FOR ORGANIZATION OF AN INDEPENDENT LABOR PARTY

Socialist Appeal

Official Weekly Organ of the Socialist Workers Party

FOR MILITARY TRAINING UNDER TRADE UNION CONTROL

VOL. V—No. 3 NEW YORK, N. Y. SATURDAY, JANUARY 18, 1941 267 FIVE (5) CENTS

ROOSEVELT DICTATOR UNDER NEW BILL

Daily Worker's Editor Expelled

Neither He Nor Browder Will Tell Why; May Be Dodge to Cover Up Their Tracks

Clarence Hathaway, editor-in-chief for ten years of the **Daily Worker**, central organ of the Communist Party, a member of the Political Buro, and ranking in the Stalinist bureaucracy second only to Browder and Foster, has been expelled, the "national committee" of the Communist Party announced Sunday.

As with all Stalinist executions and expulsions, the "explanation" given only serves to muddy the waters. The official notice, in the **Sunday Worker**, merely said that the expulsion was for Hathaway's "failure to meet personal and political responsibilities assumed by him, for desertion and for failing and refusing to take steps to rehabilitate himself."

Pressed by reporters for further information, a Stalinist spokesman would give nothing, except to cite two sections of the C.P. constitution under which the expulsion was carried out. They read as follows:

"Breaches of party discipline by individual members, financial irregularities, as well as any conduct or action detrimental to the party's prestige and influence among the working masses and harmful to the best interests of the party may be punished by censure, public censure, removal from responsible posts and by expulsion from the party.

"Party members found to be strikebreakers, degenerates, habitual drunkards, betrayers of party confidence, provocateurs, persons who practice or advocate terrorism, sabotage, espionage or force and violence, or members whose actions are otherwise detrimental to the party and the working class, shall be summarily dismissed from positions of responsibility, expelled from the party, and exposed before the general public."

The most suspicious aspect of the scandal is Hathaway's silence.

Newspaper speculation that Hathaway may have come to disagree with the Stalin-Hitler pact is nonsense. Hathaway is typical of the venal and corrupt bureaucrats of the C.P. who are ready to avow whatever the Kremlin decrees. In the days when disagreements could still be voiced, before Stalin had succeeded in crushing the Russian Bolshevik party and the Comintern, Hathaway and Foster were oppositionists on a number of questions; but when Stalin cracked the whip, they knuckled under and have been his agents ever since.

Perhaps Hathaway is now knuckling under to a stronger power than Stalin's: American imperialism. It is certain that more than one of these Stalinist "leaders" will leave the ship like frightened rats when serving Stalin becomes intolerable to American imperialism.

Perhaps the Stalinist leadership fears imminent disclosure of some criminal activity involving Hathaway, and is hastily "expelling" him to clear its skirts and have him take "individual" responsibility for the crime. The Mexican investigation of the GPU's murder of Leon Trotsky has disclosed not only the direct connection of the GPU and the Mexican Communist Party with the assassination, but has made clear that the central direction of the GPU in this hemisphere is in the United States.

The Mexican Communist Party is now desperately engaged in clearing its skirts of responsibility for its members involved in the assassination, including David Serrano, a member of its political Buro, now in prison awaiting trial. Hathaway's expulsion may be a measure in advance of exposure.

"Expulsion" of a prominent party member has been a measure taken in a number of cases where that member has been assigned to GPU work. For example, David Alfaro Siqueiros, now in prison awaiting trial in Mexico as the admitted leader of the GPU gangsters who attempted to assassinate Trotsky on May 24, was "expelled" from the C.P. some years prior to turning up in Spain as a GPU colonel.

ON THE WAR FRONTS

by GEORGE STERN

Joseph Stalin has again shown that his bread is still buttered on the same side. Down upon the heads of all the wishful thinkers in London and Washington about a Nazi-Soviet break came the news of a new series of Hitler-Stalin pacts. The most important of them was a sweeping new trade agreement, said to involve the greatest international grain deal in history.

It is probably true that Hitler has not—yet—gotten all he wants from Stalin's regime in Russia. Indeed, he won't get that much until he tries moving in with all his horses, his tanks, his planes, and his men. This does not change the essential significance of Stalin's present course. He is playing along with Hitler and will continue to do so until Hitler's military predominance is cancelled by events not now foreseeable.

Groping in the fog of Balkan developments, watchers in London and in this country have looked hopefully for signs of developing strain in the relations between Hitler and Stalin. And out of that fog comes now fresh evidence that Stalin is just as firmly hitched to Hitler's chariot as before. The bluster of the Moscow Pravda and Izvestia about Stalin's "independent policy" does not conceal the fact that Stalin still "waits" because he does not dare to move in any direction. And while he waits he remains compliant to Hitler.

If the flow of goods from the Soviet Union into Germany has not up until now met Nazi expectations, it is certainly plain that under the new accords this flow will increase.

The Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung, commenting on the pacts, said that "the Russo-German understanding . . . stands, indeed, on the threshold of new and still closer cooperation." Can this be taken to mean the Balkans? Is Stalin bargaining now on the basis of the revealed weakness of the Italian axis partner? Remarks like this in Nazi newspapers are never aimless. It may even be that it is Hitler who is exploring the possibility of using Stalin to fill the gaps left in his armor by the Italian reverses.

The report that a Soviet trade delegation is en route to Buenos Aires to buy huge quantities of grain awaits confirmation. If it proves to be true, there can be little doubt that Stalin would be buying for Hitler's account.

In any case, the new Hitler-Stalin pacts make it plain that the Kremlin's policy still flows from a shuddering fear of Hitler plus no less a fear of internal upheaval. These two factors determine Stalin's policy. Incidental factors which seem to contradict this from time to time are purely transitory. Stalin always knuckles down in the end.

GRACE CARLSON IN BOSTON

Grace Carlson, Trotskyist candidate for U.S. Senator from Minnesota in the last election, arrives in Boston this week-end on her national lecture tour. The two meetings arranged for her in Boston are:

SUNDAY, Jan. 19, 8 p.m., at the Workers Center, 158 Broadway. Subject: "South America".

MONDAY, Jan. 20, 8 p.m., at the Aurora Club, 42 Maverick Square, East Boston. Subject: "The Right to Life", a graphic picture of the actual conditions under which the American people live, and how their living conditions can be transformed by a Workers' Government.

(Complete schedule of Carlson tour appears on page 2.)

Grace Carlson's Own Story On Tour Meetings

By GRACE CARLSON

DETROIT, Jan. 10—In centers like Flint and Detroit one has the feeling of walking on volcanic ground. Everyone is certain that there will be an eruption in the struggle between the UAW and the automobile industry bosses, but no one knows when or how the eruption will take place.

The whole story of the struggle over the speed-up in the auto plants, the unadjusted grievances, etc., has been reported in the *Appeal* time and time again. What seemed to me unique and extremely encouraging was that only our party carries on mass propaganda work among the workers. Hundreds of *Socialist Appeals* are distributed weekly at factory gates in both Flint and Detroit; pamphlets are sold in house-to-house sales drives in the working class sections; open meetings are held; educational classes on Marxist theory and trade union problems are conducted. Besides this many of our comrades are active as stewards and officers in the various UAW locals.

Formerly, the Socialist Workers Party competed in these cities with the Lovestoneites, Stalinists and Norman Thomas Socialists. Now, I understand, none of these groups do any literature distribution or hold any open meetings. The small numbers of union officials, etc., whom the Stalinists and S. P.'ers still control are voluntarily *far, far* underground. And the field is clear for us!

The last open meeting which the Stalinists held here several months ago for James Ford, their vice-presidential candidate, brought out only 25 people. The open meeting which I addressed in the headquarters of the Detroit Branch of the S. W. P. last night had 46 people in the audience, and this did not include the more than a dozen comrades and friends who came to a Wednesday noon meeting because they are night workers.

Perhaps the most encouraging features of all was that 12 of those attending this meeting were colored workers, most of them from UAW locals. Colored workers are the most exploited both in the shops as well as in the army and they received the proletarian military program for the abolition of Jim Crowism in an enthusiastic way.

One thing is certain, that the devotion, enthusiasm and self-sacrificing spirit of the Flint and Detroit comrades who are bringing the Marxist program to the mass production workers of these centers "will bring forth fruit a hundredfold."

NEW YORK ! ! !

Don't forget our Lenin Memorial Meeting at which Grace Carlson will be the principal speaker.

Friday, January 24, 8 p.m., at Irving Plaza, Irving Place and 15th Street, New York City.

CIO Executive Board Adopts 6-Point "Plan" For Draftees

Accepts Principle That Unions Are Duty-Bound to Protect Rights of Worker-Soldiers; But Program Is Too Vague

A "six-point plan to insure democratic spirit in the army" was adopted by the CIO executive board at its two-day session in Washington last week-end.

This "plan" is practically a word-for-word repetition of the resolution (No. R-24) adopted by the November convention of the CIO at Atlantic City. The repetition of it by the CIO board now, in the form of a "new" six-point program, indicates there must be a strong demand from the ranks for a union program to protect the rights of the workers drafted into the army.

Unfortunately, however, the CIO "plan" deals very little with workers' rights **within the army.** It is primarily concerned with requesting an "active voice" for labor on the draft boards, guarantee of re-employment when the men return from the army, protection of their families against lapsing of life insurance policies, foreclosures, etc.

The only points that deal at all with conditions **within the army** are the following

"4. Living conditions for conscripted men that will improve their health and well-being.

"5. Administration of the training period in accord with democratic practice." (CIO News, Jan. 13)

"Harsh and authoritarian discipline," the CIO statement says, in explanation of these points, "has no place in a citizen army.

"The encouragement of initiative and self-reliance with full opportunity for advancement from the ranks is a first requirement of the American army.

"Conscripted men should be guaranteed both in selection and training against discrimination because of race, creed, nationality or any other reason. The civil rights of conscripted men, such as the right to vote, must be protected. Communication with families and unions must not be interfered with."

The extreme vagueness of this language is very striking. When the CIO board wants to make clear what it is talking about, it can do so very easily.

What, for example, is meant by the words: "Communication with . . . unions must not be interfered with." Does that mean, as it should, that the unions are prepared to defend the interests of their members in the army? That the unions propose to set up ways and means whereby they will keep directly in touch with their members in the army and represent them in their grievances against the reactionary officers? That the unions will set up special machinery for the grievances of the worker-soldiers, just as the most progressive unions did for their unemployed members?

That's what the CIO program **should** mean.

It is true, as the CIO board says, that "harsh and authoritarian discipline has no place in a citizen army." But the plain fact is, as everybody knows, that the discipline of the U. S. Army, like that of all capitalist armies, is harsh and authoritarian. What does the CIO board propose to do to remedy that? Its "program" does not say.

