

Labor's Policy Toward the Draft Boards

An Editorial

The local draft boards have just been named. Throughout the country they have been packed with bosses and their agents.

Sweat-shop operators, vigilante inciters, utilities sharks, bankers, petty ward bosses, were hand-picked for these posts. The loyal "regular" who lost out for state assemblyman; the machine-man who failed to get a job at City Hall; the lawyer who dines with the judge, and the judge who is mindful of past favors rendered—in a word, all the corrupt and corruptible have been named to the draft boards.

As for the labor movement, it is "represented" only by a very few of the most conservative craft-union officials. And very few of these.

Organized labor everywhere, both AFL and CIO, has been quick to recognize the anti-labor character of the draft boards.

But the remedy for this evil proposed by some union officials is no solution at all. For example, the *CIO News*, Frank Martel, president of the Detroit Federation of Labor and other voices in the trade unions, say that what is needed is greater union representation upon these boards. But such a set-up, in which bosses and union officials sit and work together, sounds as phony to us as a union executive board composed of bosses and workers. As in every agency of this type, the union representatives would serve simply as a cover for the capitalist class holding the power.

And even if the draft boards were composed entirely of union men, how much good could they do for labor? They could be fair and honest, and keep discrimination down to a minimum. But they would still be sending the workers into a boss-controlled army.

The present regime in the army and navy is a mere extension of the boss regime in society and industry generally. The officers are largely drawn from the middle class and the rich. They exercise an unrestricted dictatorship over the workers-soldiers. The general staffs are reactionary cliques, tied by a thousand threads to Wall Street and Big Business. In their professional journals and public utterances, as well as in the policies advocated by the War and Navy departments, the military heads stand revealed as a virulent anti-labor force.

Moreover, they are a counter-part of the fascist-minded French military heads who deserted so quickly before the Nazi onslaught, who preferred to safeguard the property interests of the French ruling class rather than the lives of the workers and soldiers.

If Martel and other like-minded labor officials had their way, and they got on the draft boards, they could do little more than prevent a few bosses' sons from escaping the rigors of army service. But the workers have much more at stake than this. The working class is confronted with the menace of universal capitalist militarism and fascism.

The workers must have arms and military training. The real problem facing the workers is to control these arms and determine the objectives toward which they will be directed.

Only if the workers control the military machine can they successfully defend their own interests against the treacherous designs of the bourgeois "democrats" and the unreliable officer-caste.

There is only one answer to this problem. LABOR MUST SECURE FULL MILITARY TRAINING—BUT UNDER THE CONTROL OF ITS OWN UNION ORGANIZATIONS! Within the armed forces, the workers must have the power to select their own officers—trusted union men.

If military training and leadership are controlled by the trade unions, we need not be too concerned about draft boards which grant deferments to the sons of the rich. Indeed, when the workers hold the guns and control their own armed destiny, they may decide to extend to the heirs of the ruling class a permanent deferment!

The draft boards are only one part of the boss machine. The highest expression of that machine, its greatest source of power, is its control over the armed forces. It is this control that must be broken by the workers.

Mein Kampf--U.S. Style

The "Infantry Journal", authoritative and semi-official organ of United States army officers, in its issue of Sept.-Oct., 1940, page 482, publishes an article, "Propaganda Techniques", which gives the following list of six purposes of war propaganda. We quote verbatim:

"(1) Fasten the war guilt on the opposing nation. All wars, then, become defensive to those engaged in them..."

"(2) Call for unity and victory, in the name of history and the deity."

"(3) State war aims. In the last war, the Germans failed to do this successfully. The Allies made successful counter-propaganda of it. Security, peace, a better social order, repudiation of international laws, are frequently projected as war aims..."

"(4) Fortify the mind of the people, who already believe that the opposing enemy is responsible for the war, with examples of the enemy's insolence and depravity."

"(5) Make the public believe that unfavorable news is due to enemy cunning. This weapon will conquer disunity and defeatism at home..."

"(6) Follow this with horror stories. Horror stories... should have authoritative, or seemingly authoritative sources"

Then the article, written by the advertising expert, Edward J. Bernay, concludes:

"The army of the United States must make full use of this art and this science, (of propaganda), if it is to have the highest potential morale within its own forces, and the highest efficiency in attack and counter-attack on the enemy in the psychological warfare of today."

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DRAFT BOARDS ARE PACKED WITH WALL STREET STOOGES

Trade Unions Protest Against the Appointment Of Anti-Labor Men on All Local Boards

Workers Excluded From Omaha Board

OMAHA, Nebraska, Oct. 21—A check-up on the local Douglas County draft board shows it to be made up entirely of individuals who can be depended upon to be friendly to the anti-labor employers' group here.

Included among the 45 members of the nine local board divisions are eleven lawyers, ten medical big-wigs, two real estate operators, two insurance company executives, an oil company operator, a faculty member of the Presbyterian Seminary, two professional city politicians, a retired army colonel, the chairman of the Chamber of Commerce's Military Affairs Committee, and the treasurer of the Nebraska Power Company.

Not a single worker or trade unionist was appointed to the board, not even for the purpose of giving the board an "all-inclusive" impartial appearance.

Corporations Pack Draft Boards

LOS ANGELES, Oct. 16—Of 323 members named to Los Angeles County's draft boards, 178 are leading business owners, brokers, manufacturers and corporation executives. In addition, 52 members are listed as "retired"—living off investments and inheritances.

Others listed are 22 professionals, including newspaper editors, lawyers and doctors, five educators and three Boy Scout officials.

There are also 11 ranchers and big farm owners. Among these are several known for their support to the terroristic strike-breaking against California agricultural workers.

In a word, of the 323 members named, all but 36 are obvious representatives of the employing class. Of the 33 listed as workers, all but two are department store clerks, office employees, foremen, etc. One linotypist and one carpenter are listed. The only union men are three officials of local AFL craft unions. There are also 16 salesmen, largely from insurance and realty firms.

In listing the board members, however the Los Angeles News headlined its story, "L. A. county draft boards drafted from all classes!"

Bosses Fill Local St. Paul Boards

ST. PAUL, Minn., Oct. 23—Seven business proprietors, five corporation executives, four lawyers, two salesmen, two office clerks, two bookkeepers, one police official, one state officer of a veteran's organization, and a high school principal give the bosses 25 direct representatives out of a total of 33 members on the local draft boards.

Six union officials of ultra-conservative strip and two completely unknown workers fill out the remaining posts.

Two of the business owners appointed have had strikes against them recently, and one is a notorious open-shopper. An executive of the American Telephone and Telegraph Corp., and the publisher of the

Washington Post, are also on the board. The SWOC petition protesting against the government policy of awarding war orders to labor law violators, a policy approved by Hillman.

The advisory committee, apparently reluctant to come to a showdown with Hillman and the government, accepted Hillman's proposal to delay taking a stand, in order to "study" the petition. Since the rate of awarding contracts has been stepped up, the committee's agreement amounts in fact to yielding for the present to the government's policy.

After the meeting, Hillman informed the reporters that "nothing controversial" had been discussed. At the very time of the advisory committee meeting, the Defense Commission was awarding au-

thorizing an SWOC petition protesting against the government policy of awarding war orders to labor law violators, a policy approved by Hillman.

Park Avenue Socialites Appointed in New York

NEW YORK, Oct. 19—To ensure complete boss domination of the local draft boards, Mayor LaGuardia and the city draft director, Colonel McDermott, have secured from the War Department the cancellation of a World War regulation requiring draft board members to reside in the areas in which they serve.

By this device, the draft board members for the huge working class and slum districts could be chosen from the Park Avenue and Riverside Drive social registries.

The conservative N. Y. Herald Tribune today revealed the motivation for this move, stating, "At the personal insistence of Colonel McDermott and Mayor LaGuardia, the War Department cancelled a World War regulation that draft board members must live within the area in which they serve. New York City's complaint against this was that in slum areas during the World War drafts it was next to impossible to find high-type citizens to serve on the boards."

Northwest Publications, a reactionary Republican publishing firm, are on the boards.

The high school principal listed once gained eminence by banning an American Student Union speaker from his school.

Detroit Union Men Protest Appointees

DETROIT, Oct. 12—Both the AFL and CIO local central bodies have sent protests to President Roosevelt against the approval of the draft boards designated by Governor Dickinson of Michigan.

Frank Martel, president of the Detroit and Wayne County Federation of Labor, declared in a letter to Roosevelt:

"There is every evidence that a studied effort has been made to place the administration of the draft law entirely in the hands of the business and professional men of the community, thereby permitting them, through control of the machinery of its administration, to exempt and shunt their own sons into safe berths, while inducting into the active military forces the working people of this community."

Martel added: "The draft board's list for Wayne County is made up almost exclusively of lawyers, coal dealers and undertakers."

Ignoring the appeal of organized labor, however, Roosevelt has approved Dickinson's entire list of proposed draft board members.

The Detroit Labor News (AFL) in protesting the composition of the Michigan draft boards declared: "One can readily see that an employer can get rid of a union-minded employee for a year with the greatest of ease, and when one glances over the list of attorneys, undertakers and shop keepers that Governor Dickinson has suggested as draft board members, it is easy to see that these men know little or nothing of a worker's indispensability to industry or why an employer should be eagerly willing to pack one of his men off to camp."

