

'NATIONAL UNITY' HIDES BLOW AT LABOR

MINNESOTA VOTE 5,743 FOR CARLSON

Anti-War Stand
Gains Lead
Among Minorities

By CARL O'SHEA
MINNEAPOLIS, Minn.—The Socialist Workers Party, on the basis of the November 5 election returns, has become the leading party appealing to the radical industrial proletariat of Minnesota.

The state's metropolitan area, comprising Ramsey and Hennepin counties, gave Grace Carlson, our senatorial candidate running on the Trotskyist Anti-war Party ticket, 2,782 votes. Thomas trailed with 2,090. The Browder-Ford ticket could get only 842 votes, and Aiken-Orange of the SLP sect obtained 1,338. Thus, running against traditional candidates of long-established parties, the Fourth International candidate and program clearly outdistanced its rivals.

VOTED FOR TROTSKYISM

Returns on a state scale are no less encouraging. With a hundred precincts yet to be tallied, Carlson got 5,743; Thomas-Kruger, 5,946; Browder-Ford, 2,520; and Aiken-Orange, 2,417. Inasmuch as our party confined its election campaign almost exclusively to the Twin Cities, it is extremely gratifying to have obtained over 5,000 votes from the rural areas for a candidate listed on the ballot as the Trotskyist Anti-war Party candidate, with all that name implies.

The state candidates of the other radical parties obtained but an infinitesimal vote, the largest being a few hundred.

The state's combined radical vote more than doubled that of 1936 when it hit bottom following a comparatively high vote in 1932.

The combined vote in 1932 was 31,577 (Thomas, 25,476; Foster, 6,101). In 1936 the radical candidates obtained only 6,407 votes (Thomas, 2,872; Browder, 2,574; Aiken, 961).

In 1940 the combined radical vote is 16,626, a gain of ten thousand over 1936. Despite the fairly wide newspaper and radio publicity obtained by the Norman Thomas pacifist sect, his group has now been passed by the city workers here in favor of the Socialist Workers Party. That's one milestone on our road.

REVOLUTIONARY PROGRAM

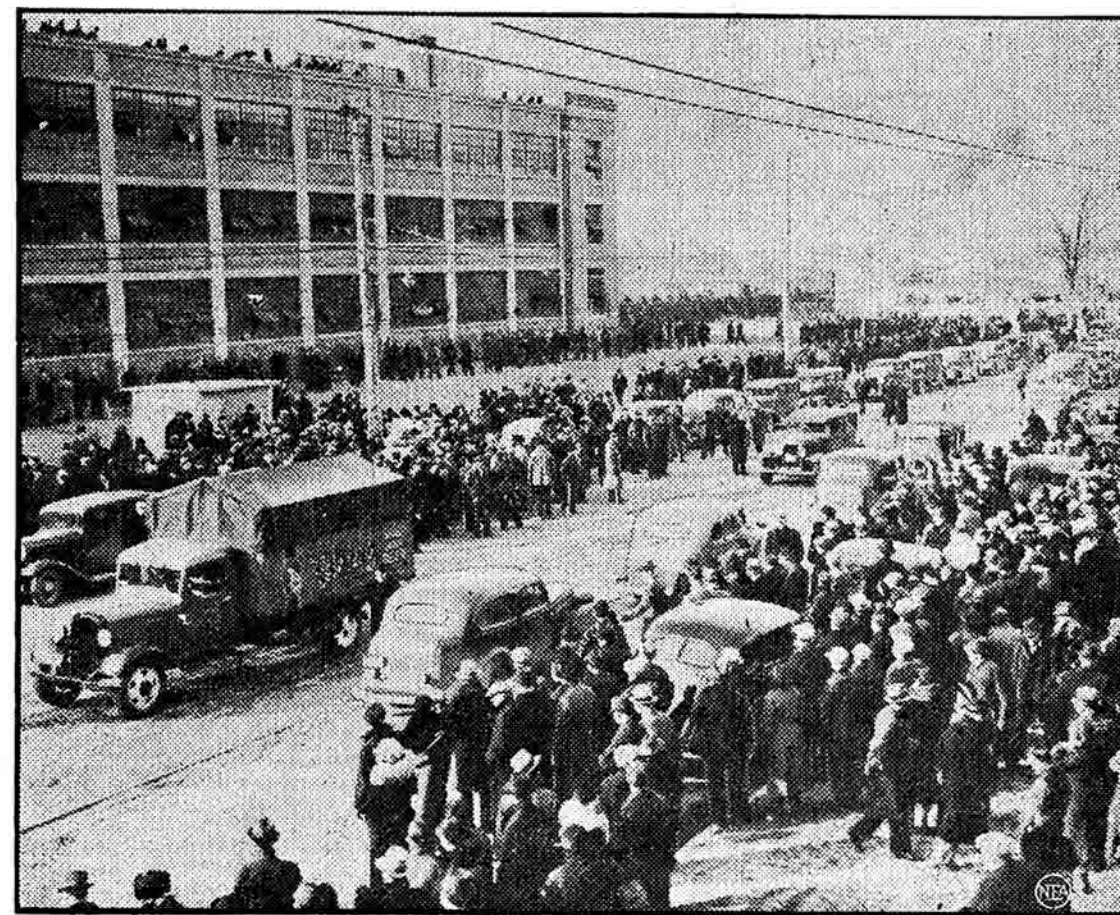
The Socialist Workers Party made its appeal to the voters on a straight revolutionary program: A ringing call to the workers of Minnesota, the United States and the world to stop the war by overthrowing capitalism and instituting the dictatorship of the proletariat and world socialism. For the first time, the words of Lenin and Trotsky were heard over the radio in the Twin Cities. The people who voted for us voted for the revolutionary solution of the horrible crisis.

