

# WALL STREET WINS ANOTHER ELECTION

## Carlson Campaign in Minnesota Points the Way

### WEST COAST SHIP TIE-UP STILL FIRM

SAN FRANCISCO, Nov. 3—The Pacific Coast steam schooner strike continued this week with the deadlock unbroken, following rejection by the unions of Secretary Perkins' arbitration proposal.

With 47 steam schooners of the coastwise trade tied up, members of the Marine Firemen, Marine Cooks and Stewards, and the Marine Engineers are on strike, the Sailors' Union of the Pacific locked out.

Anticipating increased government pressure on the unions following the national elections next week, the shipowners apparently have gone back on their implied promise of a \$5 increase. The boss press has insistently raised the phony "national defense" wail, and the shipowners expect that when next Tuesday has been safely tucked away the government will move in and turn on the heat.

Meanwhile the Marine Engineers, instead of holding fast to the sort of united union front originally proposed by the Sailors Union of the Pacific, have reduced their original demands.

The unity proposal of the SUP, which would bring the unions together to act collectively as they did under the old Maritime Federation, has been met only with the phony Stalinist excuses of the Bridges' machine.

The agreement which the SUP proposed was:

"It is hereby agreed among the following unions: SUP, MFOW, MM & P, and MEBA, that the unions pool their efforts to secure new agreement on the steam schooners and that no union or unions shall return to work until all unions secure new agreements satisfactory to their own membership.

"It is further agreed that no official, union or unions shall submit any point in dispute on the steam schooners to arbitration of any type or form.

"It is also agreed that this agreement shall be binding upon the Headquarters and the Branches of all unions signatory hereto, and it is fully understood that in the event that any union or unions violate this agreement before all unions have agreement satisfactory to their own membership, or any union or unions submit, or agree to submit, any point in dispute to arbitration of any type, all other unions signatory hereto shall be released from this agreement."

To this proposal of the SUP, the Stalinists have replied only with evasive excuses. The Voice of the Federation, organ of the CP waterfront machine, declares this week in an editorial titled "Hang Together or We'll Hang Separately."

"A disunited labor movement, running off in different directions at the same time—despite the fact that we all want the same thing, better wages, hours and conditions—can never preserve unions in this day and age."

These are weasel-words of the most obvious sort, in view of the Stalinist actions in the steam schooner strike. If the Bridges-controlled unions mean what the Voice says for them, all unions involved in the schooner beef would now be acting in union.

## Greek Resistance Slows Down Italians

### Training Camp News Blocked By Censorship

FORT DIX, N. J. Nov. 4—Reports that a strict censorship is being exercised at the Army post here have been circulated in the press. The reports include the charge that releases of newspaper correspondents are censored, that only authorized officers are permitted to speak to newspapermen, and that the enlisted men were being deliberately prompted by the army authorities to write home and present a favorable impression of conditions in the training camp.

These reports brought a denial from Colonel Herbert D. Forrest, chief of staff, Forty-fourth Division. In his denial, Colonel Forrest disclosed that a special public relations office and officers has been set up for the division "to facilitate the dissemination of accurate facts to the many newspaper correspondents on the post."

He added, "Any authorized newspaper man may get items of ordinary news value from the PRO's and items of questionable nature will not be supplied until authorized by the division PRO." Indication that some restriction is being exercised in the provision of news, especially from the ranks, is given in Colonel Forrest's additional statement, "News correspondents are extended every courtesy to interview specific persons or inspect parts of the area, with the PRO or qualified officer remaining with them during the interview or inspection." Few army privates can be expected to speak their grievances openly before their officers, for fear of punishment or reprisals.

The staff also announced the re-organization of the military police, with a special division for "counter-subversive activities." This usually means protests against bad conditions.

## Wall Street Profits Soar

Bethlehem Steel profits for the third quarter of 1940 have soared to 6 percent higher than the highest pre-depression corresponding quarter, in 1929, Eugene Grace, head of the giant steel trust, announced last week. Net profits for the three months ending September 30 were \$12,462,288, compared with the 1929 take of \$11,766,473, after all deductions for taxes, including allowances for the new Excess War-Profits tax.

That this profit is just chickenfeed to what the coming months will bring to the Bethlehem coupon-clippers, is indicated by Grace's further report that orders on the Bethlehem books at the end of September totaled \$1,123,081,930, or virtually four times the backlog of \$288,521,487 on June 30. This tremendous increase in orders is due entirely to government contracts; Bethlehem Steel has received 28-30 percent of all naval contracts.

The latest reported Bethlehem profits are 250 percent greater than the \$5,377,470 million cut in the third quarter of 1939.

These phenomenal profits are, in part, a direct reflection of the open-shop policy of Bethlehem

### TROTSKY ON THE GPU

Watch for the next—November—issue of FOURTH INTERNATIONAL. Featuring the article on which Leon Trotsky worked from the first of June until the time of his assassination: "The Comintern and the G.P.U."

### Electric Union Wins Leviton NLRB Election

NEW YORK, Oct. 29—A favorable settlement of the nine-week-old strike of 1,500 workers of the Leviton Manufacturing Co., electrical supplies firm, appeared near as the strikers, by an 18-1 majority in an NLRB election, designated Local 3, International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, AFL, as their collective bargaining agency. With 93 percent of the eligible workers voting, 1299 voted for the union, only 70 against.

Mass picketing of the Leviton plant has been continuous since August 22, when the strike began. The walk-out was called after the management had refused all demands for union recognition, wage increases and improved working conditions.

The company bitterly fought the union, and attempted to run scabs into the plant. On October 15, the management called the local draft director and asked for police aid in enabing some scabs allegedly of draft age, hosed up in the plant by the pickets, to leave unmolested in order to register for the draft. The union exposed this move as an attempt by the company to get police aid in running scabs not out of but into the plant.

From the start of the Leviton battle the management raised a howl about "national defense."

### Union Leaflet Brings Arrests At Ford Plant

DEARBORN, Mich., Nov. 2—Three weeks after the U. S. Circuit Court of Appeals upheld the principle of "free speech" by a ruling, in the Ford Motor-NLRB case, that Henry Ford has the right to distribute anti-union literature to his employees, 25 members of the United Auto Workers-CIO union were arrested for distributing pro-union leaflets at the big River Rouge Ford plant.

The arrests occurred Friday, when United Auto Workers organizers and members attempted to hand-bill Ford workers as part of the big Ford organizing campaign which the union is trying to get under way.

The latest arrests followed the day after Municipal Judge Lila M. Neuenfelt, in a test case involving R. J. Thomas, UAW president, ruled that the anti-hand-bill distribution ordinance was unconstitutional. Thomas's case was dismissed by Judge Neuenfelt on the grounds that a previous Dearborn ordinance requiring a license for leaflet passing had been invalidated by the state supreme court. She likewise stated the union must be protected in its rights of free speech corresponding to those granted Ford by the U. S. Circuit Court of Appeals decision.

While Dearborn officials announced their intentions of appealing Judge Neuenfelt's ruling to the Wayne County circuit court, in an effort to secure an injunction against the union contending that a local justice was "not the proper official to determine so important a question," the latest 25 arrested union men were being hailed before another Justice, Leo R. Schaefer, who ordered all to stand trial. He ruled that Justice Neuenfelt's decision was not binding, that a ruling from a higher court was necessary.

### THE BOSS ANSWER

This was the answer the UAW-CIO received to its plea for official "protection" when it announced Thursday, after Thomas's case was dismissed, that it intended to "defy" further attempts to prevent union leaflet distributions by a big turn-out at all Ford gates the next day at 2 P. M.

The phony ordinance on which the arrests have been based prohibits handbills passing on certain streets, mainly those leading to the Ford plant, "as a precaution against traffic congestion." Previous congestion has usually been precipitated by the gangling up of Ford's "service men" on any union agitator who happened to appear.

At the time of the court ruling in the Ford-NLRB case, CIO leaders and press had hailed it as a great union victory. Ignoring the portions favorable to Ford, the union officials pointed to that part of the decision ordering Ford to cease interfering with union organization, indicating that it constituted a major weapon in organizing Ford's.

The present arrests are evidence that Ford does not intend to submit to the court rulings without a fierce battle. The problem of organizing Ford still is one which only the direct action of the auto workers can solve.

### Japanese Withdraw Forces in South Part of China

By GEORGE STERN

The Italian war machine has evidently not been able to maintain the same kind of schedule that Mussolini has always boasted he imposed upon the Italian railway system. The degree of resistance offered by the puny forces of the Greeks has of necessity not been great, but it has apparently been great enough to prevent Mussolini's mountain troops from making it an easy jaunt over the Albanian passes.

Meanwhile those who were watching Turkey to see what would happen got their answer last week from President Inonu, who announced continued Turkish neutrality despite previous pledges of assistance to the Greeks in case of attack. The continued concentration of German troops on the Rumanian-Bulgarian border and the constantly repeated threat of a direct German attack on the Dardanelles may mean that the Turkish stand will avail little. When the diplomatic maneuvers are done with, the Axis drive for the Near East will continue at the Nazi pace.

Meanwhile on the Far Eastern front there are ample indications of new developments of considerable magnitude. Last week Japanese forces began a systematic withdrawal from the south China province of Kwangsi. Nanning, the provincial capital, was recaptured by the Chinese. A few days later, evacuation of the Kwangtung island base of Wai-chow, was announced. Rumors soon multiplied these evacuations. Chinese reports said that the Canton area might likewise soon be recaptured. Similarly in Central China the Japanese were reportedly planning to fall back from Yochow and Ichang, farthest points reached in last spring's Yangtze river offensive.

The current explanation in the press here is that the Japanese are preparing for hostilities against the British, in particular against Hongkong, on the South China coast, and the naval base at Singapore. In support of this it is reported that many of the evacuating forces are being concentrated on Hainan, island off the South China coast.

However such a move would not be enough to explain in itself such extensive Japanese withdrawals from Chinese fronts. Japan's main problem in the unfolding war situation has been the liquidation of the stalemate in China in order to free Japanese forces for further adventures against the British.