The officer caste is hand-picked from the capitalist class. Hardly a single worker-soldier ever rises to a commissioned officer. The "full opportunity for advancement from the ranks" proposed by the CIO does not exist; and the CIO board makes no proposal to change that.

In short, the CIO board, while admitting in principle its responsibility to launch a program on behalf of the worker-soldiers, has not done so.

The struggle to defend the rights of the workers in uniform, once it is taken seriously, will lead thinking workers to demand trade union control of military training.

Boss Weakening In 20th Week Of Leviton Strike

Electrical Workers Are Smashing His Union-Busting Boast

BROOKLYN, N. Y., Jan. 13.—The twentieth week of the Leviton strike began last Thursday with growing indications that Isidor Leviton, is beginning to realize he faces defeat. Leviton made $12,000,000 through his exploitation of the Leviton electrical manufacturing workers and swore to spend all his ill-gotten fortune in breaking the strike if necessary. Now he has indicated that he will negotiate with the representatives of the strikers, who belong to Local 3 of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers.

The strikers demand a union shop, a minimum wage of $16 a week and a minimum increase of 10 cents an hour for every employe.

Pickets on 24 hour duty at the plant described to a *Socialist Appeal* reporter some of the intolerable conditions which led to strike action. Forced collections were made from women employees with which to buy presents for foremen. Some girls were forced to make "loans" to certain foremen which were never repaid.

An official release of the union charged that some girls had been forced to submit to certain foremen in order to hold their jobs.

When employes throughout the plant were forced to produce more or lose their jobs, their piece rates were then cut, resulting in more production at the old pay. Some men employed on an hourly basis went to work at 6:30 A. M. but were not allowed to punch the clock until 8 A.M. to evade the provisions of the Wage and Hour Law. Many men with families earned as little as $14 a week. Wages were so low that mothers had to hurry back to work, weak and sick, after having their babies. Mothers worked beside their husands and children at the bench and the machine.

Flint Chevrolet Votes To Strike

Strike Power Given to Local Board, to End Company's Dodging of Grievances

FLINT, Mich., Jan. 10—Chevrolet Local No. 659 completed a strike vote today in which the overwhelming majority of Chevrolet's 12,000 workers recorded themselves in favor of giving strike power to the local executive board. The ballot was ten to one in favor of strike.

This follows the vote in favor of authorizing strike powers to the board of the Chevrolet Drop Forge local in Detroit. In other GM plants issues have arisen in the last few days which also will probably lead to strike votes.

If Walter Reuther and his aides-de-camp on the UAW executive board, who have been so possessed with high military questions, wished to analyze the GM situation from the army man's point of view, they would undoubtedly find that "a perilous situation prevails which threatens to become general." For this kind of thing Reuther and Co. will probably sound retreat; but it is doubtful that the GM rank and file will take the order.

The Chevrolet Workers in Flint took their strike vote after the management refused time and again to negotiate on important grievances. According to Regional Director Carl Swanson, "Chevrolet management has consistently violated the General Motors agreement, they have unjustly discharged committeemen and they have caused the complete breakdown of collective bargaining in that plant."

The Michigan state labor mediation board has announced it will attempt to invoke a 30-day waiting period in all strikes, in which war production plants are involved.

The labor board has asked the opinion of the attorney general as to the legality of the action. Undoubtedly the entire labor movement of Michigan will oppose this attempt to destroy the strike weapon.

While the strike votes at the Chevrolet plants in Flint and Detroit now face the Executive Broad of the UAW with an immediate problem, the General Motors Conference moves closer. The date has been set for February 8 and 9 in Detroit. With the temper of the GM workers on the rise, the leadership can expect plenty of heat from the ranks.

Marks Products Strike Backs Up Leviton Action

BROOKLYN, N. Y., Jan. 13. — The strike against the Marks Products Co., 80 No. 9th St., entered its fourteenth week with reinforced picket lines to counteract attempts of the company to run strike breakers under police protection into the plant. Members of the B. F. division of Local No. 3 of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers were instructed to concentrate at Marks Products in place of the Leviton plant until the union demands for a $3 weekly wage increase and a closed shop are won.

The Marks plant uses 60 percent of the output of electrical parts of the Leviton company, and its strikebreaking attempt is backed by the Leviton outfit.

Previously unorganized, the Marks Products Co. attempted to set up a company union when sentiment grew among the workers for an increase on their miserable wage of $12 to $13 weekly. More than 70 percent of the workers are women. The IBEW challenged the company union, and the National Labor Relations Board decided in favor of the IBEW. Marks responded by organizing a new company union.

Bankers Give It Their Blessing

Bill Is Confession That Imperialists Whether "Democratic" or Fascist, Now All Wage War By Totalitarian Methods

Roosevelt's "Lease-Lend" Bill—its correct title should be War Powers Bill—is certain to be adopted with all its essential sections intact.

That was made plain when the bill was endorsed by Wendell Willkie on behalf of the Republican high command, and by Winthrop W. Aldrich, chairman of the great Chase National Bank, undoubtedly speaking for the dominant section of Wall Street.

The silence of the AFL and CIO leadership, during the first crucial days after the bill was introduced, indicated that, whatever perfunctory opposition they might offer later to one or another section of the bill, they were in reality already committed to accepting it.

They were accepting a personal military dictatorship of the United States. The War Powers Bill creates that. It vests in the president all the main powers hitherto given by constitution and custom to Congress. The process of concentration of power in the presidency, which has been going on since the crisis began in 1929, is climaxed by this measure.

Congress' power over the purse was specifically established in the constitution in order to provide a civil check and control over the military arm of the government, of which the president is commander-in-chief. This bill empowering the president not only to transfer the whole or any part of the Navy or Army equipment to other countries, but also empowering him to draw from the Treasury "such amounts as may be necessary," wipes out Congressional control of the purse. Thus all financial and military powers are fused in the hands of a single omnipotent individual.

The motivation for this personal military dictatorship is plain enough. It is an obvious fact that Congress is always more amenable to popular pressure than is a president. By abdicating its powers, Congress will protect the war plans of the president against future changes in the outlook of the people.

By constitutional provision, to protect the people against a war making president, Congress alone has the power to declare war. This provision has, of course been violated more than once. But the present bill simply wipes out that constitutional provision.

END OF "DEMOCRACY"

The demand of Roosevelt for such powers constitutes a confession that "democracy" goes by the board in this epoch of world-wide collisions between the great capitalist powers. Modern imperialist war can be waged only by totalitarian methods on either the "democratic" or the fascist side.

There are, of course, plenty of fat-headed liberals and "labor" leaders who are prepared to give us their personal guarantee—backed up by nothing—that after the war is over, the country will go back to being a "real" democracy. "It may be a paradox," they say, "but dictatorship is necessary now in order to have democracy later."

Yet these are the very same people who accuse us of mysticism when we say that a dictatorship of the proletariat is the only road to REAL democracy. They can't see how a Worker's Government will establish genuine democracy, but they can see how a Wall Street dictatorship will voluntarily make way for democracy. And these people call themselves realists!

Coming events contain many unpleasant surprises for these people. They will see Roosevelt employing his dictatorial powers to back the British Tories against the demand of the majority of the English people for a Labor Government. Churchill will rule England thanks only to Roosevelt's threat of withdrawal of arms supplies from England.

The Latin-American Hitlers and Mussolinis will likewise maintain themselves in power against the masses, thanks only to their Good Neighbor's generous donations of arms and warships.

REAL LIMIT OF POWERS

Fortunately for the future of the human race, the mere conferring of these powers on the president by Congress does not guarantee him the strength to exercise these powers. Legal powers of this or any other kind are only formal and not real, unless the workers permit the exercise of such powers indefinitely.

The struggle against this concentration of power in the president can henceforth only mean a struggle for the concentration of power and control in the hands of the workers' organizations. The first stages of that struggle are clear enough. In civil life and industry: keep the hands of the bosses and their government off the trade unions, and make the unions real fighting organizations. In the armed forces, likewise, the workers' organizations must fight for the rights of the worker-soldiers. Trade union control of military training is the way to get those rights.

We are many, they are few. They can pass the laws. We run the machines and bear the arms. All that is needed is that the workers grasp this simple fact.

EAST CHICAGO STEEL CHIPPERS OUT ON STRIKE

EAST CHICAGO, Ind.—One hundred and fifty chippers of the Indiana Harbor, Ind., plant of the Youngstown Sheet and Tube Company went on strike this week. After weeks of fruitless negotiating with the company, these chippers—all members of the Steel Workers Organizing Committee (CIO)—working under the most difficult physical conditions, were forced to strike when the management refused to grant their demands.

The chippers are asking for a dollar a day increase in wages in order to be able to meet the ever-increasing cost of living which is especially high in this area. Despite its tremendous profits gained from lucrative "defense" orders, the company pays these men wages which are far lower than those paid by other steel corporations for similar work.

In spite of the fact that both the company and the boss press are using the war hysteria to attempt to raise public opinion against the strikers on the grounds that they are "sabotaging national defense," these militant workers are holding firm. The Indiana Harbor SWOC local of the Youngstown Sheet and Tube Company, representing some 6,000 workers in the plant, is supporting the chipping department and is preparing to call a general plant strike if necessary to force the company to come to terms.

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.

A Laborer On the New Army Camps Tells His Story

Texas has the tradition of doing things the big way. Right now it is following out this tradition in the construction of training camps whose scope, gigantic size and enormous cost are staggering to the imagination.

At Ellington Field, Palacios, Corpus Christi, Galveston, Hitchcock and other places the working people are building their own future concentration camps. This expression is not a personal one. It is in daily use at the fields among the common laborers who plod ankle, knee and even, sometimes, hip deep in the rich, black Texas ooze. It is an expression that characterizes not a deep pride in the product of their handiwork, but a shame, a hatred, and a rebelliousness.

Most of the jobs are union, of course. The existing craft building trades unions are totally unequipped to handle the demand for labor. Consequently, a great "organizing drive" on the part of the AFL is in progress. The method used is the "You-wanna-work-well-sign - up - here - four - dollars - please" system. The newcomers are not encouraged to become real union men in any sense of the word. In spite of this it is significant to note that the attitude of the average common laborer is "The union stinks but . . . (and here the speaker usually glares) . . . don't you forget that its MY union, guy!" In short, while the methods of the bureaucrats acting as labor contractors for, almost partners of, the hated contractors, completely antagonizes and outrages the oppressed workers, these same workers will not for one moment forget that the union still stands between them and the bosses, and that without it their wages would be even lower than they are. A "button-man" is a proud man, and the envy of his neighbors. The few seeds being planted in this field will one day bring rich harvests, you can be sure.