Hillman Buries CIO Plea on War Orders

WASHINGTON, Oct. 19—The CIO was blocked yesterday in its efforts to prevent war contracts going to labor law violators when Sidney Hillman referred the issue to his advisory committee, which will not meet for another two weeks. It is expected that all war contracts will have been awarded by the time this meeting is held.

Hillman, who is head of the Labor Division of the Defense Commission, took this action at a meeting with his advisory committee, which includes Van A. Bittner, regional director of the Steel Workers Organizing Committee, Daniel Tracy, Second Assistant Secretary of Labor, and W. J. Hogan, of the Railroad Brotherhoods.

Bittner presented to the meet-

ing an SWOC petition protesting against the government policy of awarding war orders to labor law violators, a policy approved by Hillman.

The advisory committee, apparently reluctant to come to a showdown with Hillman and the government, accepted Hillman's proposal to delay taking a stand, in order to "study" the petition. Since the rate of awarding contracts has been stepped up, the committee's agreement amounts in fact to yielding for the present to the government's policy.

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Navy Did Not Let Any Union Shop Contracts!

The "Army and Navy Register", in its issue of October 12, 1940 (page 22) reports:

"The Navy Department in a report to the House on Monday said that no Navy contracts were let to firms in which the closed shop is in effect."

One sub-contractor had a closed shop but no one else.

Boat Firm Nets Large War Orders While Using Yellow Dog Contract

BAYONNE, N. J.—The Electric Boat Company, which has received millions of dollars of government orders and contracts for motor torpedo boats, enforces a violent anti-union policy among its workers. When a man is hired he is given an "employment card" consisting of the "conditions of employment." It provides:

"(b) No solicitation for membership or any other activity in behalf of any labor organization during working hours (except meetings with the management)."

The "any other activity" means that if the workers spoke to each

other about a union that would constitute an "activity."

The management itself goes in for lots of activity for the "Election Employees Association," a typical company union.

Another section, (f), says: "No interference with and no attempt to reduce the output of or intimidate or coerce any employee."

Any worker knows what this means. It is just another way of saying: anything a worker does or says to his fellow worker about the plant's labor policies will be defined as intimidation.

FOR
TRADE UNION CONTROL
OF MILITARY TRAINING

Cromwell Is Anti-Labor, Says L. N. P. L.

Which Is One More Good Reason To Vote for Breitman

NEWARK, N. J.—"Cromwell (Democratic candidate for U. S. Senate) must be defeated if labor is to remain a respected part of the community of our state," said Labor's Non-Partisan League in a statement this week.

"He is thoroughly opposed to collective action on the part of labor, and to collective bargaining between labor and management."

"He would shoulder the entire expense of the Federal Government upon the backs of the wage earners, through a universal sales tax on everything the worker buys."

"He is opposed to Unemployment Insurance...would suspend and reduce old age pensions...is opposed to Federal and State Child Labor legislation...would abolish the National Labor Relations Act..."

"Cromwell has been expressing these sentiments for more than ten years. Appearing before the Bankers Club in New York he reaffirmed his opposition to Social Security legislation and the National Labor Relations Act, as late as this past spring. Mr. Cromwell cannot, as he is attempting to do now, repudiate the past ten years for the brief period of two months before the elections."

Vote for Breitman

"Which means," said Daniel Mayes, Socialist Workers Party campaign manager, "that there is no real choice for labor between Cromwell and the Republican, Barbour."

"Barbour also favors the adoption of governmental policies designed to encourage rather than punish business."

"He too favors slashing relief, only his formula is giving the states greater autonomy in administration."

"Labor can express its opposition to these policies by voting for George Breitman for U. S. Senator on Nov. 5."

Many Homeless Turn Up For Draft Register

NEWARK, N. J., Oct. 18.—The draft registration last week brought to light 10,000 to 12,000 men comprising a "floating unknown population in Newark," said County Clerk Gates (Republican) at a meeting today.

"Those boys seemed to come up out of cellars, out of gutters, out of ash cans, from everywhere. The election board workers had never seen them before. Nobody had ever seen them, heard of them, or knew anything about them. But they came to register. They didn't want to get caught without one of those little cards."

Their appearance threw the estimates of registration supply needs askew. "We had to pour a steady stream of additional cards into the Third Ward," he said. The Third Ward is the section heavily populated by Negro workers.

Nobody knows these workers; nobody hears of them; they don't even have homes. Nobody cares about them in peace time. But now they are being called on to protect "their homes and interests."

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.

EDITOR:

We workers in the dye shops here in Paterson are just waking up to the royal trimming we have received at the hands of Sidney Hillman and Co.

When our last contract expired we were confronted with a demand of the bosses for the elimination from the contract of the clause limiting the work load.

The workers here suffered a lot of broken heads in 1933 and 1934 successfully striking for that clause. Without it, the bosses could put us on a stretch-out, eliminate a lot of workers and sweat us until our tongues hang out.

To our surprise, when the question of the contract came up, our own officers put the heat on us, the international officers pounded us, and the men were driven into a bargain with the bosses that a year ago no one would have had the nerve even to mention in the union.

Joseph Knapik, one of our own local boys who made "good" and became president of the Dyers Federation of America with which Local 1733 is affiliated, did a good bit of the dirty work.

Behind the scenes lurked Hillman himself, dragging into line the local officers.

What surprised us was that the drive against us was more vicious than even forcing us into line behind a phoney contract seemed to require. It had all the earmarks of an attempt to crush the local completely.

Every form of threat and intimidation was used by Hillman's stooges, not merely to gain acceptance of this new contract, but with the seeming intent of destroying every vestige of our union morale. They threatened to pull our charter, warned us in advance we would receive no strike funds if we insisted on fighting for the old terms, frightened us with a threat of permitting the bosses to move into other towns without interference by our sister locals. Twice in huge mass meetings we tore up these proposals. But two days before the expiration of the contract, a Hillman over a month ago, the Hillman machine packed a third meeting with every sort of illegal vote

and jammed the new contract down our throats.

But we are beginning to understand what was behind this whole sell-out and why Hillman personally intervened in what is really a secondary labor dispute in a secondary industry.

Local 1733 has been the militant back-bone of the whole labor movement in this area. It was formed from a fighting spontaneous walk-out of the dyers in 1933, the first to protest against the low wage standards fixed under the N.R.A.

It was necessary to smother us at all costs, not because of our own demands on the bosses, but because it was feared that we would plant the seeds in a more fertile spot—the national defense industries.

Our fighting example had begun to "contaminate" the huge Wright Aeronautical Corporation plant here, employing 15,000 workers, and now the chief industry in Paterson. Encouraged by our stand against the bosses, the workers in this key plant were beginning to organize. The bosses became panic-stricken. The open-shop condition at the Wright plant is the driest sort of fuel to catch fire from any struggle in this area.

That's why Hillman moved to smash us! That's why we have been robbed of the conditions which we won in seven years of bloody battles! That's why our great local has been wrecked and demoralized!

I hope your paper will tell this story. I hope you will help me and my union brothers to spread the truth about this outrage. Tell them we have been betrayed, BUT WE ARE NOT LICKED! We can still re-organize our ranks. We can still draw on the memory and traditions and fighting courage of our past to rebuild on stronger foundations than ever. We will yet win back our conditions, yes, and organize the Wright workers and every other plant in this town. It is necessary only that every worker know what has happened. Then Hillman and all his dirty kind, all the bosses and their government will not stop us. Paterson, New Jersey E. R.

Penn. Joads Are Victorious In "Blitz-Strike"

MORRISVILLE, Pa.—Led by a group of youth ranging in age from 16 to 22, a "blitz-strike" of several hundred Pennsylvania Joads employed on the vast Starkey Farms near here, won them a complete victory in 48 hours.

As a result of the workers' action wages were increased 25 percent and more. Though the new wages range only from 25-30 cents an hour, that represents a great gain for a group of workers who have been accustomed to 17-21 cent rates and 80 to 90 hour weeks.

Only a few had been in on the plans or had advance warning, but not a single worker scabbed, as the strike caught the Starkey Farms Co. by surprise in the midst of a rush to get vegetables picked for the metropolitan markets. Jubilant over their success the farm laborers, many of whom are children as young as ten years of age, are going about setting up a permanent organization to protect their gains.

LARRY MURPHY

Larry Murphy, 21, militant fighter in the Federal Workers Section of General Drivers Local 544 of Minneapolis, died last week as a result of injuries in an automobile accident near Delano, Minn.

Larry, seriously injured, was refused admission to a hospital for more than eight hours while officials argued over which hospital had to take him. The injured boy had joined the State Militia a month ago, but he was refused admission to the Veterans Hospital on the grounds that the Militia had not yet become part of the regular army. He was also refused admission to the county hospital, and only after many hours he was finally admitted to Minneapolis General Hospital. After the long delay, it was too late to save his life.

Although only 21, Larry had taken his place in our ranks in the fight against oppression. Minneapolis workers will long remember how bravely he fought in the 1939 WPA strike. Our last greetings to a fallen comrade.

SWP Candidate On Minneapolis Radio

Funds for 3 Radio Programs Provided By Friends

MINNEAPOLIS, Oct. 21.—The Socialist Workers Party of Minnesota's candidate for United States Senator, Dr. Grace Carlson, will speak over Radio Station WLOL on Monday evenings October 21, October 28 and November 4 at 10:00 P.M.

