them. Finally, the arrival of Almazan in the capital excludes all possibility of struggle and his declarations recognize Camacho as the leader of Almazanism. The Trotskyists were completely right: between the two candidates no fundamental differences existed.

Lombardo Toledano and the Stalinists, by their unconditional support of Camacho, have deceived the masses. The Stalinists and Toledanists cannot say they were

deceived. They "neglected" to give the working class a candidate of their own when the least grasp of politics foresaw that Camacho hoped to accomplish a swing to the right. But the CTM bureaucracy cannot adopt an independent policy without running the risk of unloosing a real revolutionary movement. The blinding of the masses was necessary in order to preserve the interests of this bureaucracy.

The collusion between Camacho and the reactionary forces of the country is beyond doubt. With rancorous glee, the conservative cabal prepares to use its forces and carry out different projects. Renewal of the upper democratic hierarchies of the government, distribution of ministries and sub-secretariats, new selection of the diplomatic corps, protection of capital, free hand for imperialism, restriction if not suppression of the right to strike, and in draconian measures against the most elementary needs of the working class.

Will Avila Camacho succeed in accomplishing his reactionary aims with the aid of the same bureaucratic satellites who surrounded Cardenas, that is to say, the Party of the Mexican Revolution and the Confederation of Mexican Workers dominated by Lombardo Toledano and the Stalinists? The strata of the PRM who hold the important state posts will not oppose Camacho's desires. From the moment Camacho expressed conviction before the altar for his abominable revolutionary delirium, many of those who yesterday were frightened by their own "ad-

vanced" ideas, have discovered in the bottom of their hearts a hidden religious faith. Catholicism conquers new and unsuspecting proselytes.

The heterogeneous class composition and the lack of ideology of the so-called Party of the Mexican Revolution converts it into a docile instrument in the hands of any fraction of the Mexican bourgeoisie. A few changes to more trustworthy men will suffice to accomplish the course to the right without any fundamental changes. However, it is probable that Camacho will dissolve the PRM and form another party which the Almazanists would be invited to join. Thus reaction would feel more satisfied and the Almazanists would have greater access to governmental posts. In either case, the social base of the PRM will adapt itself completely to the interests of the reactionary bourgeoisie.

For their part, neither the leaders of the CTM nor the Stalinists have dared to raise a single objection to Camacho's remarks. As far as the future is concerned, they only hope to retain their posts. They even offer their services to the president-elect to allow them to subdue workers who might have the courage to protest. The Mexican press has spoken of substituting in place of Toledano in the leadership of the CTM, Fidel Velazquez, a second figure who won't mind displacing his boss. As a whole, the corrupt bureaucracy of the CTM will be perfectly submissive. But the proletariat grouped in this trade union center will learn with

this experience the reactionary character of their leaders, and the policy of Camacho will awaken, sooner or later, a new trade union movement, more independent, democratic and healthy.

The Communist Party appears ready to purchase tolerance at the price of silence. Their press and pamphlets, formerly sold on almost every newstand in the capital, have already almost completely disappeared. The printing press which ran them off has been sold. The rare copies which come across all upon "believers and non-believers" to support the "progressive policy" of the government. One gets the impression that the C. P. will renounce all and devote itself to activity, more apparent than real, with the purpose of conserving legality. The legality the C. P. wants is a relative legality and freedom of action for GPU agents who pollulate like ants in Mexico. Politically Stalin doesn't expect anything from the C. P. of Mexico. But as a GPU base of operations it is absolutely indispensable for him. To permit this, the C. P. will invent any "progressive" pretexts which will allow it to exist and support Camacho.

Thus the struggle between Avila Camacho and Almazan which started with harangues in irreconcilable opposition to each other, and which gave the faint-hearted chills of civil-war, resolved itself miserably like a storm in a teacup, and of course, at the expense of the workers and peasants.

November 28, 1940

British Workers Carry War Load

The British ruling class finds it hard to understand why it should spend money on providing adequate air-raid shelters for the teeming masses of London. One group of advisers to the ruling class, the "socialist" patriots who form the "left wing" of the British Labor Party, undertook in a recent issue (October 4) of their weekly, *The Tribune*, to explain to their betters why this task was so urgently necessary. Some revealing details turn up:

"We had been told that the defenses of London were completed, and sufficient arrangements had been made for the sheltering of the homeless or undefended. It was a lie; and the victims are angry. Now, the Labour members are, if they are anything, the protectors of the workers. Do they reflect this anger? If you know what that anger is, you will answer NO at once."

