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

## Purges the Majority of Trade Unions' Officials

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

By JOHN G. WRIGHT

Stalin is now in the midst of a new mass

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

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

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

#### Stalin Must Expose His Imitators

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

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

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

#### Cabled Stories Suppressed by Stalin

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

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

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

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

#### What the "Trade Unions" Really Are

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

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

#### Squandering the Workers' Dues

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

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

After this discovery, Prayda is ready to tell the Plenum just how to attract the masses:

"This situation can no longer be tolerated .. The main portion of the funds accruing from membership dues must be expended not on the upkeep of a paid apparatus but to provide cultural-educational service to union members and to render them material aid."

The Tenth Trade Union Plenum was well at- bert Goldman, Trotsky's attorney, tended by the Chairmen and Secretaries of the to put a series of questions to (Continued on Page 4)

# Socialist Appeal

Official Weekly Organ of the Socialist Workers Party, Section of the Fourth International

VOL. IV-No. 38

NEW YORK, N. Y., SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 21, 1940

#### 267

FIVE (5) CENTS

# The members of the Plenum were graciously greeted on July 27 with a special editorial in Pravda addressed to the Plenum and entitled: "You Must Attract Broad Masses to Active Trade Union Work." After an innocent and ritualistic introduction TAKING STRIKE VOTE

## S. W. P. Plenum--Conference Fisher Body Fight Opens Friday in Chicago

Branches are being informed

Reservations for the banquet

may be made by writing to Room

TROTSKY ASSASSIN IS QUESTIONED

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

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

The principal question under discussion will be the fundamental task of party policy� toward the militarization of the will be presented by their delequestion was on his desk await- directly of arrangements for ng completion when the assassin housing of delegates. struck him.

A discussion on this question has been going on for some time 308, 160 North Wells Street, Chiin the party branches, on the cago, or by telephone at DEarbasis of a resolution drafted by born 7562. the National Committee. The The schedule for the Plenum-fruits of the branch discussions Conference it as follows:

FRIDAY, Sept. 27 2:00 P.M .- Session of the National Committee.

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

SATURDAY, Sept. 28 10:00 A.M .-- Opening of the Conference.

SUNDAY, Sept. 29 10:00 A.M.-Continuation of the Conference.

8:30 P.M.-A Banquet closing the plenum at the Epicurean Restaurant, 316 South Wab-

# Is For Showdown

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

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

Fisher Body plant is the culmina-9 dation which has aroused the fighting spirit of the local.

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

#### Hides Real Issues

membership, and to cover up the the suspended men back to work, attention on an AFL-CIO fight, up the suspensions with the manthe corporation seeks to sidetrack agement, and to report back to the real issues at stake.

These issues are the corpora tion's flagrant violation of the GM contract, wage decreases by means of "reclassification" of jobs, speedup, etc.

Fisher Body workers of the CIO pany. the day following the lockout, the Fisher workers showed a militant unanimously passed the motion to determined spirit. All were con- take a strike vote at once. The scious of the company's long cam-

tion of a long corporation cam- paign against the union and were paign of provocation and intimi- ready once and for all to put a stop to the company's arrogant campaign against conditions in

#### Cold Water Reuther

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

This scissorbill line of Reuther-Thomas did not go over with the Fisher boys. They voted at that meeting to give the International It was obviously an attempt by Board instructions to get down the company to provoke the union to serious business at once to get real issues which had already and backed this demand up with created a tense situation in many evidence that this suspension was GM plants. By dealing with AFL just part of the corporation ofcommitteemen, and then following fensive against the union. Reuthup with this attempt to focus all er was given one week to take I the membership.

#### Men's Determined Stand

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

The militant Fisher men then (Continued on Page 2)

## U. S. SENATORIAL CANDIDATE IN MINNESOTA IS GRACE CARLSON

MINNEAPOLIS-The Minne- | paign literature will be circulated sota Section of the Socialist during the campaign. Workers Party, together with its hundreds of friends and sympathizers, swung into action this week behind the candidacy of legal obstacles, the name of the Socialist Workers Party cannot appear on the ballot. Dr. Carlson will therefore appear on the bal-

lot as the candidate of the Trot-

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

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

For Union Control of Military

Training The twelve-point platform of the Trotskyist Anti-War Party ed States Senator. Because of opposes imperialist war, fascism and totalitarian dictatorship. It calls for universal military training under trade union control. It

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

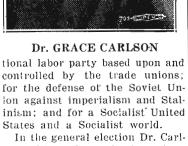
calls for trade union wages in the

military forces.

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

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

Good Farm Plank "Land to those who till it."



son will confront the incumbent Henrik Shipstead, renegade Farm er-Laborite who recently deserted The farm plank calls for the to the Republican party; and excancellation of feed and seed governor Elmer Benson, Stalinist oans to the farmers, the cancel- stooge who won the nomination lation of farm mortgages, and in the Farmer-Labor primaries September 10. The Democratic



A: Yes.