To this end a considerable effort has been made in recent months to get Gen. Chiang Kai-shek to talk peace with the Japanese. Chiang, who can clearly see a Japanese-American clash in the offing, has been in a position to take a stiff stand. In all previous parleys and presentations of peace terms, Chiang has always demanded Japanese evacuation of Chinese territory. This, until now, the Japanese have always refused to concede.

It may be, however, that the present withdrawals are part of the latest Japanese attempt to woo the Chungking regime into (Continued on Page 2)

### Labor's Only Road Is Organization of Independent Party

#### Flash!

Out of 551 precincts in Twin Cities, 509 with complete returns show voting as follows:

Carlson	S.W.P.	2179
Thomas	S.P.	1647
Aiken	S.L.P.	968
Browder	C.P.	719

Out state returns not yet available.

MINNEAPOLIS, Minn., Nov. 4—In a stirring appeal broadcast early this evening over station WLOL, Dr. Grace Carlson, candidate of the Trotskyist Anti-War Party for U. S. Senator from Minnesota, called on the workers and farmers to cast their votes against the oppression and violence of capitalism and for the socialist reconstruction of society, by supporting her candidacy tomorrow.

Dr. Carlson, in this wind-up speech of the most vigorous minority party campaign ever conducted in this state, declared: "Capitalism is a great destroyer of human lives. Not only are millions of young men murdered in its bloody wars, but each year, hundreds of thousands of men, women and children die needlessly because of the failure of capitalism to provide them with the means of life—adequate food and clothing, warm houses and proper medical care."

Scoring the tragic irony of want amidst plenty, Comrade Carlson said, "The United States is the foremost capitalist power in the world, but she cannot insure lives of peace and plenty for the American people. Two-thirds of the world's gold is in American vaults; American warehouses are bulging with surplus food, American cotton growers destroy acre after acre of luxurious cotton plants, yet 'one-third of the nation is ill-fed, ill-clothed and ill-housed.'"

Exposing the roots of the wars and misery of modern society as growing from the soil of capitalism (Continued on Page 3)

## No Labor Party On National Ballot

### Bethlehem Steel Blasts Lewis' Hope For "Deal"

John L. Lewis' "reasonable hope" that his support of Willkie would be rewarded by a "reasonable" deal with Bethlehem Steel, open-shop foe of the CIO, was sent glimmering as Eugene Grace, Bethlehem chairman, announced through the press on October 31 that the firm is not negotiating with the CIO.

Grace added, to make the point emphatic, that the Bethlehem bosses still held that a signed contract was not a necessary part of collective bargaining. This is the bosses' way of informing Lewis that he can still cook and serve the broth for their table, but will continue to eat out in the kitchen by himself.

### ANTI-PICKETING STATUTE VOID IN OREGON

SALEM, Ore., Oct. 26—Oregon's reactionary anti-picketing law, passed by state referendum two years ago, was declared unconstitutional today by a 5-1 decision of the state Supreme Court.

The decision was undoubtedly the result of a protest campaign initiated by the AFL, CIO and Railroad Brotherhoods almost immediately after the statute went into effect.

Considered the most stringent anti-picketing and anti-strike law of its kind, the statute prohibited almost every form of picketing, forbade "jurisdictional" strikes—a phrase that served to outlaw every strike by permitting the bosses to tag a "jurisdictional" label on it—and drastically curtailed the rights of the unions to raise funds for political purposes or aid to sister unions.

As in previous elections the campaign was completely dominated by the two capitalist political parties, the Democratic and Republican. As in previous elections they had no fundamental differences in program. A vote for either of them was a vote for the bosses and their rule.

But the election platforms of the two parties were likewise astonishingly alike. Neither of them differed an iota on matters of capitalist policy either foreign or domestic. Both favored "peace," both favored the so-called New Deal "reforms," both claimed themselves "friends of labor," both asserted big business would not suffer if they acted as its representative in Washington. The campaign consequently revolved on secondary and tertiary issues even looking at it from the viewpoint of Wall Street.

The re-election of Roosevelt means the intensified application and development of his policies towards plunging the United States into the world war. The election of Willkie naturally would have made no difference on this score or on any of the other problems facing the American capitalist class.

The drive against labor and its past gains will be intensified. Civil liberties, free speech, free-

Only the struggle for union control of military training will abolish Jim Crowism in the armed forces. Only a system of union conditions in the armed forces will permit the men through their committees to present grievances concerning their conditions, without confinement on bread and wa-

### Third Term Heralds Beginning of Basic Changes in Politics

The refusal of the American trade union bureaucracy to launch an independent labor party during the past period bore its inevitable fruit at the polls Tuesday with the re-election of a boss government.

The second world war now flaming over Europe and the Far East likewise saw its reflection in the election. For the first time in the history of the United States a president is serving his third term.

The election returns show that the masses are far more disturbed over the world situation than they are over breaking precedents. But the unceremoniousness with which the masses brushed aside the no third term custom points directly to more profound changes in future politics in the United States. The death agony of capitalism has begun to have its effect on the political consciousness of the workers and farmers.

Without the slightest doubt a clear call for an independent labor party from anyone of the leading trade union bureaucrats such as Lewis, Green, etc., during the past year would have flashed like a spark in a powder magazine among the workers, releasing a burst of enthusiasm that would have undoubtedly made such a party a major contender in the national political field.

But Lewis, Hillman, and the rest of the Wall Street lieutenants remained mute until the presidential campaign reached the last laps then came out for one or the other of the capitalist parties. Green advised the workers to let their "conscience" be their guide—difficult advice to follow if their "conscience" rejected the boss parties on the ballot.

A remarkable opportunity to launch the drive for an independent party of labor was thus knifed in the back.

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## Celebrate the 23rd Anniversary of the RUSSIAN REVOLUTION

### HEAR

An Analysis of the Significance of the Russian Revolution  
Have the gains of the Russian Revolution been lost under the Stalin Regime?  
What is the role of the Soviet Union in the present war?

### SPEAKERS:

JOSEPH HANSEN  
Former Secretary to Leon Trotsky

FARRELL DOBBS  
National Labor Secretary

MURRY WEISS  
Organizer, Local New York

Friday, November 8  
8 P. M.

Irving Plaza  
15th Street & Irving Place  
New York City



# 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.

## Worker Asks Information Demands Equal Rights From Petty-Bourgeois Revisionist Group

Editor: Here is a copy of a letter I have sent to the so-called Workers Party.

Editor Labor Action: November 4, 1940.

John L. Lewis has just concluded a political pact with the Republican Party, the more reactionary tendency in American capitalism, just as Stalin made a pact with the Nazis, the most reactionary tendency in world imperialism. Both Lewis and Stalin were prompted by purely opportunistic aims and motives. They acted in the most brutal and bureaucratic manner, injuring the interests and arousing the resentment and revulsion of workers everywhere.

I should now like to ask you petty-bourgeois revisionists who split away from the Fourth International because of its unconditional support to the Soviet Union when involved in war with a capitalist country the following questions:

1. In view of the reactionary policies and actions of John L. Lewis in the present presidential conflict, does the CIO still remain a worker's organization?

2. If a CIO union, say the United Mine Workers, led by Lewis, should initiate an attack upon a company union controlled by the bosses or their immediate agents, which side should we support?

3. With Lewis in control of its leadership, can we assert in advance that, as revolutionists, we unconditionally support the CIO in any conflict with the bosses?

4. How could the cause of the workers be best defended in such a struggle? By remaining neutral? Or by demanding, as a precondition for participation on the CIO side the removal of Lewis? Or by fighting against the bosses and their agents at the side of the CIO members, while explaining to them the necessity of ridding themselves of their reactionary leaders, like Lewis?

5. How does your position on these questions of labor politics harmonize with your attitude of indifference or hostility toward the analogous problem of the defense of the Soviet Union?

G. E. P.S. If possible could I have an authoritative answer from your expert on this question, Professor Burnham?

## TROTSKY MEMORIAL FUND

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

Milwaukee	\$1.00
Baltimore	10.00
New York	60.00
Minneapolis	100.00
Newark	10.00

TOTAL \$181.00  
Pittsburgh has just made a pledge of \$10

Branch	Quota	Amount paid	%
Baltimore	\$ 10.00	\$ 10.00	100%
Rockville	5.00	5.00	100%
Lynn	100.00	75.00	75%
Toledo	50.00	25.00	50%
Chicago and Indiana Harbor	150.00	65.07	43%
San Francisco	100.00	35.00	35%
Detroit	200.00	65.00	33%
Newark	150.00	50.00	33%
Boston	100.00	27.00	27%
Milwaukee	5.00	1.00	20%
Flint	150.00	25.00	17%
New York	1000.00	135.00	14%
Los Angeles	150.00	20.00	13%
Minneapolis & St. Paul	1000.00	100.00	10%
New Haven	20.00	2.00	10%
Akron	10.00	00.00	00%
Cleveland	70.00	00.00	00%
Hutchinson	10.00	00.00	00%
Philadelphia	30.00	00.00	00%
Pittsburgh	10.00	00.00	00%
Portland	10.00	00.00	00%
Quakertown	7.00	00.00	00%
Reading	5.00	00.00	00%
St. Louis	5.00	00.00	00%
Youngstown	50.00	00.00	00%
TOTALS	\$3,397.00	\$640.07	19%

Branches which have not made pledges up to date are as follows:

Allentown, Fresno, Houston, Oakland, Omaha, Rochester, Sacramento, San Diego, Seattle.

# Stalinist Henchmen Follow Lewis In Giving Support to Willkie

By LYDIA BYDELL

Diriest and most cynical of all the political opportunists trailing in John L. Lewis's wake are the Stalinists and their CIO henchmen. Ever since October 25 when Lewis made his historical radio betrayal of American labor, the Kremlin boys have been outdoing themselves in the art of double-dealing.

