

NEGRO SAILORS OUSTED FOR PROTEST

J. F. Finerty Joins Aid For Waller

Famous Attorney To Fight Execution Of Negro Sharecropper

NEW YORK—John F. Finerty, famous labor attorney has joined the defense lawyers who are pressing last minute efforts to save the life of Odell Waller, Negro share-cropper, sentenced by a Virginia court to die in the electric chair December 27 for slaying his white landlord.

Mr. Finerty was a defense counsel for Tom Mooney and in the Sacco-Vanzetti case, and acted as legal counsel for the International Commission of Inquiry which acquitted Leon Trotsky of the Moscow Trials charges.

An all-white jury including 16 landlords, a business-man and a carpenter passed the death sentence on Waller in a trial at Chatham, Virginia. An appeal is being made to the Supreme Court of Appeals of Virginia to throw the verdict aside on the grounds of evidence of prejudice in the conduct of the trial and the selection of the jury.

According to the evidence at the Chatham trial, Waller had shot the landlord, Oscar Davis, in self-defense, after Davis attempted to draw a gun on Waller who was trying to get the shares due him for work performed by him, his wife and 69-year old mother.

Waller had carried the gun because of the previous threats of landlord Davis, Virginia state law permits a citizen to carry a gun if he believes his life to be in danger.

The case is vital in disclosing the sordid injustice which the white Southern landlords impose on the Negroes, and in providing an example of the legal methods employed against the Negroes in the poll-tax southern states.

Organization of the defense is in the hands of the Workers Defense League, which is appealing for urgently needed funds to save Waller's life. The League's national office is at 112 East 19th St., New York City, David Clendenin, secretary.

Court Order Denounced By Minneapolis Unions

Drivers Union Rejects Judge's Order To Remove Loyal Unionist From Office

MINNEAPOLIS, Minn.—With one voice the union movement here has decided to cry "HALT" to the presumptuous efforts of the district court to dictate to the Minneapolis General Drivers Union through the means of the famous fink suit.

Friday morning, November 29th, Judge Paul S. Carroll handed down his ruling on motions by Local 544 and the finks to amend his original findings in the long-drawn-out suit. The court utilized the occasion to take another crack at the union by ordering it to remove Nick Wagner, trustee, from office, on the grounds that he "threatened and intimidated" finks.

The Local 544 executive board met, surveyed the situation and resolved to challenge the court's decision head-on. Carroll's decision sets such a sinister precedent that it must be fought through the highest court. When boss courts presume to replace the union membership in deciding who shall and shall not be officers of unions, it's time for a showdown.

LABOR'S ARMY ASSEMBLES

Developments of the last few days show that the whole labor movement is of one mind on the decision to appeal the case. Already the Minneapolis Teamsters Joint Council, the Building Trades Council and the executive board of the Minneapolis Central Labor Union have met and in each instance by unanimous vote resolved to support the stand of 544.

It is certain that Nick Wagner will be nominated and will stand for re-election in Local 544's annual election this month.

Testimony throughout the long trial showed that the leadership of Local 544 has acted consistently on sound trade union principles in the interests of the union membership and organized labor. Judge Carroll himself has conceded the union elections are fairly run, the officers are honest, that the union has acted within its rights in using its funds to conduct strikes, to defend arrested union members, to aid other labor organizations, to donate to the Farmer-Labor Party, to assist in

organizing the 12-state area over-road drivers. While conceding all this, the judge has given credence to a few of the thousands of viciously anti-labor charges by the finks, who were attempting by this suit to have the union officers removed as "dishonest." Acting on a moth-eaten legal technicality, the judge used the occasion of his original decision to order the union to remove Carl Skoglund from his post as 544 president—on the grounds that Skoglund was not yet a citizen. (Skoglund is still president. Nothing was done about the judge's order, pending a hearing on the motions to amend his decision.)

Now the judge has gone a step further and ordered the removal of Wagner because a few filthy finks claimed that Nick "intimidated" them. If this precedent were to stand, bosses everywhere would send their stool pigeons and finks into unions to cook up a case against the officers, drag them before an enemy court and have the court behold the union and lay down the policies the union is to follow.

BOSSSES DEMAND BLOOD There is no doubt that the pressure of the employers on Judge Carroll must be terrific. The bosses through the fink suit are out to "get" the militant union which for six years has turned aside every other blow they have sought to deal it. But this time Carroll has gone too far. At whatever the cost, Local 544 means to establish its right to conduct its own affairs completely free from intervention by the biased courts who use their legal position to sanction the rotten charges of a handful of finks financed and guided by the bosses.

Throughout the nation, in Washington and in every state capital and industrial center, the bosses and their politicians are getting set to swing on organized labor. The courageous stand of the Vultec strikers stopped the enemy for a moment. Now Local 544 and the Minneapolis union movement mean to challenge the whole reactionary union-smashing campaign. The example of this brave fight should give new confidence in its own organized power to labor everywhere.

ALL UNIONS COOPERATE Although the strike is just in its second day, the milk drivers have already been pledged all possible support from the CIO and Railroad Brotherhoods here, as well as the AFL. Public sentiment is clearly on the side of the strikers, despite the horrible picture of dying babies which the bosses have been painting in almost hourly blasts over the radio and in screaming full-page newspaper ads. And we betide the luckless scab who tries to deliver milk to any worker's home. The sentiment in favor of the union is strengthened by the fact that everyone knows how the milk trust, including the huge Borden outfit, has been "milking" the consumers for years.

While no retail milk deliveries are being made, special arrangements have been made to see that milk gets to the hospitals and similar institutions, and home consumers can get all the milk they want by fetching it themselves. A clean-cut victory for the dairy drivers will not only stiffen the teamsters organization, but will inspire the entire labor movement here to fight down the growing boss offensive. The rank and file of Local 133 are clearly determined to make the milk trust come across with a greater share of the creamy profits which it has been skimming from this great Houston milk shed.

THE DAY. Jewish daily newspaper, publishes the following dispatch in its Dec. 10 issue: "PARIS, Dec. 10.—The police here have arrested ninety 'militant Communists,' apparently Trotskyists, and questioned them about the Communist propaganda that is being spread here recently. They also arrested 63 'left Communists.' The Nazi secret police have also uncovered nine underground printing presses of 'left Communists.'"

HOUSTON DAIRY DRIVERS STRIKE AFTER LOCKOUT

All Deliveries Stop As Milk Trust Tries To Stall Contract

By a Truck Driver HOUSTON, Texas, Dec. 2.—The bosses of this "Southern Metropolis" appear headed for a show-down with the entire union movement. And they're going to get that show-down.

Yesterday morning, Sunday, the managements of the six biggest dairy concerns locked-out all their milk drivers and dairy workers, over 700 men and women. All milk deliveries were suspended.

Local 133 of the Teamsters Union has turned the lock-out into a general milk-drivers strike, calling for an additional \$5 per week on the guaranteed wages of the milk-drivers and four additional days vacation with pay. The lockout, and now strike, came on the eve of a planned strike against the key Phenix Dairies here, and was an evident move of the Houston Dairy Council, the milk bosses' association, to get the jump on the Milk Drivers and start the drive to bring back the open-shop once more.

It is the general belief among the labor leaders here that the employing class as a whole in this city is planning to utilize the dairy situation for the start of a general drive against the 20,000 organized workers here whose contracts are due to expire within the next few months. Lending strength to this belief is the fact that coincident with the breakdown of the negotiations of Local 133 for a new contract with the Dairy firms, several key companies in bottling, baking, trucking and furniture hauling have refused to renew their union contracts.

Behind the Houston Dairy Council stand powerful oil and banking interests who would move heaven and hell to break the unions of this town.

PHILA. BOSSES TRY TO QUIET PROTEST STORM 19 Cops, 2 Judges Transferred For Mass Negro Arrests PHILADELPHIA, Dec. 5—19 policemen and 2 magistrates, involved in the illegal mass street arrests and jailings of 565 Negroes in the North Philadelphia 20th Ward on November 16, have been quietly transferred into other areas as part of the efforts of the Republican municipal political machine to quiet the storm aroused by this affair.

Meanwhile over 130 of those arrested are continuing to press their civil suits against the police and officials who ordered and conducted the raids. The raids, made allegedly in an effort to clean up petty crimes in the neighborhood, were really reprisals against the Negro community which refused to vote Republican in the last elections.

Some of the vicious acts of the police were vividly disclosed at a mass protest meeting of Negro organizations last night in the St. Paul's Baptist Church. Scores of the victims attended and testified to their outrageous handling. The victims were picked off the streets and public places just at random. No warrants were used. No charges were placed against them. They were given no immediate hearings as the law provides. And were held on bail of as high as \$500.

Those who protested at this outrageous treatment were roughed up by the police. Twenty and thirty of them were packed together in cells built for four or five people. They were forced to stand up all night.

Here's A New Angle On "National Defense"

"National defense" has been the pretext to break strikes, abolish labor laws, cut wages, lengthen hours, refuse to recognize unions, and fifty other anti-labor moves reported in your morning newspaper, but it remained for John G. Pew, brilliant president of the Sun Shipbuilding and Drydock Company, to invent an absolutely new angle in this racket.

His company was charged with fostering a company union, espionage, and coercion, intimidation and discrimination against its employees, and notified to appear before the National Labor Relations Board for a hearing on the charges.

Whereupon President Pew addressed himself, not to the Labor Board, but to his most profitable customer, the Navy. He served notice, in a letter to the Navy Department, that he couldn't make any more ships for the Navy unless the NLRB hearings were put out of the way!

The company, he wrote, finds "it is impossible to (a) exonerate itself from the charges of the board and (b) perform the tremendous task of increasing plant facilities, personnel, purchases of supplies and equipment (in order to accept Navy contracts) at one and the same time." The letter concludes by posing the question:

"Which is more important, that the national defense program go forward on schedule or that the Industrial Union of Marine and Shipbuilding Workers of America be given an immediate hearing?"

Sure! What the hell! You can't expect President Pew (or his lawyers) to put down his tools, take off his overalls and go downtown for just an old Labor Board hearing! Not while HE is working so hard on national defense!

AFL-CIO Unite In Big Lumber Strike

45,000 Rival Union Men Join Hands To Wrest Wage Gains From Timber Lords

PORTLAND, Ore., Dec. 8.—As the joint strike of the AFL and CIO lumber workers moves into its second week, the entire lumber industry of the Pacific Northwest is virtually paralyzed.

Throughout the states of Washington and Oregon, sweeping the mighty Columbia River Basin and up into Puget Sound, the workers of both the AFL and CIO have joined hands to wrest decent wages and working conditions from Weyerhaeuser and the rest of the lumber barons.

Logging camp and saw-mill operations in Portland, Seattle, Everett, Tacoma, Morton and a score of other lumber towns are at a complete standstill.