## Natalia's Letter To Cardenas

MEXICO CITY, Sept. 13- and by your aid in our days of MEXICO CITY, Sept. 13sky yesterday, thanking Pre-Judge Carranca Truiillo conductsident Cardenas for a personal ed further questioning of the asvisit he and Mrs. Cardenas sassin of Trotsky, Jackson, this had made, was released today afternoon at the hospital where by the Presidential Palace and Jackson is in bed because of published in the press. stomach trouble. The text of the letter fol-

lows:

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

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

Talkative—About Nothing

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

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

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

Q: And you mean to say further, that you do not remember the particular subject which caused your disillusionment, quent. In Norway, we found ourselves imminently menaced with death, and not a single country in the world ventured to aid the disinherited. The exception came from legendary Mexico, with its generous people, expansive and independent. You prolonged the life

you came to help us after the

perfidious attack of our ene-

mies against our house on

May 24. Saturday (August 24)

once more you proved your

activity in favor of him who

had from you the possibility

of living on Mexican soil. Per-

mit me, Mr. President, to re-

peat here the expression of

my deepest gratitude to the

people of Mexico, to its gov-

ernment and to you particu-

"NATALIA S. TROTSKY'

of Leon Trotsky for 43 to offer to your wife and yourmonths. I carry in my heart self my most profound appremy gratitude for those 43 ciation for your visit, for your months. Not only I, but hunsincere sentiments, for your dreds of thousands of incorunalterable conviction in the ruptible fighters, who struggle honor of Leon Trotsky and for for the emancipation of huthe contempt manifested by you toward calumny and lie. manity. "Your tender attention sus-Calumny and lie are not weaptained us in the sorrowful moons sufficient to assure a dements of the loss of our son finitive victory to those who in February, 1938. And again

stitutes for me a moral support for the rest of my life. "There has never been in history an epoch as overshadowed by lie, calumny. crime and inhumanity, as that today. Honorable fighters fall as victims. Their memory, nevertheless, will be eternal. "Unfortunately my husband could not know you personally. Our life, despite that, was

are using them. My meeting

with you on August 24th con-

"Mr. President: Permit me

linked with yours by the bonds of your generous disposition

but you simply remember the

A: I remember the subject

and the disillusionment. I re-

member the dishonest proposi-

tion which Trotsky made to me

that I go to the Soviet Union

and carry out acts of sabotage,

and so forth and so forth, as I

have declared and written in

the letter which was found on

Q: Was it during that con-

A: Trotsky did not propose

Q: What precisely did Trot-

In other words, the assassin is

beginning to forget the precise

formulations of the GPU letter,

in which it was categorically

stated that Trotsky told him to

A: I don't remember.

exactly that I assassinate Stal-

versation that Trotsky pro-

posed you assassinate Stalin?

disillusionment?

sky propose?

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

and others) in your letter?

This came out in this interest-

A: I don't remember. Q: Do you refuse to answer my questions because you do not remember what you said in your letter?

(Continued on Page 3)

question and I won't answer it. A few moments later came this amazing exchange: Q: Will you answer these questions that I ask you, if I

## FLINT, Sept. 16-Two strikes | Stores, 902 Broadway, New York, are already in progress in Flint. to bargain with its employees, and

MINOR STRIKES IN AUTO TOWNS

SHOW THE POT IS SIMMERING

by the company is reaching a decisive phase. alyzed by a strike of the bus covering the plant gates since

drivers, members of the Transport Workers Union, CIO. The bus strike, now in its fifth day, is the result of the firing of the union president by the com-

pany. Company officials have re fused to meet with the union, but parleys are expected today. The Q: Do you remember what union has organized the bus driv you said about this (Trotsky's ers 100% and thus far no atorders to assassinate Stalin | tempts to run busses with scabs have been made.

The five and ten cent girls of he Grand Silver store here have urned out to be million dollar pickets, as they marched out of he scab open shop firm and es ablished a picket line on the bus A: This is a tendentious

iest street in town. The girls are organized in the United Retail and Wholesale Em ployees, affiliated with the CIO marines. The girls are striking in order to force the company, part of the

while the Fisher Body fight to to raise the miserable wages from reinstate 19 unionists suspended \$12.50 weekly to a living wage:

DETROIT-The Diesel Division The entire bus (street car) of General Motors went on strike system has been effectively par- this week, and pickets have been Friday, September 13th, when members of the Mechanical Educational Society of America, an independent union, struck the plant.

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

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

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

The M. E. S. A. won the National Labor Board election in the multi-million dollar H. L. Green Diesel Division of G. M.

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

#### New Worker Learns What It means to **Be** Chained to a Factory Machine

EDITOR: --

become a socialist and a revolutionary. I am trying to remake myself.

Our revolution is a factory rev- fellows sneaked a grin, and one olution. That fact is self evident | guy winked. to a Marxist. So I looked for as well as the "larger" ones.

looking for. The foreman put me to work in "production," on a body could hear me, because there was such a racket in the place. get a chance to talk socialism.

My wrists got awfully tired, to ache a lot. But I tried hard not to show it because everyone else was so quiet-so hard lookbled quite a bit. But it was not ing how many there were of us much of a cut, and I was sur- and how strong most of the felprised that the fellows were so lows looked. sympathetic (because they seemed being thought sissyish to take time off for that.

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

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

concerning the coming U. S.-So-

to him why, i. e. because the C.P.

I am doing this at present to

the C. P.'s in my local and it is

very effective. Their change in

line following the Hitler-Stalin

pact confused them terribly-now

they feel that anything can hap-

pen. Here's some of their re-

marks when I predict the com-

ing pact-"Who told you,-a bir-

die?" Then I explain the prob-

lems confronting American im-

perialism and the Kremlin bu-

reaucracy showing them that fol-

lowing the defeat of Britain the in-

terests of both become "parallel."