The SWP in 1940 has conducted the finest revolutionary electoral campaign in the history of the Minnesota revolutionary movement. Ten thousand copies of a Minnesota edition of the *Socialist Appeal* were distributed. Three 15-minute radio talks were given by the candidate. Many mass meetings were held. Scores of new people have come up to party headquarters in Minneapolis and St. Paul, partly recruiting has quickened.

APPEALS HELPED

Cursory examination of the ward and precinct vote in the Twin Cities reveals a very positive correlation with the *Socialist Appeals* distributed. The workers in the wards where we have concentrated our *Appeal* distribution during the past year have answered us by giving the Socialist Workers Party their vote of confidence. The returns from the Negro precincts have been extraordinarily encouraging.

Flint, 1937 --- It's Still the Only Answer



Flint G. M. Conflict Halted

UAW Officials Sanction Reprisals Upon Union Militants

FLINT, Mich., Nov. 8.—An agreement was reached this week in the 9-week fight between the Fisher Body Local No. 581, United Auto Workers—CIO, and the General Motors Corporation. The agreement provides for re-employment of 17 suspended Fisher body militants, but without back pay and with severe company reprisals forced on six of the most militant union men involved.

According to the agreement, 11 of the suspended union men were put back to work at Fisher Body without back pay. Six men, however, singled out as the best union fighters, were refused employment at the Fisher plant. The union negotiating committee was forced to accept a deal whereby these six men would be put to work at the Buick plant here instead. Deprived of their accumulated seniority at the Fisher plant, and working at Buick with the status of new workers on probation, the six are now subject to dismissal without recourse.

The struggle broke out after a long campaign of provocation and speed-up by the company. As a climax to this campaign, the company began to negotiate with the AFL-CIO stooges in the plant in violation of the GM agreement with the UAW-CIO, which had the vast majority in the plant.

The CIO men took action to eliminate the AFL company

stooges from the plant. This was countered by the company with a shut-down and lock-out. In addition, 17 key union men were then suspended from the plant.

The jurisdictional issue proved to be a company trap. Instead of a concentrated fight against the company on the real issues of speed-up, wage cuts and violations of the union contract, the Fisher local was maneuvered into what the company could play up as another AFL-CIO jurisdictional scrap.

Once the 17 men were fired, however, it was the elementary duty of the CIO-UAW to fight to restore them to their jobs. The local union met the issue by taking a strike vote.

At this point, the International officers, Thomas, Reuther & Co., stepped in, refused to sanction strike action and publicly denounced the local union as being in the wrong. What was in reality a lock-out by the company was termed by Reuther "an out-law strike." This was an open invitation to the company to do its worse.

This thoroughly disloyal blow to the local union by the UAW International Executive Board led to the long drawn-out negotiations and the final severe settlement.