By last night the number of estimated strikers rose to over 30,000, with the end of the walk-out spread not yet in sight. The pledge of the joint conference of the representatives of the Lumber and Sawmill Workers' Union (AFL) and the International Woodworkers Union (CIO), which met in Centralia, Washington, last Sunday and agreed to united strike action, to effect "as broad a tie-up as possible," is being fulfilled. The strike appears to be heading toward a shut-down of every camp and mill from the Canadian border to the California line.

The major demands of the strikers, formulated at the Centralia meeting by 350 rank-and-file delegates from 76 local unions representing 45,000 timber workers, are for a minimum wage increase of 7 1/2 cents an hour and one week's vacation with pay. The two unions agreed that any plant closed under a particular union would re-open under the same union.

OTHER UNIONS AID Representatives of the Inland Boatmen's Union (CIO), and the Sailors Union of the Pacific and the Masters, Mates and Pilots (AFL), who attended the conference, pledged the timber workers their full support. The sailors and boatmen have refused to haul any scab lumber. As a last-minute move to head-off the tie-up, the managements of 13 mills in Portland and the Columbia basin had announced, two-days before the general strike call, a 2 1/2 cent hourly raise for common labor and 5 cents an hour more for skilled workers. Union leaders assailed the employers' move as a desperate attempt to outmaneuver the efforts of the workers to obtain a minimum 7 1/2 cent increase. The bosses' move flopped miserably.

13 Discharged; 2 Face Navy Trial

Seamen Who Exposed Vicious Jim Crow In Navy Get "Undesirable" Discharges "For the Good of the Service"

By ALBERT PARKER Rear Admiral Nimitz, chief of the Bureau of Navigation, Navy Department, last week finally told what had happened to the fifteen Negro sailors on the U. S. S. Philadelphia who had written a letter protesting Jim Crow conditions in the Navy.

Nimitz announced, in an interview with P. L. Prattis, Executive Editor of the PITTSBURGH COURIER, that 13 of the sailors had been kicked out of the Navy with "undesirable" discharges, and that the other two were still in the brig, probably being held for even more drastic action.

The commanding officer of the Philadelphia, after the boys' letter had been printed in the COURIER on Oct. 5, had placed them all under arrest. He had then forced them all to write statements, telling why they had signed the letter and who had suggested it. This was obviously a move to find out who was the "brains" behind the letter.

When he had these letters, the commanding officer filed charges against the boys and recommended to the Navy Department that they be court-martialed.

He charged them with violating sub-paragraph 7 of Article 8 of Chapter 1 of the Articles of War, which reads: "Or joins in or abets any combination to weaken the lawful authority of or to lessen the respect due to his commanding officer."

In addition to this charge was another "conduct prejudicial to good order and discipline."

DANGEROUS PRECEDENT In other words, if a Negro sailor signs a letter saying he is being Jim Crowed and doesn't like it, he is "joining a combination to weaken the lawful authority of his commanding officer!"

If he writes to the people outside of the Navy and asks to help put an end to the policy that permits Negroes to become only mess attendants and cooks, then he is guilty of "lessening the respect due his commanding officer!" That, at least, is the viewpoint of the officer caste that runs the ships and every day violates the law passed by Congress that prohibits discrimination in the armed forces against any person because of race or color.

The commanding officer wanted them court-martialed. But the Bureau of Navigation takes a lighter view of the matter. It agrees that this action is almost as bad as a mutiny, but doesn't feel it wise to have the mess boys banged from the yard-arm.

So the Bureau over-ruled the recommendation of the highly respected officer and gave orders for thirteen of the boys to be transferred to the receiving station nearest their homes and there given "undesirable" discharges. (A discharge of this nature differs from a dishonorable discharge in that it does not deprive the man of his civil rights. It is a discharge, as the Navy officers call it, "for the good of the service.")

The other two men are still in jail, which would indicate that the commanding officer decided that they had "instigated" the letter, and that Admiral Nimitz has accepted the recommendation of the commanding officer that they be court-martialed.

But the case would not be closed even if all the men had been set free. Indeed, the fight must go on as long as the officer caste controls military training and has the power to Jim Crow Negroes. This was indicated also by the Courier in its issue of December 7 in the story entitled "Here Are the More 'Chambermaids' You Can Fire, Rear Admiral Nimitz," which contained another letter, from a group of six Negro sailors of the U.S.S. Davis, stationed at San Diego, California.

This letter, which is the sixth signed by groups of mess attendants on as many different ships in the Navy in the last two months, tells the same story that the others did, of segregation, brutal discrimination and vicious punishment for any "back-talk." Unfortunately, like the others, the authors of this letter, while they demonstrate great courage in signing their names, make the mistake of urging as a solution "that the Negro youth of America . . . cease to enlist in the U. S. Navy."

As we have indicated in our pamphlet, *Defend The Negro Sailors of the U.S.S. Philadelphia*, such a policy will not solve the problem because it is ineffective in the face of conscription; because it will not help the 4,000 Negro sailors already in the Navy; and because it does not take into consideration the need for military training of all kinds by the oppressed Negro people and the working class, if they are to be able to defeat their enemies.

The latest developments in the Philadelphia case point once again to the need for the Negro people to join in the struggle for a system of military training under the control of the trade unions—take control and power out of the hands of the Jim Crow and anti-labor officers and put it in the hands of the workers themselves.

Grace Carlson On National Tour

Dr. Grace Carlson, who as our candidate, under the designation of "Trotskyist Anti-War Party" received 8,761 votes for U. S. Senator from Minnesota, will make a coast-to-coast speaking tour starting January 2.

The tour is being undertaken in response to requests from comrades and sympathizers in all parts of the country who have expressed their keen desire to meet Comrade Carlson and hear her speak.

By special arrangement, Comrade Carlson will speak before local Negro organizations on special topics dealing with the health problems of the Negro people under capitalism, a subject on which she has made extensive studies

ON THE WAR FRONTS

by GEORGE STERN

How far will or can Hitler let his Axis partner slip down into the bog of military reverses which is rapidly engulfing the Italian military machine?

The German legions that have already been concentrated in Hungary and Rumania are in a position to attack the Greeks in the north, via Bulgaria. So far there has been no indication they will do so. A Greek minister is still in Berlin and a German minister in Athens. Extremely circumstantial reports from various quarters suggest that the Germans are by no means entirely displeased with Mussolini's discomfiture.

Behind this, these reports say, is the internal struggle within the Axis. Mussolini is supposed to have been instrumental in sniking Hitler's attempts to force Spain into his orbit on the grounds that Germany was edging too far into Italy's "sphere" of present or future influence.

Most reports like this cannot be taken at face value, but German complacency in the face of Italian reverses seems to go far toward bearing them out. Mussolini is going to make a major effort to retrieve his losses in Albania and if that effort fails, then Hitler is first likely to step in and by doing so ensure that the disposal of the spoils in Southeastern Europe will be his alone.

Hitler's speech on Tuesday last suggests that he is confident that the Nazi military machine alone is sufficient to deal with

all enemies, actual and potential. The reduction of Italy to a minor role in the Axis "new order" undoubtedly forms part of his plan and to this end, the Greek victories in Albania are satisfactory to the Nazis.

But again, how far will Hitler let his ally slide? The Albanian defeats have already opened an astonishingly wide fissure in the Italian totalitarian facade. The army and navy commands have been split asunder. The official Italian news carries a curious report of protests by returning Italian soldiers against the high command in Albania. Another official Fascist publication takes open note of an alarming increase in the cost of living in Italy. Official Rome communique obviously protest too much in denying disaffection among army and navy officers and among the people generally.

One cannot yet by far deduce from these signs that Italy is close to a complete breakdown. But they do show how quickly reverses in the field can expose the internal weaknesses of a totalitarian regime. Hitler can not afford to have this happen even in Italy. It strikes too close to home.

Moreover, Hitler cannot himself afford to mark time. He has to keep his forces in motion—and victoriously in motion at that. It is safe to assume that he will begin to move again—and soon.

Nazis Arrest 90 Trotskyists in the Paris Region

The DAY. Jewish daily newspaper, publishes the following dispatch in its Dec. 10 issue:

"PARIS, Dec. 10.—The police here have arrested ninety 'militant Communists,' apparently Trotskyists, and questioned them about the Communist propaganda that is being spread here recently. They also arrested 63 'left Communists.' The Nazi secret police have also uncovered nine underground printing presses of 'left Communists.'"

# WORKERS' FORUM

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

## Briggs Worker Tells Story of Shutdowns At Briggs-Plymouth

The grievance which provoked the strike of eighteen workers in the panel division of the Briggs Manufacturing Co. here in Detroit, on November 29 and which led to a one-day shut down involving 10,000 Briggs workers and 10,000 Plymouth workers, is a typical example of the crummy way the auto bosses are dealing with the auto workers.

When this trouble happened all the local boss papers immediately put the blame on the union's shoulders. They gave an account which presented the company's statement without comment—but not a line of the union's statement.

This shut-down happened because the company fired the union steward in the panel division when he tried to protest the "rationalization"—firing some workers and making the rest produce more—which the management tried to slip over.

The company tried to say that it had actually cut down the required production of the panel men. It claimed that while it had fired six men, production had been reduced even more in proportion to the number of men left. It claimed that where 24 men were turning out 48 panels an hour (2 per man) that afterwards

18 men were turning out only 24 panels per hour (1 1/3 per man). This company excuse is a downright lie. When the company fired the six men it expected and demanded that the rest turn out the same amount of production as before. The Chief Steward would not stand for this, and then the company canned him. Then the whole department walked out. Shift No. 2 went through the same procedure.

This particular "misunderstanding" was finally ironed out after the company met with the union officials in a three hour conference.

But the settlement of this one grievance hasn't changed the whole picture, not by a damn sight!