Then I demand of them a cate-

gorical answer on whether they

will support the U.S. gov't. First

they deny that, then they modify

U. S. government.

One boy even mentioned what

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

At lunch time I just sat down and ate by myself because I didn't scripts, only if they apply within ONLY TWELVE MONTHS want anyone to think I was butt-I am twenty five and soft. The ing in anywhere. After all I and "unless the employer's cirlast few years I have spent in didn't know the fellows. And cumstances have so changed as professional life. But now I have they all gathered in Little bunches. After lunch I was back on the job a minute late and the foreman yelled at me. A .couple of the

Towards the end of the day, the a factory job. I must learn all thing that kept going through my the problems that confront the mind was how different it is to working class, the day-to-day ones, go on a tour through a plant (Ford's, for instance) and to work At last I found the job I was in one. In the first case, what you observe is machinery, endless, expensive and massive-what short line, trimming sheetmetal Marx calls the concentration of for auto roofs. I couldn't even capital. You hear its din and look around, or notice anybody I | you see its products pouring out.

was so busy. When there was But it's only when you work in a a let-up and I tried to talk no factory that you really understand how human beings are chained to the machine-how when the I wondered when I was going to machine speeds up they must speed up-and how much blood and sweat goes into the making and the small of my back began of the shining products that the machine "makes." I felt this in my muscles. And

began to want to make a revoing and so uncomplaining.-Then lution right away. I began to City. the sheetmetal went through my hate the boss with a real hate not glove and cut a finger so that it just a literary one. I kept think-The main power the boss seems

so tough). And they made me go to have is just the foremen, the to the first aid room. I went, stool pigeons and a few signs. (Of although I was a little afraid of course all the bosses together have all the police and the machinery of state as well.) One sign above the tool-room door reads:

"If you don't like our country that you live in Go back to the land from where you came.

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

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

NEW WORKER section of the report dealing with

# ORKERS' Here Are Some of the Anti-Labor Clauses in Roosevelt's Conscription Law For the principal points in the longed lawsuit with a good chance called up for service any time in no specific regulations for exemply the points of the principal points in the longed lawsuit with a good chance called up for service any time in no specific regulations for exemply the points of the principal points in the longed lawsuit with a good chance called up for service any time in no specific regulations for exemply the points of the point of the principal points in the longed lawsuit with a good chance called up for service any time in no specific regulations for exemply the points of the point of

tary service. A close study of worker can starve. the law as passed discloses many STARVATION WAGES defects which work to the disadvantage of the ordinary worker.

#### YOU'LL GET YOUR JOB BACK-MAYBE

that employers must rehire con | charge and employment. thirty days of completing service to make it impossible or unreasonable to do so."

forces are clashing bitterly in the

CIO, but that these two groups

are not too far apart was demon-

convention this weekend.

Hillman Gang's Strategy

At the United Paper conven-

tion the Hillman forces sought to

prevent a serious discussion of

the effects on the labor movement

of the "National Defense" pro-

gram. Their strategy was to stall

this question until the last hour

of the convention and then, with

a plea for adjournment, refer the

question to the International

Executive Board, which is com-

Their plans were, however, mis-

calculated. On the second day of

the convention, the fight broke

out over the report of the Exe-

cutive Board. In question was the

pletely under their control.

Burke-Wadsworth Draft Law of losing out in the end, as so the next ten years. provide that every citizen from often happens today under the 21 to 36 years of age shall be provisions of the Wagner Labór sions for dependents. While this to presidential decree. According liable to at least one year's mili-Relations Law. Meantime, the may cause only little hardship at to the regulations drawn up by

### ARE "PATRIOTIC"

2. This is made easier by the fact that the pay for privates is \$21 for the first four months and 1. The Draft Bill does not give \$30 thereafter. Few conscripts any guarantee that conscripts will will be able to save any nest-egg hard just to pile up money for get back their jobs. The section at these pay rates. Moreover, no on arrangements for job-return provision is made for discharge contains a large loophole for the pay to enable the conscript to other partially-paid for goods are employers in the clause stating tide over the period between dis- safeguarded very loosely, if at all.

#### —IF NOT MORE!

3. The law does not restrict the term of service to twelve months. That is simply the minimum. If the President decrees a Men who aren't reinstated may state of national emergency or infile suit in the United States case of war, conscripts may be fected by passage of this law. Courts against the offending em- compelled to serve indefinitely. ployer. Thus the employed con- After completing his year of train A PARADISE FOR FINKS script faces the prospect of a pro- ing, the conscript is liable to be 6. It is important to note that ed for military service."

Labor Control Of Military

Training Debated By Union

first when those with numerous the Joint Army and Navy Selecdependents will probably be plactive Service Committee in 1926 IN YOUNGSTOWN!! ed in deferred classifications, it in anticipation of this hour, work will inflict tremendous hardship ers will have to submit two affiwhen these men are called up later, when war comes,

#### NO PROTECTION AGAINST CREDITORS

5. Insurance policies, mort gages, installment-purchases, and The only provision regarding installment purchases states that the seller may not repossess them for non-payment during the time the draftee is in service, but there is nothing to prevent the seller after. That is why stocks of fin-

tions or deferments are included 4. The law makes no provi- in the law itself. These are left davits, one from his immediate superior, the other from his boss. This gives employers a perfect chance to rid themselves of troublesome trade-unionists and fill their places with finks or inexper:enced suckers.

One consequence of the law is that young workers are already finding it increasingly difficult to get jobs. Testimony to this effect was published in a letter to the N. Y. Times, Sept. 10: "As a young man just halfway between from taking them immediately the ages of 21 and 31 I have recently encountered among prosance companies, remained unaf- pective employers a decided unwillingness to interview for vacancies persons likely to be draft-

Air King Strike

Is Over, Judge

The strike of the workers at

the Air King Radio Co., Brook-

past fifteen weeks, was forced into

Air King Co. applied for an in-

The arbitrator, Dr. Lapp, after

listening to evidence for four days

gave his decision in favor of the

company and the I.B.E.W. He

naintained that a contract signed

by the company with scab-herder

was legal in spite of the fact that

Through a ruse Beedie prevailed

away from the CIO union and into

his own private racket. The workers at a U. E. (CIO) shop

meeting on Monday Sept. 16 re-

jected his scheme and will remain

with the U. E. The union will

other U. E. shops.