"... The outcome of the war may well depend on the speed and efficiency with which he (Special Commissioner Willink) is able to tackle the problem. Unless this is done successfully the spirit of Londoners may move through sullen resentment to an open refusal to accept the sacrifices necessary for victory."

"The desires of the people are very reasonable. They are the provision of shelter accommodation of a type giving more protection than the surface shelter, that will allow them to lie down and sleep at night in an atmosphere that is not dangerously unhealthy, and is not rank with the stink of human excreta."

"I wonder if Mr. Churchill is aware that, in spite of all the talk, there is no scheme at all for the removal of old people or invalids from London? There is no evacuation scheme for mothers with children of school age who want to leave London, unless they live in a few specially selected areas, or can find their own billets. Very few London working-class women can do this, so they and their children are forced to remain in London and swell the nightly casualty lists."

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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 officers.
3. Confiscation of all war profits—all company books to be open for trade union inspection.
4. Expropriation of all war industries and their operation under workers' control.
5. Trade union wages for all workers drafted into the army.
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-three—\$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 Unions.
9. A Workers' and Farmers' Government.

Why The Silence?

As the real news about the situation in the Soviet Union trickles through to the outside world, the silence in the bourgeois press becomes more and more obvious. Has Stalin's blackout been extended to the Western Hemisphere? Why should the American bourgeoisie render this service to the Kremlin?

It is a mistake to think that the bourgeoisie is "uninterested" or has just happened to overlook the latest developments of such magnitude as: the transformation of Soviet factories into virtual penitentiaries to which the workers are sentenced for life; the extension of this imprisonment to their sons and daughters, along with the children of peasants; the inclusion of the administrative and technical staffs in the increasing regimentation; the purge of the Komsozols and the trade union bureaucracy and, most recently, the purge of technicians, engineers, and dissident bureaucrats; the resumption of frame-up trials in connection with this purge; the increasing difficulties not only in industry but also in agriculture; the growing shortage of necessities, the rising prices and indirect wage cuts, etc., etc. No, this silence at this time can not be accidental.

Back-stage diplomatic maneuvers between Washington and Moscow have been going on for some time now.

Almost simultaneously with the termination of the Hitler-Molotov interview, the Kremlin-White House negotiations took on a "positive" aspect. Washington announced its approval of the charter of tankers to carry oil and machine tools to Vladivostok. In return the Kremlin granted a consulate and a Far East "observation post" in Vladivostok to American imperialism.

Obviously inspired by the Kremlin, Red Army commanders begin rattling the sword in the Far East and the Moscow censors not only release the news but link up the Generals directly with the Communist party. Here is how this interesting item begins:

"MOSCOW, Dec. 7 (AP)—From what is designated as the 'Far Eastern Front' a Communist party conference of the Red Army has sent to Joseph Stalin a promise that the Soviet troops will 'fight any minute' and 'defeat any enemy'. The pledge was expressed by General Markian Popoff, who commands the First Far Eastern Army, following a meeting of officers, commissars and troops who are members of the party. General Grigori M. Stern, Commander in Chief of the Far Eastern forces, spoke to the assemblage." (N. Y. Times, Dec. 8)

It is hardly likely that Stalin is trying to provoke the Japanese militarists before whom he has so long groveled. In fact, it is unlikely that he is addressing himself to them at all. Washington is doing all the threatening of Japan. Stalin's bluster does sweeten the atmosphere in which the tentative negotiations with Washington are proceeding.

Trotsky pointed out, before Stalin silenced his powerful voice, that the key to Stalin's foreign policy in the period immediately ahead was in the hands of the White House. The Kremlin's foreign policy may well be decided in Washington.

Meanwhile, the intangible exchange of amenities continues. While America's hard-boiled Sixty Families, with whom all final decisions rest, weigh the pros and cons, nothing is permitted to interfere with the back-stage probings as to just how far Stalin will really dare to venture out on the limb.

In the big bourgeois press the lid is on. And this is also reflected in a marked lack of interest in the Soviet developments in the so-called radical press, and the sheets of the Mensheviks of all varieties.

When the bourgeoisie howled about "poor, brave little Finland," these Mensheviks barked in chorus. When the bourgeoisie decided among other things, not to fuss about poor "little Estonia," poor "little Latvia," etc., etc., all the "opponents of Stalin's imperialism" likewise dropped their tails with a just barely audible yelp. Like well trained poodles they react instantly not only to the master's loud voice, but to a mere gesture of his littlest finger.