The many contributions which have come in to the campaign headquarters from comrades and sympathizers, eager to have the party's program reach the people of Minnesota, have made the purchase of this radio time possible.

Along with senatorial and congressional candidates of other political parties, Comrade Carlson addressed a meeting of the Saturday Lunch Club on October 19. She emphasized the fact that WAR is the central issue of the election campaign and that the ability of the candidates to meet the problems posed by the War is the basic measure of their fitness for the leadership of the workers and farmers.

Our Military Policy

Contrasting the proletarian military policy of the Socialist Workers Party with the pacifist policy of the Communist Party and other so-called anti-war groups, Comrade Carlson created a sensation when she insisted that serious workers take advantage of the compulsory military training program in order to prepare to take over the power from the capitalist war-makers. To a Citizen's Alliance member who charged that this policy was vicious and inhuman, she retorted:

"When the truck drivers of Minneapolis asked for only 42½¢ an hour, the Minneapolis bosses did not hesitate to use vicious and inhuman action against them. The workers of the country must be prepared with military training and equipment so as to beat back the attacks of the capitalists when the workers decide that the time has come for them to take over the control of all the factories."

A number of meetings and campaign rallies have been scheduled for the last two weeks of the campaign. On Nov. 1 an Election Rally will be held in St. Paul, at the Odd Fellows Hall at which Dr. Carlson will speak; on Nov. 3d, she will speak at an election rally in Duluth.

Food Store Men Strike Chains In Four States

20,000 Butchers and Clerks Have Closed Down Their Shops

TRENTON, N. J., Oct. 18.—Over 20,000 workers employed in 1100 stores of the great A & P chain the American Stores, and the Food Fair chain are out on strike in a four-state area composed of Pennsylvania, Southern New Jersey, Delaware, and Maryland.

The strike was initiated by the Butchers Union (AFL) and it has received the full support of the Retail Clerks Union, Teamsters Union, and the Philadelphia Central Labor Union, all of the AFL. The cooperation of these unions has caused the strike to be 100% successful with all the stores involved shut-down tighter than a drum.

John Kelly, local strike leader, of the Retail Clerks Union, has announced that his international union would call for a general nation-wide strike, if necessary, to back up the demands of the workers in the four-state area.

The Butchers Union, seeking a new contract to replace one which expired Oct. 1, is asking a reduction in working hours from 51 to 48 a week. Wage increases for managers of "one-man" stores are also being sought, along with two weeks vacation with pay, instead of one.

The companies have countered the union demands with insistence that hours be increased from 51 to 53.

In NEWARK, N. J. buy the APPEAL at: Newsstand, Broad & Wm. Sts. Cohen's Confectionery, 11 SPRINGFIELD AVE near Court House. or write for delivery to S.W.P. P. O. B. 352, Newark, N. J.

United Front to Defend C.P. in Calif. Is Asked

Socialist Workers Party Offers Aid In Fighting Ban

LOS ANGELES—A letter has been sent to over 250 rank and file Stalinists here by the local branch of the Socialist Workers Party, appealing to them to put pressure on their leadership to undertake a united front action with the SWP to secure the repeal of the ban against the Communist Party on the California ballot.

This action was taken after the Stalinist leadership had ignored two previous appeals for a united front and had concealed them from their membership.

The SWP letter urged the Stalinist workers to continue the struggle against the attempts of the California boss class to deprive them, as workers, of their political rights, and described the ban as merely the beginning of a wave of persecution against the entire labor movement in preparation for war-time suppressions.

"There is but one way to oppose this persecution—the United Front of all forces in the labor movement," stated the letter. "No matter what political differences there exist between us, a United Front can be made on this specific issue. All workers would be tremendously inspired and encouraged by the organization of United Front committees to combat raids on political freedom. This is the purpose of the offer of the Socialist Workers Party. The United Front is the classic method of working class organizations with different programs to meet a common danger."

The letter further adds, "With the refusal of the leadership of the C. P. to make public our offer; with their refusal to reply to our communications; with their contemptuous disregard of the right of the rank and file, who as far as we know are kept in ignorance of our offer and not consulted in this matter, we have one recourse—to make our offer public to the members and sympathizers of the Communist Party in the hope that they can bring pressure to bear within their own organization so that a necessary unity of forces can be established in opposition to our capitalist oppressors."

Join the Socialist Workers Party

TROTSKY MEMORIAL FUND

The total pledged to the Trotsky Memorial Fund rose this week to \$3,345, with the following branches still to be heard from: Allentown, New Haven, Omaha, Quakertown, Rochester, St. Louis and Texas. Upward revision of branch pledges is still on the agenda in several places.

The first payments on pledges came in this week, amounting to \$312. That's a good start, but it will have to be equalled every week to fulfill the pledges by the end of the year. Here's the scoreboard:

	Quota	Amount Paid	% Paid
Rockville	\$ 5.00	\$ 5.00	100%
Lynn	100.00	75.00	75%
Chicago and Ind. Harbor	150.00	65.07	43%
San Francisco	100.00	35.00	35%
Toledo	50.00	15.00	30%
Boston	100.00	27.00	27%
Newark	150.00	40.00	27%
Flint	150.00	25.00	17%
Detroit	200.00	25.00	13%
Akron	10.00	00.00	00
Baltimore	10.00	00.00	00
Cleveland	70.00	00.00	00
Los Angeles	150.00	00.00	00
Milwaukee	5.00	00.00	00
Minneapolis and St. Paul	1000.00	00.00	00
New York	1000.00	00.00	00
Philadelphia	30.00	00.00	00
Portland	10.00	00.00	00
Reading	5.00	00.00	00
Youngstown	50.00	00.00	00
TOTAL	\$3345.00	\$312.07	9%

Fire Prevention Teachers Made Quite A Bonfire!

JERSEY CITY, N. J.—Mayor Hague, the Jersey City Hitler, recently did his bit for Fire Prevention Week by sending his lieutenants around to every local factory to advise the workers to be on the look-out for "fifth columnists" who might try to start fires. It might have been more suitable to have delivered these "Fire Prevention" lectures before Hague's henchmen had made bonfires of the evidence which a senatorial committee was seeking for its probe of election frauds in Hudson County and elsewhere in New Jersey.

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MARXIST SCHOOL

Lectures for the Coming Week
How Hegel Revolutionized Logic
Monday 7:10 to 8:40
Lecturer: William F. Warde
Trotsky's Theory of the Russian Revolution
Monday 8:50 to 10:20
Lecturer: Felix Morrow
The Materialist Conception of History
Tuesday 7:10 to 8:40
Lecturer: Murry Weiss
Trade Union Leadership
Tuesday 8:50 to 10:20
Lecturer: Farrell Dobbs
To be held at IRVING PLAZA
Irving Place and 15th St.
New York City
Subscribe to the "Fourth International"

James P. Cannon's Summary Speech on Military Policy

(The following is an excerpt from the speech by Comrade James P. Cannon, National Secretary of the Socialist Workers Party, summarizing the discussion on Military Policy at the Sept. 27-29 Plenum-Conference of the Party at Chicago.)

In summary, I will take up the questions in reverse order of their importance. The Stalinist question is a question of tactics and is by far secondary to the main problem of our military policy. Nevertheless, it has considerable importance. The discussion has shown one thing clearly, that there is in our ranks today very little misunderstanding of the fundamental aspects of the question of Stalinism. That is far different from the situation a year ago.

It is important to remember in this connection that our fight with the petty bourgeois ideologist, Burnham, began over the question of the characterization of the Stalinists. It will be recalled that almost two years ago, at the time of the auto crisis, the first real clash with Burnham and his satellites was precipitated by their attitude toward the split in the auto union. Despite the fact that the great mass of the auto workers were going with the CIO—and thereby at that time with the Stalinists—Burnham wanted to divert our support to Martin, even in the direction of the AFL, on the theory that the Stalinists were not really a part of the labor movement.

The thing came to a head again over the invasion of Poland when Burnham wanted the party to take an outright stand against the Red Army on the theory that the Soviet Union is "imperialist." The issue grew sharper with the Finnish invasion. Then, when Browder was indicted by the government on an obviously trumped-up passport charge, Burnham opposed any defense of Browder on the ground that he did not represent any legitimate labor tendency. He overlooked the fact that as an agent of the Soviet bureaucracy, Browder indirectly represented the biggest labor organization in the world, that of the Soviet State.

Burnham in this case was fundamentally motivated by the pressure of democratic imperialism in the United States. The Stalinists were for the moment at loggerheads with the Roosevelt administration, and the "intransigence" of the Burnham faction against the Stalinists simply represented a cheap and easy form of adaptation to the clamor of the bourgeois democrats. Their opinions were shaped against any kind of recognition of the C. P. as a tendency in the labor movement. We haven't heard such an expression here today from anybody.

UNITED FRONTS WITH THE C. P.

Comrade Morton gave us a speech here today which was very informative about his experiences in the CIO union of Electrical and Radio Workers. He said something that we must heed—that the Stalinist rank and file in this union do not distinguish between us and the red baiters, that they tend to regard us as a part of the general reaction. If that is true, we must take heed and correct such an impression.