Beedie, International

William

would take back.

Smothered It

SUPER-ACTIVITY

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

YOUNGSTOWN, Ohio-"We vere all pleased at receiving your letter of commendation. But in eal American, 'you ain't seen nutten yet.'

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

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

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

"In another meeting some of the officials came out and told us to come around with the paper arbitration by Judge Nova. The at the CLOSE of the meeting, as the workers read it constantly junction against Local 430; Unitduring the meeting and this disturbs order.

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

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

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

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

#### BOSTON'S RESULTS ON APPEAL WORK

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

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

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

#### HOUSE-TO-HOUSE IN CHICAGO

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

"1. It popularizes the Appeal in a working class neighborhood. "2. It gives us a contact list from which we can build a bigger branch in that neighborhood. "3. It also helps us to determine whether it's worth while working where we are now or to

move into another location. "On September 17th we are

#### strated when both turned their tional defense now being un- erly seated by the credentials dispute, which has raged for the committee! folded . . . fire against a militant delegate A severe attack on this section at the first biennial convention Stalinist Yellow-Bellies of the United Paper, Novelty and was made by one of the delegates Toy Workers International Union of the United Paper Workers (CIO), last weekend in New York | Union of New York. For Workers' Control The story is significant and

The local union for which the worth telling. It throws considerable light on the meaning of delegate spoke had gone on rethe fight between the Stalinists cord at its last membership meetand the Hillman forces which is ing "in favor of military trainscheduled to come out into the ing under the control and superopen in full blast at the CIO state vision of the trade unions."

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

No sooner had the delegate concluded presentation and argu-

The Stalinists and the Hillman National Defense, which was troduce, when the Hillman pack merely a duplicate copy of Sid- started a move-to discredit the ney Hillman's patriotic position resolution by questioning the 'approving the program of na- fact that the delegate was prop- lyn. N. Y., ended last week. The

> And what did the Stalinists do? They started a contest with the ed Electrical, Radio and Machine Hillman gang to see which of Workers (CIO), and Judge Nove these two groups could outdo the before giving his decision, forced other in derogatory speeches the union to arbitrate with the against the resolution for work- company and Local B-1010. ers' control of military training (AFL). The Stalinists took a disgustingly pacifist position on this fundacental question. And these scoundrels dare to claim the heritage of Lenin!

The resolution could not pass n the face of this "united front" Representative of the I.B.E.W. of Stalinist and Hillman forces. This reporter did witness, hownot one worker in the shop voted ever, a group of about fourteen delegates who expressed their the workers to go back to work agreement and sympathies to the and gave the boss the right to delegate who had introduced the select which of the strikers he esolution. Incidentally, even some of the

pro-Roosevelt supporters protest- upon a member of the strike comed when the administration rail-roaded through a resolution in at the AFL Headquarters last Frifavor of a third term for Roose- day, Sept. 13. He proposed there ment for the resolution which his velt in crass bureaucratic fashion, that before any of the Air King local had instructed him to in- permitting no discussion. strikers could get their jobs back in the plant they would first have

# WORKER INSISTS WE MUST PREDICT Auto Workers

(Continued from Page 1) pact with Hitler-fear of the vote will undoubtedly be overpowerful German military

> stand it is probable that the cor- and get rid of the key CIO men. noration will be forced to drop that should the corporation be al- midated union men, etc. lowed to get away with this acall but destroy the union.

Flint and elsewhere is full of fight, the local leadership is inexperienced and in constant danger falls on the leadership. In the negot'ated on a plant basis, but of being outmaneuvered by the company. The International Board pile up even higher. Rank and done. members have shown their inable ity to get the company to live

Planning Ahead Needed into line, stop the speed ups, wage the throats of the UAW member- ranks.

cuts, and general intimidation.

Alert militants are now conits frame-up charges against the vinced of the necessity to bring 19 Fisher unionists and reinstate out the real issues facing the them on the job. If they don't, union: they realize it is necessary because there is no doubt that show that the corporation has all the Fisher Local No. 581 means but abrogated the contract, re-tract has never in actuality been business. They know well enough fused to settle grievances, inti-

hall yesterday was full to over enforce the agreement, while the plant basis; but instead of this along with you." company refuses to live up to it. the company has been allowed ac-

> ganized, unless it is led, unless it the union must do.

leaders in the UAW-CIO. The arrogant attitude. membership is well-known for its courage and fight. The Fisher events show that well enough. It is now up to the leadership to come forth and show the magnificent fighting membership that More conscious union militants it is able to lead a successful fight ecognize that it is necessary for against the huge GM corporation

twofold purpose; first, to orient a descendant of the Rev. John rooted in the working class, but live up to the agreement, and will and insist on action to settle the the Fisher struggle. It is to be Wheelwright who founded Wells it draws to itself the best from also force the International Board mountain of grievances they have expected that from now on the fantastic), second to sound out Hampshire-he used to insist Brooks Wheelwright. A last undertake to whip the company The GM contract, rammed down sive, under pressure from the

whelmingly for arming the Fish | Fisher Body. It is only neces- | Thomases, is obviously a poor | agreement. The grievance procethat the corporation tried to use dure is long and drawn out, the my Now" he entered a local re-"impartial umpire clause" is a cruiting office. The fat, well-fed foolish illusion that there can be looking officer, gave him a disanything "impartial" in a fight tasteful look and said, "We don't between company and workers. want no damn black boys in the But in general a union contract Army now. You have to wait can be made as good as the union for conscription." they will be faced with a strike, to pile up a record of evidence to members can make it by their organized strength. The GM con-

but into effect. The company. ignores its provisions. And the union due to its inexperience, and low any Negroes in the Army,

tually to cut wage levels in many The struggle against GM is only plants. The contract provides that