The situation demanded a strong union leadership which would

have faced the company with an immovable front and have made an uncompromising demand that the fired men be re-employed without reprisals. Such a stand would have resulted undoubtedly in a real union victory.

The local leadership, due to inexperience and the pressure of the International officers, failed to take the best advantage of the situation. They did not make clear the real issues at stake. The attacks of the International board members were met with silence or useless outbursts of anger in the local meetings. No real program of action was developed.

That the local came out of the fight even with some gains salvaged is due to the consistently militant attitude of the rank and file of the local.

There is no question that, despite their mistakes, the Local Fisher leadership was honest and militant throughout the struggle.

What was and is required is a clear perspective and well-planned program of action, which will take into consideration not only the plant problems but the entire national picture. This will enable the ranks to foresee the conservative, do-nothing, and even traitorous acts of Reuther, Thomas, Frankenstein & Co., who have capitulated to the "national defense" policies of the government.

But it is equally plain that so

Ford Gets Big War Order Day After FDR's Re-Election

WASHINGTON, Nov. 6.—As a result of the recent decision of the U. S. Circuit Court of Appeals that the Ford Motor Co. is guilty of "an outright violation" of the National Labor Relations Act, the Roosevelt administration is now giving it to Henry Ford hot and heavy—well, heavy!

Today the War Dept. announced the awarding of a contract of \$123,323,020 worth of aircraft engines to the Ford Motor Co. It may have been simple good will on the part of the Administration to show there was no hard feelings over the fact that Henry Ford, in his elation over a conference he held with Willkie, had absent-mindedly left a \$46 tip to a waitress. And the award occurred symbolically the day after Roosevelt's re-election.

Gone is the memory of Ford's refusal to manufacture planes for Great Britain. And 25 United Auto Workers union members are still facing jail for passing out pro-union leaflets at the great River Rouge Ford plant gates last week.

Australian Munitions Workers Call Quickie Strike

LITHGOW, Australia. — The Lithgow branch of the Arms, Explosives, and Munition Workers Federation, recently called a "stop-work meeting" of 2,000 workers at the Commonwealth Small Arms Factory.

The half day strike protested "irritating delays in paying compensation claims, the imposition of fines on employees who are alleged not to have clocked in and out, and other matters."

Getting Big-Hearted

The Navy Dept. announces that pay increases amounting to \$3,800,000 annually will be given 4,000 civilian employees of the department in order to bring their salaries and wages into conformity with prevailing standards. No mention is made of paying to these employees the millions in back wages due them for the years they have worked at the below standard scales.

From Binghamton, N. Y., comes a story of similar generosity. The Endicott-Johnson Corporation, which employs 20,000 workers making shoes, just announced a 5 percent wage increase effective November 12. The increase balances a 5 percent deduction for "medical costs" taken from the pay envelopes in the Spring of 1938.

Anyway, it's white of you bosses—mighty white!

Stalinists Change Hammer and Sickle For Spade and Hoe

Lost in the hurly-burly of the election campaign was the fact that the Communist Party is quietly dropping its traditional hammer and sickle symbol.

With its usual casualness in tossing over-board every remnant of its revolutionary past, the first notification of the change was made on its pre-election petitions.

A long-handled spade crossed upon a hoe blossomed forth in place of the symbol borrowed from the October Revolution.

We mention this simply in passing. Everything the hammer and sickle represented has long since been abandoned by the parties of the Third International. Why not the symbol itself?

Molotov Pays Courtesy Call On Hitlerites

All the diplomatic chancelleries of the world are watching the visit of Stalin's flunkey Vyacheslav Molotov to Berlin for a conference with Hitler.

The State department in Washington is particularly interested, since vigorous efforts have been made by Hull to break Stalin from his pact with Hitler.

A threat to Japan from the Russian flank coincides with the imperialist interests of the United States in the Far East, particularly in relation with the rich booty of the colonial possessions of Holland, France, and Great Britain.

Stalin, on the other hand, fearful of involvement in the world war and the internal repercussions involved which would unseat him whether it came from a progressive revolution of the workers against his regime, or from a successful attack by the Hitler military machine, has been following his traditional course of licking the boots of his most threatening enemy.

Until Hitler finds himself confronted with a tremendous military catastrophe, Stalin will revolve as a satellite to the Nazi chief.