The Daily Worker blossoms out before its startled public one day with a full-page advertisement for Willkie and a Voice of the People speaks up in the columns of its brother sheet, Freiheit, wondering how come. Whereupon the editors of Freiheit "explain." The Communist party, they say, cannot be held responsible for sources of income through the sale of ads by the Daily Worker, since the paper was "sold" and is now owned by two old ladies of virginal political innocence (the third of the trio having recently died and turned up in her obituary as a member of the Communist party.)

Stalinist stooge Len De Caux, editor of the CIO News, in its issue of November 4 throws the party line around like a rope artist. The paper beams with praise of Lewis and his "great role," "courageous leadership," and "constant wise guidance." One after another of the second and third-rank leadership of the CIO (known through sad experience to the rank and file as close "fellow travelers" if not actual members of the C. P.) comes forward in its pages with wreaths and garlands to place on the brow and lay at the feet of their "great leader," John L. Lewis. Sometimes one almost feels they have him confused with another opportunist betrayer of labor named Joseph Stalin.

HARRY BRIDGES FOR WILLKIE

Loudest and most obscene of them is Harry Bridges who on November 1st stood up and did his well-known trained seal act before 700 members of the CIO Industrial Union Council in San Francisco. He repeated for Willkie's benefit the little trick of sell-out he perfected in 1936 when he conducted his labor agitation under the slogan of "Defeat Landon at all costs" and used his influence to postpone strike action of the Maritime Federation in order not to embarrass Roosevelt, then running for a second term.

Although "not endorsing any candidate," Bridges made it very plain that the most important job before labor was to see that Lewis remained as president of the CIO. Since John L. himself has already declared he will resign from the CIO presidency if Willkie loses, the conclusion is obvious that Stalinist Harry is asking for votes for the Republican candidate.

"The New Deal doesn't like me," wails Bridges, "and wants to get rid of me—and soon will if I haven't got the support of organized labor and its leaders." Having thus belatedly admitted—and only because his own miserable hide is in danger apparently—that not the bourgeois government but the strong fist of organized labor is the only guarantee of protection to the trade union movement, Bridges pulls the knife out of one side of the back of labor and plunges it into the other by asking support for Willkie.

IN ADDITION: The Negro faces the certainty that bosses' control will be used to maintain and further the system of Jim Crowism in the armed forces.

JIM CROWISM IN THE ARMY

(3.) The system of Jim Crowism in the armed forces demonstrates very clearly to the Negro the hypocrisy of slogans about "war for democracy." But the ruling class maintains Jim Crowism in the armed forces. For it cannot wipe out this system in the armed forces without endangering the whole system of Jim Crowism practiced in "civilian life": in industry, in civil service, on relief, at the ballot booth, in housing, theaters, restaurants—economically, politically, socially. The capitalists fear that NO NEGRO TRAINED TO HANDLE A GUN WOULD PEACEFULLY GO BACK TO THE OLD LIFE OF DISCRIMINATION, SEGREGATION, DISFRANCHISEMENT AND INSULT AFTER TRAINING IN AN ARMY WHERE HE WAS TREATED AS AN EQUAL WITH WHITE SOLDIERS.

In the last war, when Jim Crowism was also the established policy in the forces of the United States, the general staff's fears that the Negro soldiers might become instilled with ideas of equality from their contact with French soldiers reached the point where they sent out the in-

terests of Wall Street may be more open and outspoken, but it is not more effective than that of the Roosevelt Democrats? Must they now edit out the sentence on page 13 which correctly declares the Republican party to be "the party of the Associated Farmers and the open shoppers"? Do they still want to mouth the statement—still impeccably true—that "both parties are war parties, M-Day parties, parties of imperialism, reaction and hunger"?

IN LINE WITH THE C.P.

The CIO NEWS of November 4 reports some 5,000 wires received at Lewis's office, 90% of them acclaiming his stand. The list of signers of these love-letters reads like a roll-call of Stalinist stooges in the CIO, including such well-known figures as Joseph Curran, president of the National Maritime Union, Michael Quill, president of the Transport Workers Union, Edward T. Cheyfitz, national executive secretary of the National Association of Die Casting Workers Union, Lewis Merrill, president of the United Office and Professional Workers Union, Henry Johnson, assistant director of the Packinghouse Workers Organizing Committee, and J. F. Jurich, president of the International Fishermen and Allied Workers of America.

## Negro Resolution on War

(Resolution adopted by the Political Committee of the Socialist workers Party.)

(1.) Militarization of the United States, including conscription poses before the workers in a more acute form all the problems involved in the death agony of capitalism. The main political answers and the corresponding tactical approach were outlined in the resolution on military policy adopted by the Chicago Conference of the Socialist Workers Party.

This resolution analyzed the falseness and complete bankruptcy of all the old liberal capitalist, reformist, Stalinist and pacifist programs and movements in the face of the death agony of capitalism. It analyzed their role in weakening and disarming the workers and turning them over to the hands and foot to their enemies. It pointed out that "in the epoch of militarism great questions can be decided only by military means," that "the epoch of the death agony of capitalism... can be brought to an end only by the definitive victory of the proletariat."

(2.) This is true for the working class as a whole, and applies with special force for the Negro people.

As long as the bosses control military training, the Negro faces the same dangers as the white worker: that the armed forces will be used against his interests; that the officer caste may capitulate, sabotaging the struggle of the workers; that it will be used to establish a military dictatorship in war time; that it will throw away millions of workers' lives in imperialist adventures.

IN ADDITION: The Negro faces the certainty that bosses' control will be used to maintain and further the system of Jim Crowism in the armed forces.

The few cavalry regiments of Negroes are "principally used as chambermaids for cadets and officers' horses and equipment at the military academy and the various service schools."

In the Navy, the same general policy is followed, although life aboard ship does not permit exactly the same procedure. Negroes are admitted only into the mess attendants' division, can rise no higher than officers' cook or steward, cannot become petty officers or chief petty officers. Consequently, they receive lower pay ratings and are denied the opportunity that white men have to learn and practice a trade. While others learn mechanics and other useful trades, they can learn only

The well-practiced technique of telegram sending has been played for all its worth in this campaign of support to Lewis's new political betrayal. Not only every kind of CIO organizational set-up from organizing committees through unions to state and regional bodies, but every Townsend unit, Negro organization, farm association and youth group where the C. P. could wangle endorsement of a message got its pat across to John L.'s shoulder. Even a number of AFL "rank and filers" were persuaded to give voice to their synthetic enthusiasm.

PANEGYRICS TO THE "LEADER"

If there were any doubt as to the source of inspiration for many of the telegrams reproduced, one look at their wording is a dead give-away. "Congratulations on the most glorious and courageous position taken by a real leader of labor, I wholeheartedly support your objectives." (Jurich, International Fishermen). "We... pledge our unstinted and wholehearted support to follow his (Lewis's) great leadership and to go along with the policies as outlined in this presidential election." (Packinghouse Workers' officers). "We declare our sincere belief that the millions of workers and their families will... bring about an overwhelming defeat of F. D.

Roosevelt." (N.M.U.). "Your leadership needed more than ever. Count me in as one of those who stand solidly behind you." (Edward T. Cheyfitz). "I am in complete agreement with your objectives." (Lewis Merrill). "Endorse your stand 100% and urge all our members to vote for Willkie." (Utility Workers Organizing Committee). "Congratulations on your stand in refusing endorsement to Roosevelt because of his failure to fulfill obligations and promises to labor." (Michael Quill).

"The officers of this local will exhaust every avenue to convince our membership that your position is correct." (United Rubber Workers). "We shall do everything possible to make your speech come true and also make it impossible for you to resign as president of the CIO." (Robb, Indiana Industrial Union Council). "I associate myself with you and all that you have said and approve without reservations." (Berry, Printing Pressmen).

These opportunists and lick-spittles! How they trample each other in the mud to get on the bandwagon. They long ago lost all regard for principle and all concern for the basic political interests of the working class. Now they have left only that cheap consideration which is the one item in the baggage of every opportunist: "Who can pay me the most; to him I shall sell out!"

famous "Secret Information Concerning Black American Troops," in which they cautioned the French not to treat Negroes as equals or with respect, since they might entertain "undesirable aspirations."

It is because of this, and because the general staff fears solidarity between black and white soldiers in the same way a boss fears such solidarity in his factory, that Jim Crow continues in the armed forces in wartime as an extension of its use in civilian life in peace time.

Consequently, the Negro suffers everything the white soldier does, and in addition he finds the general staff adapting "peace-time Jim Crow" to the conditions of war and conscription as follows:

OFFICIAL ARMY POLICY

(4.) "The policy of the war department is not to intermingle colored and white enlisted personnel in the same regimental organizations. This policy has proved satisfactory over a long period of years, and to make changes would produce situations destructive to morale and detrimental to the preparations for national defense."

That is, in those branches of the service where Negroes are admitted they are segregated into Jim Crow regiments, and Negro soldiers are not permitted in the same regiments as white. (This is the policy in the national defense training program of the National Youth Administration and of the Civilian Conservation Camps.)

Negroes are barred from enlisting in most of the branches of the service. This practice prevents them from exercising free choice in designating the branch of the service in which they wish training, as white enlistees are permitted to do.

"Negro Engineers" is only another name for labor battalions.

The few cavalry regiments of Negroes are "principally used as chambermaids for cadets and officers' horses and equipment at the military academy and the various service schools."

Negroes are permitted in the infantry where the greatest number of casualties occur, and to a limited extent, the artillery, the quartermaster corps and the medical corps.

But they are not admitted into the air corps, the marine corps, the tank corps, the coast guard, the signal corps, the chemical warfare service. These branches of the service are completely lily-white. No colored men may enlist in them, no colored men in other branches may even transfer to them as white soldiers are often permitted to do.

In the Navy, the same general policy is followed, although life aboard ship does not permit exactly the same procedure. Negroes are admitted only into the mess attendants' division, can rise no higher than officers' cook or steward, cannot become petty officers or chief petty officers. Consequently, they receive lower pay ratings and are denied the opportunity that white men have to learn and practice a trade. While others learn mechanics and other useful trades, they can learn only

how to be a waiter, cook or valet. They are not permitted to attend the naval academy at Annapolis.