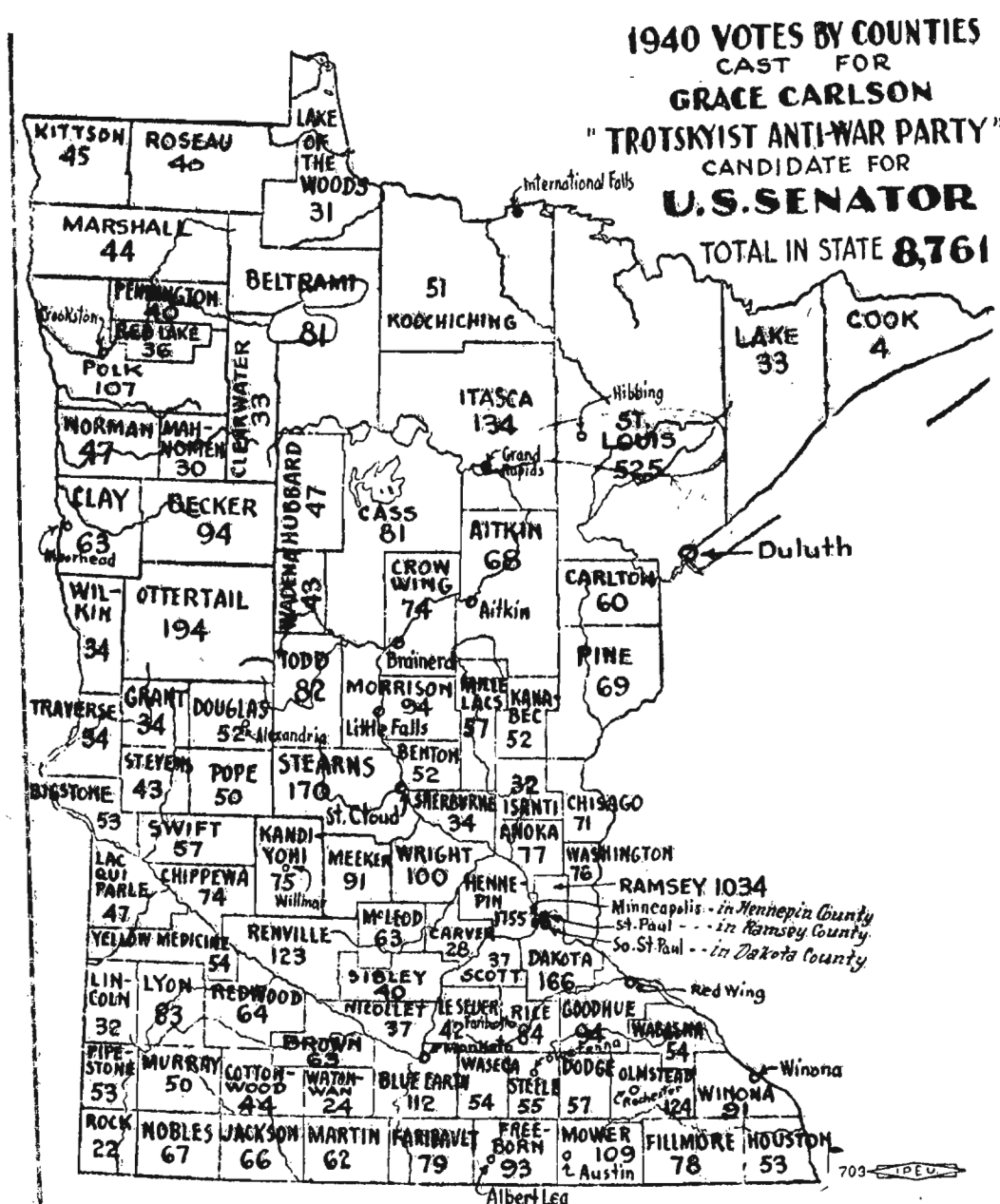
The Briggs men are not celebrating over this settlement, because there are scores of other grievances unsettled which are bursting the union files.

All the auto workers know that not only at Briggs, but at all the other auto plants, the bosses are trying to see how much heat they can put on us. And I say for one that either the unions will answer this growing offensive of the auto magnates in the spirit of 1937, or be swept back to the conditions of the old pre-union days.

This Briggs episode shows that the auto workers are full of fight and willing to fight, and it indicates the path forward for the whole union.

F. B.

## Our Party's Vote In Minnesota



This map of Minnesota shows the distribution of counties of the 8,761 votes cast for our party's candidate for U. S. Senator. Significant index of our party's influence throughout the state is the fact that Comrade Carlson received votes in every county. The vote was of course largest in the three metropolitan counties: Hennepin, 1755; Ramsey, 1034; St. Louis, 525. But it is noteworthy that we also received blocks of votes from the radicalized farmers throughout the state. Comrade Carlson's vote was larger than the combined vote for Earl Browder and Norman Thomas.

# AFL Gave Undue Prominence To The Racketeering Issue

### But Neither Dubinsky Nor the AFL Chieftains Took a Correct Working Class Attitude Toward It

By ART PREIS

The problem of racketeering occupied an altogether disproportionate place at the AFL convention at New Orleans. It is a very minor problem in the trade union movement as a whole. Had the AFL chieftains been grappling with the basic problems facing the workers, the racketeering question would have automatically been relegated to the subordinate place it should have taken. But since the convention was given no real problems to deal with—the main time was consumed with canned speeches from government officials and other people who had no business being on the platform—it is no wonder that both at the convention and in the press the question of racketeering loomed out of all proportion to its importance.

#### DUBINSKY'S PROPOSAL

Dubinsky, too yellow to fight on real issues—he didn't open his mouth even to second Philip Randolph's eloquent plea against Jim Crow—picked this "popular" issue—i. e., popular with the capitalist press.

Dubinsky's proposal to empower the AFL Executive Council to suspend any union official "convicted of an act of moral turpitude" would have placed in the hands of the reactionary Council the exact powers which Dubinsky had opposed when they appeared in the form of the right to suspend international unions for "dual" unionism. Militant union leaders, convicted or framed-up in strike activities, could be tossed out of the AFL by a simple vote of the Council.

By its terms only "convicted" persons could be suspended. The well-known tie-up between the police, courts and racketeers precludes many such convictions. Except, of course, in the case of honest union strikers.

Further, this proposal placed the responsibility for dealing with racketeers on the shoulders of a few leaders, instead of on the rank-and-file of the unions.

The convention leaders turned this proposal down. Green and Co. didn't want to be placed in a position where at any time in the future they might be compelled to act against a "pal." The defeat of Dubinsky's proposal also reflected the concern of the various international officers for their jealously-guarded control over their individual unions.

As a counter proposal to Dubinsky's, the Executive Council merely put through a resolution piously "condemning" labor racketeering in general and suggesting that the various international officers "take steps" on their own initiative.

The convention failed to expose the real character and causes of racketeering, and to open the way for strengthening the democratic processes within the local unions which would enable the membership to make short shift of dishonest elements.

#### LITTLE RACKETEERING EXISTS

What is the extent of the "racketeering" within the AFL? Contrary to the impression deliberately fostered by the boss press there is relatively very little.

Such racketeering as does exist is almost entirely confined to small unions, and these mainly in a few secondary service industries.

This fact is made clear by Louis Stark in an article in the *New York Times*, Dec. 1: "Investigations by prosecuting officials in New York, Chicago and other large cities have disclosed that racketeering is prevalent in small industries where cut-throat com-

petition prevails, such as in cleaning and dyeing, laundry and restaurants."

#### BOSSES RESPONSIBLE

What is more significant than the limited extent of union racketeering, is the fact that it is directly invited and sanctioned by the bosses in these industries. As Stark points out, "Almost invariably the union racketeers have been found linked with dishonest business men, crooked politicians and outright criminals."

He adds: "Small employers in these industries, by their own motion or through outside instigation, form so-called trade associations to limit or increase prices. The crooked union leaders lend themselves to the associations at a price. They 'police' the industry and supply the 'police' from criminals among their number."

"Racketeering union leaders cooperate with dishonest business men to force other business men to join trade associations or to keep them out of trade associations. In either case the object of the trade association is monopoly and higher prices."

From this it is apparent that racketeering is a direct measure of the influence of the bosses within any union, and not a phenomenon native to unionism itself, as the bosses try to claim.

#### WHY IT ISN'T ENDED

The question is: If the extent of such racketeering is really so limited, if the vast bulk of the AFL local unions and leaders are free of any such taint, why is it seemingly so difficult to eradicate the evil?

The answer is simple. A policy which would clean out the racketeers in double-quick time is possible: But it poses a threat to the reactionary craft leaders, and it is the one policy of which the bosses—those who cry loudest against the evil—are in deadly fear.

That simple policy is to restore democratic rank-and-file control within the unions of the AFL!

The prevalent leadership dominates the ranks with an iron fist.

Concerned primarily with the questions of dues collections, ironing out interminable jurisdictional disputes, and curbing the desires of the members for militant trade union action, the leadership enforces the principle of dictatorial control from the top. So long as these unions pay their dues, Green and Co. do not care whether the members attend meetings, or whether local meetings are ever held. If members who dare to oppose the policies of their officials are arbitrarily expelled without proper trial, that's no skin off Bill Green's nose.

#### CIO HASN'T ANY RACKETEERING

The proof that it is the lack of democratic practices within the AFL which enables the few racketeers to flourish within it, and that racketeering flourishes only in small crafts, is demonstrated by the complete freedom of the CIO from racketeers. It might seem that the new unions of the CIO, formed quickly of inexperienced workers and prey to many unknown and untested elements, would be duck-soup for the penetration of boss racketeers. But it isn't.

No handful of rats or gangsters who valued their necks would dare try to intimidate a meeting of industrial workers who had stood up to clubs, revolvers, rifles, machine guns, sawed-off shot-guns and tear gas in the hands of police and National Guardsmen!

It is hard to conceive of the appearance of a racketeering situation in an industrial union. To appear it would require a type of connivance with the bosses which is alien to a mass-production industry and an industrial union. It pays a boss to connive with a small craft union, even to the extent of paying relatively good wages. He could never feel that way about a mass-production industry, where the wage bill looms as the key factor and where an industrial union is bargaining on behalf of all the workers in the plant.

The CIO is thus well-nigh guaranteed in advance against racketeering. The less favorable situation of the smaller craft unions in the AFL could, however, be overcome if the rank and file in any union were aided by the national AFL leadership to establish genuine democracy and use it against any racketeer.

But real union democracy—that means militancy and strikes, and you can't get the Greens and Wolls to go for that!

# The "Socialist" Critics of the CIO

## They Provide a Pseudo-Radical Alibi for Hillman and the AFL

By FELIX MORROW

(This is the third of a series of articles on the Atlantic City convention of the CIO.)

At the convention—more accurately in the corridors one heard a type of pseudo-leftist criticism of John L. Lewis and his allies which, upon examination, turns out to be merely a cover for a pro-Hillman, pro-AFL line. This was the line common to both the pro-war Social Democratic Federation and the "anti-war" Norman Thomas Socialists.

These two "socialist" groups arrive at their pro-Hillman orientation by arguments which appear diametrically opposed to each other. The *New Leader* complains that Lewis is hostile to aid to Britain, is in league with "communists," sabotaging national defense; therefore the *New Leader* is for Hillman. The *Call* says Lewis is as much a war-monger as anybody, his Stalinist friends will shift the war camp tomorrow, etc.; therefore the *Call* is for Hillman. How can the *New Leader* and the *Call* both favor Hillman, but for opposite reasons?

#### THEY HATE THE CIO

Little need be said about the *New Leader's* attitude toward the CIO, for the motivation for its

line is very clear; one has but to read its strikebreaking stories against the Vultee aircraft workers. The *New Leader* is now under the editorial control of a group of demoralized and disoriented refugees, whose lack of understanding of the American labor movement flows from their failure to understand how fascism in their Social Democratic policies assured the victory of fascism in their European homelands. In their impatience to get home to their old well-paying posts, they out-jingo the Dies Committee; nothing must slow up the U. S. armies which will blast open for them the path home; hence their viciousness against strikers and against the basic labor movement, the CIO.