The common laborers hate their checkers, they hate their foremen, they hate their supervisors, and their hatred is particular for the contractor. But most of all they hate army shavetails and officers in civvies who even today prowl about the grounds with a "tomorrow I'm gonna gitcha and *really* make you work you sunnab!" expression in their eyes.

And by the way, don't let the kept press fool you about bigtime proletarian patriotism. The nearest approach to it is a hopeless acceptance of the inevitable, but a rebellious acceptance none the less. Its most distant pole is the desire of some of the workers I have heard to install polecat nests under the officers' quarters. I say "polecat" deliberately. Use your imagination.

Working conditions for us are terrific. Even button-men with the contractor's badge frequently have to wait from five or six A. M. to noon or later for the chance to work. Usually when the word "No more work!" spreads there are still some hundreds outside the gates, yearning for the chance. They stand gazing out over the camps, a hungry look in their eyes. And behind those hungry eyes smoulders hatred. . . . and rebellion. One day it will no longer smoulder.

And if one is so fortunate as to get on . . . unpredictable hours, compulsory toadying in hope of tomorrow's work, flagrant scapegoating for the blunders of foremen, checkers and supervisors who know less than the men under their control and are paid three times their wages for . . . doing nothing. "Is there anything more useless than a foreman?" we ask? The answer is "Yes; two foremen." And of course, mud, mud, mud. And with it, rheumatism among a majority of those who float from camp to camp, aching, creaking joints, running noses, watery eyes . . . of safety precautions there are none. No time to fool with that. Uncle Sam needs these rat traps in a hurry . . . and the contractors their profits. A simple request for water, plain old water, is dodged as much as possible. Waterboys walk atop the freight cars to stay out of sight. And sanitary facilities? Describe 'em yourself, Editor. You can't exaggerate! Phew!

These are the training camps, Editor. The men are not in them yet, but as they rise from the muck of Texas it is already clear to those that have eyes to see that those who ordered them are building not instruments for their own preservation, but instruments which will one day precipitate a gigantic explosion . . . an explosion that will wipe them from the face of America and, we hope, from the world. This is my belief. Of course, I am only a

COMMON LABORER

Brother "Hod-Carrier", Int'l Hod Carriers, Building and Common Laborers Union, A.F.L.

BANQUET

For

GRACE CARLSON

The Trotskyist Candidate for U.S. Senator from Minnesota. Her Vote Exceeded the Combined Votes Cast for the Socialist and Communist Parties.

Saturday Feb. 1

GERMANIA HALL 8:00 p.m.

160 Third Ave. Near 14th St.

New York City

AUSPICES:

Socialist Workers Party

Admission $1

TROTSKY MEMORIAL FUND

Branch	Quota	Amount paid	%
BOSTON	$ 100.00	$ 150.00	150
NEW HAVEN	20.00	26.00	130
LOS ANGELES	150.00	162.45	108
QUAKERTOWN	7.00	7.50	107
BUFFALO	25.00	26.15	105
DETROIT	200.00	210.00	105
PORTLAND	10.00	10.50	105
TOLEDO	50.00	51.00	102
Minneapolis & St. Paul	1000.00	1001.00	100.1
Chicago & Indiana Harbor	200.00	200.07	100
Pittsburgh	10.00	10.00	100
Allentown	15.00	15.00	100
Milwaukee	5.10	5.10	100
Reading	5.00	5.00	100
Baltimore	10.00	10.00	100
San Diego	8.50	8.50	100
Rockville	7.00	7.00	100
Texas	5.00	5.00	100
Newark	150.00	150.00	100
Hutchinson	10.00	10.00	100
St. Louis	5.00	5.00	100
Akron	10.00	10.00	100
Philadelphia	30.00	30.00	100
Rochester	15.00	15.00	100
San Francisco	100.00	100.00	100
Williston	10.00	10.00	100
Flint	150.00	138.00	92
Lynn	100.00	90.00	90
New York	1000.00	706.00	71
Cleveland	70.00	10.00	14
Youngstown	50.00	6.00	12
Individual Contributions		3.30	
TOTAL	$3527.60	$3193.57	91%

Navy Backs Union-Busting Bill To Militarize Merchant Marine

Would Compel All Seamen to Work Ships For Coolie Wages

WASHINGTON, D.C.—Backed by high-ranking officers of the United States Navy, Representative Everett M. Dirksen, introduced a bill in Congress this week to "make all crews on American merchant ships members of the active Naval Reserve." He said the intention of the bill is to "militarize commercial shipping in event of a national emergency" and "to break the Communist grip on the American merchant marine."

Dirksen's bill is merely the culmination of a long smear campaign against American seamen begun by the Dies Committee and drummed up by a series of red-baiting articles against maritime workers by William McFee in the *Saturday Evening Post*.

One of the real reasons behind the move is revealed in figures released by the Navy Department, simultaneously with the announcement of the Dirksen Bill. **The Navy had set itself a goal of enrolling 30,000 merchant seamen in the Naval Reserve during the past four years, but only 339 such volunteers have actually been enrolled in this period.**

Major George Fielding Eliot, military and naval expert, estimates in his authoritative "The Ramparts We Watch" that at least 20,000 reservists of trained caliber will be necessary to man the key posts alone in a merchant marine controlled by the Navy under emergency regulations.

In reality, the stand of the men who make up the crews of the merchant ships can be clearly understood by a comparison between their present conditions of work and those in the Naval Reserve. After years of hard struggles in organizing strong unions of maritime workers, the seamen have established hiring through the union hall and collective bargaining on the vast majority of commercial vessels. In the Naval Reserve collective bargaining is banned.

Wages have been raised by the unions to a tolerable point; in the Naval Reserve the scab standards persist. On union ships overtime pay is religeously adhered to; in the Naval Reserve there is no ceiling to hours.

Here is a comparison between average monthly union wage scales and the Naval Reserve scale:

Rating	*Union Scale*	*Reserve*
A.B. Seaman	$72— $95	$54
Ord. Seaman	55— 70	21
Firemen	72— 95	60
Oilers, Water-tenders	82— 95	72—84
Cooks	95— 150	72—84

The reaction of the unions—the National Maritime Union (CIO) as well as the Seafarers International Union and the Sailors Union of the Pacific (AFL), the independent West Coast Marine Firemen among the unlicensed personnel, as well as the United Licensed Officers among the mates and the M.E.B.A. (CIO) among the engineers—has been unanimous in its opposition against this attempt to dragoon the seamen into the Naval Reserve.

Behind the legislative move there is, however, a far deeper aim. In the book already quoted, Major Eliot says:

"It is necessary to say quite plainly that a very bad state of discipline exists in our merchant marine. This is not ALTOGETHER due to union activities . . . If war came, it would be necessary to dispense with many of the men now serving in our merchant ships . . ."

Although couched in cautious language, this expresses the innermost thought of the brass hats: it is necessary to get rid of the unions and of the most militant union fighters in the merchant marine. Major Eliot believes that this can be done by building up the Naval Reserve with men who would be given "assurance against their use as strike-breakers *in time of peace*." What he means is, it is obvious, actually using Naval Reserve men as strike-breakers in *time of emergency*, toward which end the whole scheme is hatched.

In order to ward off impending attacks, the maritime unions will have to take a hand in establishing collective bargaining and the union wage scales in the merchant marine Naval Reserve, if they do not want the latter to be used for the purpose of wrecking the conditions and wages gained by the unions up to now and for destroying the unions themselves.

To the union busting program of the shipowners and their bosom friends the Admirals, the seamen's unions must counterpose a labor program of their own for the men in the Naval Reserve.

Subscribe to the "Fourth International"

The Record of the War Labor Board of 1918

By MICHAEL CORT

III

Immediately upon its inception in February 1918 the National War Labor Board enunciated "A Declaration of Principles." The best way to analyze the Board's work is to quote the principles and then show how they were applied.

Principle No. 1.—"*There shall be no strikes or lockouts.*" There were plenty of lockouts during the war period but the Board only took cognizance of the strikes. There is no record of the Board ever having disciplined a boss for locking out his men. There are plenty of cases where the Board cracked down on the workers for striking.

The first step taken in this direction was the enactment of a rule that provided that once workers in any plant had struck, their case was "outlaw" and could not be heard before the Board. Thereupon, all agencies of the government would mobilize bourgeois public opinion against the workers; if this failed to break the strike, troops were used. If the workers struck *after* the Board had made a decision, then the case was turned over to the executive branch of the government and the workers involved were barred from all war time employment, which meant 90% of American industry.

The workers at the New Jersey plant of the Wesson Oil Company revolted in the summer of 1918 against working conditions that the Board had failed to correct, and went out on strike. The Board declared the case "outlaw," and handed the case over to President Wilson. The President threatened, not only to bar the workers from "any war time industry throughout the country," but also threatened to send them into the front line trenches. AFL President Gompers joined in the threat.

The National Run-Around

Principle No. 2.—"*Labor has the right to organize and bargain collectively.*". The workers in the New England plant of the Madison-Kipp Lubricator Company in 1918 were working 12 hours per day on piece work. However fast they worked, their piece work earnings were always computed in such a manner as to keep their wages at a fraction over 28 cents per hour. Upon announcement by the NWLB that employes were guaranteed the right to collective bargaining, the workers organized and demanded their rights. The boss not only refused to lower hours and raise wages, but he completely refused to bargain collectively. Immediately an appeal was filed with the Board.

After some months a traveling-examiner showed up to hear the case. Conditions were so bad that the examiner was forced to find for the workers, but the boss ignored his decision. Faced with an unyielding boss, the workers appealed the case to the Board itself. After several more months the Board affirmed the right of the workers to bargain collectively, instructed them to *again* elect a shop committee, and again wait upon the boss for a discussion of their grievances. The boss was admonished to meet with the committee this time. The boss refused to meet the workers this time too, and they again appealed to the Board. Before the Board got around to consider their appeal, the war ended and the Board was dissolved.

226 Board decisions were concerned with the right of collective bargaining and the majority of the case histories parallel the one just cited.

Principle No. 3. "*Where union and non-union men and women work side by side the continuance of such conditions shall not be deemed a grievance.*" This prohibited the closed shop and thereby robbed the workers of the backbone of any genuine collective bargaining system.

Perpetuating Coolie Wages

Principle No. 4, "*In fixing wages, hours, and conditions of labor, regard should always be had for conditions prevailing in localities affected.*" Through this paragraph the Board justified wage differences between the South and the North, between the organized and the unorganized workers. The Board was dedicated to the status quo, not to reform.