Negroes in the infantry are used principally for two kinds of work: as laborers in the labor battalions where they dig trenches, fortifications and latrines, or as suicide squads in the most dangerous sections of the front.

Only a small percentage of the Negroes are permitted to become officers, and they are Jim Crowed, too. Regiments which are all Negro are usually officered by whites, not Negroes, and white regiments are never officered by Negroes. Negroes are not wanted in the higher councils of the Army, where the Jim Crow policies are formulated. Only one has ever risen higher than the rank of colonel, and this exception was dictated by the momentary political needs of the Administration not because of any fundamental change in the rule.

RIGHT TO DECIDE

(5.) Because many Negroes have had personal experience of discrimination and segregation inflicted on them by backward workers in factories and in trade unions, a sentiment may arise in the course of the struggle for union control of military training for the right of Negro soldiers to choose for themselves whether they shall be in mixed regiments or in all-Negro regiments. In such a case we must pledge ourselves to support the right of the Negro soldiers to determine the question for themselves.

If the question of separate regiments arises we must explain that the bosses never give the Negroes the right to determine this question for themselves they just shunt them off on the side where they can use them for their own reactionary ends. Unlike the bosses, the Socialist Workers Party supports their right to decide this question for themselves. At the same time that we tell them we recognize their right to choose what they want, we sincerely and cordially urge them to join us in mixed regiments, free of discrimination. The very fact that we do this is additional proof that we not only consider them equal and brothers, but that we want to be side by side with them in the struggle against Jim Crowism.

In short, we differentiate between segregation under bosses' control, and self-determination under workers' control. We are against the first, we are for the right of the second. It is a part of our program, but is not a field for extensive agitation at this time.

We must take the occasion, wherever possible, to show why it is that the officer caste insists on separate regiments (to keep the workers divided, to make it easier for them to assign the Negroes as a group for dirty or dangerous work, to re-enforce the system of Jim Crowism in civilian life). We must point out that success in the struggle for mixed regiments can protect the Negroes from special selection as a group for dirty or dangerous work, can unite the soldiers and build up a solidarity of Negro and white, can help to undermine the system of Jim Crowism everywhere.

(6.) It is clear then that all

# SELLING THE APPEAL

MINN. SPECIAL EDITION

All branches this week will receive (along with their bills) a sample copy of the Minnesota Edition of the SOCIALIST APPEAL, 10,000 of these special APPEALS, with a completely different front page designed for the local campaign issues were ordered by the Twin Cities two weeks ago. The appearance of the impressive MINNESOTA APPEAL climaxed a genuinely Bolshevik propaganda campaign around the senatorial candidacy of Dr. Grace Carlson.

All during the months of the campaign the large Minnesota bundle-orders had been utilized to further election work. However, when the 10,000 Specials hit town, forces in the Twin Cities were mobilized to get every single paper into a working-class home. Maps of selected areas in working class districts had previously been prepared, squads organized to cover them. These squads leaped into action, and before the week was over had successfully completed their task. The Minnesota comrades at the same time never for a moment forgot the problems of the center in their zeal. The money for the issue reached us even before the bundles arrived in Minneapolis. (With that type of cooperation, comrades, we can put out a different special edition every week.)

BUFFALO JOINS APPEAL ARMY

BUFFALO, N. Y.—"Here's some more money on our bill," write our industrious APPEAL workers in Buffalo. "Had a small Red Sunday yesterday—collected

\$1.22 house-to-house. Only two of us out, and BOTH TOGETHER. And this on 39 papers—about ten or more given away! That's the best I've done here at one time." We rather think your average must be something comrades elsewhere would like to attain, G.

GOOD WORK IN MILWAUKEE

MILWAUKEE, Wis.—"Our sale of Appeals at Seaman Body, UAW-CIO has caused a ripple in the plant and among CPers who are powerful there," writes the new and youthful Milwaukee branch. "We have contacted a leading militant who is very much interested in what the Appeal has to say. He purchased several last week and passed them around in the plant and a large number of members are reported to have seen it. We are planning a real Appeal concentration at the plant next week... Send on a report of how it worked out comrades, and don't hesitate to ask if at anytime you desire additional cooperation at this end..."

JERSEY POLL ATTRACTS ST. PAUL UNIONISTS

ST. PAUL, Minn.—"The headline on the New Jersey Conscription Poll was a very attractive one for the Trade Unionists here. I sold that issue at the CIO Packinghouse Union," writes I. S., "and they took the paper eagerly and stumbled up the stairs reading it. The few who spurned the paper were told by other unionists that they were making a mistake. In the words of one of them, 'You ought to read it. It would be good for you.'"

the abuses of the armed forces under control of the bosses which impel the white workers to fight for workers' control of military training apply even more acutely to the Negro.

For the Negro worker as well as the white worker then, the main question today is taking control away from the bosses and placing it in the hands of the workers, through their class organizations, the trade unions.

Since the Negro, however, has a special problem in the armed forces, just as he has in civilian life (that is, he suffers extra oppression and persecution because he is a Negro), the Socialist Workers Party must so concretize its general slogans as to express the special needs of the Negro in the struggle for union control of military training. This will make it easier for Negro worker-soldiers to join in the general struggle.

These slogans can be formulated as follows:

Abolish Jim Crow in the Army and Navy!

End segregation! Stop shoving Negroes into separate regiments where they can be most easily discriminated against!

Open the doors for Negroes in

"National Defense"Costs

WASHINGTON, Oct. 28.—The Agricultural Dept. today advised consumers to expect a "moderate" increase in food costs during 1941. Meats, dairy and poultry products, fruits and vegetables—including most of the food staples—are in line for price increases.

## GREEK RESISTANCE

(Continued from Page 1)

a peace. It is by no means likely that the evacuation is by agreement. It is far more likely that the Japanese are meeting a Chinese demand to demonstrate actual withdrawal before peace terms can be discussed. Since Prince Konoye took over the government in Tokyo a few months ago, there has been a disposition to recede from previous Japanese peace terms and to offer the Chinese removal of some garrisons, at least in South China. The present withdrawals may be part of such a design.

There remains another hypothesis: the withdrawals are designed as pressure on the negotiators at Moscow, a warning that Japan can move forces north as well as south in case of need. Further, they might be designed to weaken the Soviet hand at Chungking.

In any event, important developments portend on a front that is likely to be of even greater importance from the standpoint of American workers than the war front in Europe.

all branches of the service, in mixed regiments led by officers and generals of whom a proportionate share shall be Negroes!

Stop using Negroes as laborers and lackeys!

For the full right of Negroes to rise to any position in the armed forces!

For the right of Negroes, along with other workers, to elect committees to present grievances to the officers pertaining to conditions, including specific cases of discrimination and segregation!

For the right of Negroes to attend training schools for officers!

## WALL STREET WINS ANOTHER ELECTION

(Continued from page 1)

dom of the press, will be attacked with greater vigor. The farmers and workers unless they begin immediate steps to organize defense measures will be herded like fattened cattle into the slaughter pens of the war for which Wall Street intends the armed forces of the nation.

Wall Street on the other hand, skimming off the cream from the monster war appropriations will find profits increasing, new crops of millions springing up, corporation treasuries richer than at any time since the last war.

As for the Stalinists who first supported Roosevelt with their Peoples' Front policy and then switched into the camp of Willkie, they will feel the inevitable repercussions of their opportunist policies: further exposure in the labor movement of their complete bankruptcy, stiffer blows in their direction from Washington. Nothing but a pawn in Stalin's foreign policy, further development of the war will swiftly eliminate them from the political board.

The task before the labor movement is posed clearly. All the class contradictions in the coming period will sharpen at greatly increased tempo. The very existence of the trade unions themselves will be at stake. If they follow a bold policy, striking out courageously with a militant program on the road for an independent labor party and a workers and farmers government they can play an inestimable part in the preservation and development of civilization. If they follow the Lewis-Hillman-Green type of politics, it will mean their certain doom. Under the policies of these fakers they will be strangled as the trade unions have been strangled in Europe.

Against the venal politics of the trade union bureaucracy must be organized a nation-wide drive for trade union control of military training, for an independent labor party, and for a workers and farmers government in Washington.



## The Negro Struggle

By ALBERT PARKER

We think that it will be generally agreed that the shabbiest Uncle Tom sell out of the whole electoral campaign was pulled off two weeks ago at the convention of the United Government Employees held in Washington. (This organization, led by Edgar G. Brown, claims a membership of 30,000 Negro federal employees. It also claims to speak in the interests of the Negro people. Both these claims are grossly exaggerated.)

For it was at this convention that the United Government Employees won the "honor" of being the first (and perhaps the only) colored organization in the country to go on record endorsing the vicious Jim Crow policies announced by Roosevelt a half month earlier for the armed forces of the United States.

### ENDORSE SEGREGATION

First they endorsed the principle of segregation in the Army. Then they went further. They asked that this principle be extended, that more Jim Crow army divisions be established. The only thing they asked in return was that colored officers, instead of white, be assigned to these divisions.

Not satisfied with segregation in the land forces, the men responsible for the adoption of this position by the U.G.E. then asked that it be extended to the Navy.

In the Navy Negroes can become only waiters and cooks. In this way they are segregated into one part of the ship. Instead of protesting this and demanding that they be permitted into all branches of the service, they asked instead for a separate battleship, cruiser, submarine, destroyer and airplane carrier "to be eventually manned and officered by Negroes."

In this way they ask for complete segregation! They aren't satisfied with half-way measures.

Negroes are also barred from the naval academy. Instead of demanding an end to this and equal rights for Negroes at the academy, they asked instead for a separate "Annapolis" in the Virgin Islands.

Of course, it isn't too hard to figure out why the convention adopted this position. They knew what discrimination and segregation mean to the Negro people—but they weren't thinking of the Negro people. They were thinking about themselves, and their jobs, and their salaries as government employees.