The case of Norman Thomas' *Call* is somewhat different. It is not (yet) yelling for war. It supported the Vultee strikers. Hence its "socialist" arguments are likely to carry much more weight than those of the *New Leader*. It is necessary, therefore, to take apart the *Call's* case for Hillman.

"Bitterness Dominates Scene At Atlantic City; Lewis-Communist Bloc Tries To Bait Hillman." Such is the *Call's* headline (Nov. 30 issue). Lewis' dignified challenge to

Hillman on the key question of continuing the fight for industrial unionism—to call this "baiting Hillman" constitutes a distortion of what happened. And to describe the majority's reasoned argument as "factionalism" and "bitterness"—that disqualifies the *Call's* respondent as a reporter.

#### IGNORES REAL ISSUE

The *Call* works up a case for lining up with Hillman by the device of denying that the maintenance of industrial unionism is the point at issue: "... the Communist Party and Lewis are allegedly the defenders of industrial unionism against Hillman and his forces who are advocates of peace between the two great bodies of organized labor. But the truth of the matter is that Harry Bridges, the main pillar of the C.P. struc-

## C.P. ASKED TO DEBATE BY MINN. SWP

MINNEAPOLIS, Minn.—The Communist Party here has rejected a challenge by the Socialist Workers Party to debate the subject of the attitude American workers should take in this military epoch.

The challenge was issued November 10 in the form of a letter to the state secretary of the Communist Party. The letter recorded that suggestions for such a debate have been made from various persons attending the Sunday Forum which the Socialist Workers Party in the Twin Cities sponsors. While suggesting a debate on the attitude of the parties towards the war, the SWP made it clear that "any suggestions you may have for a debate subject will be gladly received."

So far this challenge has gone unanswered. Rank-and-file members of the Communist Party didn't know we had asked their party to debate, until we called it to their attention and showed them copies of our letter.

For the information of the forum audience the letter challenging the CP to debate was read at the Sunday Forum on December 1st.

Communist Party members and sympathizers are being urged to ask that their leaders accept our challenge to debate the issues that divide us. It has been four years since a debate between spokesmen of the Third and Fourth Internationals has been held in Minneapolis.

ture, is now engaged in efforts to raid the warehouse fields in complete disregard of industrial union jurisdiction." This is followed by a paragraph to prove that the Communist Party is opposed to AFL-CIO unity for unworthy reasons. Then the *Call* passes on to other business, as if it has proved that there is no difference between Hillman and the Lewis group on industrial unionism.

Note that the *Call* blandly identifies the Lewis forces with the Stalinists. A false, and pretty stupid, assumption. Will unity be a blow to industrial unionism? The *Call* avoids this, the real question.

Its case comes down to saying: if Hillman is no friend of industrial unionism, neither are Lewis and the Stalinists. In that case, logic would demand that the *Call* denounce both Lewis and Hillman and call upon the CIO workers to mobilize under a third banner in defense of industrial unionism. But these Norman Thomas Socialists know only one method in trade union "politics": pick which one of the big shots you'll back.

#### THE CALL'S NEW INVENTION

Having thus dismissed the real issue—industrial unionism—the *Call* goes on to find "socialist" reasons for supporting Hillman. "The contention of Hillman's enemies is that he is a war monger and is interested in 'national defense' to the exclusion of labor's interests." Aha, says the *Call*, Lewis and the Stalinists are no better. Does the *Call*, therefore, propose to support neither Lewis nor Hillman, which would be the logic of that argument? No. Instead the *Call* proceeds to tip the scales in Hillman's favor, with the

aid of a delicate recording instrument invented by the *Call* editors. Lenin once said, making fun of people who talked about whether or not an opponent was "sincere," that nobody had ever invented a sincerity-meter. But the *Call* editors have done just that, it appears:

"The outstanding weakness of the convention and of the CIO generally has been the lack of an effective policy on honest belief. Both in the Hillman camp and in the Lewis camp, there is much hypocrisy. Hillman's forces are more honest... Lewis and his boys are so marked with Communist alliances, Willie deals, bureaucratic trade union practices and unprincipled vindictiveness that they constitute an even more repulsive force to increasing sections of the CIO." (My italics).

And with this type of argument these "socialists" justify supporting the opponents of industrial unionism against Lewis and his allies who, whatever else they are, are on the progressive side in the key issue which at the present time forms the dividing line throughout the entire trade union movement.

The voice of the *Call* doesn't travel far. But its "socialist" case for Hillman and the AFL may be picked up by the pro-Hillman cliques in the newer industrial unions. In the United Auto Workers, for example, where the militant membership wouldn't listen for a moment to Hillman's own line, but might be confused by a "socialist" stooge for Hillman. Such "radical" arguments for Hillman's policy must be exposed for what they are: a "left" window-dressing for the most reactionary tendency in the labor movement today.

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## Latest "Fourth International" Off the Press

The December issue of the *Fourth International*, which will be off the press this week, features as its main article, a manifesto of the Fourth International, "France Under Hitler and Petain." It analyzes what has been happening in France since the collapse, and proposes a concrete program for the struggle for freedom. Other articles featured are: "Imperialist Struggle for Latin America," by the Argentine revolutionist, Quebracho; "The AFL and CIO Conventions," by Farrell Dobbs; "Stalin's Regime as Mirrored in the New Legislation," by John G. Wright; "Milwaukee's Brand of Socialism," by James Boulton; "Discipline in the American Army," by Michael Cort. Of special interest is the article by Leon Trotsky, "The Class, the Party, and the Leadership," which was found in his archives in unfinished form. It was the article he promised to write during the internal discussion last Spring but which the GPU assassin prevented him from finishing.

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## TROTSKY MEMORIAL FUND

The following additional contributions to the Trotsky Memorial Fund have come in during the last week:

Buffalo	\$ 3.00		
New Haven	2.00		
Lynn	2.00		
Boston	28.50		
New York	100.00		
Los Angeles	7.50		
Flint	13.00		
San Francisco	20.00		
Chicago	14.00		
Minneapolis & St. Paul	200.00		
TOTAL		\$389.75	
Branch	Quota	Amount paid	%
Milwaukee	\$ 5.00	\$ 5.10	102%
Boston	\$ 100.00	\$ 100.75	101%
Baltimore	10.00	10.00	100
Rockville	7.00	7.00	100
Toledo	50.00	50.00	100
Detroit	200.00	200.00	100
Lynn	100.00	85.00	85
Chicago & Indiana Harbor	200.00	135.07	68
San Francisco	100.00	55.00	55
Newark	150.00	70.50	47
Flint	150.00	69.00	46
Minneapolis & St. Paul	1000.00	430.00	43
Allentown	15.00	6.00	40
Los Angeles	150.00	56.65	38
New York	1000.00	355.00	36
Buffalo	25.00	8.00	32
Philadelphia	30.00	8.00	27
New Haven	20.00	5.50	28
Youngstown	50.00	6.00	12
Akron	10.00	0.00	00
Cleveland	70.00	0.00	00
Hutchinson	10.00	0.00	00
Pittsburgh	10.00	0.00	00
Portland	10.00	0.00	00
Quakertown	7.00	0.00	00
Reading	5.00	0.00	00
Rochester	15.00	0.00	00
St. Louis	5.00	0.00	00
Texas	5.00	0.00	00
Individual Contributions		2.30	
TOTALS		\$3509.00	\$1664.87 47%

## Wasn't Meant to Kill Trotsky Says Leader of May Attack!

By WALTER ROURKE

MEXICO CITY—David Alfaro Siqueiros has finally submitted a formal statement to Judge Trujillo at Coahuacan. As was expected, he has added nothing to what was already known but rather has merely developed his former lies one step further.

His testimony always boils down to two points—the May 24th attack was not intended to kill Trotsky but only to steal some of the archives; he knows nothing about the murder of Robert Sheldon Hart. Siqueiros originally said that he wanted the archives to prove Trotsky's "counter-revolutionary activities;" now he says that he discovered that Trotsky was selling his correspondence with Lenin to Harvard University Library and wanted to take these letters. In either case the story is ridiculous since the archives were not even touched during the attack, though right out in full view in the library.

Obviously Siqueiros' intention is to free himself of the charge of attempted murder. He insists that the participants in the attack were instructed not to kill

Trotsky, to shoot only with the intention of terrorizing him into inaction, and to injure him only if he tried to prevent the theft of documents—the injury was not to be serious but only enough to "put him out of action." Apparently he expects this fantastic tale to be believed in the face of the mute evidence of Trotsky's bedroom, riddled by bullets from three directions. Siqueiros pretends that most of the bullet holes were made by the guards and that the incendiary bombs were tossed by Trotsky in order to gain more publicity; this is all that remains of the original Stalinist theory of "self assault."

Of course Siqueiros insists that he has no connection with the second and successful assault on Trotsky's life.

#### SIQUEIROS HELD A STALINIST COMMAND IN SPAIN

The Colonel—Siqueiros held a Stalinist command in Spain—states that one of his Communist friends led the May 24 assault but that he would never disclose his name.

# The Negro Struggle

By ALBERT PARKER

## The Hampton Institute Conference

To understand what happened at the much publicized Conference on the Participation of the Negro in National Defense, held last week at Hampton Institute, Va., it is necessary to understand the reason the conference was held and the things it set out to do.

As a full page advertisement of the Institute put it, "Defense Conference Marks New Era. Symbolic of a new era ahead for Hampton was the two day conference...Nationally known authorities, both Negro and white, concentrated their thoughts on specific programs of both immediate and long time value on how the Negro may best serve the country in the interests of total defense and national unity. Their discussions covered comprehensive subjects—Military and Naval Defense, Industry, Family Life, Labor, The Consumer, Youth, Education, Business, The Press, Morale and Mental Hygiene, Agriculture, Public Health, Housing, Recreation and Religion..."

It should be clear from the above statement that these "nationally known authorities" were interested in "serving the country"—i.e., the bosses of this country—not in serving the interests of the Negro people who get such a raw deal in this country.

That the government itself did not see in this body any serious threat to its publicly announced and carefully worked out policies of Jim Crowism in the armed forces was made clear in the statement of Roosevelt himself, the author and executor of these policies:

"It is heartening to know that in this time of stress and strain, when the whole nation is engaged in a mighty effort to gird itself against any challenge which a mad world may hurl at it, you...are to hold a two-day conference on the participation of the Negro in national defense... There could be no finer manifestation of the loyalty of the Negro, no more fitting rededication of himself to the cause of America, than the conference which you are holding."

This is Roosevelt's nice and flowery way of saying: Go ahead, hold your conference, it will be heartening to me because by and large what you will do will help to get the Negroes to support my war program.