There arose, however, considerable demand for the formulation of a minimum wage scale. This demand came from labor so frequently and insistently that the Board made a brave announcement that it would set up such wage scales for the defense industries. The howl of the bosses soon changed the Board's attitude however, and after wrestling with the problem for five months, it announced, " . . . that for the present the Board or its sections should consider and decide each case involving the principle (living wage) on its particular facts and reserve any definite rule or decision until its judgments have been sufficiently clear to make generalizations safe." This statement of policy was approved by the Board unanimously!

When the Board announced its abandonment of any minimum wage scale, Gompers was bitterly attacked by the more militant locals of the AFL. His reply was, "In the midst of a war there can be no discussion among those who have guns trained upon them . . . therefore, let us defer questions which can be deferred, questions that are likely to divide us in this war."

Workers were usually awarded about the same wages they were receiving when they filed an appeal. In October 1918 the Board gave a basic hourly wage of 36 cents to the street-car conductors in Memphis, Tenn.. One month later it awarded a basic wage of 61 cents to conductors in Butte, Mont. That is, the unorganized southern workers received about what they were already getting before coming to the Board; the workers in highly organized Butte were in a position to force a better award.

Trouble With Bethlehem Steel

There were cases where conditions demanded a change in wage scales and the Board was unable to dodge the responsibility. Such a case was Bethlehem Steel. The Board instructed Bethlehem to raise wages of all common labor and certain categories of skilled labor. Bethlehem took advantage of the red tape surrounding the Board's procedure and stalled on compliance with the order until after the armistice, then it discharged the workers involved. The Board took the only attitude it could, that Bethlehem owed the discharged workers back pay: the difference between their wage and the one granted by the Board. Bethlehem countered this by claiming that it didn't know the addresses of its workers and could not notify them by mail of the money due them. Furthermore, Bethlehem said, most of the workers were foreigners and wouldn't be able to read a letter of notification if they got one. Before this dispute was settled the Board was dissolved by its own vote and the entire case passed into limbo.

Wage Raises—With a Catch

The Board did get compliance with wage increase orders from some of the bosses, but this was usually accomplished through a "deal." For instance: many of the Board's hearings were devoted to the conditions existing in the various street-railway systems throughout the country. The records reveal that wherever the Board awarded an increase in wages to the workers, an accompanying petition from the Board was submitted to the municipality, asking a change in the laws fixing the rate of fare. The Board's petitions always explained the hardship imposed upon the boss by the increased wage order and called on the city officials to grant the boss the right to raise fares and pass the cost on to the worker-consumer.

This, then, is how the Board's five principles were applied to prevent strikes and keep the workers shackled to the machines throughout the war. All the decisions quoted were by unanimous vote of the Board.

And what happened in the 82 cases where at least one "representative" of labor rebelled? The machinery was this: an unmpire was chosen by the Board, and his decision was binding upon all parties. If the Board was unable to agree unanimously upon an umpire, then one was chosen by lot from a panel of ten nominated by President Wilson. Thus the final arbiter was always the boss and labor's representatives could do nothing but maintain the farce of national unity by voting "Ja." Oh yes, the name that led all others on the panel of ten umpires was that of Henry Ford.

SCHEDULE OF CARLSON TOUR

Fri.	Jan. 17	Rochester
Sat.	Jan. 18	Syracuse
Sun.	Jan. 19	Boston
Mon.	Jan. 20	"
Tues.	Jan. 21	———
Wed.	Jan. 22	New Haven
Thurs.	Jan. 23 to Feb 1	New York
Sun.	Feb. 2	Newark
Mon.	Feb. 3	New York
Tues.	Feb. 4	Trenton
Wed.	Feb. 5	———
Thurs.	Feb. 6	Allentown
Fri.	Feb. 7	Reading
Sat.	Feb. 8	Quakertown
Sun.	Feb. 9	Philadelphia
Mon.	Feb. 10	"
Tues.	Feb. 11	———
Wed.	Feb. 12	Baltimore
Thurs.	Feb. 13	———
Fri.	Feb. 14	Pittsburgh
Sat.	Feb. 15	———
Sun.	Feb. 16	Indianapolis
Mon.	Feb. 17	Indianapolis
Tues.	Feb. 18	———
Wed.	Feb. 19	St. Louis
Thurs.	Feb. 20	———
Fri.	Feb. 21	Memphis
Sat.	Feb. 22	———
Sun.	Feb. 23	Arkansas
Mon.	Feb. 24	Arkansas
Tues.	Feb. 25	Texas
Wed.	Feb. 26	Texas
Thurs. to Thurs.	Feb. 27 Mar. 13	———
Fri.	March 14	Los Angeles
Sat.	March 15	and vicinity
Sun.	March 16	"
Mon.	March 17	"
Tues.	March 18	"
Wed.	March 19	"
Thurs.	March 20	"
Fri.	March 21	———
Sat.	March 22	San Francisco
Sun.	March 23	"
Mon.	March 24	"
Tues.	March 25	"
Wed.	March 26	"
Thurs.	March 27	"
Fri.	March 28	———
Sat.	March 29	———
Sun.	March 30	Portland
Mon.	March 31	———
Tues.	April 1	Seattle
Wed.	April 2	———
Thurs.	April 3	———
Fri.	April 4	Plentywood
Sat.	April 5	Williston
Sund.	April 6	———
Mon.	April 7	Fargo
Tues.	April 8	"
Wed.	April 9	Twin Cities

Highlights In The Labor Press

By CARL O'SHEA

Commenting on the substance of national defense, the Minneapolis *Labor Review*, January 3rd, says:

"It was unfortunate, we believe, that in his address the President spoke against strikes and lockouts, but did not insist that not only would war profits be regulated, but that there would be no war profits. No war profits from the munitions and equipment of war sold to Britain and no profits to industrial owners from the work of preparing this nation for defense. This would become a sweeter land to 80,000,000 people if instead of all this talk, from those who do no manual labor, about increasing hours of toil, there would be a large scale move to shorten the hours without decrease in pay, and put to work the 8,000,000 or more who vainly seek employment."

* * *

The *Weekly People* reports (January 4) that its presidential candidate (Aiken of the Socialist-Labor Party) in 1940 received 14,861 votes in fourteen states, compared with 12,777 votes in sixteen states in 1936.

* * *

The American Newspaper *Guild Reporter* announces that four resident organizers will be added to the organizing staff of the International. The Guild strike in Monroe, La., was finally ended with a Labor Board stipulation that returns 13 of the 16 strikers to their jobs, with back pay not to exceed $11,000. The January 1 issue of the *Reporter* contains several articles pro and con relative to the merits of the Youngstown resolution condemning communism, upon which a referendum is to be held.

We hope the Guildsmen will have sense enough to defeat this red-baiting resolution.

* * *

The Canadian *Labor Herald* for December comments on the AFL convention: "This month the AFL held its 60th annual potlatch at New Orleans and re-elected William Green for his seventeenth term as president with a salary increase from $12,000 to $20,000 per annum. Of course Mr. Green needed that extra dough. These are strenuous times we are living in and it would never do for members of trade unions to neglect their leaders to the point where (like the unemployed) they begin to show the obvious effects of malnutrition. Labour leaders must be kept in prime condition. It takes a lot of nerve to denounce a strike of workers who have gone out in the middle of the night on picket-line duty to win a 6 per cent increase in wages, and in the same week the denouncer grabs off $8,000 more per year."

* * *

Justice, organ of the ILGWU, January 1, reports that President David Dubinsky has pledged $100,000 of union funds to a Dress Industry Promotion Fund to which the retailers and dress industry will of course also contribute. The next thing you know, Dubinsky will be spending his spare time hawking dresses on the streets.

* * *

The San Francisco *Labor Clarion* for December 27 reports that on December 19 the locked-out Gantner & Mattern knitgood workers were tendered a holiday banquet by the labor movement. The union particularly thanks "the officers and members of Teamsters' Union No. 85 who have, at a great cost to themselves, refused to pass our picket line."

* * *

The Duluth *Labor World* in December published the complete list of local signers of petitions to place the Communist Party on the ballot in Minnesota.

This is the first union paper so far as we know, which has gone in for this dirty bosses game.

* * *

From Washington comes news that the AFL has chartered its 106th international union: the Wine, Liquor & Distillery Workers International. Representatives of locals composed chiefly of wholesale liquor salesmen won 7 of the 9 offices.

CIRCULATION GOING UP!!

Last April, when the petty-bourgeois splitters had done their worst, the party absorbed defiantly the resultant decrease in Appeal circulation. At that juncture the N.O. had the courage to plan a program of expansion that would run the circulation up a full 75%. It was realized, and for weeks we walked around in a daze—dreaming of a complete doubling of the April circulation. That was realized. We stopped dreaming and just walked around in a daze.

After a while we caught on that the Dialectic had become involved, and regained our poise. We now announce as a matter of course that the APPEAL press-run is now 150% more than it was last April, with another 10% increase scheduled two weeks hence. What's more, we have no doubt that the Dialectic will remain on our side (Though we know if we asked William F. Warde he'd say it will and it won't.)

NEW YORK TO THE FORE

Nearly half of the most recent increase is due to the efforts of proletarian New York. The New York branches, which formerly hid their individual laxness behind a seemingly impressive city-wide total, are today demanding their place in the sun for their steady expansion of mass APPEAL work. Starting with last week's issue, the APPEAL order of the New York proletarians was increased by 40%—(which is also, as they proudly state, 40% more than the total NATIONAL circulation of the paper now being issued by the petty-bourgeois splitters.)

This increase means that now the average New York branch is doing at least as well as the most active branches elsewhere in the party, barring Minneapolis and Chicago. And they caution us that this latest increase by no means exhausts local New York's possibilities. We've seen these Young Big City workers in action, and we know they mean business! In weeks to come we hope to publish reports of their excellent activity with the APPEAL.

DETROIT DOUBLES ITS APPEAL EFFORTS

DETROIT—" . . . Beginning with February 1st issue we expect to increase our bundle order by 100%!

"We feel that the proposed changes in the APPEAL are further steps in the transformation of our paper into a mass paper and will do much toward making our party a mass party."

The expansion of APPEAL work in Detroit to Minneapolis proportions—following on the heels of similar recent expansion by Chicago—is the surest sign we can think of, of the rapid transformation of our party into a mass party. (Get the snow out of your shoes Minneapolis! This Detroit expansion is no accident: Your leadership is being seriously challenged by the up and coming comrades in Auto!)

LOS ANGELES REPORTS

LOS ANGELES—" . . . In several places, our APPEAL work is beginning to bear fruit. At the waterfront, San Pedro, many workers stop to talk to us. We cover meetings of the Vultee Aircraft local of the U.A.W.A. and receive excellent response. Ours is the only labor paper being distributed at these points . . .