Roosevelt's Latest

It would be easy to demonstrate that, like other recent moves he has made, Roosevelt's plan to "lend" Britain munitions is not "aid short of war" but constitutes actual participation in the war. It would be easy to show that, in this latest move to circumvent the Neutrality Act, Roosevelt has broken the solemn promises he made last year in order to secure passage of the "cash and carry" provisions of the Neutrality Act.

Let us, however, concentrate attention on the significant fact that Roosevelt still does not dare propose outright abrogation of the Neutrality Act and of the Johnson Act (which prohibits loans to defaulting countries). Roosevelt still feels it necessary to violate these laws, with the aid of appropriate mumbo-jumbo opinions from his Attorney General, rather than to call for new laws more in harmony with his war program. Why is this so?

It is so, we believe, because the masses of this country still don't want war. They still hope to keep out of the war. They are skeptical of the aims for which perfidious Albion is warring. They are equally skeptical of the aims for which Wall Street wants war. They accept Roosevelt's policy in the half-hope that his avowed aim of aid-short-of-war will actually achieve that result.

Were Roosevelt, however, openly to move to clear the decks for all-out action, the deep-seated anti-war feelings of the masses would come to the fore again. A proposal by Roosevelt to abrogate the Neutrality and Johnson Acts would, it is certain, galvanize great sections of the people in a resurgence of opposition to Roosevelt's war program. Hence Roosevelt's circumlocutions. But thereby he gives involuntary testimony to the depth of anti-war feeling still latent in this country.

That pervasive anti-war sentiment is significant, not because it decries the horrors of war. As a matter of fact, upon close analysis, it is clear that to call it "anti-war sentiment" is a misnomer. It is something much more important than that. The workers and farmers are not pacifists in any sense of the word. If the well-being of the people necessitated a war, the workers and farmers would have no compunctions in fighting one through to the end.

Their "anti-war" feelings, therefore, flow from the first glimmerings of the realization that neither this war, nor any other fought under the leadership of the capitalist class, serves humanity. And in those first glimmerings is the beginning of all wisdom.

Sidney Hillman's Gnat

Like the proverbial scoundrel, Sidney Hillman has swallowed a camel but strains on a gnat. He didn't peep when his pals on the Defense Council awarded Bethlehem Steel a billion and two hundred millions of war orders. He didn't peep when Ford got an order for 120 millions for warplane engines. And so on, and so on. Now he raises his voice in protest against... a measly two-million dollar order for war-trucks to Ford.

His protest is coyly made public, not by Hillman, but by one of his flunkies. It turns out that the protest isn't in writing, but was lodged verbally. It is made painstakingly clear that the protest, such as it is, is made specifically against this one order to Ford, and doesn't apply to the other war orders given to labor law violators or even to the other orders given to Ford.

But this incident has this much value. It shows that, in spite of all the press ballyhoo, in spite of all the threats being made by bosses and their political agents in Washington, the pressure of the workers is pressing down on Washington. If the thick rhinoceros hide of Hillman finds it necessary to respond with this perfunctory protest, that shows that the resentment of the workers, against the brazen anti-labor policy of the government in handing out war contracts, is beginning to be felt.

Hillman's "protest" also serves to focus attention on the key question: What shall the workers do if the government persists in refusing to abide by the labor laws, and continues to hand out contracts to labor-law violators? Hillman's "protest" is so obviously impotent; truth to tell, the protests of Philip Murray and John L. Lewis aren't so very much more potent than Hillman's. Protests will turn out to be useless—unless they are backed up by definite preparations for strike struggles against Bethlehem Steel, Ford and the others.

Hillman's "protest" is a substitute for such strike action. What is needed is a supplement to protests. And that can only mean real, serious, honest-to-goodness preparations for militant action.

Our Party's Election Campaign In Minnesota

The Trotskyist Candidate for U. S. Senator Tells Why She Polled More Votes Than Browder and Thomas Together

By GRACE CARLSON

A large number of letters have come in to Minnesota, from comrades and friends throughout the country, inquiring about the secret of our success in the recent election campaign. (The Socialist Worker Party, listed on the ballot as the "Trotskyist Anti-war Party," received 8,761 votes—more than the combined totals of the Socialist and Communist Parties.)