## Whitewashing the Bosses

The highlight of a speech by Aubrey Williams was an attempt to set the Negro against the trade union movement:

"Look at the Negro in the labor field. Negro youth is faced with the same difficulties that white youth faces, but added to these are the prejudiced barriers set up by many employers and the discriminatory practices set up by the labor and trade unions. What is the result? Only 2% get skilled jobs as against 8% for white youth—less than 10% get semi-skilled jobs against 20% for white youth. And when they do get full-time jobs, the Negro youth averages 49 hours a week for a wage of \$8.75, while the white youth averages 44 hours for a wage of \$15.71."

Williams thus places the full blame for industrial discrimination against Negroes on the union movement as such, without bothering to indicate that this is not true of the CIO movement, and not true about many AFL unions. In this way, he whitewashes the forces chiefly responsible for discrimination in industry: the bosses who own and control the factories that Jim Crow or exclude colored workers. And he whitewashes the government which, if it wanted to, could easily have passed a law denying war contracts to those factories that discriminate against Negroes.

Yes, some trade union leaders are guilty of Jim Crowism, and we of the Socialist Workers Party have pointed out again and again that this can be corrected only by persistent and organized action of the progressive white and Negro members of the union movement.

Williams has a lot of nerve talking about someone else when he himself enforces a policy of segregation in the NYA, of which he is administrator, a policy which sets up "white projects" and "Negro projects" and does not permit mixing of the two races on any NYA project, even in the North where many of the white and Negro youth whom he separates used to attend school together.

## "The Nationally Known Authorities"

As for the round-table sessions of the "authorities," they were not much better.

As an example, consider the "authorities" scheduled to sit and solve the problems of the Negro on "Industry and Labor":

One administrative assistant of the National Defense Advisory Commission; one superintendent of the Ford Industrial School; one director of the Department of Social Sciences, Fisk University; one representative of Hampton Institute; three officials of the Urban League; one race relations officer, Personnel Division, Federal Works Agency; and one representative of the Bureau of Employment Security.

That means: zero representatives of the trade union movement, and zero working men or women, present.

Yet, whatever else it might do or avoid doing, however much it might desire to curry favor with Roosevelt, there was one thing this conference could not avoid doing, and which served to expose Roosevelt: it had to adopt a resolution opposing Roosevelt's anti-Negro policy in the armed forces and to ask for an end to certain phases of policy. It wasn't a very strong resolution; on the contrary, it was weak, inadequate and vague—but it shows up Roosevelt because he will not end Jim Crow in the armed forces.

(Another article on the Hampton Conference will appear next week.)

# They Have Their Plattsburgs

## It's Time the Workers Got Wise, and Demanded WORKERS' Plattsburgs

By EUGENE VARLIN

Any draftee can safely trade his chances of gaining an officer's berth for a nickle beer without feeling he has tossed away any reasonable, or even probable, opportunity.

The present officer selection system embodies in a perfected form the methods developed during the World War period. Of the 156,000 commissioned officers who ruled this army in 1917-18, only 16,000 came from the draftee ranks, and most of these were carefully selected on the usual army criteria of "superior"

organization. Its membership now consists of 65,000 officers, including those it trained during the World War. Although nominally a private organization, it functions entirely in conjunction with the War Department.

The revival of the Plattsburg camps in preparation for the coming war was announced by the War Department on June 15. The *New York Times* headlined the announcement, "Army Training Camp Movement, which on a national scale became the Military Training Camps Association.

### A CLASS ORGANIZATION

The Plattsburg camps, or as the War Department now frankly terms them, the "Business Men's Training Camps," were and are a private system of military training camps run by and for business men, with the material aid and official endorsement of the War Department.

It is from these private training camps, limited exclusively to members of the boss class, that the bulk of the officers for the new draft army will come. On August 11, in a message to the largest camp group at Plattsburg, N. Y., from which the movement as a whole derives its name, President Roosevelt made clear the central role of these camps as a source of officer personnel, when he stated that "On the foundation of the Plattsburg camps of 1915 was built the structure of those camps of instruction which served so successfully to provide the officers essential for the manning of our World War forces two years later."

Roosevelt was referring to the Officers Training Camps, modeled on Plattsburg, and which provided 60% of officers in the last war.

The Plattsburg camp idea was first proposed in 1915 by the notorious reactionaries, Cornelius H. Wickersham, Theodore Roosevelt, Jr., and Hamilton Fish, Jr., in a meeting at the exclusive Harvard Club.

Foreseeing America's entry into the war, and the expansion of the armed forces far beyond the point where West Point and the small Regular Army could supply sufficient "reliable" officers, the first concern of these gentlemen was to assure an adequate supply of boss-class officers.

In a pamphlet published by the Military Training Camps Association in 1916, the purpose and role of these camps was clearly indicated: "The success of... last summer's camps at Plattsburg for business and professional men has demonstrated the effectiveness of a short and intensive course of military training in helping to qualify educated men to fill the great deficiency in commissioned officers that would arise in case of national emergency."

The bankers and bosses everywhere were quick to grasp the idea, and camps like the one at Plattsburg were soon established throughout the country.

### REVIVED IN 1940 FOR THE SAME PURPOSE

The Military Training Camps Association, organized in February 1916 by the veterans of the first Plattsburg camp, continues today as a powerful quasi-military

organization. Its membership now consists of 65,000 officers, including those it trained during the World War. Although nominally a private organization, it functions entirely in conjunction with the War Department.

The revival of the Plattsburg camps in preparation for the coming war was announced by the War Department on June 15. The *New York Times* headlined the announcement, "Army Training Camp Movement, which on a national scale became the Military Training Camps Association.

The boss class rallied at once. Applications for admission to the camp at Plattsburg, N. Y., poured in.

On June 19, the *N. Y. Times* wrote of these boss-class recruits: "An expressed recognition of the danger now facing an unprepared United States brought them from banks, brokerage houses, public offices, the bench, industries, law firms, and universities, in a sort of patriotic 'Who's Who'."

### A "CROSS-SECTION" — BUT NO WORKERS

"Those who applied," reported the *Times* on June 22, "continued

to represent a cross-section of American life—bankers, brokers and clerks, physicians, lawyers, writers, craftsmen, and scholars." A cross-section of American life—without a single worker or farmer!

The Military Training Camps Association leaves nothing to chance when it comes to the selection and approval of applicants. It operates on a plan of selection which it terms "impartial." Three men of wide business and military experience review the applications.

This "impartial" plan of selection was described by the *N. Y. Times*, June 20, as follows: "The selection of successful applicants (was) prescribed by the War Department solely on the basis of their education, their experience, and their leadership in business, professional or labor fields, 'as evidenced by their positions.'"

The "impartiality" of the plan consisted of the technical inclusion of "labor leaders." But even a Bill Green or a Matthew Woll would have been as acceptable as Uncle Tom at a dinner of Southern Bourbons.

Almost all the successful applicants were college graduates, the continuation of the tradition established by the first Plattsburg camp in 1915. Harvard, Yale and Princeton, the most exclusive of the colleges, provided the largest percentage.

### PLATTSBURG "DEMOCRACY"—IT'S ALL IN FUN

Training at the revived Plattsburg camp began on July 6.

The *N. Y. Times* correspondent wrote, "The idea of a son of the Rockefeller making his own bed, a United States justice peeling potatoes, a college professor waiting on table and a high-goal polo player polishing his own shoes may sound rather fanciful, but this all took place..." And in the presence of photographers, of course. It was all a lot of fun, like a combined Boy Scout camping trip and slum tour. In the army, of course, these gentlemen, as officers, will have the workers to do the dirty work.

The theme of "democracy" received quite a play in this same *Times* article. The Plattsburg camps are described as "the greatest leveler democracy can produce... Living, sleeping and eating with men... (whose) thoughts and civil viewpoint may be the diametrical opposite of yours... all adds up to the greatest game of give-and-take this world knows."

Just how far this "give-and-take" extended was described in the *Christian Science Monitor* Weekly of Aug. 24 as follows: "Little trouble was had. One agitator with ideas which swung widely to the left... was quickly eliminated. A couple of 'fellow travelers' who had gotten into the camp by misrepresentation were given an immediate drumhead court martial by their tentmates and that settled their status." The greatest leveler democracy can produce!

Such are the men and the class who will rule the draft army. Bosses and labor-haters, to whom

the lives and welfare of the common soldiers mean less than dirt.

Their only qualifications for leading men under conditions of war is their training in exploiting labor.

### THEY HAVE THEIR CAMPS; LET'S HAVE OURS!

An ordinary worker, trained on the picket lines of the class struggle, is a thousand times more qualified to lead workers under conditions of war than any capitalist boss. And infinitely more qualified, by virtue of mechanical training and machine work, to operate and direct modern military weapons and equipment.

Just as the bosses have their own private military training and officers training camps, so the workers must demand and establish their own military training system, controlled and directed by their own organizations, the trade unions.

Just as the workers oppose boss exploitation in industry, so they must fight against boss exploitation in the military sphere.

Under conditions of universal militarism, war and capitalist reaction, it would be foolish for the workers to scorn military training and modern arms. But so long as the bosses run the army, it will be used in their interests and against the workers.

We can take a lesson from the boss class however. They have their Plattsburgs. We, the working class, must have our Plattsburgs. — Workers Plattsburgs — under the control of the Trade Unions!

# An Indictment Of Jim Crow in Army and Navy

Dr. Milton R. Konvitz has written an extremely timely and pointed article, "The Legal Status of the Negro in the New Army" which has been issued by Contemporary Law Pamphlets of the New York University School of Law as a press release in mimeographed form. The article certainly deserves to be published and widely distributed as a pamphlet.

Konvitz demonstrates that the appointment of Benjamin O. Davis as a brigadier-general, rather than being an indication of the "democratic" nature of the army and navy, "is another instance of our traditional practice; namely, to single out an individual for honors, at the same time to keep the mass of Negroes in inferior status or suppressed."

To prove this point, he takes up the history and nature of the two amendments to the Selective Service Act which are supposed to prohibit discrimination because of race or color, and shows how ineffective and disregarded they are while the three chief types of Jim Crowism are continued in the armed forces.

The first type is segregation, the establishment of separate regiments in many branches of the service. The second is discrimination as to placement, so that the Negroes get the worst possible jobs. The third is the "numerus clausus" practice.

## Courts Won't Stop Jim Crow

In his discussion of the first example, Konvitz deals a death-blow to the idea current among some Negro organizations that "taking the matter to court" can in any way help to solve the problem.

He shows that Negroes are promised they will get aviation training, when they get it, through the "formation of colored aviation units," and that the White House has stated, "Negro organizations will be established in each major branch of the service, combatant as well as non-combatant."

He then asks: "Is segregation in the armed forces discrimination in violation of the Act and Constitution?"