"The comrade from Flint, Michigan, wrote an excellent letter in the December 28th APPEAL. As he pointed out, mass APPEAL work, regularly, will open the way to thousands of eager workers."

NEWSSTAND SALES: ATTENTION AGENTS!

Please send to this office a complete list of the newsstands in your city which carry the APPEAL, so that it may be published in the February 1st issue, in a national newsstand listing. Be sure to send it with your next remittance, so that your city may not be omitted.

Bronx House Party

DANCE * DRINK * DINE

LATEST RECORDINGS

Swing Classical

241 E. 169th St. Apt. D12, Bx.

January 18, — 8:30 P.M.

Admission 35c, including food

Directions: 6th or 8th Avenue subway to 167th Street station

The Negro Struggle

"LABOR WITH A WHITE SKIN CANNOT EMANCIPATE ITSELF WHERE LABOR WITH A BLACK SKIN IS BRANDED" — KARL MARX.

By ALBERT PARKER

The aircraft workers at Vultee (organized into Local 683 of the United Auto Workers Union, CIO) deserve double thanks from the workers of this country.

First of all they struck a blow which showed that it is not only desirable but possible to win higher wages and better working conditions in the war industries, even under a heavy barrage of attacks from the employers, their stooges and the government.

Secondly, they have taken another action which will be greeted with enthusiasm by the workers, especially those Negro workers who are almost 100% barred from many important industries such as aircraft.

Here is how it happened. At the dance celebrating the victorious strike, two Negro members were asked to leave by people acting as floor managers and making the request on their own initiative.

When the members of the union learned about it, there was a discussion of this action on the floor of a regular local meeting, resulting in the adoption of the following resolution:

"WHEREAS: At a public dance given by the Vultee unit of Local 683, two Negro union brothers and their guests were asked to leave, and

WHEREAS: This action is in direct contradiction to the national CIO policy of no discrimination because of race, color, creed, nationality or political affiliation, and

WHEREAS: The success of our drive to organize the aircraft industry depends upon the broadest possible public support, and

WHEREAS: The Negro people, who helped on our picket line with donations of food and money in our recent successful strike, are part of that public, and

WHEREAS: We recognize that discrimination of any kind is the weapon used by the employer and his organizations to split and divide us in our struggle for a higher standard of living, therefore be it

RESOLVED: That we apologize to the Negro people for this action, and that we give our complete assurance that this action will not be repeated, and be it further

RESOLVED: That this Local 683 of the United Auto Workers, CIO, do all in its power to break down the anti-labor, racial discrimination policy in the aircraft and national defense industries, recognizing that our national defense must rest on the maintenance of our democratic principles, foremost among which is the right of every citizen to an opportunity to earn his livelihood without discrimination."

Another instance of gains in the field of labor against racial suspicion and division is to be seen in what happened in another CIO union, Local 486, of the Midland Steel plant in Cleveland.

Here in a union where 90% of the membership are white workers, Joseph Jackson, a Negro and former vice president, has been elected president. As one commentator in the area, Ted Cox, put it:

"They (the members) wanted the best leadership available in the shop. So, when President Mack Cheek resigned, they looked around. They didn't give a damn what color or what religious or political opinions that leadership might have. They wanted ability.

"It happened that Joe Jackson, who is colored, had that ability. So now Joe is president of one of the biggest, most militant and most successful local unions in the Cleveland CIO."

Here, therefore, are two good example of how trade unions, militant and democratically controlled by the rank-and-file, are educating white workers to the necessity for complete equality.

Much Still to be Done

The editorial page of the latest issue of The Chicago Defender features a cartoon by Jay Jackson, entitled "Back Of It All." It shows a factory entitled "National Defense Work," bearing a sign "Help Wanted." In front of it stands a Negro worker in overalls, labelled "Negro Labor," and he is held up, prevented from entering it, by a huge hand extended in front of him, barring his entrance. This hand is labelled "A.F.L."

The point of the cartoon is quite evidently that Negro labor could get jobs in the war industries if it were not for the AFL, which is "back of it all."

Does such a cartoon help the struggle to open the doors of industry to colored workers? We think not.

Who owns and controls and runs the factories? The unions—or the bosses? To ask the question is to answer it. It is the bosses of course, and it is they and their managers who do the hiring. Who benefits from division of the races, who really profits from it, the unions or the bosses? The bosses, of course, because they can play one race against the other.

Plenty of factories in the war industries are not organized at all. How many of these hire Negroes any more than the factories that are organized?

It is incorrect and misleading to say that the main responsibility for discrimination in hiring in the war industries lies at the door of the AFL. To do so serves only to whitewash the role of bosses who are really responsible.

We do not seek in any way to minimize or excuse or cover up the stupid, reactionary and vicious part played by some union leaders in the AFL. We denounce them and we carry on a fight against their harmful policies.

After all, what is "back of it all" even in the case of AFL officials guilty of Jim Crow practices? Isn't it the training they received from the capitalist system? Isn't it the prejudices they inherited from the "respectable" captains of industry whom so many of them try to imitate?

KARL LIEBKNECHT: Revolutionist

The "Democrats" Murdered Him---And Opened The Road To Hitler

By EUGENE VARLIN

Twenty-two years ago this January 15, the two outstanding revolutionary leaders of the German working class, Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg, were arrested and murdered by the German Junker officers whom the Social Democratic government had called upon to aid it in crushing the socialist revolution. That horrible deed, connived at by the pro-war "socialists," beheaded the revolution and led to the victory of Nazism.

Liebknecht's life is an inspiration to the German proletariat which will rise in the course of this war and avenge him.

At the time of his birth, in August 1871, his father, founder of the German socialist movement, was in prison for "high treason." Karl became a lawyer—but one whose first case was the defense of a young socialist, and so it was always.

His immortal fame rests, above all, on his leadership of the struggle against bourgeois militarism. In 1906 he was on trial; the "crime" was a series of lectures on militarism, delivered to the annual conference of the Socialist Youth organizations. When he published the lectures, the book was confiscated, he was arrested and sentenced to 18 months imprisonment.

He was not a pacifist. On the contrary, as a member of the international bureau of the Socialist Youth he attacked those who proposed refusal to register for military services. In opposition to these pacifists, he called for the struggle against bourgeois militarism within the bourgeois army itself.

When the war broke out, he was a member of the Reichstag. The Social Democratic party's Reichstag group was dominated, as was the party, by trade union bureaucrats; they carried their peacetime opportunism to its logical conclusion, and supported the war. Liebknecht refused to go along, although at the first vote in the Reichstag he abided by party discipline; at the December 2, 1914 session, however, he broke discipline and voted against war credits.

WHY KARL AND ROSA FAILED IN 1919

With Rosa Luxemburg, Clara Zetkin, and Franz Mehring, he founded "Die Internationale," the first illegal organ of the German revolutionists. But they did not build a party.

Liebknecht organized the magnificent May Day demonstration of 1916 in Berlin. There he denounced the imperialists and called upon the German proletariat to fight against its main enemy at home. Arrested for this heroic protest, he was tried behind closed doors—the German "democracy" feared an open trial—and sentenced to four and a half years' imprisonment.

Set free when the Kaiser was overthrown, Liebknecht and Luxemburg agonizedly realized that the revolutionary wave had no leadership; they tried, working against time, to build the necessary revolutionary party. The *Spartacusbund* which they formed suffered all the ills of an inexperienced and ultra-left group, and it was not permitted time to learn. At the invitation of Noske, the Social Democratic Minister of War, Junker troops invaded Wilmersdorf where Liebknecht and Luxemburg were in hiding, and assassinated them. The assassins were known; but their trial was a mere farce.

Shortly before Comrade Trotsky's death, he predicted, and events bear it out, that the Prussian drill-sergeant would become the ideal of capitalist America. Liebknecht's "Militarism" — his 1906 lectures—deserves to be read by all workers today, for it is an analysis of bourgeois militarism, as expressed by its Prussian exponents and now imitated everywhere.

Militarism, Liebknecht points out in his book, assumes under capitalism special forms, suited to the uses to which capitalism puts it. Best adapted to capitalist needs is universal military training; Liebknecht predicted its establishment in the United States.

The army of capitalism serves as a "national institution destined for attack"; but it is at the same time also a weapon in the struggle of the bosses against the workers. Not only against the workers at home, but also against the masses abroad. For the wars of capitalism in this epoch, Liebknecht already saw clearly in 1906, originate not in Europe but in the political and commercial expansion of the "civilized nations," whose colonial politics produces two new forms of militarism: "navalism" (militarism on sea) and colonial militarism. The last is becoming increasingly important for the capitalists, Liebknecht proved; it is used to enslave the natives of the "backward" continents.

THE CONTRADICTIONS WITHIN THE ARMY

The most significant contradiction within capitalist militarism, Liebknecht showed, is that in the struggles of the big capitalist countries against each other, they are compelled to arm the whole people. Liebknecht foresaw that the Czar would be one of the first to be destroyed by this contradiction.

"In the bourgeois capitalist state," he wrote, "the conscript army, in its function as a weapon against the proletariat, is a crude and terrible contradiction in itself; under the Czar's despotic regime the conscript army is a weapon which must turn itself more and more with crushing power against the despotism of czarism itself."

Another contradiction in capitalist militarism is that, as modern weapons and strategy become more and more complex, they require highly intelligent soldiers. It was an open secret that the German officers, though they found the East-Elbian peasants the most easily commanded soldiers, complained that they could be used only within certain limits because of their low intelligence. These monarchist officers had to confess that the class-conscious Socialist workers made the best soldiers. At the same time, of course, these Socialists were dedicated to destroying the Junker officer class. This contradiction is even more pronounced today than it was in Liebknecht's time; precisely the most intelligent trade-unionists and revolutionists make the best tank-drivers, machine-gunners, aviation mechanics, etc. The Czar will have plenty of company!

The power of life and death which capitalist army officers have over their men tends to be extended to private industry and it is first challenged there by the workers. Industrialists holding army contracts attempt to impose barracks discipline on their workers. That Liebknecht was right in generalizing that this would be done elsewhere besides Prussia is proved to the hilt by the present attempt to outlaw strikes in war-production plants in the United States.

The maltreatment of soldiers, Liebknecht insists, is an integral part of bourgeois militarism. It flows from the need of the capitalists to discipline in their army the working class whose interests are opposed to those of the capitalist class. The power of life and death possessed by the officers further aggravates this situation; the officers tend to use maltreatment instead of persuasion in whipping the men into shape.