By telling the colored people, "This is a good thing for us; all we need now is more of it and more colored officers and our problems are solved," they attempted to keep in office the Administration that signs their pay-checks and wipes its feet on them.

### WHAT IT REALLY MEANS

But putting aside for a minute the sordid motives behind it, let's examine the proposal on its own feet and see how well it stands up.

What people who support such proposals don't understand is this: *The policy of discrimination and segregation in the armed forces places a stamp of approval on discrimination and segregation in civilian life.*

When Roosevelt endorsed segregation in the Army, he said in effect: Yes, Negroes are not like other people, they should be placed off on a side, they are inferior, and they should be separated from white men in the Army just as they are separated from them outside the Army.

In other words, the Jim Crow policy in the Army is based on the theories of "inferiority of Negroes" and the "necessity for white supremacy." Let Mr. Edgar Brown ask any Southern lyncher or Ku Kluxer and they'll tell him that's what it is!

Roosevelt, by announcing this policy for the Army, says to the owners of industry, to big business, to relief officials, to movie and restaurant proprietors, and even to some reactionary labor leaders: Sure, go ahead Jim Crowing them, the government is doing the same!

And Brown and his supporters are themselves now in the position of saying: Roosevelt is right, we don't deserve equal rights, we should be segregated.

Those who support this position now cannot complain about discrimination in civilian life either. If a reactionary school board in the North wants to send colored children to separate schools, how will Brown be able to argue against it? All he could do is weakly say: All right, but don't forget to give us colored teachers in the Jim Crow schools.

### LIVES OF NEGROES INVOLVED

As long as the Negroes are separated from the white soldiers, it is very easy for the labor-picking officer caste in charge of the Army to pick them out for special assignment and work: as labor battalions, digging trenches and latrines, and as suicide squads, for the most dangerous work, where men's lives are thrown away cheaply.

This was the practice in the last war, and it will be the practice in this war, as long as the officer caste controls the Army, and as long as Negroes are in separate regiments.

Having Negro officers for these separate regiments will not change matters in this respect at all. They won't be able to prevent choice of their regiments for dangerous assignments at all.

Consequently, in spite of who the officers are, separate regiments will not protect the Negro soldier from the most important discrimination of all: a high proportion of assignments that endanger his life.

Those who want to protect the Negroes from insult and discrimination must join the struggle for union control of training. This struggle alone will abolish Jim Crowism in the Army, will create the conditions whereby Negroes will be able to enter any regiment, free of discrimination, and officered by workers, black and white, selected by the soldiers themselves.

# Nat Turner Rebellion Anniversary

## Negro Slave Led Revolt

By WILLIAM DIXON

November 11, 1940 marks the 109th anniversary of the hanging of Nat Turner, Negro slave who organized an insurrection against slavery in Virginia. Although put down in blood, this insurrection instilled fear in the hearts of the slaveholders of that area for the next 30 years, and inspired the slaves and abolitionists to carry on their struggle.

Nat Turner was born in Southampton County, Virginia, October 2, 1800, the son of a native of Africa. In his youth he was impressed with the religious customs and superstitions of the neighborhood, and when he was given permission by his master to learn to read and write, he trained himself to become a preacher.

### SAW NEED TO ORGANIZE

What he learned from reading and what he experienced in his own life convinced him that he and his race were oppressed and that the only solution was to organize themselves to fight for their freedom. He felt that he was a servant of God, and that it was his mission to lead his people in the struggle. He was like the other Negro rebels of his time in that his philosophy was a queer mixture of superstitious belief and a practical understanding that nothing could help the slaves but their own organized efforts to end slavery. As a result, he was able to utilize the superstitions of the Negroes in arousing them for the fight for liberation.

He not only knew how to read, but he had some knowledge of mechanics, and experimented in making pottery, paper and gunpowder. But in spite of this he changed masters several times and once was severely whipped for

predicting that some day Negroes would be free.

### INSPIRED BY NEGRO VICTORIES

A number of the white refugees from the successful revolution of San Domingo had settled in the county, bringing their slaves with them, and there is reason to believe that Nat, who was able to freely move about the neighborhood as a preacher, was inspired by the stories he heard from them about the victories of the armed Negroes.

At one time he escaped from his master and after being at large for a month returned by himself. In all probability he recognized that the problem he was interested in could never be solved by individual action alone, that the job was still to organize and prepare.

When his friends among the slaves asked him why he had returned, his reply was typical. He said that he had a vision to return and wait for his "sign"—a signal that would summon him and others to action. He also said that the "white spirit" and the "black spirit" were in combat and that the "black spirit" was fighting fiercely for freedom.

### ORGANIZE UPRISING

Finally in July, 1831, he and four other slaves, Nelson Williams, Samuel Frances, Henry Porter and Hark Travis, met together secretly and began to plan the details for an uprising that would begin at his master's home. Joseph Travis, and then spread throughout the area. There was vague talk about setting up a Negro government, but most of their attention was paid to the practical details of the insurrection.

The plan was to kill the white

occupants of the nearby plantations, take their arms, and organize the slaves as they marched from plantation to plantation.

The night before they started the uprising on August 21, Nat is reported to have made the following speech to his men:

### "DEEDS—NOT WORDS"

"Friends and brothers, we are about to commence a great work tonight! Our race is to be delivered from slavery, and God has appointed us the men to do His bidding; and let us be worthy of our calling. I am told to slay all the whites we encounter, without regard to age or sex.

"We have no arms or ammunition, but we will find them in the homes of our oppressors. Remember that ours is not a war for robbery, nor to satisfy our passions; it is a struggle for freedom. Ours must be deeds, not words."

For three days, the insurgents struck at one point after another, burning the homes and killing the masters who had oppressed them, gathering support as they went along, but slowly. Their numbers increased to more than 200. It is significant that none of the slaves whom they reached refused to take up arms with them, an indication that they too were ready for action.

It is also notable that although it was their intention to kill every white they met, they made one interesting exception: a family of non-slaveholding whites.

### SLAVEHOLDERS DIE OF FRIGHT

They were finally overwhelmed by tremendous forces, who moved them down and hunted them in the woods until every last rebel was captured. Turner was tried and convicted and calmly went to his death on November 11, declaring he felt no guilt, that he had only been trying to lead the slaves to freedom as Washington had led the American revolution

—for freedom, peace and the right to live as human beings.

But this was not the end of it. Fear had struck into the hearts of the slave-owning aristocracy, and everywhere they looked, they saw the figure of Nat Turner arising to plague them. They murdered hundreds of slaves who had had nothing to do with the uprising, and they were so panicky that they took steps to see to it that Negroes would not become preachers in the future. It was reported that even after Turner was hanged, three slaveholders in far-away North Carolina died of fright!

### REVOLT CONTINUES

Turner was hanged, but the spirit of revolt that he symbolized was carried on by the slaves and the foes of slavery. The slaves were finally emancipated after a bloody struggle in which they bore arms and carried on in Nat Turner's heroic spirit.

Today the struggle of Nat Turner is still being conducted—this time against the monstrous injustices and discrimination of a decaying capitalist system that denies the Negroes equal rights in peace time and subjects them to segregation and insult in the armed forces into which they are being drafted "for a war for democracy."

We honor the heroism and militancy of Nat Turner on the 109th anniversary of his death, and we carry on his traditions in these troubled times by urging the workers, black and white, to learn the military arts, to train themselves how to fight for freedom, to struggle for trade union control of military training so that they will be able to defend their own interests and not those of their oppressors.

Join the Socialist Workers Party

# Boss War Brutally Exploits Women Workers in Factories

By MARY DANTE

In a world today torn with social strife and war, when hunger, exploitation, and death in the boss war affect every worker's home throughout the world, the role of the woman worker becomes as important as that of the soldiers. The boss war monger makes no distinction between the sexes. As he makes a place for the working man on the battlefield, so he makes a place in the factory for the working woman.

The first world war proved this: When wars are fought on a mass scale with modern equipment under the present industrial system and men are needed for the battlefields, women are forced into the factories to "carry on the work at home."

In 1914, when women were suggested as "non-combatant" soldiers, Lord Kitchener said, "Women's work will not be wanted. Our men must fight and our women must knit." Three years later a million and a quarter English women were employed in industry in England. In November 1917 there were ten thousand munitions factories employing mainly women. The Birmingham "shop" alone employed 8,000. Other branches of the English government employing women were: Admiralty, 3,000; Agriculture, 84,000; Municipal Trans, 10,000. The War Office alone employed forty to fifty thousand in everything from drivers and mechanics in France to clerks and gardeners at home.

### THROWN INTO FACTORIES

Women heretofore had been either housewives or "hired out" to one of the "better-class" families of England. Overnight they were thrown into the factories. This was wartime (1915-18) and working conditions were horrible. The work day was twelve hours, day and night shifts.

At dawn one could see the pitiful figure of the woman worker leaving Woolwick Arsenal after spending twelve hours under artificial light and foul air. Her eyes were bloodshot, senses stunned and flesh numb from the night's labor. At home undernourished children, crowded rooms, and a day of housework awaited her. In a report of the British Ministry Investigating Committee we read: "Women's day begins at 4:00 or 3:30 A.M. She reports for work at 6:00 A.M.; works fourteen hours. It usually takes her two hours to get home. She never gets to bed before 10:00 or 10:30 P.M. Her housing is inadequate." Married women preferred to work at night so that they could do their housework during the day.

An English writer describes a

munitions factory in Hades, England, employing women workers. "Dante's Inferno is nothing to the noise, the force, the flare."

### HEAVY MANUAL LABOR

In munition factories they were required to lift 50 pound boxes of material and in sugar factories, 60 and 80 pound bags of sugar. No consideration was given to their physical condition. The fact that from this hard unnatural labor some women would not be able to bear children or that all kinds of serious complications of their reproductive organs could develop was not even considered by the bosses. Very little or no medical care was at the disposal of these women workers.

In the factories they were forced to eat in canteens where the food was of two classes. One for the forewoman and one for the worker. Conditions were very unsanitary, sometimes no lavatories whatsoever being provided in the factories.