The union is well enough organized to enforce these provi-But this rank and file courage sions and force the company to will ebb and die unless it is or agree to union conditions on wages and time standards. All is given a program of action based that is needed is a planned camupon a cool understanding of what paign, and serious action to show the company they cannot get There are plenty of potential away with their present openly

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

Keen interest has been shown by workers in other plants in union will become more aggres-

#### to help him break other shops Jobless Negro Lad Tries To get Into The U.S. Army...

NEWARK, N. J .- For many endeavor to place all of the workmonths, a strong, giant Negro ers who have lost their jobs in youth had been, unsuccessfully seeking work. Everywhere his color was against him.

> One day last week, impelled by hunger and attracted by a colorful poster which proclaimed "Uncle Sam Needs You-Join the Ar-

Infuriated, the youth reached over the desk and yanked the frightened officer to his feet. "Listen, Mr. Army Man," he said. "even if you don't want to al-When you draft me, I ain't comyour Jim Crow army. You'll have The contract provides that to come and get me-and you bet-

> Subscribe to the "Fourth International"

#### In AKRON, O the APPEAL may be obtained at:

NEWS EXCHANGE. 51 S. Main St. PORTAGE CIGARS, cor. Howard &

Buy the APPEAL

West Market

IN MINNEAPOLIS Shinders News Co., 6th St. & Hennepin Av.

Morris Kroman, 4th St. & Nicollet Av. Pioneer News Co., 238 Second Av., South

A. Peterson News Stand, Washington Av. & B'way N. Labor Book store, 919 Marquette Av.

A sendoff party for PLENUM DELEGATES

Dancing, Drinks, Food-A good time for all. Auspices of the Bronx Branch, 857 Westchester Avenue 8:30 P.M.—Sept. 21 Saturday Night-Admission. 20c. \*\*\*\*

SPECIAL THIS WEEK

Two Books of Vital Interest TODAY

LEON TROTSKY'S

History of the Russian Revolution (3 volumes in one — \$3.00)

LENIN'S

Imperialism: The Last Stage of Capitalism

## **BOTH FOR \$2.89**

MODERN BOOKSHOP

27 University Place

New York City 

### that with "well under certain conditions it might become necessary etc." We must follow the development closely and give it wide publicity in our press. A week or two ago, LOOK mag-

azine carried an article by Pearson and Allen concerning the "parallel" interests of Russia and the U.S. Knowing the relationand the government, and knowing the certainty of this development one can definitely say that this was directed by the propaganda machine of the government for a the public mind in such a direction (most of whom think this in Maine and Exeter in New all classes. Among them was John to get off its swivel chairs and had on the fire for months.

the editor it receives and their

THAT U.S.-SOVIET PACT IS COMING

I believe the Appeal should attitude. The next stage of the develop carry a steady stream of articles ment of the S. W. P. as the mass revolutionary party of American viet Union pact. We must predict labor will be the splitting of the it, we must explain how a Marxist analysis enables us to foresee C. P. and the winning over of its revolutionary elements to our this, we must denounce the Comintern for not informing their ranks. We must understand this ranks of it, we must demand of and orient ourselves accordingly. A vigorous campaign around the the rank and file C. P. why he hasn't been told, and then explain coming change in line will play a decisive role in achieving this line will switch to support of the objective.

DETROIT, Mich.

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

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

war.—EDITORS.

## JOHN BROOKS WHEELWRIGHT

fatally injured by an automobile a twinkle in his eye as he said it. the fighting spirit of the men. years old.

rock of Marxism. Far from conceding that his son." -he was born into one of the poetry.

public opinion by the letters to most solemnly that he came to Salute, comrades!

and died in Boston, Sunday, Sep- Yet somewhere he had imbibed tember 14. He was forty three a rebel's instincts. Despite an tendency to become confused in education at Fay School and St. Comrade Wheelwright had de- George's School, private schools violation of the contract, and the nonstrated his firmness and loy- of the rich, at Harvard he de- International leadership's self alty to the revolutionary move- fended the famous Boston police satisfied policy of doing nothing. ment. When, under the impact of strike of 1919. Naturally he As a result of this, the smoulder the second world war, so many brought upon himself the wrath ing resentment of the ranks store petty-bourgeois intellectuals de- and calumny of the Harvard auserted the revolutionary move- thorities and Massachusetts pluship between these columnists ment, John stood firm on the solid tocrats and was forced to resign his post as editor of the "Crim-

background was a handicap in a Not the least of his roads to article in such a mass publication revolutionary workers' movement the Fourth International was his take a firm hold, to plan a cam- already been forced to get busy

# Strike Vote

nas not died down, but has ac-

While the UAW membership in Our friend and party comrade, us precisely on the basis of his up to the contract, while at the John Brooks Wheelwright, was family tradition. But there was same time they try to tone down

> Locally, the militants show the face of both the corporation' up heat, and suddenly explodes in the face of everyone.