"An unsophisticated person would without hesitation say 'yes'. When he reads in the papers about separate benches for Jewish students in some European universities, he knows that segregation is intended as, and is, discrimination. But one who knows the decisions and opinions of the Supreme Court of the United States will need to say 'no'. The Court has held that Jim Crow laws, segregating Negroes in public conveyances, and that laws providing for separate educational facilities, are constitutional."

Konvitz cites the well-known case of *Gaines v. Canada*, "decided at the end of 1938 by a liberal majority," which held that the Negro petitioner could attend the school "in the absence of other and proper provisions." "The opinion was so written as to make the decision seem to be a great victory for the Negro race; and the fact that McReynolds and Butler dissented also tended to make the decision seem a gain for the liberal forces. As a matter of fact, however, the decision took two steps backward for one step forward, for it upheld the constitutionality of segregation, mitigated only by the requirement that proper facilities within the state need to be provided for qualified Negroes."

## Army is Law Unto Itself

Konvitz's discussion of the second type of discrimination is well-known to readers of the *Socialist Appeal*, especially as reflected in the stories we have been carrying on the U. S. S. Philadelphia case.

"Since the military arm is well-nigh autonomous," he points out, "it is difficult to conceive of legal means to eradicate these forms of discrimination. The provision in the Draft Act that no man shall be inducted for training and service 'unless and until he is acceptable to the land and naval forces for such training and service' vests unlimited discretion in the military and naval authorities. That the forms of discrimination referred to are abuses of discretion is apparent; but they are probably *damnum absque injuria*, injuries without remedies."

Konvitz's discussion of the third type of Jim Crowism is one, as he points out, which has received very little attention, although it is a very important point. The White House laid down the procedure: "The strength of the Negro personnel... will be maintained on the general basis of proportion of the Negro population of the country." That is, since 9% of the population is colored, 9% of the armed forces will be colored too.

## Roosevelt Imitates Hitler

"It is amazing that these announcements aroused scarcely any protest. Here is an importation of the the *numerus clausus* practice from Europe, a practice made notorious toward the end of the Nineteenth Century when the Czarist government fixed a quota to govern the admission of Jews to the Russian universities and schools of higher learning. That this practice is a denial of the very essence of democracy is in part shown by the fact that every anti-Semitic government has made use of it.

"Very quietly this obnoxious practice has been introduced in the United States, in the very institution created to defend our democracy. It is wrong in itself and as a precedent, dangerous to everyone who can be identified as a member of a racial or religious minority, and to every American who prizes his heritage of freedom and equality. The practice is as indefensible as it is unprecedented (as a governmental policy), yet I know of no legal measure that might be taken to stop it."

All in all, this pamphlet is very helpful toward an understanding that "legal means" will very probably do nothing to help the problem. What is required is the struggle which our party has outlined: for trade union control of military training.

# Stalin Purges His Playwrights

## Writing Plays In Stalin's Domain Is Dangerous Occupation

By JOHN G. WRIGHT

The new, silent purge is pruning the ranks of the Kremlin's most pampered and fabulously-paid servants—"the creative artists." Dramatists and scenario writers have suffered the heaviest casualties.

Apparently the formulas for the 1940 edition of the purge vary depending upon the individuals and circumstances involved. Thus the Komsomol and Trade Union bureaucracies were decimated under the formula of *bezdelniki* and *darmoyedniki* (loafers, scoundrels who eat the bread they haven't earned). But the formula for the intellectuals is: *klevetniki* (slanders). Trotsky suggested that the epoch of Soviet Thermidor will go

into history of artistic creation pre-eminently as an epoch of mediocrities, laureates and toadies. According to Stalin, the designation should be corrected to read—slanders.

The slanderer of the month (October) is one S. Kolkov, author of a play entitled, "The Kovrov Family." This play was staged by the Gorki State Theatre, the initial performances were greeted with ecstatic, if stereotyped, reviews, scores of other theatres rushed production plans—when suddenly Kolkov's masterpiece was deflated. On October 13 *Pravda* indicted his play as "Slander Against the Soviet Family," damned the Gorki Theatre for befouling its stage with it, and generally berated all the "responsible" people for approving its production. Not one among them, lamented *Pravda*, showed "the least sign of political perspicacity, not one saw in this play falsehood and distortion of Soviet reality."

*Pravda* dwells in detail on Kolkov's opus. The main characters in the play are Kovrov, engineer and party member; his wife, Olga Alexandrovna, a party member;

their ten year old son, Mitya, whom they both love passionately. The parents squabble all the time, especially over the upbringing of their boy. Mitya, spoiled by his mother, neglects his studies, but father always get glowing reports about his son's progress in school. A crisis ensues when Kolkov learns on returning from a prolonged stay in the provinces that Mitya has been kept back another year in the same grade. His wife utilizes the opportunity for carrying out a long contemplated plan. Gathering her possessions and Mitya she leaves Kovrov in favor of a mutual friend, the jurist Borovsky, another party member, and this newly constituted family immediately "departs to a summer resort." Kolkov falls ill from worry about the education of his son. End of Act One.

The next scene takes place in a courtroom. In it Kovrov delivers a very long speech which obviously exasperated *Pravda*. He "lashes as un-Soviet the educational methods of child raising followed by Olga Alexandrovna, he talks at length about Communist views on the family... In short, proves his rights to the child." "Kovrov's 'eloquence,'" continues *Pravda* sarcastically, "fails to sway the court." The judge interrogates the child. Mitya, it appears, would prefer to live with both his father and mother. Whereupon the court dismisses Kovrov's plea and rules that the boy must remain with his mother.

In the third act Mitya degenerates completely. He longs for his father, associates with street children, and stops attending school altogether. He becomes ruder and ruder to group-ups, acts like a hoodlum on the street, and learns to steal. Even his mother begins to worry.

Meanwhile her lover Borovsky gets bored with her worries, and still more with her personally. "It seemed to me," sums up the jurist, Borovsky, "that I loved her a lot. But once we started living together I suddenly sensed that it wasn't so. I don't love her at all." Mitya decides to run away with a homeless waif who has become his pal and preceptor; but in trying to board a train, he slips, falls under the wheels, and is killed. The lone witness of Mitya's tragic end is his faithful nurse, who runs after him, calls out to him, but cannot catch him. Curtains.

In writing this problem-play, Kolkov, the author, obviously felt himself a champion of the "Soviet Family," and must have made sure of adhering rigidly to the line of "Bolshevik self-criticism" as laid down by *Pravda*. It is equally unquestionable that the innumerable right-thinking and "responsible" people who passed the script viewed it in the same highly moral light. *Pravda* itself not so very long ago featured much more embarrassing family complications and used to write editorials on education from which Kolkov's hero undoubtedly quoted wholesale. In vain! By the time Kolkov had finished his play, antechambered all the people who mattered, obtained all the indispensable approvals, in short by the time his play reached the stage, life and its problems had altered beyond recognition, at least in *Pravda's* eyes.

New policies demand new plays. Small wonder, that Kolkov's play is, as the French say mildly, *mal à propos* (evil to the purpose). For instance, the prominent characters are mostly married party members, and at the same time all the families in the play without exception break up. Even Gavrik, the homeless waif, is a by-product of a broken home. His father committed suicide out of "sexual jealousy." Kolkov surpassed himself in inventing so plausible and yet so original, almost poetic, an explanation for the presence of a homeless waif on a Soviet stage, but even this superb stroke included in his downfall. "Let us grant," *Pravda* comments cautiously, "that there is such a family, maybe more than one. But when a family of this sort is taken apart from the entire surrounding reality one obtains a false-ness, worse than that—a vicious generalization, a slander against the Soviet family."

Kolkov's real sin, however, is not in failing to counterbalance an aborted family with an idyllic couple and a budding Stalin. He made his mistake in centering his play on the educational problem, which *Pravda* belligerently points out is a "problem of greatest state importance."

Sons and daughters of workers and peasants had just been driven from the Soviet schools to form an industrial labor reserve. Only the Mityas, i. e., the children of the privileged, can now attend school, because their parents alone can pay the tuition. All the state resources were being mobilized in October to educate the populace to understand the historical significance of this latest victory. The Presidium of the C.C.T.U. convened in solemn session and resolved:

"The trade union organizations must explain to the workers, the state employes, and members of their families the significance of an organized preparation of cadres of new workers from among the urban and kolkhoz youth, and the creation

of indispensable labor reserves for industry. In doing this they must pay special attention to carry on the work of explanation among... the intermediate secondary schools, in the secondary schools, in children's rooms, and school rooms, at clubs and places of culture." (*Pravda*, October 13).

The All-Union Committee in Charge of Highest Education lost no time in issuing instructions to university directors, proposing that "they establish rigid control of tuition payments, and drop from the rolls all students not paid in by the date designated." (idem). Everybody is busy.

And in the midst of this activity a tired bureaucrat in search of relaxation walks into the Gorki State Theatre and there staring him in the face struts a spoiled and horrid brat, a blurred image of his pet at home, "attended by his nurse, cranky and capricious, issuing insolent orders, yelling (just like papa): 'Take off my shoes!... Give me a clean shirt!' Always referring to his mother. 'Mama ordered you to keep me in cleanliness... Mama said you must feed me well.'" Slaps his nurse's face, and justifies himself, "Mama told you I'm a nervous child and mustn't be upset." (*Pravda*, October 13). The nurse breaks into tears, and *Pravda* breaks into cold sweat and shrieks in the ears of all "responsible people": "Art has the capacity of generalizing things!" How true.

Besides, a worker may wander into the theatre. Or maybe a student just dropped from the rolls. Why, anyone in the audience is apt, especially under the impact of art, to start generalizing a few stray ideas.

To crown it all, Kolkov meddles with another issue: *hooliganism*. *Pravda* passes it by without comment. But hooliganism has also become a "problem of greatest state importance." It has penetrated so deeply into Soviet industry and institutions that the authorities are finding it very difficult to differentiate between a hooligan and a worker, i. e., between deliberate resistance to the June laws and an innocent accident.

But from Kolkov's play one could readily conclude that the families of party members, engineers, jurists and other "responsible people" are the breeding places of—hooliganism!

"Who needs this?" wails *Pravda*.

In a concentration camp Kolkov may have an opportunity to compare notes with another indignant "slanderer," one Avdeyenko, author of the novel *I Love*, but really celebrated for breaking all records several years ago in "loving" Stalin. Avdeyenko slapped together in an absent-minded moment a scenario dealing with high-life among the Komsomol bureaucrats. Playwriting, it turns out, is a hazardous occupation "under socialism."

# Unions Back Campaign For Refugee Relief

A joint campaign to aid political refugees is now being conducted by the International Relief Association and the New World Resettlement Fund.

The International Relief Association is the oldest anti-fascist labor relief organization in this country. For fourteen years it has rendered invaluable service to anti-fascist fighters abroad. It is now helping politically endangered refugees in Sweden, France, Portugal to get visas for countries on this side of the Atlantic; providing them with the necessary funds for travel; and sending them monthly aid.