A human being can stand so much and no more. So it was with these women. In one great arsenal complaints in the canteen and workshop went unheeded until a "real row" was raised. "Stretchers and police were requisitioned." We'll wager there were many other real rows that were kicked up by the working women, and many more women carried out on stretchers after being beaten by the police, which were never recorded.

After toiling all day under such miserable conditions the English mother came home tired and worn only to face another one of her many problems: Feeding her family on the ration cards. Porridge instead of bacon and eggs, rice and macaroni instead of meat, margarine for butter, lentils as filler in nearly every dish, practically no fruits, no milk for the baby. Because of the shortage of milk mothers were urged to nurse their babies until 9-10 months old. No one told her how she was to get the strength and milk to nurse her child.

### ARISTOCRATIC FOREWOMEN

The British were well aware of the terrible exploitation of these women workers who were driven into the factories through economic necessity. The government had dragged their husbands and sons to war. No, the British government took no chances when it came to appointing forewomen (watchdogs) in the factories. Ethel Tweedie, English writer, (reactionary) in her book, *Woman and Soldier*, says "The best sort of forewoman—and they have 100 to 400 girls under them—are the better-class ladies. The aristocrat who is accustomed to rule in the household. Twelve hour shifts

for two years at 10 shillings or 12 shillings was considered quite enough for these ladies, whose pluck, endurance and gentle influence have done much to win the war."

The boss knows who can get the most work from his workers. These "better-class" ladies are quite capable; yes, they are accustomed to wringing every ounce of work from their servants in the home. Naturally they had no scruples about overworking the women in the factory. It takes no more training to drive a worker in the factory than it does in the home. The fact that these fine ladies never did a stitch of work in their lives, let alone their not understanding the multiple problems of factory work and machinery, did not bother the British imperialists when they appointed these "better-class" watchdogs in the factories during the first world slaughter.

And all these ladies ask is ten or twelve shillings, like the dollar a year men on the "Defense Boards."

Don't be surprised if you find Doris Duke, Brenda Frazier, or maybe Ethel DuPont Roosevelt, or any forewoman in the factory during World War No. 2. They will know how to handle you if you complain about wages and hours and speed-up. They have had experience with their servants. While the women in the factories are "blessed" with such fine forewomen their husbands will be equally "blessed" in the army with the James Cromwells, Tommy Manvilles, and F. D. Roosevelt Jr.'s as their officers.

### DEATH RATE RISES

And what of the young mother-to-be whose husband was at war? Did the British government provide for her? This was wartime and no time for sentimentalism. Prospective mothers worked under the same conditions and same hours during pregnancy as before. Many of them were forced to work right up to the period of confinement. They had no other means of livelihood. Many of them had other children at home to support. In some factories as soon as a woman was known to be pregnant she was discharged because she couldn't "turn out the work." Maternity hospitals were few, many women were forced to give birth to their babies in the workhouse. Skilled nursing and mid-wifery was not available. The death rate in childbirth rose, especially among women bearing their first child. As the prospective mother received no pre-natal care, so she received no post-natal care.

Who supported her and the

## CARLSON CAMPAIGN

(Continued from Page 1)

ism itself, the Trotskyist candidate continued, "... Both Roosevelt and Willkie, as well as the lesser political lights of the Democratic and Republican parties, swear their allegiance to the system of private enterprise. All express a fervent belief in the ability of capitalism ultimately to do away with the social evils of unemployment and poverty—want in the midst of plenty. These capitalist politicians cannot or will not understand that these social evils have their roots in the capitalist system of production for profit and that no measure short of the overthrow of the profit system itself can end them."

Dr. Carlson explained that this program did not mean that the Socialist Workers Party did not believe in a fight for the immediate relief of the suffering of the exploited workers and farmers. "This is an age of militarism, an epoch of wars and struggles and conflicts. Before his tragic death at the hands of Stalin's GPU murderer, the great revolutionary thinker, Leon Trotsky, wrote 'All the great questions will be decided in the next epoch, arms in hand.'"

"It follows, therefore," continued Dr. Carlson, "that workers and farmers should avail themselves of the opportunity to obtain military training. Not only must American workers and farmers learn to protect themselves from the Hitler and Mussolinis of Europe, but even more important, they must be prepared to defend themselves from the menace of fascism at home."

The speaker then pointed to the lessons of the French defeat. "Petain, Weygand, Laval and the other democratic leaders of yesterday, upon whom the French people depended for protection from the foreign fascists, capitulated before Hitler and established the present brutal Petain regime under which the French people are oppressed both by Hitler and by their own dictators. The only effective defense against fascism is the seizure of power by the workers and the establishment of a socialist society."

In a withering attack on the philosophy of pacifism within the labor movement, Comrade Carlson showed the ridiculousness of the workers hesitating to use arms in defense of their lives and interests. "She exposed the fact that capitalism, against which these pacifists do not protest, daily destroys with the utmost brutality thousands of the poor and weak."

## Dr. Ruby Dies

The Chicago Local of the SWP regretfully says farewell to one of its oldest and most loyal sympathizers, DOCTOR JONAS RUBY, who died on October 20 of a cerebral hemorrhage.

Dr. Ruby's selfless devotion to the needs of the working class extended beyond the field of his medical contribution into the sphere of politics where he identified himself from the earliest days with the struggle of the Left Opposition and the Fourth Internationalist movement.

### Correction

Our attention has been called to a misleading sentence in the story of the need for trade union control of military training which we reprinted in last week's issue from the *Northwest Organizer*. The sentence, part of the *Organizer's* editorial comment, reads: "Such a program would place the workers in the position of being fully able to defend their own interests and would be the best guarantee to capitalism against fascism, either the foreign or native brand."

This is a misprint. The sentence should read: "Such a program would place the workers in the position of being fully able to defend their own interests and would be the best guarantee against fascism, either the foreign or native brand."

EXTRA EXTRA  
**Boro Park Social**  
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Dine, Dance and Drink Beer  
FUN and PRIZES  
SAT. Nov. 16 9:00 P.M.

# Draft Health Bad, Medical Report Shows

By LYDIA BYDELL

A recent highly interesting survey, based on the latest influx of volunteers for the army, has been reported in the pages of the *Journal of the American Medical Association* for October 12, 1940, by Dr. George E. Leone, captain of the U. S. Army medical corps and medical inspector for recruiting in the 2nd corps area, including New York City. During the months of June, July and August of this year 6,743 unmarried young men between the ages of 18 and 35, all part of an original enlistment into the Regular Army, were examined under his supervision. All of them were eighth grade graduates and many had completed high school and college courses; none had ever been convicted of a felony. These facts indicate that the social level represented by these men was by no means the lowest or poorest in America. Of this number, 2,195 or about one-third were rejected because of physical deficiencies which made them poor material to send into the battlefield.

Of the men rejected, the largest number (516, or 23% of the total) were turned down because of the condition of their teeth. Among physicians, as among horse-traders, it is commonly agreed that the condition of health of a subject's teeth is a reliable criterion of his general health. The appalling condition of the teeth of these citizens of New York can be fathomed when one learns that the requirements for acceptance in the Army are ridiculously low. A man must have a minimum of three masticating teeth above and three below. This means twelve teeth to a head, even if the teeth have been filled. And it means also, if teeth are accepted as a gauge of health, that a man can be less than 50% par and still be good enough for the Army.

### DISEASES OF POVERTY

Next in order of frequency came disqualifications because of bad eyes. Twenty-one percent of those rejected (479 men) were turned down because they suffered from eye conditions which the report admits could have been avoided if attention had been paid them earlier in life. Most of the recruits did not wear glasses and had no suspicion that their eyes were not good.

A significant commentary on the widely publicized report that present recruits are on an average two inches taller than those of the last war is the fact that 15% (308 men) of the recruits examined were rejected because of stature deficiencies. Most of these were found to be underweight for their height, a condition which is especially alarming to military specialists, since it indicates a fundamental lack of resistance and marks such men as the first to break down physically when they come up against the rigors of military life. A large number of these men showed such signs of undernourishment that they were potential candidates for tuberculosis.

Complaint is made that much of the physical debility of American workers springs from their faulty diet, made up in too large part of potato and flour starches and sugar, which provide surface energy and an unhealthy fatness but give an inadequate supply of the minerals and vitamins necessary for real strength and resistance. If any of these military physicians cared to go further into statistics they might find that the incidence of starches and sugars in the diet of workers has a direct relation to the level of wages on the one hand and the price of various types of foods on the other.

### BOURGEOIS PRESS ALARMED

The bourgeois press, notably the *New York Times*, in commenting on the findings reported by Dr. Leone are properly alarmed at what the survey has disclosed. They are fearful of the possibility that the army now being created may be made up of men who are not physically equipped to stand up and take it as a good American should. They grasp at the traditional straw when they point out that these men are, after all, volunteers most probably largely from the unemployed ranks and therefore representative of a lower level of living than the normal cross-section of the American population. The direct opposite is however the probability.

Dr. Leone himself records that these young men had volunteered for Army service because they had "thought themselves physically fit to fight for the defense of their country." They were surprised and annoyed at the rejections, having considered themselves, in comparison to other men of their acquaintance, good physical specimens. It is quite obvious that men suffering from pulmonary or venereal diseases or displaying noticeable skeletal defects simply do not normally volunteer for Army service.

Military circles express a vain hope when they anticipate a higher physical level among the mass of conscripts who will soon be called for training. Only then will the real ravages of malnutrition and bad social environment become noticeable. Then we shall begin to hear the real statistics on tuberculosis and pelagra, on syphilis, on bone deformities and rotten teeth. Then it will become clear even to the officer caste that the penalty for the last decade of intense depression has been paid for by a serious weakening of the physique of the potential American soldier.

Under a workers and farmers government, not only would an imperialist war have been avoided, but the present generation of young men in a land of such abundance as America would have enjoyed food and decent living conditions that would have given them the healthiest bodies in the world.