The union has a clear case in ship by the Reuthers and the er executive board with strike sary to present the facts to show In the face of this determined the AFL issue to smash the union,

It is not enough to allow these

tion against the 19 key men it will grievances to smoulder in the to its cowardly top leadersh p. you better take my name down breasts of the rank and file. The has done little to enforce its prov-The militant spirit of the union record must be made against the isions, and to make use of it to ing. I'll have nothing to do with company in black and white, and the fullest degree. tually increased since the meet- the union must adopt an impregng of a week ago. The meeting nable position of attempting to wages shall be negotiated on a ter bring your lily-white army

> Struggle Only Beginning beginning. A great responsibility speed or time standards shall be next weeks the grievances will this too has not been effectively file militancy will surge up every-

those who claim to be leaders to The International Board has paign that will force the company by the Fisher Body Local No. oldest families of New England | The revolutionary party is to cease its anti-union tactics, to 581. Other locals will follow suit

## Negro Struggle =by Robert L. Birchman===

#### Negro People Hold the Balance

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

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

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

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

#### The Roosevelt Record

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

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

#### Jim Crow Is a General

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

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

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

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

(Next week: The Republicans)

# Trotsky's Assassin "Doesn't Remember"

#### (Continued from Page 1) Siqueiros, Leader of May 24 Attempt In Democracy show you that they were not asked of you before? A: I will not answer because you want to make me fall into contradictions. I will answer no more than what I have already said: I don't remember the said: On Trotsky, Defends His Foul Deed

said: I don't remember the dates nor the subjects of conversations nor the number of conversations I had with Trot-JUDGE: If you are answering truthfully, then you should

not fear that you will fall into any contradictions by repeating your answers.

The whole fraud of Jackson's cover up the GPU, is summed up and fugitive from justice, has In the event of civil strife or attack, this excuse was dropped. in the final question and answer of this afternoon:

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

do those things. Is that right? A: Yes, I didn't know what was in Trotsky's mind and I didn't make any calculations.

The assassin, as can be seen, is course clear to all honest people murder society, the GPU. that the only purpose he has in lying is to cover up his GPU

#### New C. P. Moves

Unlike the attacks on Cardenas appearing in the U.S. Daily weekly, HOY, Siqueiros discusses Worker, the Stalinist party here the reasons for Cardenas' "perseis crawling on its belly to Carde-cution" of the assailants. Cardenas. A C. P. delegation waited nas, he says, is the " . . . loyal, hat in hand to see him yesterday, mechanical executor of the violent but he would not receive them. repressions and condemnation by The delegation met one of his that (bourgeois-democratic) State secretaries and whined for an against the transgressors of its hour about their support of Car- Law, without stopping to consider denas. He, of course, stands by the political propositions and the his denunciation of the "agents human reasons for their proceof a foreign power" who murder- dure. Without considering also ed Trotsky.

fled the country by now-and Government, the insolent Social-Communist Party officials have of the North American press talks Commission? come out proposing an investiga- about . . . " Siqueiros' criterion | tion of the C. P. to establish their of a progressive government is sion is Big Business personified, nnocence. Since a systematic investigation of the assassination is is allowed—the degree to which ton. already going on, and since an being an agent of Stalin excuses equally systematic investigation is crimes against the working class. being carried out concerning the The GPU's conception of a "Bol-May 24 attempt on Trotsky, for shevik" Gov't is one on the Ruswhich David Serrano, member of sian patter where frame-up and the Political Buro of the C. P. legalized murder is developed to is being held for trial, it costs a high technique. Cardenas should Reduction; J. G. White Engineerthe C. P. exactly nothing to make take into consideration that ing; S.K.F. Industries (mining); this public proposal for an in- " . . . the supposed responsible vestigation.

"The Communist Party ardently calls on all the people to concenfight against the seditious and treras, Siqueiros and the murdreactionary plans of Almazan." And forget about the assassinayesterday these scoundrels claim- ernment should give its members ed that the anti-Communist pro- the same rights they have in Ruspaganda was being used as a red sia-to murder opponents with from their own crime.

A civil war in Mexico today would be a godsend to the Stal-

### Trotsky's Last Work

MANIFESTO OF THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL on the

IMPERIALIST WAR

and the PROLETARIAN REVOLUTION

48 pages 5 cents per copy

Order from PIONEER PUBLISHERS 116 University Place New York City

MEXICO CITY, Sept. 14-The GPU had several alternative sto-official organs) calling Trotsky ters? Possibly the GPU hopes to Mexican public has been witness ries, just as it had several alternan enemy of Mexico in 57 differ distract attention from Serranoto the curious spectacle of a GPU ative plans to carry out the mur- ent varieties, an attack on the a member of the Political Commitagent writing to the press in or- der. Siqueiros reveals one of Trotsky house could have been tee who has been detained by der to defend his crime and revile those stories which, although it named a "sporadic" act of the the police since June for the May his victim. David Alfaro Siquei- never came into actual use, has "base of the people." Since no attack. If Siqueiros is out of the ros, admitted leader in the May the unmistakable earmarks of a difficulties arose over the electrountry, this course would present explanation, designed solely to 24th assault on the Trotsky house GPU lie.

> from his hiding place. He repeats the usual Stalinist slanders against Trotsky, critic- policemen: " . . . complacencies izes the Cardenas Government for and lack of legal energy on the the murder. Thus in a certain and self-incriminating letters "persecuting" the guilty, and in- part of the State before its reacsists that the Communist Party tionary and imperialistic opposi- ficial policy. In words as in ac- ide a "motive." Or do they think had nothing to do with the crime. tion inevitably carries with it the He says that the only reason 'illegal' sporadic force of the base that he is in hiding is his fear of the people . . . " It is, of course. of being caught in jail if Almazan ridiculous for Siquefros to pretend revolts and thereby he would be prevented from participating in the struggle against the reaction. The Communist Party of Mex-