THESE CONTRADICTIONS POINT THE WAY OUT

This exposition of Liebknecht's views indicates how he proposed to put an end to bourgeois militarism. Pacifism, disarmament, etc., he viewed as so much nonsense. The fundamental contradiction between the capitalist officers and the armed worker-soldiers would inevitably lead to an explosion from within. It was the task of the revolutionary party to fight for the interests of the worker-soldiers and to organize them to secure redress of their grievances. Out of this struggle —as much part of the class struggle as is the fight in the factories for workers' rights, and in the epoch of militarism even more important—would come, Liebknecht was sure, the socialist society of the future.

Liebknecht and Luxemburg made the mistake, I have said, of not beginning to build the revolutionary party in time to lead the revolutionary wave. Two generations have paid dearly for that mistake. But our generation will learn, has already profited, from both their mistakes and their great contributions.

They Tell Vile Falsehoods About German Workers

The war propaganda of British and American imperialism attempts to picture the German masses as "hypnotized" followers of Hitler.

It is a deliberate lie.

It was with the connivance and consent of the capitalists of the world that Hitler came to power in 1933. They preferred Hitler to the only other real alternative—the socialist revolution in Germany.

That revolution was almost achieved in 1918, when the German workers and the returning soldiers overthrew the Kaiser. It was with the help of a French-British-American threat of armed intervention—just as they intervened in Russia—that the German "democrats" smashed the revolution.

The German workers have shown in their whole history that Nazism is utterly alien to them. They have given to the world a shining firmament of revolutionary figures: Karl Marx, Friedrich Engels, Rosa Luxemburg, Karl Liebknecht, Franz Mehring, Clara Zetkin. These, and not Hitler, typify the German masses.

Thirteen million socialists and communists—the backbone of the German people—voted against Hitler in the last election that was permitted. And that election only dimly reflected—no election under capitalism really reflects—the anti-fascist sentiment of the German people.

The German workers need help in overthrowing Hitler. But that help is not carried by American bombing planes. Not freedom but a bloody military dictatorship will be brought to Germany by the victorious imperialist armies of "democracy."

The decisive help that we can give to the German workers so that they can overthrow Hitler is to demonstrate to them that we, too, are struggling against *our* oppressors. That we, too, are fighting for a Workers Government.

Our Red Rosa, The German Workers Called Her

By ANTOINETTE F. KONIKOW

Physically she was small, slender, a neglected hip disease in childhood left her with a limp. On her arrival to address large gatherings, committees meeting her for the first time would become crestfallen: How could such a frail being make an impression on the speaker's platform! But once she faced the crowd, she seemed to grow in stature; her resonant powerful voice, her flaming oratory roused audiences to wild enthusiasm. Our Red Rosa, the German workers called her with proud tenderness.

Rosa Luxemburg was a magnificent speaker and combined this with a rare ability of presenting the ideas of socialism in a simple and graphic language. She was not only a student but a theoretician of Marxism, the author of many pamphlets and books, among them. "The Accumulation of Capital," in which she expanded and modified Marx's exposition of this subject in volume II of *Das Kapital*. (The controversy over her interpretation still continues and I leave it to theoreticians to evaluate its merits.) But Rosa was no cabinet theoretician. Her writings as her speeches were intimately bound up with *action*.

She possessed the rarest of gifts—the ability to understand and even sense in advance the vital periods, problems, and strategy of the workers' movement. It was precisely this that brought her into sharp conflict throughout her life with the self-satisfied and degenerating leadership of old German Social Democracy.

Rosa Luxemburg was born in Czarist Poland, and began to participate in illegal revolutionary circles from a very early age. At 18 she was forced to flee Poland in order to escape arrest. I met her at Zurich where she studied economics and philosophy. She was so mature, serious and self-assured that my friends and myself considered her our senior, but in reality she was several years younger than we were.

Returning to Poland she worked to counteract the reactionary nationalist movement which had grown strong, by organizing the workers on a principled Marxist basis. Lenin criticized her opposing the demand for self-determination, in particular for Poland. Her influence in organizing a powerful and strongly centralized party in Poland was enormous. On more than one occasion she sided with Lenin against the Mensheviks within the Russian movement.

Her Struggle Against Reformism

Through a fictitious marriage she became a German citizen and was thus admitted to the arena of the large German party. From then on we find her dealing blow after blow to the reformist tendency which was gaining sway over the German Social Democracy and the Second International. For example, when the French Socialists became jubilant because Millerand had received a high ministerial post, Rosa at once condemned this entry into a bourgeois government. The gist of her criticism was: Socialists can accept executive state positions only if the government itself is in their hands, otherwise they invariably serve as the servants of the bourgeoisie and betray the workers.

In her fight against revisionism she attacked Bernstein, a very prominent and influential party leader in Germany, who argued that Marx had become "outmoded" and that it was possible to evolve into socialism without any revolution by simply relying on progress, the parliament, and the feelings of justice and morality. Revisionism expressed the direct pressure of the middle class upon the workers' movement; pressure which repeats itself periodically, as we can vouch for from our own recent experience. In Germany, capitalism was on the up-grade at the time. The party had several million votes, a vast treasury, many newspapers, scores of parliamentary seats, etc. Party functionaries were well paid, and trade union leaders dominated the party. A feeling of satisfaction combined with a fear of losing their gains began to possess the Social Democratic tops. They argued against revolutionary action because everything seemed to be progressing smoothly. Why rush, why "gamble," when a gradual growth would bring about socialism? In her fight against this Philistine outlook, Rosa had against her almost the entire German leadership.

1905 Becomes the Dividing Line

When the 1905 revolution broke out in Russia, Rosa with great joy followed the tremendous mass movement in her own backward homeland. She grasped at once the importance of the new weapons applied in her Russia, especially the role of the general strike. The German leadership inclined to dismiss the general strike as "general nonsense." But Rosa saw in it revolutionary mass action surging onward without fear of the possibilities of defeats—an expression of the tremendous vitality latent in the masses. During this period she became more and more estranged from the old leadership, and from Karl Kautsky himself who had for a while shared her enthusiasm for the 1905 events in Russia.

The World War of 1914 brought with it the crucial test for all revolutionists. The German party and the Second International revealed the full extent of their degeneration. The leaders betrayed the working class. Kautsky, the theoretical leader of the Second International bid his farewell to Marxism, declaring that internationalism could operate only in peace time and had to be suspended for the duration of war. Rosa Luxemburg did not waver in her stand. Together with Lenin she had sponsored the resolution against war adapted at the Stuttgart World Congress, the last one before the war. This resolution in veiled phraseology (to elude the German censors), had actually threatened a civil war against the bourgeoisie in every country if war were declared.

At the outbreak of the war Rosa Luxemburg applied the line of this resolution. Addressing the workers in Germany she said: "If you are ordered to shoot down your French brothers refuse to shoot!" She was arrested and imprisoned for the duration of the war. Her fate became henceforth indissolubly linked with that of Liebknecht, her comrade-in-arms, who had proclaimed: "Our main enemy is at home!" and who soon shared Rosa's fate—imprisonment.

Rosa Luxemburg, caged like an eagle, spent her days in a tiny cell from which she could barely glimpse a blue patch of the sky. Her letters from prison reveal an aspect of her character previously known only to her friends. The tenderness of this indomitable fighter is evidenced in these letters. She could not observe without revulsion even the suffering of animals—the overloaded oxen, the tiny, unprotected bird. In her letters she puts down her deep sympathy for all suffering, her craving for peace and beauty, her anger at injustice. She did not, however, let her hands hang. Her magnetic personality and noble nature enabled her to make friends in prison who helped to smuggle out regularly her articles for "The International," the publication of the Spartakus group which she and Liebknecht had formed.

The Famous "Junius" Pamphlet

Her best known work of that period is the Junius pamphlet, circulated throughout Germany. She did not sign her name because that would have disclosed her work in prison. Even Lenin was unaware of the identy of the author of this remarkable pamphlet, which he greeted with joy as a sign of a new and powerful revolutionary wing developing in Germany. He critized the pamphlet for its mistakes, but appreciated its power and true revolutionary spirit.

"Junius'" reasons for opposing imperialist wars have become classic. They should be studied today, for they apply to World War II just as they did twenty years ago. Rosa explained that the victory of either side—whether Germany or the Allies—would necessarily lead to another world slaughter. Only the masses could tear humanity out of war. Nothing can save the world except Socialism.

She exposed the hypocricy of the capitalist class, the fraud of patriotism. The ruling class will always make an alliance with the enemy in order to suppress its own working class. The French aristocrats welcomed the English and German armies against the French Jacobins. The German army released the army of Napoleon III so that the Paris Commune could be crushed. The Russian White Guards urged England, France and Germany to help them against the Russia of the Bolsheviks.

She pointed out that, far from weakening the working class, the revolution would strengthen and encourage the masses to defend their country, which becomes their real fatherland only after the revolution. The combined forces of all the monarchies could not subdue the great French Revolution. Nor could Soviet Russia under Lenin and Trotsky be overthrown by all the imperialists.

And when the social patriots sneered that the party could do nothing during war time, she replied: Our task is to issue clear political slogans comprehensible to the workers; a determined consistently revolutionary course of action followed by the party will arouse assurance, self-confidence, and resolution in the masses; a weak, vacillating course not only undermines the power of the working class but demoralizes and confuses the masses. She cited a passage from a book by General Bernhardi (he was the guiding genius of the Germany army at that time) disclosing his fear that under certain conditions the army might become a menace to the ruling class.

The Junius pamphlet states that national wars cannot be waged under imperialism. Lenin realized that Junius had the world war in mind, but considered it necessary to correct this statement by explaining that we would support national wars of the colonial peoples for self-determination; such wars are progressive and a blow to imperialism.

Junius called for a German republic to put an end to the war. Lenin pointed out that a parliament constituted of representatives of the bourgeoisie and the middle class could never stop the war. Only the masses—through the Soviets—can assure peace.

Rosa and the Russian Revolution

In prison Rosa received the great news of the Russian Revolution. She burned with indignation over the Brest-Litovsk peace forced by Germany upon the Bolsheviks. She accused the pro-war "socialists" of their responsibility, their degrading submission to the Junkers. The Russian Revolution deeply inspired Rosa. Enemies of the Russian Revolution have tried to construe her criticism of the Russian Bolsheviks as an opposition to the Russian revolution. This is false. It was as one of them that she criticized some of their tactics.

The most vicious lie is that spread by the Stalinists, who have tried to depict her as an enemy of Communism.

The doors of her prison were thrown open by the German workers. It was November 9, 1918—the beginning of the German revolution. Although her long prison term had weakened and exhausted her, Rosa threw herself into the work. She edited the Rote Fahne (Red Banner). Together with Liebknecht she organized the German Communist Party. The Manifesto of the party, in complete agreement with the program advocated by Lenin and Trotsky was written by her.