## 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.

## Third Term

"Like revolution, war forces life, from top to bottom, away from the beaten track. But revolution directs its blows against the established power. War, on the contrary, at first strengthens the state power which, in the chaos engendered by war, appears to be the only firm support—and then undermines it."

Leon Trotsky made this penetrating observation in 1929 in reference to the reaction of the Austrian people at the outbreak of the first world war. He could have made the same observation, had he not been assassinated by Stalin's GPU agent, of the presidential election in the United States in 1940. For the third term which was granted to Roosevelt in defiance of all previous political tradition in the United States is a reflection in the consciousness of the American masses of the world war now raging upon our planet.

War intensifies to an agonized degree all the class contradictions. The ruling class concentrates its power, increases its oppression of the workers and poor farmers, thrusts them onto the battlefield. Its domination seems complete and invincible. It seems more powerful than at any previous period.

The workers and farmers not seeing the distinction between defense of the nation and defense of the interests of the ruling class turn towards the "only firm support" which appears to be the existing state power. At the same time the changes brought about by the war sweep through their gray, monotonous, humdrum lives like a fresh breeze. Nothing could be worse than their present condition. They feel the change as a relief. They have not yet tasted the fire and horror of the war. They become more patriotic.

But the process of war exposes all the predatory interests of the ruling class. It reveals the state power for what it is, the instrument of that class, in this case the instrument of America's Sixty Families. The hunger, blood, misery, oppression of war become unendurable and the masses, already launched on the road of change, begin seeking a way out.

The state power is undermined. The will of the masses finds expression for their interests in a

political party of their own; and they launch the drive to end forever the rule of the handful of colossal rich who up to then disposed of the fate of millions of human beings solely in the interest of millions of dollars.

Third term in the United States—something to astonish the bourgeois politicians, to frighten the more perspicacious of them. It is a harbinger of the more profound changes in the coming period! Let the breaking of this precedent serve as the green light to organization of an independent labor party and the establishment of a workers and farmers government!

## Negro Doctors Barred

A request that Negro physicians be placed on the Committee on Medical Preparedness of the American Medical Association has been turned down with the weasel excuse that it is "impossible to change the membership of that committee until further action of the House of Delegates becomes possible."

The AMA has been using its tremendous influence to hound out of hospitals those doctors who advocate public and socialized health services. It makes big rake-offs on approving dangerous patent medicines, and running fake nostrum advertisements in the AMA magazine.

There is pathos in the fact that competent Negro medical men must appeal to such a rotten outfit. And this is but one further evidence of the falsity of the idea advocated by spokesmen of the bourgeoisie that the Negro will receive better and fairer treatment under the capitalist government if he manages to wriggle around race barriers in the colleges and gain an education.

Only the destruction of the system which holds the entire Negro people in subjection will permit the individual Negro to enjoy his rights as a human being.

## BOSSES' MAN WORRIED

Mathew Woll, a leading reactionary on the AFL executive council, warned the boss class of the peril they faced in building a conscript army. In a statement made recently, Woll pointed with foreboding at the menace of an army of millions of workers "trained in the arts of militarism, returning to their communities in search of jobs."

## End Secret Diplomacy

A growing certainty among the American masses that the Roosevelt administration has made secret commitments to Great Britain, and other foreign powers, has evoked a denial from Under-Secretary of State Sumner Welles.

Welles, in a radio address Tuesday, declared "There have never been, in the history of our political campaigns, more contemptible and more unpatriotic charges made than the charges fabricated by the opponents of the President that his Administration has entered into dangerous secret commitments with foreign governments..."

The Soviet Government at the close of the last World War, when the Russian workers seized the secret files of the Czarist regime, disclosed irrefutable documentary proof that a previous war Administration, that of Woodrow Wilson, did have secret commitments with the Allied powers, commitments which might never have been unveiled had the Russian workers not taken power, and which were an immediate factor in dragging the U. S. into the war.

The manner in which Roosevelt put over his destroyer deal with England, the way in which the pact with Canada was suddenly thrust into the faces of the American people, the frantic haste with which the American consulate in Nazi-threatened countries burned all documents, the fact that the Republicans Knox and Stimson in Roosevelt's Cabinet have not made any effort to deny the charges—some of which have emanated from Republican sources—although they are in a very favorable position to know the facts, all give a genuine basis for this certainty.

Capitalist diplomacy in general can be conducted on no other basis than deception and secrecy; otherwise the workers and oppressed would see the cold-blooded connivance and the mercenary horse-trading which is the whole basis of the diplomatic deals and alliances between all capitalist nations, democratic and fascist alike.

There is only one way to expose this sordid game. If the workers and farmers are being asked to shed their blood in the coming war in the interests of American imperialism, then they have the right to know the conditions for which they have been secretly committed to fight. An end to secret diplomacy! For the full exposure of all treaties, pacts, and state papers to the eyes of those who must fight the wars!

## Bourbons Shelve Bill

Not only did the Administration, in a united front with the Republicans, put thumbs down on a vote on the Anti-Lynch Bill recently, but it put another measure supported by the Negro people on the shelf a few days later.

This was the Ramspect Bill calling for elimination of photographs and the substitution of fingerprints on Civil Service applications. The photographs, naturally, have been a big help to those who discriminate against Negroes.

A bloc of 50 to 100 Southern congressmen said they would stand "like the Rock of Gibraltar" against passage of the bill.

Whereupon the Republicans and non-Southern Democrats decided to put the vote on the bill off until after the elections. The excuse they're using is that they can't get a quorum on the measure.

But if Roosevelt suddenly asked for a few million dollars more to strengthen his Jim Crow regime in the armed force, they would get a quorum quick enough!

## Roosevelt and Wall St.

## The Background and Future of a Third-Term President; Bosses Use F.D.R. to Lure Workers to War and Reaction

By ART PREIS

The pay-off on a tremendous historical shell-game is now due. On November 5, the American working masses were lined up behind two empty walnut shells, labeled "Roosevelt" and "Wall St." They were wagering not merely their rights and security, but their very lives.

They were certain losers whatever their choice. For the only winner in the "old army game" is the manipulator. The manipulator of the 1940 Presidential election was Big Business. The little pea, that is, the welfare of the American masses, was hidden under neither shell. It was "palmé" in the dextrous hand of Wall Street.

Every racket employs a "come-on." During the past eight years, the workers have been placing their bets on Roosevelt. They were permitted to "win" a few small bets—just enough to give them confidence in the game. Again they have staked everything on Roosevelt—maybe this time they will gain some real winnings! But, by a sleight of hand called "War," Wall Street is ready now for a grand "kill."

"America's Sixty Families" are already counting the take. The Magazine of Wall Street, September 7, informed its silk-hat subscribers:

"Tentative Washington guesses put it (immediate PEACE-TIME 'national defense' appropriations) at probably not less than \$10 billion more for the Navy and \$10 billion more for the Army—an aggregate 'capital investment' of some \$35 billion."

THIRTY-FIVE BILLION DOLLARS—just as a starter! For the "Defense of Democracy"? No! As a CAPITAL INVESTMENT!

But that's just pin money to Wall Street. *Barron's*, one of the Wall Street financial weeklies, August 26, declared:

"However, by close examination of the testimony before Congressional committees and other expert opinion... it becomes evident that the total sum involved takes on staggering proportions. Certainly it is much greater than any that has been publicized so far. The minimum is perhaps 50 BILLION DOLLARS and the maximum may be as much as 75 billion dollars... These figures, large as they are, ARE BASED ON THE ASSUMPTION THAT THE UNITED STATES WILL NOT ENTER THE PRESENT CONFLICT. (Our emphasis)"

A FIFTY BILLION DOLLAR MINIMUM TAKE FOR WALL STREET—IF THE U. S. DOES NOT GO TO WAR! That's what every worker voted for when he voted for Roosevelt. 50 billion dollars—that's not hay! And it's coming out of the flesh and bones of the American workers. That's the Old Army Game of 1940!

## WALL STREET'S SECOND CHOICE

If Roosevelt is really the tool of Wall St., why did so many of the bankers and industrialists and the big business press endorse Willkie?

The answer to that question is,

first, that they regarded Willkie as a more tractable tool, not a different but a better instrument for their designs than Roosevelt.

But even more impelling than this reason, is the completely unvarnished reactionary character of the ruling class. Through the just completed election campaign the ruling class has served final warning on the workers that it is through with the nonsense of "reformers." Its program, henceforth, is merciless warfare on labor. In "attacking" Roosevelt, Wall Street did not attack him as its tool, but as the symbol of "liberalism" which he represents to so many misguided workers.

For, in luring an unwilling people into war, Roosevelt has proved supreme in the art of deception. His liberal camouflage often appeared so realistic that it frightened many capitalists. They have always opposed yielding to labor even "in principle." They have always preferred to address labor in a more direct tongue, the conciliatory end of a black-jack.

Although led by Roosevelt to the "kill," Wall Street regards him with distaste. In the past, Roosevelt cleverly held the financial pack in leash whenever its impatience threatened to frighten off the labor quarry. Wall Street is used to free-ranging, and dislikes even the mildest restraints. Although the leash is now off, Big Business dislikes even the fact that it still dangles from Roosevelt's hand. If only the leash could be destroyed altogether!

That is why Wendell Willkie was Wall Street's first choice for War President. Willkie is one of the pack itself, who has tugged hardest at the leash. He would have been certain, had he been elected, to have led the assault on labor with undisguised ferocity.

Yes, it is true that the majority of Wall Street magnates preferred Willkie. But they are not greatly concerned about the reelection of Roosevelt. They understand fully well that Roosevelt has no choice but to represent them. And, after all, the bankers and industrial bosses can't feel too harshly toward Roosevelt when profits for the first quarter of 1940, prior to the "shoot-the-workers" war spending, were already 67 percent higher than the same quarter of 1939; in fact, higher than in 1928, a peak prosperity year.

## "MY FRIENDS..."

Roosevelt's ability to make the masses think they are getting something has been his greatest contribution to the preservation of capitalism. For his primary objective ever since first taking office has been to save the American capitalist system. He attempted to do this by reconciling the workers to the interests of the bosses.