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

The writings of Sigueiros may be accepted as the voice of the has written these articles and letters on the instructions of superiors-or other agents are writing them and forging Siqueiros' name. In either case the signature realextremely cautious and extremely ly reads "GPU". These signed hard; it is doubtful if more can documents present with surprisbe done with him than to prove ing frankness the real Stalinist that he is lying. But that is being | policy as known by that highest proved to the hilt! And it is of organ of Stalinism-its secret STALIN'S COMPLAINT

#### AGAINST CARDENAS

In an article entitled "The Real Political Identity of the Cardenas Government" published in a the political position of these per-Having cautiously waited for sons." And why did Cardenas three weeks to make sure that act so arbitrarily? In order to

Simultaneously, however, the professional delinquents, but rath (antimony); Mica Insulator; Un-C. P. has issued a special edition er recognized fighters of the Revo- ion Carbide & Carbon; Bethlehem of La Voz de Mexico with another lution, who had fought in Mexico Steel; General Foods; J. P. Stevline of defense. It consists of and abroad . . . " for the same ens (textiles); Wellington Sears one long splurge about Almazan, principles as those supported by the key to which is this sentence: Cardenas. (We might ask who Mellon Institute (chemical and revolution such agents as the Aretrate all its forces in the decisive nal brothers, Serrano, Carlos Con-

erer himself-Jackson.)

herring to divert attention away impunity in the name of the "Revfrom Almazan, today they are olution." Such is the service of of the capitalist class.

it tried to turn accuser into ac- etc. cused. The official and unofficial Stalinist press developed the theory of "self-assault," i. e. that Trotsky had shot up his own house. This theory was no doubt

\*Mike Gold, apparently ignorant of the fact that his Mexican and said: "Siqueiros, I undgr- helps. stand, was not a member of the Communist Party, but he accepted its leadership, the outstanding Mexican intellectual to do so." (Daily Worker, Sept. 2, 1940) Now the Stalinists will have to disown Mike Gold!

written four letters and articles trouble, the GPU planned to attack Trotsky's house in the role of enraged citizens instead of that an attack of twenty-five gangsters, showing an intimate knowledge of the interior of the house, with five cars, several machine guns, uniforms of the police and army, with the aid of people." What Siqueiros describes to us is an unused alibi of the Stalinists. Following the

tions by the time of the first GPU little danger for him.

ticles is simply a repetition of to blame friends of Trotsky as the Communist Party line from the murderers; thus they could which he diverges only to justify have him write his slanderous sense he is more honest than of against Trotsky in order to prov tion, Siqueiros carries this policy that such letters will convince the one more step to its logical conclusion. He not only accepted between Sigueiros and the Comthe lies of Stalin that Trotsky munist Party? In any case they was the greatest renegade in his- will fail. A mere distraction is tory, a friend of Almazan, a coun- of little value. If Sigueiros is ter-revolutionist etc., but also ac- killed, everyone will know that cepted the order of Stalin-to it was not the revengeful hand of murder his most uncompromising Trotskyists, but the silencing hand enemy. "Without anti-Stalinism," of the GPU that did the job. And women spies who operated for says Siqueiros, "Trotsky would no one will permit the Commun months before the attack was a have died from hunger"; this ist Party to free itself of respon "sporadic" act of the "base of the should read "Due to Stalinism, sibility by announcing that Si

GPU; either Siqueiros himself intense campaign in LA VOZ DE der assignment but he also de his acts the fulfillment of an or MEXICO (official C.P. organ) and fends his crime. Why does he der from Stalin.

Or is the GPU planning to kill The remainder of Siqueiros' ar- Siqueiros? If so, they may hope world that there is no connection Trotsky did die from a pickaxe." | queiros was "expelled." His words

ever, we can be sure that the EL POPULAR and FUTURO (un-write such self-incriminating let-

Not only did he accept the mur- are those of a GPU agent and

## SIDNEY HILLMAN

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

As the war crisis deepens, Big most any other figure in the la-Business no longer cares to exer- bor movement. Hillman's Socialcise its rule through their puppet politicians. Politicians are greedy and undependable. Big Business moves directly to the control room

of the government. The control room in the defense program is the National Defense Advisory Commission. This group is in charge of organizing the production and pyrchasing the goods needed by the war machine. profitable and patriotic than leav ing a \$100,000-a-year job in industry to become a dollar-a-year Jackson's accomplices were not demonstrate that " . . . his Gov- man on the Commission or one caught-they have undoubtedly ernment . . . was not a Bolshevik of its staffs-and making millions by ordering goods from one's having assured themselves that ist Government that the noisy own firm or utilizing the stock Jackson won't spill anything, the campaign of the extreme right market moves prepared in the

The National Defense Commis-

the degree of freedom the GPU at the control room in Washing-BUSINESS WEEK for August 10 lists the personnel of the Commission and of its staffs, administrations and divisions. Among the corporations represented are: General Motors: U.S. Steel: Burlington & Quincy: Air Eastman Kodak; Malcolm Belly persons for the assault were not & Co. (tin); Chas. Hardy & Co. (cotton): du Pont: Scott Paper: "recognizes" as fighters for the coal products); Union Pacific: N. Y. Central; Libbey-Owens-Ford; United Aircraft; Curtiss-Wright; Ethyl Gasoline; Studebaker; McGraw-Hill; Motch & The GPU insists through Si- Merryweather Machinery; Giddtion of Trotsky, naturally. While queiros that a "progressive" gov. ings & Lewis Machine Tool; American Telephone & Telegraph; General Electric: Union Cargo Line (harges): Columbia Broadcasting: R. H. Macy, etc.