This secret is not hard to find. The Bolshevik character of the Minnesota Party determined the success of the campaign. Trained and disciplined ranks, led by workers with years of devotion and sacrifice for the revolutionary movement in their records, carried through the campaign in an efficient, organized manner.

There is no doubt that my candidacy at the time had "news value." In Minnesota, where so many hundreds of Farmer-Laborites and liberals have been fired in the past two years by the reactionary Stassen machine, when a state employee voluntarily resigns from a job, she makes news. There is something of the "man bites dog" element in such a story. The campaign for signatures opened less than two weeks after my resignation from the State Department of Education, and we were thus able to "cash in" on the publicity attendant upon the resignation.

WHOLE PARTY TOOK PART

The first big task, the gathering of the signatures necessary to place our Party on the ballot, was done by Sunday morning mobilizations of St. Paul and Minneapolis comrades for house-to-house canvassing. A big majority of the Twin City membership took part in the mobilizations; those unable to do so gathered signatures in other ways. With less than a month allowed by Minnesota law for the work of placing a minority party candidate on the ballot, we filed 2,600 signatures in the Secretary of State's office on October 5—600 more than the law required.

All of the comrades deserve credit for their efforts in this part of the campaign. One of the older comrades illustrates how seriously this work was regarded. This was a woman comrade who had recently gone through a serious surgical operation. Because of her frail health and age she would certainly have been excused from the work of house-to-house canvassing. She refused to be excused, however, and brought over 40 signatures in to headquarters. This is the type of Bolshevik courage which, conquering pain and fear, carried the Marxist program to Minnesota workers. A comrade in the Carpenters Union gathered

a large number of signatures from workers on the job. (Even in Bill Hutcheson's union, workers will support a militant, working-class program, brought to them by one of their own proven militants.) A waitress gathered signatures from her customers as did a butcher in a retail meat market.

LITERATURE DISTRIBUTION

The distribution of the 5,000 campaign leaflets and the 10,000 copies of the special Minnesota Edition of the *Appeal* was carried out in the same enthusiastic way. C. Johnson, the Campaign Manager, was in charge of this phase of the work. The piles of literature melted like snow as the comrades, under his direction, carried the Trotskyist election literature into working-class wards of the two cities. Bundles of Appeals were also sent to Duluth, St. Cloud and other centers for distribution. Here again, great ingenuity was shown.

Two comrades engaged in traveling work always carried a pile of leaflets with them and released a few dozen in every small town along their route. They reported that most of these leaflets were picked up and read, since residents of small Minnesota towns are not flooded with campaign leaflets, advertisements, etc., as are city people.

One of the young comrades on the University of Minnesota campus pressed our campaign literature on everyone who wore a Thomas-Krueger button. He even persuaded some of these S. P. sympathizers of the errors of their ways and made Trotskyists out of them before the end of the campaign.

RADIO BROADCASTS

The three fifteen-minute radio speeches, given on consecutive Monday nights, were publicized by paid advertisements in the capitalist as well as the labor and Negro press. Moreover, 2,000 postcards were sent out, advertising the speeches. In addition, each piece of campaign literature carried a stamped message giving the time and radio station over which the speeches could be heard. We also obtained some free publicity from the press in the inclusion of our candidate's name on the "campaign clock" which listed the political radio speeches of each day.

I have the clipping from the October 28 issue of the *St. Paul Dispatch* before me and see the following line-up of political speeches for that day:

9:00 P.M. President Roosevelt from New York City KSTP
9:30 P.M. Wendell Willkie from Louisville WCCO.
10:00 P.M. Dr. Grace Carlson,

Trotskyist Anti-war Party Candidate for U. S. Senator WLOL.
10:15 P.M. Governor Stassen for Willkie WTCN

Many comrades arranged radio parties at their homes so that friends might hear and discuss these speeches. One comrade, working on a night shift in a factory, brought a radio to the lunch room so that the workers could hear one of the speeches during their lunch period. He reported that this speech which consisted in the main of long quotations from the *Manifesto of the Fourth International* was very well received.

The diligent work of the Forum, Finance, Education and Social committees of the Twin City branches in their own respective fields bore fruit for the Party in numerous successful election rallies, meetings and socials, attended by new as well as old sympathizers of the Party.