First of all in the press. Our press must have a more precise line, a line that cannot be misunderstood. On each and every important occasion it must be made clear to the readers of our

press that, while we are irreconcilably hostile to Stalinism—more now than ever before—we recognize that it does represent a current in the international labor movement, and as such we defend it against the attacks of the red baiters. Our press is our most important medium of clarification. But the press campaign must be reinforced by united front proposals to the Stalinists on suitable occasions which provide us the possibility of approaching the Stalinist workers and advancing the revolutionary cause.

Of course we must not forget that the present line of the Stalinists is only a year old. I will be very much surprised if it has another year to last. It was the opinion of Comrade Trotsky that Moscow is already turning in the direction of the Allies, and particularly in the direction of the U. S. The Soviet Union is caught in a vise between Japan on the one hand and Nazi Germany on the other. If the Axis powers suffer military reverses, if American imperialism moves more aggressively against them, Stalin is very apt to shift over into the orbit of democratic imperialism led by the U. S. You can be sure, in this event, that the line of the Stalinists in this country will very soon change accordingly.

Such a prospect does not speak against approaching the Stalinists with united front proposals on the basis of their present line. The more deeply we penetrate their ranks on a united front basis in connection with their pseudo-radical policy, the better possibility we will have to influence the workers against the swing back to bourgeois democracy and the Popular Front ballyhoo when the bureaucrats make the switch. Such an over-night reversal of policy will inevitably provoke a crisis in the C. P. We should strive to be in a good position to influence the revolting elements—and this time they will be the best, not the worst—in a revolutionary direction. Everything speaks in favor of a serious, carefully worked out, realistic and practical united front policy. It is obligatory that we devote a properly proportioned amount of our time and energy to the Stalinists.

UNITED FRONT IS NO PANACEA

But let us not go crazy over this issue. One could notice a slight tendency in the discussion to overemphasize this secondary tactical question at the expense of our main business, that of orienting the Party for a military policy which has nothing in common with the policy of the C. P. We must not begin to dance around this question like jitterbugs. We must not paint up the C. P. and make it appear to be something different than it is. We should correct our one-sided policy of the past, but not over-correct it. There is a danger of our making a sort of panacea of united fronts with the C. P.

I got a little bit scared today when I heard some of the speeches. I had a horrific vision of the Party pacing back and forth and around in circles and so preoccupied with C. P. united fronts that we would not have anything else to do. Whiskey looks like tea but cannot be consumed so freely without bad effects. This business of united fronting with the C. P. is also a strong medicine. We must condition ourselves to the self-control of the man who can "take it or leave it alone." Don't forget that

Stalinism is an agency of imperialism no less than the bureaucracy of Green and Lewis. It is only another variety. Like the traitors of traditional reformism, the Stalinist bureaucracy also tries to defend its own interests against the imperialists. It is this contradiction in each case which opens the way for the united front tactic. But never forget that the main blows of Stalinism are directed against the international working class.

Some comrades raised the question a little falsely, I think, today. They asked: "Who represents the main danger right now? What is the main danger? Is it represented by the out and out patriots of the Green and Hillman type? or is it the C. P.?" And they came to the conclusion that it is the jingoes, not the C. P. That only shows that the C. P. is an even greater danger than we realize; its duplicity creates a little confusion even in our ranks. Stalinism is the greatest danger to the international revolutionary movement precisely because the Stalinists discredit the great Russian Revolution and sow confusion and demoralization in the ranks of the proletarian vanguard which had rejected traditional reformism. A momentary diplomatic maneuver of Stalin—inspired by treachery—must not create the impression in our ranks that perhaps the C. P. is not as great a danger today as it was yesterday. Stalinism is treacherous to the core. It is the main obstacle in the path of the proletarian revolution. Our attitude towards Stalinism is that of irreconcilable war. We can conceive of the united front only in the sense of a flank attack against our most perfidious enemy.

FIVE POINTS ON THE C. P.

The crux of the Stalinism question can be summarized under these five points:

FIRST, where is the main reservoir of future recruiting for the revolutionary party in this country? Is it in the ranks of the C. P.? Or, is it in the ranks of the half awakened working class in this country that has not been defeated and that has not been corrupted? We consider it self-evident that the main reservoir for recruiting is in the ranks of these non-Stalinist workers. It is only incidental recruiting that can be expected out of the Stalinist party. This is also an important source, but it is not the most important. Every move we make in regard to Stalinism has to be weighed by the criterion whether it will help or harm our possibility of recruiting in the ranks of the young, uneducated but militant proletariat.

SECOND, we have to be more careful, more precise and more militant in distinguishing our criticism of Stalinism from the attacks of the red-baiting jingoes. We must begin in earnest to emphasize this difference in our press. We have to clarify the whole problem for our membership, for our readers, for the Stalinist workers who sometimes read our press. We must make it clear on every occasion, sharply and categorically, that we have nothing in common with red-baiting attacks on the Stalinists by the capitalist newspapers, the old style labor skates and the social democrats.

THE THIRD POINT: Our chief problem in the political field is neither blocs with the Stalinists against the progressive jingoes

nor blocs with the progressive jingoes against the Stalinists on incidental day to day problems in the unions. Our main problem is to bring forward and develop more clearly and precisely the independent line of the revolutionary party.

THE FOURTH POINT: In the course of development, we will look for and take advantage of suitable and practical opportunities for united front actions directed toward the C. P. workers. But this must not become the dominant side of our activity with regard to them. We will write 99 attacks against the perfidies of the C. P. to one move that we will make in the direction of the united front with them. And even at the moment of approaching them for a united front, we will never relax for a moment, nor allow any worker to get an idea for a moment, that this tactic signifies any kind of reconciliation, or any softening of our attitude towards the treacherous murder machine of Stalinism.

THE FIFTH POINT: I am not as optimistic as some comrades about the number and quality of the recruits we will get from the C. P. There are some members in our organization—quite a few—who came to us from the Stalinists in recent times and who have developed into good revolutionists. We've also had the experience of recruiting Stalinists more than once, more than ten times, who tried to become revolutionists, but who had become so demoralized, and to some extent so corrupted, by the C. P. that they were not assimilable. One of the greatest curses of Stalinism is the enormous demoralization, disorientation, and corruption of the minds of the advanced militant workers it has brought about.

THE MAIN QUESTION: MILITARY POLICY

Now I come to the decisive and basic question with which our party occupies itself, the question of military policy. During the discussion some comrades have asked: Was our old line wrong? Does the resolution represent a completely new departure and a reversal of the policy of the past? It is not quite correct to say that the old line was wrong. It was a program devised for the fight against war in time of peace. Our fight against war under conditions of peace was correct as far as it went. But it was not adequate. It must be extended. The old principles, which remain unchanged, must be applied concretely to the new conditions of permanent war and universal militarism. We didn't visualize, nobody visualized, a world situation in which whole countries would be conquered by fascist armies. The workers don't want to be conquered by foreign invaders, above all by fascists. They require a program of military struggle against foreign invaders which assures their class independence. That is the gist of the problem.

Many times in the past we were put at a certain disadvantage; the demagoguery of the Social Democrats against us was effective to a certain extent. They said, "You have no answer to the question of how to fight against Hitler, how to prevent Hitler from conquering France, Belgium, etc." (Of course their program was very simple—the suspension of the class struggle and complete subor-

(Continued on page 3)

The Negro Struggle

By ALBERT PARKER

Recently, Roscoe Dunjee, editor of *The Black Dispatch*, made the keynote address before the National Colored Democratic Association, in the course of which he said the following:

"I want to insist here and now that as American citizens we demand the right to be integrated into every branch of the American Army. Recently I appeared before the resolutions committee of the Oklahoma Democratic State Convention . . .

"When I did get an opportunity to talk I told that committee about the obvious discrimination in the American Army. I told them how Pat Hurely, from my state, when Secretary of War under Herber Hoover, had practically demobilized all of the Negro combat troops of the Army. I told them that at Fort Sill, in my state, and at Fort Riley in Kansas, Negroes were nothing more than manure handlers. I told them that if Hitler was going to come over here, Negroes wanted to be armed with something else other than a mop and a broom.

"The Republican Party under Herbert Hoover struck at the Negro's right to fight for this country and we want to ask our party convention this year to put a gun in the black man's hands. We want the right to fight in the Army, Navy, the air, and the National Guard."

Dunjee correctly puts part of the blame for the Jim Crow conditions in the armed forces on the Republicans, who today are promising the Negroes everything they can think of, that may possibly win them a vote.

But how he prostitutes himself when he pretends that the Democrats are any better in this respect! Assume for a minute that the Republicans were solely responsible for these conditions. The Democrats have had eight years now to correct them, haven't they?

Talking about that reminds us about the committee of Frank Crosswaith, William Pickens and Alfred Baker Lewis, who signed that rotten article, "Colored Americans Have a Stake In The War," issued as war propaganda by the Committee to Defend America By Aiding the Allies.

We'll discuss that article again in future weeks. Here we'll limit ourselves to George Schuyler's comment on it in the *Pittsburgh Courier* of Oct. 12: "They speak of the Hitler menace to freedom of speech, press and assembly, forgetting all about Georgia, Louisiana and Alabama. They say the NAACP would be illegal under Hitler, forgetting how dangerous is membership therein in the Deep South outside of a few cities, one member having recently been lynched outside of Brownsville, Tenn.