Almost all of these refugees have no other organization to help them. They are the ordinary humble people, penniless, unknown, but the most courageous fighters against reaction. The I.R.A. takes pride in helping these brave men and women whose records in their native lands and in emigration entitle

them to more than a concentration camp in France or Germany. Charles A. Beard is honorary chairman of the I.R.A.; Freda Kirchner its treasurer.

The New World Resettlement Fund is working to resettle the families of Spanish anti-Fascists, now interned in France, in a cooperative colony it has established in Ecuador. Oswald Garrison Villard is National Chairman; Margaret DeSilver Treasurer of the Fund.

This campaign is endorsed and supported by many leading trade-unions, including the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, ILGWU, and by fraternal organizations such as the Workmen's Benefit Fund.

The anti-fascist refugees belong at the head of every Christmas list. Send contributions care of George Novack, Joint Campaign for Political Refugees, Room 405, 2 West 43rd Street, New York City.

## SOCIALIST APPEAL

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FIGHT WITH THE  
SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY

## ON THE WAR FRONT:

## For:

1. Military training of workers, financed by the government, under control of the trade unions.
2. The establishment of special officers' training camps, financed by the government and controlled by the trade unions, to train workers to become officers.
3. Confiscation of all war profits—all company books to be open for trade union inspection.
4. Expropriation of all war industries and their operation under workers' control.
5. Trade union wages for all workers drafted into the army.
6. Full equality for Negroes in the armed forces—Down with Jim Crowism.
7. An end to secret diplomacy.
8. A peoples' referendum on any and all wars.

## AT HOME:

## For:

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

## British "Equality"

The capitalist press devotes much of its space to describing the punishment being dealt out by the British authorities to the German and Italian forces; we permit ourselves to call attention to a few scarcely-noticed items concerning punishments dealt out by the British authorities to people who are not fascists.

Within Britain itself, we limit ourselves to just one small item, published by the *Chicago Tribune* under the misleading heading, "London Severe With Looters." We quote verbatim:

"LONDON, Nov. 18.—The unprecedented severity with which authorities are meting out punishment for looting from demolished houses and shops was illustrated today when a London police court sentenced Mrs. Doreen Jones, 42 years old, mother of ten children, to three months in jail for receiving 29 cents worth of coal stolen by a ten-year-old boy. Mrs. Florence Pedder, also 42, received the same sentence for getting 40 cents worth of coal under similar circumstances."

The numerous stories in the press about the social transformation and the growth of real democracy in England, the socialist acts of the British government now that "Labor" is in the government, etc., etc., are shown up as just so much lying war propaganda by this little item. "Equality of all" in capitalist England today is the same old equality of which Anatole France wrote: the majestic equality of the law which forbids rich and poor alike to steal bread. Rich and poor alike are sent to jail for stealing 29 cents' worth of coal. To enforce the majestic equality of such laws, many British policemen and troops are kept in England who might otherwise be added to the armed forces fighting Germany and Italy. Such is the love for law felt by the British authorities that they restrain their impulse to send these police and troops against the fascists and keep them at home to punish "Mrs. Doreen Jones, 42 years old, mother of ten children" and all other lawbreakers like her.

Other large bodies of British troops have their backs turned to Hitler and Mussolini in order to mete out punishment to lawbreakers in India. Punishment such as the sentence to four years at hard labor, meted out to Pandit Nehru, a leader of the All-India Congress, for daring to say publicly that India has been dragged into the war without the consent of the people of India. The arrest of Nehru has been followed by a wave of mass arrests for the same "crime".

Still other British troops cannot go to fight Hitler because they must enforce the majestic equality of the law in Britain's colonies. The Negro newspaper, the *Pittsburgh Courier*, reports the imprisonment in a concentration camp of Wallace Johnson, secretary of the Sierra Leone Trade Union Congress; and the sending to prison of S. O. Boyle and George Thomas, publisher and editor

of the *African Standard*, for having published an article protesting Johnson's arrest. These and many similar arrests are made under the Colonial Defense Regulations, which give the British governors the right to imprison any native whose conduct is considered likely to "prejudice the successful prosecution of the war."

Not only troops, but useful naval vessels, are kept in Palestine, to carefully patrol the coast in order to catch and deport the desperate Jewish refugees who are trying to enter the country illegally—illegally, because by British edict practically none may enter legally.

A brilliant alibi for Britain's treatment of its subject peoples was recently conceived by an editor of the *New Leader*, the organ of the all-aid-for-Britain-including-war Social Democratic Federation. He printed a picture of Nehru and in the caption underneath triumphantly explained that if Nehru were in German-held territory instead of in British-held territory, Nehru would have been shot.

For once we find ourselves in agreement with the *New Leader*. We accept the distinction that it makes between German fascism and British democracy. In Germany, fighters for freedom are shot; in the British Empire, fighters for freedom are imprisoned for four years at hard labor. That is what the distinction between fascism and "democracy" amounts to.

From this distinction the *New Leader* draws the conclusion: therefore let us support the British ruling class in its war against the German ruling class. Let us, this means, become the adherents of four-years-at-hard-labor against death-sentences.

Whoever draws such a conclusion has the soul of a slave or the heart of a traitor to the working class.

Down with those who sentence to death our brothers, the workers of Germany! And down with those who send to prison or concentration camps our brothers, the workers and toiling peoples of the British Empire! We ally ourselves neither with the hangman nor the prison-keeper! Our only allies are the workers and the oppressed peoples of every country!

## A Correction

While the Army authorities have not appeared anxious to call the matter to our attention, we hasten to correct a serious error of fact in our last week's editorial, "The Draftees' Health."

We stated last week that among the first batches of draftees called for medical examination, from 15 to 25 per cent had been rejected as physically unfit. This is absolutely untrue and we hasten to correct the wrong impression conveyed by these inaccurate figures.

The correct figures included: (1) From 15 to 25 per cent of the draftees were rejected as physically unfit by the *Army doctors at the induction centers*; (2) Prior to that, in the medical examinations made by the *draft board doctors*, nearly 60% were rejected as physically unfit. The 15 to 25 per cent found unfit by the Army doctors were found in a body of men who remained after 60% of the original body of draftees had been weeded out. That means that, out of a hundred men called up by the draft boards as eligible for Army service, only from 25 to 35 were found physically fit!

The real picture of the physical havoc wrought by eleven years of capitalist depression is, therefore, three times as gruesome as we had painted it last week.

For the conditions which have bred this disease and physical degeneration among the masses, the Army has now found a solution. "A slight trend toward greater lenity on the part of Army doctors conducting final physical examinations of draft inductees was apparent today," the November 29 *New York Post* reports. In other words, the Army's solution is to lower the health standards of the Army!

It reminds us of Jonathan Swift's savage satire on Britain's mistreatment of Ireland. Swift suggested that in order to take the Irish children out of their misery they should be eaten.

## Industrial Explosions

Most of the newspapers which blazoned in front page headlines the strike-breaking "red scare" statements of Attorney General Jackson against the Vultee Aircraft strikers did not carry a line of his statement of December 5 in which he warned against attributing the epidemic of industrial explosions to sabotage.

Jackson's statement was: "Industry is engaged in a great and sudden speedup which results in accidents... Many men are being called to work who have long been idle, and their skills have suffered."

"Experiments are being undertaken by industry to increase production. All these things tend to increase the number of industrial accidents."

All of which adds up to one fact: the employers, in their lust to reap war profits, are resorting to such unendurable speed-up and dangerous "experimental" processes, that the resultant deaths can only be termed, MURDER FOR PROFIT!

The *N. Y. Post*, December 5, throws further light on this whole matter in a tiny item:

"FBI officials have said privately that there definitely had been no organized attempts to disrupt production."

"They point out that last year before the preparedness program got under way, manufacturing plants suffered 23,700 fires, 10,500 of them caused by explosions."

The imperialist war in which the capitalists of the world are now engaged is merely an extension and heightening of that bloody and continuous war against the workers, which even in "peacetime" numbers its yearly victims in the millions.

Juicy War Contracts  
Just Ooze Fat ProfitsReporter Gets a Peek at Some of the Contracts—They  
Give Away Everything Except the White House Linen

By DON DORE

Perhaps you haven't noticed it, but practically nothing appears in the press giving any of the actual terms of the war-materials contracts which the government has been handing out to Big Business.

There is good reason for such silence. Were the general public to learn of the contents of these contracts, there would be an end to the myth about "taking the profits out of war."

We have seen only one article in the press giving some of the terms of a few of these contracts. It was written by Frank Rhyhlick, in the *New York Post*, Nov. 19, for the purpose of showing the average businessman that Roosevelt was all right for business. It proved that too well, perhaps, for Rhyhlick never wrote any follow-up articles on the subject!

Of the contracts in general, Rhyhlick declares: "The contracts, and they were described as 'typical' of their kind by a War Dept. employee, contain none of the profiteering crudities that characterized many contracts of the World War era. But they show indisputably that business is demanding and getting handsome terms."

"... The War Dept., aided by formal Treasury Dept. decrees, has been open-handed in approving the items a contractor may charge to 'cost'... Some of the contractual provisions seem almost an invitation 'to pad the expense accounts.'"

Some of these "invitations," quoted directly from terms of a \$19,084,136 contract awarded the Douglas Aircraft Corp. on Sept. 12, include the following items chargeable to "cost":

1. "Any reasonable costs arising by reason of or in connection with labor shortage or labor disputes." This means, in effect subsidization of the corporations by the government during strikes, including costs of strike-breakers, and company police, hiring fees of professional scabs, etc.

2. "State and local taxes including franchises and other taxes, levied on the right to do business." Workers will continue to pay taxes out of their incomes, but the bosses will be permitted to plough all taxes—including "excess profits" taxes—back into "costs," and realize 6 to 12 per cent profit on their taxes.

3. "Reasonable costs of servicing and maintaining corporate structure, including taxes and expenses on the transfer of capital stock." The bosses will have a picnic on this one! A multitude of "costs" can accrue from the "expenses" of stock manipulations and "the servicing and maintaining" of interlocking directorates and holding companies!

4. "Such other costs as should, in the opinion of the contracting officers, be included in the costs of airplanes." Such other costs—an unrestricted blanket coverage of any item which the contractor wishes to include—might mean a new "corporation" yacht, six months in Florida for all the vice-presidents, etc. And it will, it will!

GOOD OLD UNCLE—  
ANYTHING GOES!

The proviso adds, just in case the war profiteers might overlook a few crumbs in the public treasury: "In the event that, prior to final settlement under this con-

tract, the laws may be amended so as to provide for additional allowable items of costs, such additional items shall be considered allowable items hereunder."

But that's not all. Still another clause provides that at any time during the manufacturing of planes under the contract, the manufacturer may re-open negotiations for re-determining costs "on the basis of the experience then available, or on the basis of other pertinent knowledge or information," and the new "fixed price" per unit which the government will pay "shall apply not only to units there after to be delivered, but also to units theretofore delivered, for which proper adjustment shall be made."