TROTSKYIST ACTIVITY KNOWN

Although large masses of workers in outlying parts of the state as well as farmers in rural areas did not hear the speeches or receive the literature, nevertheless an impressive vote was recorded for the Party in these areas.

The explanation of this phenomena is that these workers and farmers wanted to express their support of a Trotskyist program. Because of the activities of the Trotskyist leadership of the progressive Minneapolis labor movement during the past few years, the word "Trotskyist" stands for militant working-class action to thousands of Minnesota workers who have never read any Trotskyist literature.

TRIBUTE TO TROTSKY

The recent tragic death of Leon Trotsky at the hands of Stalin's G.P.U. agent dramatized the program of the Fourth International for other thousands of workers and farmers in Minnesota and throughout the United States. I am very sure that many hundreds of votes were cast for me as the Trotskyist candidate in order to do honor to the murdered hero who symbolizes for the oppressed the revolutionary struggle against the capitalist system of exploitation.

In this election campaign, the first in this country in which the name "Trotskyist" appeared on a ballot, the ranks of the Minnesota Party and the masses to which the Party appealed for support responded enthusiastically. To have been the instrument through which support for the program of the Fourth International was recorded is a source of great personal satisfaction for me.

Hillmanites Now Control Jersey CIO State Body

(Continued from Page 1)

Hillmanites were very careful to see that no important issue at all reached the floor, and their opponents unfortunately played into their hands on this.

At a caucus of the anti-Hillman delegates held after adjournment the first day, it was agreed that the major issues of the convention were industrial unionism, opposition to curbing of labor activity, formation of an independent labor party, and control of the state board to advance the fight on these questions. "We will carry the fight to them on every issue," said a Stalinist spokesman, "and force a vote to see where things stand."

However, this was not done. The Lewis-Stalinist leaders the next morning made an agreement with the Hillman leaders for a "test vote" on the constitutional provisions for electing the state board, and thus made this the major question of the convention. The Hillmanites proposed that they be permitted to continue the practice of having representation on the state board from various sections of the Amalgamated and the textile union, although other unions are not permitted more than one or two representatives from any international. This would mean control of the board by the Hillmanites.

The Stalinists countered this by demanding only one representative from each international. And then, instead of exposing Hillman's real aims of capitulation to the AFL, instead of a programmatic assault which would have won support, the Stalinists confined themselves to such

arguments as: "It isn't fair, it isn't democratic, the electrical workers could do the same and ask for representation for their different parts of their industry," etc. In this way, they obscured the main issues and conducted the fight on the plane where the Hillmanites wanted it.

Delegates who wanted to hammer home the principles agreed upon at the caucus the day before were denied the floor as the result of an agreement between the heads of the two blocs which cut discussion short after a few of the leaders had spoken.

The result of the test vote was 305 to 293. Thus the Hillmanites won a close victory where they might well have been routed. Responsible for this was: (1) Lewis from the national office had sent down word urging that both sides avoid controversial "national issues," thus taking away from his group in the convention their strongest weapon. (2) The cowardice and stupidity of the state Lewis-Stalinist leaders who permitted the fight to be fought out on a machine, non-programmatic basis. (3) The fact that the

Hillmanites spent several thousand dollars prior to the convention getting their locals into good standing, while the Lewis leaders fumbled the job, getting for example a representation of 20 steel delegates when they might easily have had 60.

Instead of carrying the fight further during the rest of the convention, the Stalinists practically gave up the fight after this first vote. Almost everything else was referred to the incoming state board, which was elected with a majority of Hillmanites.

One interesting exception was the resolution that was adopted condemning fascism, nazism and communism. To this, for the first time, in a CIO convention the Stalinists took exception, demanded the floor, opposed it vigorously and rose against it on a standing vote. The Hillmanites jeeringly replied that what was good enough for the national CIO was good enough for them, referring to the fact that the Stalinists at the national convention had all voted for the same resolution.

Attention New York!

A Real Blow-Out

Nsw Years Eve Celebration

Germania Hall

3rd Avenue and 16th Street New York City

Auspices: SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY

Set-Back: Ninety-one cents

Macdonald Cries Out Against Shachtman's Internal Regime

By JOSEPH HANSEN

For some time reports have been reaching us that factional war is convulsing the ranks of the petty-bourgeois opposition which split from the Fourth International last spring. A new wing of oppositionists to the official oppositionist leadership has cropped up in much the same way that lesser fleas are reputed to crop up on bigger fleas.