"Ironically enough, in proof of the fact that British imperialism 'is softening,' they boast that in Jamaica, Bustamente, a prominent Negro trade unionist and radical, has had freedom to organize and agitate even under British imperialism. In Germany or Italy, Bustamente would have been put in a concentration camp or perhaps executed."

"Here's the laugh on that. . . Last week several Negro newspapers announced that Bustamente HAS been thrown into a concentration camp."

Natalia Trotsky Answers A Foul Slander

(Natalia Sedoff Trotsky, widow of Leon Trotsky, has sent the following letter to J. R. Johnson, who wrote an article about Trotsky constituting the bulk of the September issue of the "New Internationalist", a magazine published by the petty-bourgeois revisionists led by Max Schachtman.)

My Dear Comrade Johnson:

Permit me to give you some facts pertaining to that part of your article in the September issue of the *New Internationalist* where you proceed to "analyze" with such impermissible haste and such utter irresponsibility the causes underlying the tragedy that befell us at 5:30 P. M. on August 20, 1940; and where you also presume in this connection to elucidate, without first ascertaining the facts, certain traits in the character of the man who fell victim to the assassin. This light-minded carelessness and disrespect on your part toward the victim force me to make the following declaration:

Our first meeting with Sylvia Ageloff's husband, "Jackson," took place on May 28, 9 o'clock in the morning, and not in March as you so freely assert. Of these 83 days of "our acquaintance," Sylvia Ageloff's husband spent some 27 to 30 days outside of Mexico. In the course of the remaining 50 to 53 days he paid us "all told 7 to 8 visits. He was received by us first and foremost as the husband of Sylvia Ageloff, who in our eyes was completely trustworthy. On every one of his visits, he was received (1) by both of us—L.D. and myself; (2) on each occasion it was in the patio; (3) each time it was when the animals were fed, that is, (4) during L.D.'s rest period; and (5) each visit took place in passing and was very brief, from 7 to 10 minutes, not more, except for the last two visits.

TRIVIAL PRETEXTS

The topic brought up for discussion during these visits by "Jackson" was his "patron," the latter's "business genius" and how it "baffled the imagination" of his employee, his "fantastic successes in speculation" and so forth and so on, all of like nature. L. D. listened, forcing himself from time to time to make some casual remark, out of politeness. I used to wonder why he talked to us so insistently each time about his "boss" and the latter's shady machinations inasmuch as the R's were precisely worried by the fact that with them "Jackson" was persistently uncommunicative, despite his garrulousness, about the



An unposed photograph of Natalia Sedov Trotsky, taken before the assassination of Trotsky.

affairs of his "boss." Later I understood the reason for this. Ask Sylvia Ageloff; perhaps she too now realizes what was involved. Sylvia Ageloff was not her husband's conscious accomplice, but unconsciously she undoubtedly aided him.

He used to visit us on the most insignificant pretexts: To tell us that his boss was liquidating his affairs and that they were leaving . . . or that, since he was going away, he should like to leave his automobile with us for two weeks until his return . . . or that he came to bring me a box of candy from Sylvia Ageloff which he had forgotten to bring before . . . or that his wife, Sylvia had arrived . . . and finally with a request that we set the time and the day when his wife could visit us . . .

ASSASSIN'S STRATEGY

All this you do not understand, comrade Johnson. As you imagine it, the political assassin had to engage his victim in preliminary and lengthy political discussion for a period of six months. You are mistaken—had he done so, he could have hardly achieved his aim. No, "Jackson" was much more clever than you; he understood that political discussions could only disrupt his plan of murder. He had to familiarize himself with our general habits, incorporate them in the very marrow of his bones, adapt himself to them, take into account each minute detail, check and re-check over and over again—that was his task. That is why he began in the last period to visit us more and more often, always at the same hour—during L.D.'s rest period—and always made his visits brief. In this was his strategy, and not in factional political discussion.

L.D. was not at all inclined to sacrifice his rest period for "Jackson." It was very well known that for a serious discussion the day and the hour had to be arranged with L.D. in advance. "Jackson" never asked for this. He always arrived without prior notice, always at the same hour. The one and only political discussion which did take place occurred—

and I invited them into the dining room for tea.

ABOUT TO LEAVE MEXICO

This was the first and the last occasion on which a political conversation took place. Sylvia Ageloff defended the position of the Minority heatedly and excitedly. L.D. answered her calmly and in a friendly way. Her husband interjected a few not very astute and jocular comments. All this did not take more than 15 minutes. L.D. excused himself; he had to do his chores, feed the animals. All of us got up. The "Jacksons" bade us farewell, and hurried away, stating, as usual, that they had some urgent business. We did not detain them, not even out of politeness. We knew that these "visits" were about to be terminated, since "Jackson" was leaving Mexico . . . if not today, then tomorrow, and mentally we said to ourselves, "Let him go, the sooner, the better." Not because we had begun to suspect him as an agent of the GPU—unfortunately not—but because in the long run we did not know what to do with this husband of Sylvia Ageloff.

THE PROJECTED ARTICLE

This visit before the last one differed from the others in this, that "Jackson" suddenly proposed that L.D. look over his draft of a projected article. And this time—for the first time—he was admitted into L.D.'s study. L.D. referred negatively to the draft: "Very muddled . . . only a few phrases . . ." and without wishing to dwell on it, he added, "I offered a few suggestions, we shall see . . ." I understood that this time L.D. had seen another side of "Jackson." He was somewhat surprised by "Jackson's" conduct while in the study, but I shall speak of this at greater length elsewhere. During this same visit he talked to L.D. about French statistics which he claimed to know. The conversation lasted 10 minutes at the most. In connection with French statistics, L.D. mentioned to Joe Hansen that our New York organization could perhaps make use of his knowledge in this field.

"For six months," you say, comrade Johnson, "he discussed politics with the greatest living master of politics and Trotsky never detected a false note . . ." because Trotsky was blinded factually. This is a lie. Why didn't you ascertain the facts, if only by asking his wife, Sylvia Ageloff? It is an insufferable shame to place a lie at the very threshold of what happened. It is insufferable to read this shameful lie. You have been so carried away by your factionalism that you have lost your moral equilibrium and this is a dangerous symptom both for a revolutionist and the party to which he belongs.

NATALIA SEDOV TROTSKY
October 17, 1940
Coyoacan, Mexico

Leader of May 24 Attack On Trotsky Admits Close C. P. Connections

MEXICO CITY—David Alfaro Siqueiros, the Stalinist who led the machine-gun band which assaulted Trotsky's house and murdered Trotsky's secretary, Robert Sheldon Harte, was indicted Oct. 12, after having been brought face to face with his accomplices, who confirmed their earlier testimony which first incriminated him.

The most important testimony was that of Alvarez Lopez and Sanchez Hernandez Lopez, one of the chauffeurs for the machine-gun band, states that Siqueiros' own car, a large La Salle, was used in the attack, that the machine guns, revolvers and bombs were transported to the scene in this car.

Hernandez confirms Lopez' declarations, and that Siqueiros himself entered the house.

Ana Lopez Chavez states that she was engaged and paid by Siqueiros to spy on the movements of members of the Trotsky house. She was paid five and later ten pesos a day for this work. At first she made her reports to Siqueiros, later to Antonio Pujol, a present a fugitive from justice, and to an individual named Pedro. She says that Pedro told her that "the money is provided by the Communist Party."

Admits C. P. Ties

Siqueiros states that he was a member of the Communist Party from 1922 to 1929 and a member of its National Committee for the last six years; in 1929 he was expelled for "disciplinary reasons and for differences of procedure." He admits that since then: "The Communist Party has me as a sympathizer of confidence; as a man incapable of following a fundamentally contrary political line. For this reason I have been admitted and taken part with a voice in many of its private or public meetings."

Negro Labor Head Jailed By Britain

News has finally reached this country of the arrest of the well known labor leader, Alexander Bustamente, in Jamaica, British West Indies on Sept. 9.

The English governor of the island ordered him seized and placed in a concentration camp for the duration of the war on the charge of "breach of defense regulations" through his speeches and writings in wartime.

When war broke out, Bustamente declared his loyalty to British imperialism. This was all right with the British. But Bustamente also continued his efforts to keep the workers organized and his fight for better conditions. The British overlords of the island didn't like this. And so he has been sent to a concentration camp.

Bustamente won international prominence as the leader of the strike struggles of 1938 in which many workers were massacred when they protested against low wages, averaging 25c a day, and horrible working conditions.

Since Bustamente's arrest, a number of other people have been seized on the same charge for daring to organize a protest demonstration against his arrest.

Protests should be sent to the British embassy in Washington, demanding the immediate release of all those arrested.

Some More Southern Chivalry

A recent WPA ruling, according to the N. Y. *Amsterdam News*, states that "Negro women must work out-of-doors with shovels and wheel barrows or quit."

The ruling, reassigning colored women to hard outside labor at \$11.10 a week and telling them they can quit if they don't like it, was brought to light following a protest of the Charlotte (N.Y.) Labor League, affiliate of Labor's Non Partisan League.

"Common labor for Negro women, light work for white women, has no place in 1940. Such conditions are like slavery days. Organized labor must fight such violations of Negro rights. Women should not be forced to do the work of strong men. We demand decent conditions on WPA for all workers regardless of color, creed or political belief. This shameful condition is a disgrace to Charlotte."