The degenerated leadership of the Social Democracy took charge of the government in order to crush the revolution. Luxemburg and Liebknecht were hounded. Leaflets demanding their assassination were circulated. Large rewards were offered for their capture. The Spartakus group which had become the German Communist Party had a large following but was not yet strong enough to take power. The situation greatly resembled the July, 1917 days in Russia. The advanced workers were pressing forward to battle, while the leadership realized that it was premature. The bourgeoisie and the Social Democratic leaders did everything in their power to provoke the masses in Berlin to an uprising so as to drown the revolution in blood. Liebknecht and Luxemburg did not stand aside from the masses. On January 15, 1919 they were arrested and immediately assassinated.

These two great revolutionists, two of the most sincere, devoted and fearless leaders of the proletariat were murdered by the bourgeoisie and its "socialist" lackeys. Luxemburg and Liebknecht have become the symbols for courage, militancy and unswerving opposition to imperialist war. The monuments erected in Germany to commemorate these two comrades have been destroyed by Hitler.

But Luxemburg and Liebknecht have more permanent memorials than monuments of stone or iron. Their names are inscribed in flaming red letters in the hearts of the international working class.

LENIN MEMORIAL MEETING

SPEAKER

GRACE CARLSON

Trotskyist Candidate for U. S. Senator from Minnesota. Member National Executive Board of the Workers Defense League

Friday, January 24, 1941

8:30 P.M.

IRVING PLAZA

Irving Place and 15th Street New York City

AUSPICES: Socialist Workers Party Admission 25c

SOCIALIST APPEAL

VOL. V—No. 3 Saturday, January 18, 1941

Published Weekly by the
SOCIALIST APPEAL PUBLISHING ASS'N.
at 116 University Place, New York, N. Y.
Telephone: ALgonquin 4-3547

Editorial Board:
FELIX MORROW ALBERT GOLDMAN

General Manager:
RUTH JEFFREY

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

"Reentered as second class matter December 4, 1935, at the post office at New York, N. Y., under the Act of March 3, 1879."

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.**

The New Stage

As we go to press, word comes from Detroit that James F. Dewey, Federal labor "mediator", has served an ultimatum on the United Auto Workers, demanding that the union call off within twenty-four hours its strike against the Eaton Manufacturing Company. The ultimatum, he stated, was delivered on the authority of the National Defense Commission, including, presumably, Sidney Hillman.

To show his "impartiality", Dewey also ordered the company to put to work the men it had failed to re-employ after a strike last December. The rehiring of these men was ONE of the issues in the present strike, but by no means the only one. The other issues between the company and the union, said Dewey, can be settled by negotiation "after the plants are operating again."

Note that the union has no guarantee that even the one issue Dewey refers to, rehiring, will be settled before the strike is called off. On the contrary, the union is told by the government to call off its walk-out regardless of what the company does.

As for the other issues, every union man knows that when a company has refused to come to a general settlement before a strike, return to work without a general settlement means giving the company the whip-hand in further negotiations. Every anti-union employer in the country hereafter will stand pat and depend on the government to force the men back to work—and endless negotiations over their grievances.

Roosevelt is taking off the velvet glove. With this ultimatum to the auto workers, a new stage of governmental action against the workers has begun.

In every class society, be it based on slavery, serfdom, or as at present on wage slavery, the oppressor class is armed. It is sufficient to mention the use of troops (including the militia) against strikers, a phenomenon common to all capitalist countries without exception. The arming of the bourgeoisie against the proletariat is one of the greatest, most cardinal, most significant facts of present-day capitalist society."—LENIN

Pacifist Changeling

If you want to understand the process by which professional pacifists turn into professional war mongers, you should read Norman Thomas' *Socialist Call* and watch it happening.

Norman Thomas' young followers are still fighting in court against military training but that pacifist activity, far from being in direct contradiction to war mongering, provides a bridge to it. In rejecting military training of any kind whatsoever, these deluded young people are, in reality, denying the realities and consequences of the class struggle. In the end, what will remain is their denial of the class struggle. Then they will support military training and war—on behalf of the capitalist class.

The next stage in the degeneration of the Socialist Party is already apparent. We cite two instances.

The National Executive Committee of the Socialist Party has adopted a resolution on the entry of Greece into the imperialist war. Its key sentence is: "We rejoice that the Greek people have succeeded in administering a setback to the fascist armies." '(*Call*, December 7.)

The "Greek" army of Dictator Metaxas, as everybody knows except Norman Thomas, consists in large part of British troops, British airplaines, British technicians, and the British Navy. Greece as a separate entity does not exist in this war. The only question that events were called upon to answer was whether Greece would be part of the German war machine or part of the British-American war machine. Greece is no more identifiable as an independent agent in this war than Serbia was in the last war.

And if Thomas "rejoices" that the British forces in the Mediterranean have thus set back the Italians, why shouldn't he, logically, rejoice if Wall Street's army helps along?

That's the real logic of Thomas' position, and he has already recognized it by taking the next step. The *Call* of January 18 announces its support of the pro-war propaganda organization headed by Matthew Woll under the phony title, "The American Labor Committee to Aid British Labor."

The *Call* concedes that Woll's committee "could be misused and could be made to serve interventionist sentiment in the United States," but hypocritically closes its eyes to this real role of Woll's committee and declares: "In the absence of any evidence of such intent at this time, the *Call* commends the AFL Committee." What kind of evidence is Thomas waiting for? Matthew Woll riding down Broadway in a tank, hell-bent for Berlin?

It's a rather touching picture, virginal Norman being deceived and misled by the sly Matthew Woll, but if we are ever called on to testify we shall have to say that Norman was more than willing and knew what he was letting himself in for.

"The mood of the majority of the army officers reflects the reactionary mood of the ruling classes of the country, but in a much more concentrated form. The mood of the mass of the soldiery reflects the mood of the workers and farmers, but in a much weaker form; the bourgeoisie knows much better how to maintain contact with the officers than the proletariat with the soldiers,"—TROTSKY, WHITHER FRANCE? Page 100.

Good Old FDR

While bourgeois politicians and publicists assure us that Roosevelt runs a government, of the people, for the people, and by the people, his regime proceeds to act like a government of the plutocracy, for the plutocracy, and by the plutocracy. Like all other capitalist powers, the administration at Washington is in reality a pliant tool in the hands of the big international monopolist corporations.

This stands out clearly in Roosevelt's imperialist war-policies. But it is no less evident in such incidental events as the deal just consummated between the International Telephone and Telegraph Corporation and the Rumanian Government, thanks to the forceful intervention of State and Treasury Department officials.

Here is the story. When the Nazis began to take over Rumania last October, Rumanian funds amounting to some $40,000,000 were "frozen" in this country by Presidential decree. The I. T. & T. owns the Rumanian Telephons System, part of which has already been seized by Russia, Hungary, and Bulgaria and the rest by the Rumanian Government, presumably as trustee for German capital.

None of the United States corporations in Nazi-controlled countries have been able to obtain payment in American money for their properties since the war started. That's one of the underlying motives behind Wall Street's support of Washington's military program.

But why, reasoned Wall Street, should all our monopolies have to wait until Hitler is crushed for the return of our invested capital? So, as the N. Y. Times phrases it, "with the cooperation and active help of the State Department and the United States Treasury" the Rumanian government was "induced" to pay immediately $13,800,000 of its blocked funds to the I. T. & T. for its properties.

"The corporation," reports the *Times*, "was satisfied completely with the deal and had received an absolutely fair price for its property." Indeed they might be, for, according to the company officials, "the payment covered all I. T. & T.'s investment in capital stock (amounting to $7,667,686), advances on current account, and equity in undistributed earnings." That is, the corporation has redeemed its entire investment plus ten years profits plus hidden gravy, we may be sure. *And it was also compensated for that portion of its properties taken by Russia, Hungary, and Bulgaria!*

"This incident," remarks the *Times* correspondent, "showed the value of the freezing policy as a measure of protecting United States interests in countries which have fallen or are likely to fall under outside influences. If there had been no frozen Rumanian funds in the United States, it was pointed out, the I. T. & T. might have achieved a less satisfactory settlement or at least have had to wait longer for its money."

Such are blessings showered by Roosevelt's policies—upon the giant international trusts,

There's War In Canada---Against The Trade Union

But the Systematic Terror Has Failed to Break Down the Workers and French Canadians' Opposition to the War

The following is a first-hand account of the treatment of the workers and unionists in Canada during the present war, and of the growing resistance to the war in this sister "democracy" to the United States. It is part of a report to the SOCIALIST APPEAL from a Canadian comrade.

TORONTO, Canada—You may be surprised to learn that one union local here, with 160 members, advertised for an organizer in the capitalist press. You will understand why, when I tell you about present conditions here in Canada.

Unionists are afraid to accept jobs as organizers because even a little militant labor action means a jail sentence.

Civil liberties are at a very low ebb in Canada today. The government has taken advantage of the war to deliver smashing blows at labor. 71 *leaders* of unions are in concentration camps here. The charge?—they demanded too much from the bosses!

Pat Sullivan, leader of the AFL seamen's union was arrested right in the midst of negotiations with the ship-owners. He had asked for better terms in the new contract than were in the old one. A criminal and treasonable offense in Canada today.

Canadian labor is becoming increasingly aroused by this anti-labor attitude of the government. All labor organizations have been driven underground with the exception of the (pro-war) Commonwealth Federation.

It is not only the government which persecutes the workers, but many reactionary trade union officials are aiding in this offensive. For instance, in a recent election in the International Ladies Garment Workers Union local, the leaders arbitrarily prohibited the nomination of alleged Stalinists. These leaders crawl on their bellies at every opportunity to show their servility to the government.

CANADA'S "HOME GUARD"

We read about the moves to start the "Home Guard" in the U. S. Well, a "home" defense guard exists now in Canada. It has already helped the bosses in several strikes. It is a regular witch-hunt outfit,, which has arrested anyone at the slightest opportunity who voices the least bit of dissatisfaction with the war or the government.

Despite the feverish government war propaganda campaigns, the Canadian people are generally opposed to the war. By people, I mean particularly the workers and the French Canadians.

The government is having a hard time getting soldiers for over-seas service. It has used two methods to try to build the army, neither one being very successful. The government forces all unemployed fathers off relief until their sons join the army. This has been more successful than raising the army pay, because it seems you can't even pay anyone here to join the army.

In the town of Scarsborough all the unemployed youth have been forced into the army. The town consists today almost entirely of old men and women.

You can tell how desperate the government has become to break down the resistance to army service, when it now pays $39 per month to a single man, and family men with a wife and two children get as much as $28 per week. In the U. S. I hear that ordinary soldiers get only $21 a month for the first four months, and then $30 a month from then on, even married men.