Among the trade associations themselves using Almazan as a the Stalinists to the cause of represented are: Rubber Manufacred herring to divert attention Bolshevism. A more frightful turers; Iron & Steel Institute; slander of the significance of Edison Electric Institute; Wool Bolshevism could not be devised Manufacturers; Tanners Council; by the most reactionary members Association of American Railroads; Lake Carriers; National It will be remembered that Association of Motor Bus Operafter the May 24th attack, the ators; American Trucking; Na-GPU, following its usual practice, tional Petroleum; Federal Reserve attempted to frame the victim and Board; Millers National Federamake him appear as the culprit; tion; Russell Sage Foundation,

#### HILLMAN HELPS TO MASK ALL THIS

In ordinary times the people would be alarmed at the prospect a substitute for the original in- of the banks, the stock exchange tention to frame the guards in | and the employers' associations the event that the attack had suc- descending on Washington to inceeded in killing Trotsky. How- stall themselves in the seats of paper boldly describes a phase power. The concept of national of Hillman's activity: defense helps mask the move. The fact that President Roosevelt, still comrades had conceded Siqueiros' popular, invites Big Business to responsibility for the attempt on take its place at the festive board, Trotsky and had disowned Siquei- helps. The fact that one member ros, wrote in the Daily Worker a of organized labor was induced defense of Siqueiros' innocence to join the seven-man board

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

Democratic training accentuates these qualities.

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

labor statesmen are on the Com-He must induce the workers to accept the speed-up: to give up their best weapon, the strike; to give their sons to the army: to give their loyalty to the employers and the government that rob them and organize their misery and cal 751, said in his press releases:

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

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

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

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

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

> Join the Socialist Workers Party

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

There were no happy sighs from the cooks and stewards, who had to go to work with their de-

#### WHAT HILLMAN DID TO THE BOEING STRIKE

A typical Hillman job is the threatened strike of 6,000 memnosion for the purpose only To bers of the AFI, Machinists Union Give. Their sole task is to in- at the Boeing Aircraft Company. duce organized labor to bow to If ever a strike was justified, it the war-time needs of Big Busi- was this strike, voted by 97% of ness, to give up one condition the unionists involved, in a situaafter another, one weapon after tion where the company was propanother, and above all, not to re- osing to slash the hourly wages sist. The garment workers have for hiring-in from 621/2c. to 55c. raised Hillman as high above The Machinists were demanding their heads as they can reach. a wage scale more nearly com-It is Hillman's task to betray parable with the scale paid for them and the whole working class. similar work in other industries. This situation was important ot only to the Boeing workers but to all workers in war indus-

> tries. As Lundquist, leader of the Aeronautical Mechanics Union Lo-

"The union recognizes that

the successful conclusion of its negotiations with the employers will act as an opening wedge in a nation-wide campaign by workers in war industries to gain for themselves a fair share of the enormous armament expenditures. The establishment of wage standards and working conditions as demanded by the union will serve as a model for the rest of the industry, and as a vivid example to workers everywhere. On the other hand, failure to gain these basic principles will he a set-back not only to aircraft workers, but will possibly encourage employer-interests to attempt to lower still more the living standards of all work-

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

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

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

# The Chinese Get a Lesson

By GEORGE STERN

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

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

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

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

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

The Chinese seamen on the Silverlarch, however, had no more stomach for breasting the perils of Britain's war. Chinese seamen, better than most workers of the Pacific, know that Britain's battle is no battle of theirs! They were in the first and front ranks of China's own battle against Britain not so many years ago. And there is battling enough to do at home in China's own

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

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

#### THE SINS OF THESE CHINESE

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

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

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

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

### BRITAIN'S REAL FACE SHOWS

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

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

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

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

#### SOCIALIST APPEAL

VOL. IV-No. 38 Saturday, September 21, 1940

Published Weekly by the SOCIALIST APPRAL PUBLISHING ASS'N. at 116 University Place, New York, N. Y. Telephone: ALgonquin 4-8547

Editorial Board: ALBERT GOLDMAN FELIX MORROW

General Manager: RUTH JEFFREY

Subscriptions: \$2.00 per year; \$1.00 for six months Foreign: \$3.00 per year, \$1.50 for six months. Bundle orders: 3 cents per copy in the United States; 4 cents per copy in all foreign countries. Single copies: 5 cents.

"Reentered as second class matter December 4, 1933, at the post office at New York, N. Y., under the Act of March 3, 1879."

#### Fight with the Socialist Workers Party for:

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

## On Conscription

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

FOR COMPULSORY MILITARY TRAIN-ING UNDER CONTROL OF THE TRADE UNIONS—that is the only serious slogan for the working class in this epoch of militarism and re-

## Moscow's Blackout

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

## STALIN'S NEW PURGE

(Continued from page 1)

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

#### Shvernik in the Confessional

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

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

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

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

#### The Scope of the Purge

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

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

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

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

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

Grain Elevator Workers Union, was able to announce a reduction of 59.5 per cent. But the speakers really warmed up to their

Meshakin, Chairman of the Flour Mill and

task only during the next day's discussion, which summed up with satisfaction as follows:

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

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

### An Astounding Admission

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

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

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

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

#### The Income of the Bureaucracy

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

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

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

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

#### And These Are the **Smaller Leeches!**

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

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

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

#### Why Stalin's New Scapegoats

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

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

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

## 'Draft Wealth' Item in Draft Law Is a Fraud

By SAM MARCY

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

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

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

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

#### Just a Lot of Hokum

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

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

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

#### Good Fellows Get Together

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

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

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

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

#### For Workers' Control of the Munitioneers

But even if the Rossevelt Government had serious. ly contemplated conscripting industry that effort ought to get no support from the workers.

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

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

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

# Chicago Mass Meeting

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

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



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

Friday, September 27 8 P. M.