And it is "Southern chivalry" that so often does its lynching in the name of "protecting our fair womanhood"!

UNDERSTATEMENT OF THE WEEK

It is announced that those who enlist will have the first choice of the new opportunities for specialization that will arise. But, the article warns, "remember that the services are not organized to suit your convenience."

Our Military Policy--James P. Cannon's Summary

(Continued from page 2)

dination of the workers to the bourgeoisie. We have seen the results of this treacherous policy. Well, we answered in a general way, the workers will first overthrow the bourgeoisie at home and then they will take care of invaders. That was a good program, but the workers did not make the revolution in time. Now the two tasks must be telescoped and carried out simultaneously.

The main thing is that we must operate not under the old conditions of peace, but under the new conditions of universal militarism and war. We cannot avoid the new circumstances; we must adapt our tactics to them. In times of strike, we urge the workers to stay out of a plant. But when the majority decides to go back, we have to go back with them and accept with them, for the time being, the exploitation of the bosses. Sometimes the defeat of a strike goes so far as not only to smash a legitimate union but to drive the workers into the bosses' company union. We are against company unions; but if the workers are driven into them we go along and try to work there in the interests of the proletariat. Analogous tactics must be applied also in questions of war and militarism.

We had a great Marxist for a teacher, and a part of his genius was his never failing application of Marxist tactics. He always took the existing situation, in its totality, as the point of departure. The Bolsheviks set out in 1917 to overthrow the whole capitalist world. They did overthrow the Russian bourgeoisie, but the other countries remained under the domination of the international capitalist class. So, at a certain point, the Bolsheviks drew the balance and said: "Here is the situation as it exists in reality. We cannot overthrow the other imperialist bandits at present. The workers are not yet ready. Therefore, let us open trade relations with the imperialist countries, gain a little breathing space and overthrow them tomorrow." Comrade Trotsky was prompted to elaborate and extend our tactics by the new situation in the world. A party which fails to adapt itself to this situation, to existing war, can play no role whatsoever.

WE ARE PROLETARIAN MILITARISTS

One comrade here tried to justify a policy of anti-militarism. His remarks were, to my opinion, a reminiscence of departed days. Anti-militarism was all right when we were fighting against war in times of peace. But here you have a new situation of universal militarism. It is obvious that all over the world, everything is going to be settled not by mass meetings, not by petitions, not by strikes, not even by mass demonstrations in the streets. Everything is going to be settled by military means, with arms in hand. So, can we now be anti-militarists? By no means! Just the contrary. We must say: "All right, the situation, not of our making, is that military force decides. There is only one thing left for the workers to do. That is to learn how to be good fighters with modern weapons." So we anti-militarists of yesterday become positive militarists today. The comrade who tries to represent our position today as still anti-militarist is, in my opinion, decidedly wrong.

I raised this question in our conversations with comrade Trotsky. After he had elaborated his ideas, I put the question

to him and asked him to make his answer as sharp and categorical as possible. I asked: "Can we call ourselves militarists?" And he said, "Yes. It might not be tactically advisable to begin with such a proclamation, but if the pacifists accuse you of it, if you are accused of being a militarist, you take the platform and say, 'Yes, I am a proletarian revolutionary militarist.'" This doesn't contradict the somewhat different attitude we took in somewhat different times—when the possibility of preventing war by revolution could not be excluded.

Was the fight of the social-pacifist elements against conscription right in this last period? No, it was not right. It overlooked realities and sowed illusions. The workers were for conscription. The conscription bill was carried without any serious opposition whatsoever. The fight as we conducted it, for workers' control, was 100% correct. We are positively for conscription, but we do not want conscription of the workers by the bosses. We want conscription of the workers by a workers' organization. If some horrified middle-head of a pacifist asks: "Do you really mean it? Do you want to compel every worker to take up arms and learn how to use arms?" We answer, "Yes, that is exactly what we mean." How do we justify such compulsion? By the necessities of the class struggle which justify everything. There is nothing new in such an attitude. A certain amount of compulsion has always been invoked by the labor movement against the backward, the slackers.

For example, trade unions always strive to make membership compulsory. The intelligent, loyal and serious workers join the union voluntarily. Then they say to the backward, to the ignorant and to the scab-hearted: Join if you will, peacefully, but join this union or else stay out of that factory. That's compulsion for you, my boy. We cannot allow your ignorance or mistaken conception of individual interest to interfere with the class interests as a whole. What is a picket line? Well, some that I have seen at least, had aspects of extraordinary persuasion. I have seen picket lines of such a nature that if anyone wanted to argue about it, he didn't even get a chance to argue. He either stayed out or got knocked out. Compulsion in the class war is a class necessity. We didn't invent it. It must be applied also to military training.

THE DYNAMICS OF THIS STRUGGLE

An interesting question, asked by some workers, was reported here: "How can you tell the workers to put themselves under the control of the unions for military training when the unions are controlled by people like Lewis and Hillman?" Well, if we wait until the unions are led by the Fourth International, we lose all sense of the dynamics of their development. Green and Lewis and their similars—the whole upper bureaucracy of the labor movement at present—are agents of the capitalists in the labor movement, but they are not the same thing as the bosses. Their sole base of existence is the labor movement; and in spite of all the bureaucratism of the unions, they are subject to certain pressures, certain controls from below. When the worsening of conditions, supplemented by our agitation, raises a wave of radicalization in the masses, the workers will solve

the problem of leadership in the workers' regiments as well as in the unions.

We always take the workers' organizations as they are. We join them as they are, support them as they are, try to remodel them from within. Of course, the very idea of a Lewis or a Green heading the military instruction of workers is far-fetched. Correctly understood, our fight for military training under trade union control is a mortal struggle against the reformist, non-fighting bureaucracy. The adoption of our policy, or even a strong movement in favor of it, would spell the doom of the present leaders. Nobody would believe these scoundrels are fit for such a serious enterprise as the instruction of workers for military action.

In 1917, following February, the Soviets of Petrograd and Moscow were in control of the Social Democrats and the Social Revolutionaries, that is, men of the stripe of Lewis and Green, Hillman and Dubinsky; no better and no worse. In spite of that, because the Soviets embraced the workers, Lenin raised the slogan: "All power to the Soviets." In the course of that fight for all power to the Soviets, the Bolsheviks won to their side the majority of the workers. And almost coincidentally with the uprising, the workers threw out the Mensheviks and Social Revolutionaries and placed the Bolsheviks at their head. That's the way things have to be conceived in this question also.

The question of the referendum on war in connection with compulsory military training was raised by one of the comrades. This question was propounded to the Old Man in a letter from Goldman, and answered by him. The Old Man said: "I don't see why we should drop the demand for a referendum on war. Before they actually enter the war, an agitation for a people's referendum is an excellent means of showing up their fake democracy." It is a means of agitation against them. It is not so simple and automatic; one does not exclude the other.

Comrade Trotsky also answered the question whether our slogan of Workers' Defense Guards is superseded by our military policy. He said he did not see why. He thought they were interrelated. Of course, at the present time, the emphasis is entirely on the question of penetrating the military organizations. But, as the crisis develops, all kinds of reactionary attacks will be made on the unions. Gangs will be organized to break them up. The union members will be under the constant necessity to protect themselves. The workers must be on guard to protect their unions. The slogan of Workers' Defense Guards can be raised at an appropriate time, not in contradiction to our military policy, but in correlation with it.

THE ROLE OF WOMEN COMRADES

On the question of the role of women in the party after conscription. We must not get the idea that all our people will be in the army. Roughly speaking, the same percentage of our party will be in the army as the percentage of their class of the same generation. We have a young party. You will learn from Comrade Dobbs' comprehensive organization report that the average age of our party is 29 years. This means that perhaps a majority of our men comrades are going to be in the army sooner or later.

Some of our leading people will be taken out and in their places women comrades will come forward. We already have indications that we are not without resources in this field. And don't forget we have a few old codgers who are beyond the draft age. Maybe the party can make use of them. Lenin once said, and I always sympathized with him, that when a revolutionist reaches the age of 50 he should be shot. When men get older they usually get tired and conservative. But there are exceptions to all laws, and we come in under the exceptions. If we have the correct policy, and if we have the conception that every member of our party is potentially a leader, potentially a general in the army of the revolution, we will not lack leadership.

Comrade Birchman mentioned the question of the Negro workers in the militarization. Our attitude toward the Negroes in war, like our attitude toward all other questions, is the same as in times of peace. Our line is the class line. We stand for absolutely unconditional equality for every race and nationality. That's a cardinal principle of Communism. We have to fight for and defend this principle under all conditions, including the conditions of militarism.

METHODS OF WORK IN THE ARMY

How do we work in a conscript army? someone asked. We work the same way as in a shop. Indeed, the main purpose of industry now is supplying the army. Where would you draw the line? There is hardly an industry that won't be mobilized either for the manufacture or transportation of materials for the army. The masses are in the army, or working to supply the army. The workers are subjected to military exploitation. We go in and defend the interests of the slaves of military exploitation, just as we go into the factory and fight against capitalist exploitation there. Our basic line everywhere is the class line.