The greatest opposition to the war comes from the French Canadians, who are 41 per cent of the Canadian population. There were bitter draft riots in Quebec and Montreal, and today there are only 2,000 French-Canadian soldiers in the Canadian army.

I have learned that there are 2,000 soldiers in concentration camps for their refusal to go overseas. Some cases of suicide among young soldiers have also been disclosed. This will give you an idea of the opposition which exists here to fighting for British imperialism.

The government has had to yield to the opposition of the French Canadians to some extent. For instance, in the predominantly English sections of Canada, if you are caught distributing anti-war leaflets or even union organizing leaflets, you will receive from 6 months to 2 years in jail. But in French Canada, you will receive only 10 days confinement for the same "offense."

One of the hopeful signs here is the growing sentiment for an independent labor party. There is a movement for this now on foot, which is strongest in the AFL unions.

British Jail Indian For Demanding Democracy

We have received reports from England of the trial of Dr. Yussof Dadoo, an Indian, charged in Johannesburg, South Africa, with publishing and distributing a leaflet which reads as follows:

"War? An appeal to all non-European people of South Africa. You are being asked to support the war for: Freedom, Justice and Democracy. Do you enjoy the fruits of freedom, justice and democracy?

"What you enjoy is: Pass and Poll Tax Laws, segregation, white labour policy, low wages, high rents, poverty, unemployment and vicious colour bar-laws...

"We answered the call in 1914-18. What was our reward? Misery, starvation, unemployment. This time we must demand: The right to live as human beings; the right to work in skilled trades; recognition of African trade unions; abolition of the White Labour Policy; abolition of ALL anti-Colour legislation; full rights of citizenship.

"Don't support this war, where the rich get richer and the poor get killed."

The government could not charge him with being a "fifth columnist" or "sympathizer of the Nazis." No fascist would ever demand the things for which Dadoo asked in this leaflet. In fact, these are the things the fascists want least of all (in which respect you can't tell them apart from the "democracies.")

So they charged him with publishing a statement likely to incite resistance to the government's war policy, and fined him 25 pounds or one month's imprisonment, with an additional suspended sentence of two months, subject to good behavior. Dadoo reused to pay the fine.

It was stated that "crowds of Indians, Africans and Europeans" demonstrated on his behalf at the trial.

They Were The Greatest Heroes Of The Last War

"You boys are heroes. You're going over to make the world safe for Democracy. God bless you boys. And remember, when you get back, and I am voicing the sentiments of the entire country when I say it, nothing will be too good for you."

These were the words employed by the capitalist politicians and big-shots back in 1917 and 1918 to speed the doughboys off to the European battlefronts. Among the millions of soldiers who listened to these words were Sergeant York's boys.

Sergeant York and his detail returned from the war to be acclaimed the outstanding heroes of all the troops who had gone overseas. Marching down Broadway in a huge parade on their return, showered with cheers, applause and confetti, Sergeant York's boys were accorded a special position of honor.

Almost 22 years have passed since that glorious day. Sergeant York's boys scattered over the country, disappeared into anonymity.

Now a new batch of boys are being prepared to go to war "to make the world safe for Democracy" again. A flood of propagand is being prepared and unloosed on them. Included in this propaganda is a film shortly to be released from Hollywood about the exploits of Sergeant York and his boys during the last war.

Before the film could be given to the public the film company had to secure permission from the surviving members of Sergeant York's heroic detail, whose names were used in the film.

WHAT HAPPENED TO THEM

Ten men were located. The rest were either dead or had disappeared beyond finding.

What has happened to these greatest heroes of the war from whom Hollywood's need has temporarily lifted the veil of obscurity?

One was discovered down and out in a barroom in a Massachusetts town. The newspapers called him a "bum" and would not print his real name to save him from "shame." His "shame" is that of many workers who have been so beaten down by the miseries and hardships of life in the "Democracy" they fought to save that they have given up all hope.

Another, George Wills, was found living near a city dump in Philadelphia, trying to keep body and soul together by keeping a few goats and picking tin foil, brass and paper off the dump. He said he was able to earn as much as five dollars a week and bowed down to no man.

A third, Thomas Johnson, was located living alone in a one-room shack in Denison, Texas. He concealed himself behind a hanging blanket and signed the film company's release and received his $250 without even permitting the film company representative to see his face.

Mario Mussi, another survivor, was found working as a night watchman in a New York paper mill. He was just managing to eke out an existence. He was overwhelmed by the $250 windfall and said that this was the first time in his life he had received something for nothing.

Another, Joe Konotski, is the father of six children whom he is trying to support by hard toil in a mill in Holyoke, Mass.

THE FORTUNATE ONE

Otis V. Merrithew is working as a truck driver. By comparison with the other heroes he seemed to be making out pretty well. He has a wife and three daughters, one of whom wanted to go college. She had given up this hope however, because of lack of money. Now by mere chance she can go to college on that $250—for one year.

Feodor Sok, the seventh survivor, was finally located in a veteran's CCC camp near Buffalo, N. Y. This was his last refuge to which unemployment and want had driven him.

In Hamden, Conn., was Bernard Early, waiting on table in a bar. Michael Saccini was found in New York, working as a barber shop porter.

Only the tenth of these greatest heroes of the war was found to be living somewhat free of insecurity. That was Percy Beardsley, a bachelor living with his father on a well-kept farm in Connecticut.

"Nothing will be too good for you when you return," the ruling class told the workers during the last war. They'll be saying it again soon.

When they do, remember Sergeant York's boys.

NOTICE TO BRANCHES

Sunday, January 26, has been set by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People as "National Defense Day". The Association has called for mass meetings and rallies throughout the country to protest discrimination and segregation in the armed forces and in the rapidly expanding war industries.

Branches of the Party are notified that the next issue of the SOCIALIST APPEAL will carry a special message on these questions which should be of great help in pushing sales of the paper at meetings called in their cities.

Lovestone Quits; The Fruit Of Lack Of Principles

The Lovestone group ("Independent Labor League of America") has announced that it has dissolved, by decision of its recent national convention. In a "Declaration" announcing the end of the organization, it calls upon all radical groups to "join forces in making a new start towards a genuine American democratic socialism"—and to begin that new start by following the ILLA into limbo.

Presumably, with the death of the ILLA, its final "Declaration" is its last word on what the coming "genuine American democratic socialism" should be. But God help the mariner who tries to sail by their directions!

In a word, the Lovestone "Declaration" is a complete confession of bankruptcy, which blusteringly tries to cover up its nakedness by the whining lie: "Everybody else has failed too."

Among the ideologies the expiring Lovestoneites list as having failed is that of Bolshevism. The implication is conveyed that they, the Lovestoneites, tried the road of Bolshevism, and it proved a false road. A lie made out of whole cloth.

The story of the Lovestone group is worth telling in some detail, for there is an important lesson to learn from it—although scarcely the one that the Lovestoneites offer. That story was summarized by Comrade James P. Cannon in his pamphlet, "The Struggle for a Proletarian Party," published in April 1940. He wrote then:

"In the terminology of the Marxist movement, unprincipled cliques or groups which begin a struggle without a definite program have been characterized as political bandits. A classic example of such a group, from its beginning to its miserable end in the backwaters of American radicalism, is the group known as 'Lovestoneites.' This group, which took its name from the characterless adventurer who has been its leader, poisoned and corrupted the American Communist movement for many years by its unprincipled and unscrupulous factional struggles, which were carried on to serve personal aims and personal ambitions, or to satisfy personal grievances. The Lovestoneites were able and talented people, but they had no definite principles. They knew only that they wanted to control the party 'regime'. As with Abern, this question always occupied first place in their calculations; the 'political' program of the moment was always adapted to their primary aim of 'solving the organization question satisfactorily', that is, in their favor.

"They were wild-eyed radicals and ultra-leftists when Zinoviev was at the head of the Comintern. With the downfall of Zinoviev and the violent right swing of the Comintern under Bukharin, they became ardent Bukharinites as quickly and calmly as one changes his shirt. Due to an error in calculation, or a delay in information, they were behindhand in making the switch from Bukharin to Stalin and the frenzied leftism of the Third Period. To be sure, they tried to make up for their oversight by proposing the expulsion of Bukharin at the party convention they controlled in 1929. But this last demonstration of political flexibility in the service of rigid organizational aims came too late. Their tardiness cost them their heads.

"Their politics were always determined for them by external pressure. At the time of their membership in the Communist Party it was the pressure of Moscow. With their formal expulsion from the Comintern a still weightier pressure began to bear down upon them, and they gradually adapted themselves to it. Today this miserable and isolated clique, petty-bourgeois to the core, is tossed about by bourgeois democratic public opinion like a feather in the breeze. The Lovestoneites never had any independent program of their own. They were never able to develop one in the years since their separation from the official Communist Party. Today their paper, the Workers Age, is hardly distinguishable from a journal of left liberalism. A horrible example of the end result of unprincipled 'organizational' politics."

The History of This Group

Since Comrade Cannon wrote this, the Lovestoneites, pushed still further by bourgeois democratic public opinion, became above all advocates of "all-out" aid to England.

The end of the Lovestoneites is the handwriting on the wall for their ilk. The Norman Thomas group, coming ever closer to a pro-British line (elsewhere in this issue we deal with their latest moves in this direction), is already little more than an appendage to Norman Thomas' radio program. Even the traditional Social Democratic Federation appears to have little basis for an independent existence in the war situation; its frenzied cries for "all out" aid to Britain merely duplicate what Roosevelt does louder and more skillfully. And the group which most resembles the Lovestoneites in personal character and "political" methods, the Abern-Shachtman "Workers Party", sees its future mirrored.

Abern-Shachtman united with Burnham "merely" on the question of "the party regime"— a la Lovestone. Just like Lovestone, however, Abern-Shachtman found themselves at the conclusion of this "bloc" the advocates of the politics of Burnham. Here is striking proof of the political law that groups and cliques which have no program of their own become the instruments of the program of others. Shachtman, who loudly protested that he was not advocating the anti-Soviet position of Burnham, has now published his own position which turns out to be... the position of Burnham.

The Lovestoneites did not conceal their warm sympathy for Burnham-Shachtman. Here, they felt, were kindred spirits. They were right.

The war, Comrade Trotsky wrote shortly before his death, will destroy all such centrist organizations. The debris will be cast aside and the arena cleared for the titanic struggle between the only two real forces in modern society: the bourgeois ruling class and the proletariat led by the revolutionary Bolshevik party. The quicker Lovestone and his kind leave the arena, the better for the revolutionary movement. It is not accidental that the dissolution of the Lovesoneites coincides with the moment when our party reaches the highest point in morale and activity in our history.