This provision, the Post explains, is not peculiar to the Douglas contract. It appears as a "special provision" in an \$11,707,657 contract awarded the Curtiss Wright Corp., Sept. 9.

The Post tips the mitt on the real significance of these contracts by admitting: "The War Dept. and Defense Commission officials are fully aware that the customary fee of 6 percent on a cost-plus-fixed-fee contract is no indication of the company's real profit. The term 'fixed fee' has long caused chuckles among lobbyists, and army and navy heads are always frank to wink at the phrase in private, but this is the major fact of life in Washington."

A \$33,500,000 lump sum tank contract awarded the Chrysler Motor Corporation is even more wide open than the Douglas or Curtiss contracts. It does not even attempt to stipulate the concern's margin of profit. Anything goes!

Camacho Takes Office--  
And Turns To The Right

By WALTER ROURKE

MEXICO CITY, Dec. 1.—The past week has seen the last of the Cardenas Government and the first signs of the new Camacho Government in Mexico. Henry Wallace arrived to attend the inauguration of Camacho. General Almazan returned to liquidate the movement which supported him and which continued to the last minute to believe his repeated promises that he would take power in the National Palace today.

The visit of Wallace has been given a flowery reception by all of the daily press, from the most reactionary to Toledano's *EL POPULAR*. They all interpret the visit as a proof of the continuation of Roosevelt's "Good Neighbor" policy.

Such a reception by *EL POPULAR* is more repulsive since it is a trade union paper—official organ of the C.M.T.—Confederation of Mexican Workers. *EL POPULAR*, under the control of the close collaborator of the Stalinists, Toledano, was always especially diligent in "discovering" that the Yankee imperialists and reactionaries are active in Mexico through such agents as Leon Trotsky and other enemies of the Stalinist International. It referred to Comrade Trotsky several times as an agent of the Dies Committee.

But with Henry A. Wallace the story is quite different although even the *New York Times* states in an editorial that... "the expropriated oil properties, American-owned lands and American railway investments (are mentioned) as rumored subjects of conversations to be held between Mr. Wallace and Mexican officials." *El Popular* begs to differ... "President Roosevelt has given one more proof of his loyalty and respect for the principle of non-intervention, consecrated in America, and has made patent at the same time his proposition to continue his policy of Good Neighbor..."

## CAMACHO'S RIGHT-TURN

Such a stupid and servile statement is not so surprising as it would seem, when the recent trend of Camacho is considered.

Soon after being elected Camacho stated in an interview that he was a Catholic and that furthermore he was not a "socialist," but rather a democrat. These are unprecedented statements for a Mexican president to make since the revolution. (The church was always left out of the picture and every Mexican politician claimed to be a "socialist.") In the same interview Camacho said that he was sure that Cardenas did not wish to participate in his government and that neither Toledano

nor the Communists would collaborate. It must be remembered that Camacho was elected only thanks to the support of these people.

Shortly afterward it was announced that Toledano would retire from the General Secretaryship of the C.T.M. at the next Congress which will be held in February. This report was confirmed this week by Toledano himself in his speech to the 15th session of the National Committee of the C.T.M. He assured his listeners that he will continue to be a soldier of the proletariat "in whatever country of the world I may find myself." Yes, Lombardo is going to take a trip; it is said that he will be active in the Central and South American trade union movement—outside of Mexico.

The inauguration ceremonies of the new president have been heralded by a demonstration in front of the American Embassy and a raid on the Communist headquarters and the Almazan headquarters. The demonstrators at the Embassy all claimed to be Almazanists with surprising unanimity; a leaflet they distributed began "Remember Texas." Indications are that this was organized by the Nazis and not by the Almazanists.

The raid on the Communist Party headquarters has been reported in various different ways. The facts are however that some members of the army or of the police force attacked the headquarters. There was a brief skirmish and several shots were fired—result, several wounded and an army Major was killed. He was neither a fascist nor an Almazanista but a Camachista. Communist party members ar-

rested insist that the Major was shot from outside. There are theories that this raid is the prelude to the complete outlawing of the C.P.

In the light of these few happenings it is possible to see why there are some misgivings as to the future course of the Camacho government. Yet Toledano affirmed that "... no conservative force either from within or without will be able to do anything against the regime of General Avila Camacho." He calls upon the working class movement to give the same support to Camacho that it has given to Cardenas. Toledano aids Camacho with the same servility with which he aided the Stalinists in doing away with Comrade Trotsky.

We can be confident that Special Ambassador Wallace will not place any obstacles in the way of Camacho's dealing summarily with any of the "fifth columnists" who object to the United States' "non-intervention" intervention in affairs of Central and So. America. Garrisoned airdromes and naval bases located strategically throughout the Americas will serve to defend the interests of Uncle Sam against the competitors from without the western hemisphere and against the future protesting peoples from within. Wallace's Good Neighbor" smile and Camacho's "democratic" ideas will help to screen the Latin American parallel to the North American jingoist reaction.

Request Photos  
Of Leon TrotskyTo all Comrades, Friends,  
and Sympathizers:

The Party has set up a Film Commission headed by John G. Wright to gather together for preservation every possible scrap of photographic record concerning the life of Leon Trotsky. We earnestly request everyone who has taken pictures of Comrade Trotsky during any period of his life to send them to us for duplication and preservation. The originals will be carefully handled and returned to each sender, immediately after duplication.

The Party will appreciate the cooperation of everyone in this task. Please send all material direct to:

John G. Wright  
116 University Place  
New York, N. Y.

NOTEBOOK  
Of an Agitator

## Finland and Greece

Public opinion—that melange of sentiments and moods which are set in motion by bourgeois pressure and propaganda—is reacting rather calmly to the Italian attack on Greece. A year ago this same public opinion was all in a lather over Finland, then under attack by the Soviet bear. Why is there no hue and cry for Greece? Isn't poor little Greece as noble as poor little Finland, and isn't Mussolini just as big a bullying scoundrel as Stalin? Evidently there is something different somewhere.

In many respects, the Italo-Greek war appears to be a duplicate of the Soviet invasion of Finland; the points of resemblance strike the eye. In each case a strong military power attacked a smaller and weaker opponent. The Soviet invasion of last year appeared to be poorly prepared. The victim of aggression fought back and scored initial victories. The press dispatches pictured David putting Goliath to rout while thousands cheered. So today, in the modern war of the Greeks and the Romans. The first attacks are repelled and followed by what appear to be successful counter-attacks which push the invader back in retreat.

Nevertheless, the sheer military preponderance of Italy over Greece would seem to assure eventual victory unless powerful new forces are brought to play in favor of Greece. Why, then, is the far-flung anti-Soviet mob of last year not in action? Why are they resting in their dug-outs with such maddening nonchalance while the armies of Mussolini and Metaxas fight it out? Where are the sermons thundering from the pulpit? Where is the Hoover Fund Raising Committee? Where are the special theatrical benefits for the victim of aggression? Where are the trade union relief committees?

The sympathy of the American ruling class is indubitably on the side of Greece, since Greece is an ally of Britain, and thereby also of the United States, in the developing and expanding world struggle of the rival imperialist powers. But this sympathy is lukewarm and restrained. There is no drum-beating campaign, we see no hysteria, no unbridled fury, such as that which swelled in a mighty tide against the Soviet Union during the Soviet-Finnish war.

Is this because the rulers and makers of public opinion perceive a fundamental difference between the regime in Greece and that of Finland? Not at all. The bloody work of exterminating the flower of the proletariat, which was carried through to completion under Mannerheim in Finland, and on the basis of which Finnish "democracy" was established, is still in process in Greece under the dictatorship of Metaxas. But this is a factor of secondary importance which does not even interest the class rulers, to say nothing of determining their policy.

The difference from their point of view is the difference between the class nature of the Soviet Union and fascist Italy. A victory of fascist Italy over Greece, would be a military episode in a drawn-out world war. The masters of America, because of the international alignment, have an interest in preventing such a victory. But they do not permit themselves to get unduly excited about the prospect. The military domination of Greece by fascist Italy would not change anything fundamentally in the class structure of the latter. It would not spread the infection of expropriation and nationalization which the masters of property fear and dread above everything else.

The difference which the ruling bourgeoisie perceives, and which motivates their instinctive reaction, is the fundamental difference between the property relations in the Soviet Union and those of fascist Italy. They do not delude themselves for one moment by a vulgar identification of the two countries because of the superficial similarity in the political regimes. They know the difference between a fascist regime which reinforces the rule of private property and a soviet regime which signifies its annihilation, and they have great respect for this difference. The preservation of the system of private property is the one thing that really concerns them.

It was the threat to private property, implicit in a Soviet victory over bourgeois Finland, which determined the unrestrained violence of the bourgeois anti-Soviet campaign during the Soviet-Finnish war. They gave the workers an instructive lesson in class politics! The motivation of the bourgeoisie in this case was graphically summarized in the Manifesto of the Fourth International on "The Imperialist War and the Proletarian Revolution," adopted by the emergency conference of the Fourth International last Spring. This Manifesto, the last great programmatic document written by Comrade Trotsky, says:

"Extremely eloquent in its unanimity and fury was the campaign which the world bourgeoisie launched over the Soviet-Finnish war. Neither the perfidy nor the violence of the Kremlin prior to this had aroused the indignation of the bourgeoisie, for the entire history of world politics is written in perfidy and violence. Their fear and indignation arose over the prospect of a social overturn in Finland upon the pattern of the one engendered by the Red Army in Eastern Poland. What was involved was a fresh threat to capitalist property. The anti-Soviet campaign, which had a class character through and through, disclosed once again that the USSR by virtue of the social foundations laid down by the October revolution, upon which the existence of the bureaucracy itself is dependent in the last analysis, still remains a workers' state, terrifying to the bourgeoisie of the whole world. Episodic agreements between the bourgeoisie and the USSR do not alter the fact that 'taken on the historic scale the contradiction between world imperialism and the Soviet Union is infinitely more profound than the antagonisms which set the individual capitalist countries in opposition to each other.' (War and the Fourth International)"

From a class point of view, the bourgeoisie was absolutely right in the position they took on the Soviet-Finnish war. So were we right, from the point of view of the fundamental class interests of the proletariat, in firmly maintaining our defense of the Soviet Union in spite of the enormous pressure of bourgeois public opinion, which even found expression at that time in our own ranks. Contemptible was the faction of Burnham and Shachtman which attacked our program in synchronism with the bourgeois anti-Soviet campaign. Pathetic must be the fate of the faction whose "independent" existence stems from that shameful capitulation.

Boro Park  
MASS MEETING15 Months of  
TOTAL WAR!  
WHAT NEXT?

Hear

JOSEPH HANSEN  
Former Secretary to  
Leon Trotsky  
MURRAY WEISS  
Organizer, N. Y. Local

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