The second point is to be careful, cautious. Make no putsches, make no premature moves that expose us and separate us from the masses. Go with the masses. Be with the masses, just as the Bolsheviks were in Kerensky's army.

Why can't we do that here? And how otherwise can we do it? How otherwise, in a world dominated by militarism, can we see our way to world salvation except through military means? And how can we get these military means except by penetrating the army as it exists?

We have one great assurance. I repeat what I said at the mass meeting. We have our opportunity before us in this country. Even if war is declared and a military dictatorship is instituted, even if all kinds of repressive measures are decreed—we must always remember that a dictatorship of the police and military forces, instituted by fiat, cannot be the same thing as a fascist dictatorship based on a mass movement mobilized over years of time after the workers have muffed their chance to take power. Before fascism can come in this country on a mass basis, according to the historical law elucidated by Comrade Trotsky, the great mass radicalization of the workers will take place. The workers here, as everywhere, will have the first chance to take power. That is all we need. We will have our chance, and we will not miss it.

SOCIALIST APPEAL

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FIGHT WITH THE SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY

ON THE WAR FRONT:

For:

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

Our Military Policy

In the space just above this editorial, the SOCIALIST APPEAL has carried from week to week a set of demands that if taken up on a mass scale would weld the American workers into a militant, class-conscious political force and launch them on the road to establishing a socialist society.

Beginning with this issue we are including some new slogans to meet the problems confronting the workers as a result of the militarization of the United States.

On October 16, some sixteen million Americans were registered for military training. All of the workers, farmers, unemployed, students, who constitute the overwhelming bulk of this sixteen million, are thus each one faced with the prospect of marching into the hideous muck and death of the second world imperialist slaughter.

The front has been divided. At home all the old problems still face the oppressed masses, their acuteness sharpened and intensified by the war. Hounded by unemployment, hunger, rising cost of living, Jim Crowism—all the manifold ills of capitalism in death agony—the worker is now being strapped in addition into the strait-jacket of military dictatorship. The registration card he must carry with him at all times amounts to an internal passport. His daily activity comes under the direct supervision of reactionary boards appointed in arbitrary fashion from above.

A military glove is throttling his civil liberties, trying to regiment him into docile cannon fodder. In this military glove is the hand of the Sixty Families who own and control the nation's industries and resources for their private benefit. As never before the problem of expropriating these parasites and ending their rule stands as the great task facing the American farmers and workers. The slogans formulating this task retain all their validity.

But the conflict between capital and labor has now been projected onto the military field. The militarization of the United States, the drawing of millions upon millions of workers and farmers into the armed forces poses this conflict upon an

entirely new plane. Without a program expressing his own interests in the army, the laboring man will find himself unable to make his way through the unceasing barrage of patriotic propaganda which covers up the interests of his bitterest enemy, America's Sixty Families.

To provide precisely this program, the Socialist Workers Party, American section of the Fourth International, has formulated in short precise slogans the interests for which the laboring man must struggle in the military field. This program, as can be seen at a glance, has nothing in common with the futile objections to military training whined by the pacifists. The Fourth International is the only force in the world intransigently opposed to capitalist wars of profit and plunder. But we understand that without ending the rule of the Sixty Families it is impossible to avoid being plunged into the wars that are an inevitable part of their rule. Military training in our eyes is a necessary step in ending that rule. But it must be military training under the control of the workers and farmers themselves. Just as in industry, the class-conscious worker fights for the organization of militant trade unions, so in the armed forces he struggles against the interests of the bosses and for those of the workers.

The slogans of the Socialist Workers Party outline the aims for which the laboring man must struggle in the coming period both on the war front and at home.

LONDON'S NOT SO BAD

"The scene is the grill of a famous London hotel... Unpleasant off-stage noises are provided by Goering's bombers... The tables are crowded with diplomats, government officials, Colonel Blimps, fluff, frilly girls and fussy matrons, eating rich dishes of lobster and chicken and drinking whisky, French wines and Danish lager... Some guests who already are wearing pajamas and dressing gowns march off to bed in a communal underground dormitory. There a maid and an assistant manager in attendance assign them to beds from a list like a headwaiter's seating chart. These dormitories are air-conditioned... One of the denizens of these gilded caverns remarked the other night it wasn't the bombs he feared so much as angry East Enders once they discovered how the upper crust was living and sleeping through these nights of terror." (Raymond Daniell, in the New York Times Magazine, October 13).

Pacifist Clap-Trap

The fantastic nature of the ideas of the pacifists and conscientious objectors was never more clearly revealed than in the statement of Howard Schoenfeld, a member of Norman Thomas's Young Peoples Socialist League, on trial for refusing to register for the draft.

Schoenfeld declared, "I believe that where people refuse to obey a despot, but don't take up arms against him, they cannot be crushed."

13,000,000 German workers voted against Hitler's coming to power. But they failed to take arms against him. The result was that, despite all their hatred of fascism, all their desire to oppose Hitler, they were crushed.

And God help the union which follows Schoenfeld's advice! We wonder just how far organized workers would get without a militant picket line to "persuade" the scabs from entering a struck plant. Of course, Schoenfeld might say a picket line and armed force are two different things. But that is a difference of degree, not of kind. We are sure Schoenfeld would learn this if he should ever try to cross a well-organized picket line.

We do not in the least support the actions of the boss courts against conscientious objectors like Schoenfeld. At the same time, however, we must say as plainly as possible: the "struggle" of these conscientious objectors in no way helps the working class in its struggle against war and oppression. On the contrary, the conscientious objectors' ideas, if followed by the workers, would leave the workers helpless and unarmed against their enemies.

Our Election Policy

Apart from candidates of our own party, there are two kinds of candidates that we are prepared to support in the coming election. The first would be candidates of workers' parties, no matter how small, whose platforms are similar enough to our own to justify such support. The second are those candidates who represent a substantial body of organized workers and whose success in the elections would constitute a gain for the principle of independent working class political action; these we support despite our disagreement with the platform on which they are running.

Thus we support those candidates of the American Labor Party in New York and the Farmer-Labor Party in Minnesota who are running solely as the candidates of their own parties and are not also the candidates of bourgeois parties. We seek their election, while we sharply criticize the false, opportunist programs on which they are running. Their election, it is clear, would be universally recognized as victories of the labor movement and would spur the movement for labor's own independent party.

It is equally clear that no progressive purpose would be served by supporting the candidates of the various petty-bourgeois pacifist sects—the Norman Thomas Socialist Party, the "Workers" Party, the Socialist-Labor Party, etc. Their platforms can only delude the workers in this time of war and militarism. Nor do they represent any force in the ranks of the working class. By neither criterion, therefore, do they merit the support of the working class.

YOU SAID IT!

"It would be foolhardy to attempt to predict the exact course of Soviet policy, which is always determined by the interests of the Soviet people..." (New Masses, Sept. 12, 1939)

Remember These "Daily Worker" Stories?



The new military pact signed by Japan, Germany and Italy, strengthening and going beyond their previous alliance, recalls to mind the alibi which the Stalinists concocted to justify the Hitler-Stalin pact. "It smashed the fascist Axis, the combination of powers whose joint action had upset the equilibrium of the whole world," declared Earl Browder ("Daily Worker", August

30, 1939.) Foster went him one better: "The major achievement for peace in this pact is the weakening of the axis. Among other factors, the Japanese government already underscores this fact by the panic into which it has been thrown." ("Daily Worker", August 29, 1939.) That "panic" was climaxed by the new Mikado-Hitler-Mussolini pact!

Soviet Youth in Forefront Of Increasing Mass Unrest

This is the fifth of a series of articles on the present crisis in the Soviet Union. The "June laws" to which it refers were described in detail in previous articles. These laws abolished the 35-hour week (7-hour day, 5-day week, with the 6th day off), decreed in its stead the 48-hour week (8-hour day, 6-day week with the 7th day off), made it a criminal offense to quit one's job, punishable by forced-labor terms to be served at the same place of employment at 25% less pay, etc.

By JOHN G. WRIGHT

The Moscow press is engaged in a major campaign to "enforce the June laws". All Soviet papers are under instruction to carry a special section devoted solely to the progress of the drive. In Pravda this section is headed: "We are Checking the Application of the June Laws."

Pravda, and Izvestia, prefer, for obvious reasons, to devote most space to individual violations. But in the Pravda alone we find from July 20 to August 4 a total of 5,093 violations divided as follows: (Only reports of 30 or more violations are listed by us)

Alma Ata	102 Violations
Several Leningrad plants (unnamed)	272 "
Ordjonikidze plant, Leningrad	237 "
Elektrostal plant	146 "
Another Leningrad plant	170 "
Gorki district (up to July 20)	3,540 "
Single plant, Rostov-on-the-Don	30 "
Kirov Metallurgical plant, Stalino	303 "
Serp i Molot (Hammer & Sickle) plant	220 "
Single plant, Moscow	35 "
Single plant, Vladivostok	38 "
Total:	5,093

At the beginning of August, general membership meetings of the party organizations were held all over the Soviet Union to place particular stress on the June laws. Not a single account thus far published either in Pravda or Izvestia even hints at successful fulfillment. Just the contrary.