It is reported that a wing which rejects Marxism openly is struggling for domination of the so-called Workers Party against the wing which rejects Marxism surreptitiously, and that this is the reason for the voluminous polemics which have been appearing under the name of Max Shachtman in *Labor Action*.

Now that the electoral campaign is over and it is safe to attack one's campaign manager, the polemics have been directed particularly against Dwight Macdonald, who heads the Burnham residue in the "Workers Party" and who publicly advocates revision of the basic doctrines of Marxism.

However Macdonald is struggling not only against Marxism as he did together with Shachtman in the ranks of the Fourth International, he is also struggling against the internal regime in his party.

Recently he wrote an expose of conditions in his party which we think deserves more wide-spread publicity than Shachtman is willing to give it. Here are some of the more salient points of Macdonald's expose as mimeographed for the membership of the group:

The expose is entitled, "Fraternity—A Note on the Intellectual Atmosphere in the Party," that is, the "Workers Party." It appears that J. R. Johnson, fellow-editor with Dwight of the *New International*, without consulting the other editors, or the ruling body of the party nevertheless polemized "in the sharpest terms against another member of the party, namely myself, while ostensibly attacking the bourgeois press."

"I have dwelt at such length on this episode," complains Macdonald, "not because of its intrinsic importance, but because it is a specially good example of the serious degeneration in the intellectual life of the party since the split. Under the pressure of the war crisis and, at least in my opinion, of the impotence of Johnson and other leading comrades to cope with international developments on the basis of their simple-minded mechanical-Marxist approach, there has been generated a really poisonous atmosphere. Comrades who, like myself, dissatisfied with the official 'answers' and are casting about for more satisfactory interpretations, are regarded with the same fear and bitterness and suspicion as Cannon used to regard all of us during the faction fight. Why, after all, was Johnson impelled to go to such fantastic lengths in order to score a point off my 'Partisan Review' article? Not because of the point he criticizes—a minor part of the article—but for an entirely different reason: because my general conception of fascism is 'unorthodox' and, in his opinion, dangerous. This is what is believed the whole business, this is the real issue."

So corrupt and degenerated has become the regime in the so-called Workers Party that it is apparently denying the very principle upon which it justified its split from the Fourth International. It will be recalled that the Burnham-Shachtman group insisted at the time of the split upon their "right" to publish their attacks on Marxism in the public party press whenever they felt like it.

They insisted that it was necessary for them to split so that they could publish their own press. "Mere" internal party bulletins were not enough for them.

Now they deny their own principles, for Macdonald is compelled to ask: "Let's have the argument conducted in the open, not by means of such venomous masked attacks as this one of Johnson."

Macdonald sums up his expose of the regime of the so-called Workers Party very succinctly: "We have one editor launching a venomous polemic against another editor in the very editorial columns... He has done this without mentioning either me or *Partisan Review* by name, so that those inside the party would realize what he meant, while the outside public would remain in ignorance of the real aim of the attack... Johnson went to such lengths that to have mentioned me by name would have not only provoked a real scandal but would have made the *NI* look like a very peculiar sort of magazine, with one editor denouncing another as a counter-revolutionary squawker... His editorial thus has the character of a lynching rather than a legal execution... I cannot see how revolutionaries and counter-revolutionaries can exist side by side either on the editorial board of a Marxist magazine or in a revolutionary party."

If Macdonald is not satisfied with what publicity we have been able to give his expose we suggest that he start his own journal under the protecting wing of the political committee of his party and blast that committee publicly for what he terms the "serious degeneration" they have permitted "in the intellectual life of the party since the split."

The Real Mystery Behind the Hitler-Molotov Interview

On his mysterious visit to Hitler, Molotov was accompanied by more than fifty hand-picked individuals. Not one of these "specialists" participated in any conference whatsoever. The sole duty of the G.P.U. squad was to guard Molotov. It is rumored in authoritative circles that several guards stood with drawn pistols even at Molotov's bedside. Now the question is: Just who arranged for this body-guard and why? Was it Molotov himself because he mistrusted Hitler? Or did he mistrust another and more intimate "collaborator"—his comrade in the Kremlin? Or was the guard supplied by Stalin to make sure that his Minister of Foreign Affairs and President of the Council of People's Commissars reached his appointed destination and returned home intact (to be disposed of at a future date) instead of taking it on the lam once the frontier was crossed? Or was it simply that Stalin wanted Molotov to feel at home in a strange country?