From the start, Roosevelt yielded to labor only "in principle," not fact. His first act as President revealed this. He consolidated the leading finance capitalists through the bank moratorium, while wiping out most of the small independent banks and millions of small depositors. Next, through the National Industrial Recovery Act, he further entrenched

ed industrial monopoly. Under this Act, the big industrialists exterminated a large section of competing small businesses by monopoly price-fixing and similar measures.

Finally, he attempted to stabilize the light, or consumers goods industries by "pump-priming." Through farm loans, unemployed relief, etc., he tried to start the flow of profits once more. These funds were intended primarily as indirect hand-outs to the chain and department stores, and the textile, furniture, tobacco, chemical, radio, auto and other manufacturers. The meagre benefits from these measures gleaned by the workers were included in Administration costs under the headings, "Plot Insurance" and "Smart Politics."

## LABOR "APPEASEMENT"

While stabilizing capitalism, Roosevelt was compelled to "appease" labor. He affirmed verbally certain rights of labor, embodied in Section 7A of the NIRA and, later, in the Wagner Act. These measures merely endorsed an established right—so long as labor could enforce it by organized action—the right to collective bargaining by organizations of labor's own choosing.

This grant in "principle" was gained in fact solely by labor itself. From 1933-1939 there were 17,862 strikes, involving 8,261,000 workers (Labor Information Bulletin, U. S. Dept. of Labor). These strikes occurred in every single industry without exception, and were fought with a fury unequalled in American labor history.

The fury was required. During Roosevelt's administration the National Guard, financed and equipped with federal funds and trained by Regular Army officers, has played its most active strike-breaking role. From 1933-35 alone, out of 42,737 National Guards who were called to active duty, 32,645 or 77 percent were used to break strikes. In the one year, 1935, the National Guard was employed in 73 strikes in 20 states, a majority of them under "New Deal" state administrations. During the National Textile Strike, Roosevelt himself threatened to send Regular Army troops against the Rhode Island strikers.

In 1934, Roosevelt already clearly demonstrated that his labor "platform" was jerry-built. He permitted General Hugh S. Johnson, then his NRA administrator, to publicly denounce the textile strikers and the San Francisco general strike. New Dealer Paul V. McNutt, as Governor of Indiana, terrorized the Terre Haute strikers for two months with martial law. Roosevelt later rewarded him with the post of Social Security Administrator. F.D.R.'s New Deal governor in Ohio, Martin L. Davey, smashed the Little Steel strike in 1937 with armed troops. The New Deal Kelly-Nash machine in Chicago murdered ten unarmed workers in the Memorial Day Massacre in 1937.

These are but a few of the endless facts which give irrefutable proof that Roosevelt "gave" labor just what labor has been able to take—without any boss politician's blessing!

(To Be Continued)

## Go Forward

Paralyzing Poison  
From the Ivory Tower  
Of Pacifism

By JOSEPH HANSEN

Among the few professional pacifists who made their presence known on registration day, Reverend A. J. Muste, secretary of the Fellowship of Reconciliation, issued a "personal statement" that if he were of draft age he would "refuse to register." Members of the War Resisters League, the Church of Christ Scientist, and some who simply classified themselves as "Christians" who "object to the slaughter of other men," likewise rejected military training.

"You must not hate or be bitter against those who will make it unpleasant for you," they proclaim. "Turn the other cheek if any one annoys you." And they even get a bit of a belligerent feeling about their pacifism and take a "pledge" to oppose war to the bitter end by "methods of non-violence."

Pastors, reverends, vegetarians, old maids, and students soaking in a petty-bourgeois milieu constitute the majority of this pious crew. Some of them will end up waving a flag; the rest will disappear in the upheavals to come without leaving a trace.

## NOBLE NORMAN'S PIOUS PRAYER

Among these religious objectors to military training we find some with a political tinge such as Norman Thomas. They base themselves on the tradition of the last war when it was considered a revolutionary action to announce yourself as a "conscientious objector" and to isolate yourself from the workers as they were armed and trained in military conflict.

If this kind of politics was understandable in the last war as the result of the immaturity of the revolutionary movement in America, it is now completely inexcusable after the example of the Russian workers in 1917.

Yet we find Judah Drob, secretary of the Norman Thomas youth group, coming out as a "conscientious objector." In brief, piously repeating the errors of the past, Drob it seems is in favor of democracy and socialism and nice things like that, but he "is sincerely convinced that militarism is one of the most anti-democratic forces in our society." How shall we fight it as an "anti-democratic" force? By retiring from the struggle, proclaims Drob, and presumably uniting in prayer.

## THE HEADLESS HORSEMAN

A special case is that of the petty-bourgeois revisionists who split from the Fourth International and set up what they call the "Workers Party." Since Burnham, their former head, went hurtling into the camp of the big bourgeoisie, this pacifist splinter group has lacked a "brain." Shachtman, it is true seems firmly fixed in the saddle borne by long-suffering Abern and tries to scare people now and then by waving a jack-o-lantern of analogies and quotations carved out of the texts of Marxism. However, Shachtman still remains nothing in politics but a headless horseman.

As such he has been jousting fiercely in his newspaper against the military policy advocated by the Socialist Workers Party. He will have nothing to do with fighting for trade union control of military training. This slogan he proclaims with a righteous air and more than a touch of snobbery—probably from his association with professor Burnham who also took an academic interest in the working class—is a departure from Marxism.

Why all Shachtman's sudden interest in Marxism, its theory and defense? Just Shachtman's way of scaring off any undue questioning on the part of his followers concerning the heresies of Campaign-Manager Dwight Macdonald. Dwight has been laying down a public barrage against the "most basic premises of Marxism." An embarrassing position for candidate-for-Congress Shachtman, who tells his following that he is running on a simon-pure Marxist platform! For Shachtman finds it inconvenient to lay rough hands on his own Campaign-Manager. What if anti-Marxist Dwight should decide to fulfill Trotsky's prediction and, like Burnham, make a personal desertion from the movement—right in the middle of the electoral campaign!

The answer? Attack the "deviations" of the Socialist Workers Party and if you can't find a real deviation, get friend Dwight into a bloc to dig up some quotations with which to connect one.

We are not interested in cluttering this short article with the bleached bones which Shachtman has tied together as the framework of his argument in support of his pacifist tendency. Shachtman himself will hasten to hide this skeleton in his closet where it will collect cobwebs in the dark along with the previous articles he wrote against the ideas of Trotsky.

We admit quite frankly what Shachtman only dares insinuate in a veiled and cowardly fashion—that our military policy:

- (1) Was formulated by Comrade Leon Trotsky as his last great contribution to the Fourth International.
- (2) Is Trotsky's application of his Transitional Program to the conditions of world war and the militarization of the United States.

## THE MARXIST ANSWER

Marxism has a different answer from that of pacifism. It advocates that the class-conscious worker stay with his class. If the workers are forced into a war he goes along side by side taking all the chances, on every occasion struggling for their interests. But even more, understanding that unless socialism gains power imperialist war is inevitable, he advocates military training for the workers. He advocates military training for the workers under their own control.

In the face of universal militarization, to the workers' question: What to do next? our answer for the present period is the slogan launched by Trotsky, struggle for TRADE UNION CONTROL OF MILITARY TRAINING.

That is the Marxist answer.

## Rubber Strike Victorious

## Bulletin

To the Socialist Appeal

YOUNGSTOWN, October 31, 1940—After three days' picketing the strike at Republic Rubber Company was settled before a labor conciliator on Wednesday, October 30 and the terms unanimously ratified by the union members on Thursday morning. Work was resumed at once.

The terms of settlement require the company to negotiate with the union as sole bargaining agency and conduct negotiations not less than three times a week, reaching a signed contract by December 31. Recognizing this settlement as a definite victory, the members of the Union hold no illusions concerning the good faith of the company and are perfecting their machinery for a possible resumption of the strike if necessary.

\* \* \*

YOUNGSTOWN, Ohio, Oct. 29—Officials of the Republic Rubber Co., subsidiary of the big Lee Rubber Co., are seeking a court injunction against mass picketing in an effort to break the strike of 700 rubber workers which Sunday night at 10 o'clock shut the Republic plant down cold.

The strike was called by the executive board of Local No. 102 of the United Rubber Workers—

CIO, after weeks of fruitless efforts to negotiate with the company. The management sought to limit meetings with the union committee to one a week, refused to settle some 30 to 40 major grievances which had piled up, and deliberately provoked the workers by employing legal aid from the Associated Industries of Cleveland, a notorious strike-breaking agency.

The union is demanding a general five cents to 15 cents per hour wage increase, upward revision of piece work rates, enforcement of the seniority provisions, settlement of all accumulated grievances, a signed contract, and immediate reinstatement of "Red" Doran, local president, fired July 1 for "insubordination."

The strike has become a major issue between the local bosses and police and the entire Youngstown CIO movement. Members of all CIO locals are augmenting the mass picket lines, as large contingents of police are on hand to intimidate the strikers. The local Teamsters union has refused to deliver raw materials to the plant.

Only the plant supervisory force is being permitted entrance into the plant, on condition that their cars are left outside the gates. Six scabs managed to slip through the pickets today, and three cars broke through the line. They will have a helluva time running the plant by themselves.

The strikers, men and women, Negro and white, are very militant, and have not permitted even a drenching rainstorm today to dampen their spirits. One of the picket captains, a militant Negro worker, successfully blocked the attempt of a threatening plant official to drive his car into the plant gates.

The CIO has been organized in the struck plant for three years. It defeated the "independent" company union in an NLRB election for sole bargaining agency on July 20.

J. P. MORGAN'S ERRAND BOY

J. P. Morgan & Co. would undoubtedly name the next Secretary of State if Willkie wins, since "J. P. Morgan & Co. has always named the Secretary of State in a Republican Administration," declared Democratic National Chairman Flynn last Thursday.

We agree with Flynn. Only we'd like to know who named the present Secretary of War, Henry L. Stimson—who happens also to have been Hoover's Republican Secretary of State.