For instance, Sedyuk, secretary of the Kiev party organization, reported that "in the enterprises of (his) province the ukase is being fulfilled poorly." Another reporter from Krasnoyarsk cited "facts of violation of labor discipline in the enterprises of the (Krasnoyarsk) province." Patolschev, secretary of the Yaroslavl Regional Committee stated: "In our city industry functioned no better in July than it did in June." (Pravda, August 17).

YOUTH LEAD RESISTANCE

A. A. Kuznetsov, secretary of the Leningrad party organization reported cautiously, "Violations and self-willed departures have by and large decreased. But the number is still considerable. In certain enterprises the number of violations has increased instead of decreasing." Secretary Vlassov reporting for the Saratov party organization, after painting the same dismal picture, added that 25 communists and 60 Komsomols (members of the Young Communist organization) were among the violators. (Pravda, August 18)

If in June Stalin was forced to disclose that the youth was in the forefront of the wave of resistance, in July he is compelled to reveal that members of the Komsomol stand at the head of the youth. Out of 237 "violators" in the important Ordjonikidze plant in Leningrad 52 were members of the Komsomol and a "similar situation exists in many other enterprises" (Pravda, July 27).

Nesterov, the director of the typographical plant Pechatny Dvor stressed the fact that "among the violators of labor discipline there are many youth" and concluded that the "great share of the blame for this falls on the do-nothing of Komsomol organization." (Pravda, August 18).

Only lack of space prevents us from adding scores of similar quotations. Here is how Pravda summed up the situation on August 11:

"The execution of the June 16 ukase of the

Præsidium of the Supreme Council of the USSR is not taking place without resistance. Who is resisting the carrying out of measures which were unanimously approved by the Soviet people and which strengthen the economic and defensive power of our country? First and foremost, the resistance naturally comes from the laggards and floaters, i.e., those against whom the barb of the law is aimed."

RESISTANCE CAUGHT KREMLIN UNAWARES

Apparently the Kremlin had not expected such resistance.

On July 25 the Pravda had pilloried those directors of industry who "failed to exercise their sole authority" in enforcing the June laws, and who tried instead to shift the responsibility to the trade unions and the party organizations.

"Worthless indeed is the industrial leader," said the editorial, "who tries to evade responsibility for the conditions in and the functioning of his enterprise, and who seeks to hide behind the party and trade union organizations. It is a fact that some directors are trying to transfer the enforcement (of the ukase) upon the party and trade union organizations."

A week later, the Pravda had to eat its own words, and had to announce editorially in bold type that a special plenum of Central Committee had changed the "line."

"This ukase is not being carried out satisfactorily," admitted the Pravda. "...Today the main task of all party organizations with regard to industry is to assure the direction and control of the enforcement of the regulations affecting the change to the 8-hour day and 7-day week and the prohibition of self-willed departure of workers and employees from enterprises and departments" (Pravda, August 1. Emphasis in the original.)

What about the trade unions? A rectification on this point was not long delayed, either. On August 28, Izvestia addressed those trade union functionaries who survived the July purge:

"The trade union organizations must center their work among the masses around the question of strengthening labor discipline and struggling against the disorganization of production. It is impossible to reconcile oneself to the fact that many trade union organizations stand on the side-lines, shying away from control over the unswerving enforcement of the ukase of the Presidium of the Supreme Council of the USSR in the enterprises and institutions."

The next day, Izvestia stated: "The realization of the June 26th ukase is still being carried out unsatisfactorily in many enterprises. The circumstance that violations and labor turnover are still declining slowly while labor productivity is not registering any noticeable growth constitute evidence that in these factories the directors, the party and trade union organizations have still done far from everything in order to fulfill honestly and precisely the ukase of the Presidium of the Supreme Council of the USSR." (Izvestia, Aug. 29).

The courts and the prosecutors are likewise under fire. Many judges and prosecutors have been removed. By special ukase of August 10, all cases of violation of the labor laws will henceforth be heard by People's Judges alone. No "people's jury".

In a special editorial entitled: "Laggards and Floaters Must Be Ruthlessly Punished" Izvestia warned:

A "LONG TERM" CAMPAIGN

"Profoundly mistaken are those who think that the struggle against laggards and floaters is a short-term 'campaign'. The Ukase of the Presidium of the Supreme Council must be and will be carried into life constantly and unswervingly, precisely and rigorously" (Izvestia, August 9).

In the space of a few weeks, Stalin thus has had to mobilize and purge his entire "public" apparatus, the factory administration, the trade unions and the party, not to mention the Komsomols and the courts, in an effort to stem the rising tide of mass resistance.

Hillman Plays Judas In Arms Contract Fight

By ART PREIS

On September 6, a formal statement of the National Defense Advisory Commission was issued declaring, "All work carried on as part of the defense program should comply with Federal statutory provisions affecting labor wherever such provisions are applicable. This applies to the Walsh-Healy Act, Fair Labor Standards Act, National Labor Relations Act, etc..."

The Commission's statement was seconded on September 9, by a formal endorsement from President Roosevelt.

On September 11, the Bethlehem Steel Corporation, most notorious open-shop corporation in the country and branded as a violator of the labor laws by the NLRB, was granted the largest single war order yet released, for \$625,000,000.

Phillip Murray, head of the CIO Steel workers Organizing Committee, expressed "utter astonishment" at this award to Bethlehem Steel just five days after the Defense Commission had presumably called on all war contractors to obey the labor laws.

The workers in Bethlehem Steel were puzzled by this contradiction between implied policy and applied fact.

Whereupon Sidney Hillman, as head of the Labor Division of the Defense Commission, sought to reassure the workers by a press statement on September 13, proudly quoting the Commission's original statement and adding, "You will further observe that, in this statement of conditions underlying the awarding of contracts, the Commission has not limited itself merely to the requirements that contractors observe existing laws. It has gone substantially beyond that."

But war contracts continued to go to Bethlehem Steel—to the sum of over \$1,000,000,000. The Bethlehem workers became uneasy, and the CIO—organized Sparrows Point shipyard of Bethlehem Steel went out on strike. The CIO wrote Hillman for a little further clarification.

On October 3, Hillman hastened to send a letter citing an "informal" opinion of Attorney General Jackson to a gathering in Pittsburgh of several hundred SWOC representatives who were considering the crisis in Bethlehem. This opinion declared: "It seems too clear to admit of controversy... that the findings of the National Labor Relations Board that an employer is in violation of the National Labor Relations Act are binding and conclusive upon the other agencies in the executive branch of the government unless and until these findings are reversed by a court of competent jurisdiction."

This obviously means, and was so interpreted by every capitalist newspaper, that no government agency may ignore a ruling of the NLRB and award contracts to outlawed corporations. Among several score corporations publicly listed as hit by this ruling were Standard Oil, the du Ponts, General Motors, Ford Motor and Bethlehem Steel.

The Bethlehem conference of the SWOC looked on the Hillman assurance and the Jackson ruling as good coin. No action was taken to spread the Sparrows Point strike. Instead, they hastened to discourage direct action. The Sparrows Point shipyard strike was called off on the urging of Philip Van Gelder, national secretary of the CIO Industrial Union of Marine and Shipbuilding Workers of America, who declared that Jackson's opinion "could be used as a weapon for enforcing collective bargaining in the Sparrows Point and other Bethlehem plants without the necessity of strike action."

AND AFTER STIFLING THE STRIKE

The capitalist press showed no gratitude to Hillman for spiking the Bethlehem strike. It did not like the method he employed, and demanded an unambiguous rejection of the principle implied in the Jackson ruling. The New York Times cynically likened a violation of the National Labor Relations Act to the violation of a municipal ordinance forbidding smoking in the subway. What! Hold up "national defense" for such trivialities?

The pay-off came—the day of the return to work of the Sparrows Point strikers on Oct. 8.

That afternoon a procession filed before the Smith Committee, Congressional body "investigating" the NLRB. First came Under-secretary of War, Patterson. Said he, "It is not my understanding that a labor dispute is any bar to a contract. It is merely one thing to be considered." Next, Secretary of the Navy Knox declared, "His (Patterson's) words accurately reflect the navy's attitude." Hillman sat quietly listening to Knox and Patterson brazenly repudiate their own previous statements in letters to him.

Jackson then testified. There had been "a great storm of misunderstanding" about his previous opinion. "The effect," said he, "was not intended to direct or imply that the Defense Commission should withhold contracts from persons or corporations declared by the NLRB to be in violation of the Wagner Act."

JUDAS-HILLMAN APES HIS MASTERS

Finally, Hillman was called to the stand. He cold-bloodedly put the period to the end of Jackson's sentence. As the New York Post described it, "Of all the apparent back-tracking, Hillman's was the most startling, causing gasps among the committee members and spectators."

"I've got to agree" with the gentlemen who had preceded him on the stand, said Hillman. "The army and navy have the power (to determine the conditions for the letting of contracts). In every case the first consideration is whether it will help or harm national defense."

After the hearing, Hillman further clarified his stand. "If the cause of national defense is to be served it is entirely obvious that there may be times when a person should not insist upon the final technical letter of the law."

The next day the Federal Circuit Court of Appeals upheld an NLRB ruling against an appeal of the Bethlehem Steel corporation. The court declared Bethlehem Steel was guilty of "a plain violation" of the National Labor Relations Act.

Two days later, Bethlehem Steel was awarded another fat war contract, for \$54,000,000. This was an example of Hillman's non-insistence upon the "final technical letter of the law."