The development of the war thus each day further weakens the positions of the Soviet Union under the policies of Stalin. The assassination of Trotsky by Stalin was one of the most terrible blows he has dealt the Soviet Union. We can expect such blows on the part of Stalin to continue in the future. Only the crushing of the Stalinist bureaucracy by the workers can ensure the continued existence of the Soviet Union.

War Drive Pushed "Full Speed" Ahead

Wall Street Urges
"National Unity"
At Labor Expense

"National Unity" has become the chief battle-cries of the third-term Roosevelt administration.

With this slogan, Roosevelt hopes to harness the labor movement to the war chariot of American imperialism and, incidentally, to silence his opponents of the extreme right-wing Wall Street camp now mobilized behind Wendell Willkie.

The "National Unity" campaign has come as a whirlwind following the election. It was initiated in a big way Wednesday evening after the election at Carnegie Hall, when leading Roosevelt supporters made a symbolic alliance with their Republican opponents, represented by Alf Landon, who delivered a radio plea for unity from Kansas, and Howard Connelley, chairman of the National Association of Manufacturers, who spoke in person.

CHAIN GANG UNITY

On the same day as this meeting, 18,000 movie theatres throughout the country began the showing of a short film calling on the American people to "forget their political differences" and unite behind the President in the interests of "national defense" and in the face of the "greatest menace to our democratic way of life."

Paramount objective of the "unity" campaign is to regiment labor behind the war drive of the American ruling class. While divided still on matters of domestic policy, which take on a completely secondary character in view of the primary international objectives of American imperialism, the capitalist class, as represented by both its political wings, the Democratic and Republican parties, is solidly united on the questions of foreign policy. And this requires for its successful realization a completely docile working class.

In his first interview following his re-election, Roosevelt stressed that his first task will be to intervene in the split between the AFL and CIO to effect a united labor movement. This unity, however, is not dictated so far as Roosevelt is concerned, by the needs of labor itself in its conflict with the boss class; but in the interests of "national defense."

FIGHT FOR SPOILS

Even the most reactionary spokesmen for Wall Street have voiced their complete accord with this aim. They are all for labor "unity"—the unity of a prison chain gang shackled together. But they insist on the preservation

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War Crisis Brings
FDR Intervention
In Latin America

With the third term nailed over his fireside, Roosevelt has returned to Washington to represent American capitalism for another four years. He immediately accelerated his drive toward war, markets, colonies, plunder, regimentation of the labor movement. Wall Street reacted with great activity on the stock exchange, steels, chemicals, and government securities leading.

On the home front, Roosevelt launched a drive for "national unity" at the expense of the labor movement to back up the "defense measures." Not a capitalist paper last week failed to carry editorials and headlines on the need for "national unity." The Republicans also backed the drive to a man—Willkie, Landon, Fish, etc. Some of them suggested burning campaign literature in bonfires like so many campaign promises as a gesture of "national unity." At the same time the Republicans demanded for themselves the right of "loyal opposition."

Roosevelt indicated that he would push for "unity" between the CIO and the AFL. Pressure from the White House to unite at the expense of industrial unionism is already being felt among the delegates to the two trade union conventions at Atlantic City and New Orleans. There was talk of appointing Mayor La Guardia as Secretary of Labor to replace Secretary Perkins.

On the question of increasing taxes, especially the indirect taxes which pick the pockets of the workers, and increasing the national debt to 65 billion dollars to take care of loans to finance construction of the greatest military machine in the world, Roosevelt conferred with Democratic leaders. It was undecided whether to do this job now or wait until around Christmas time.

ON THE WAR FRONT

On the war front foreign diplomats and foreign governments along with Secretary of Navy Knox correctly interpreted Roosevelt's re-election as indicating that war preparations on the part of Washington would be speeded up. It was intimated in circles near the White House that Roosevelt might ask the next Congress to repeal the Johnson Act prohibiting loans to nations in default of past debts and to repeal the cash-and-carry provision of the Neutrality Act in view of the present strain on the capitalists of Great Britain.

On the day following Roosevelt's re-election, the British launched a propaganda campaign to bring the United States into the war as a direct military participant, declaring that the idea the USA can keep out is "just so much bunk." The British argue that Britain can't possibly out-produce Germany in war materials, that Britain alone can't pay the expense of fighting Hitler—the burden must be shifted onto the backs of the American public too, that they can use at this time some navy units, some pilots and some aircraft with guns to go along with the pilots, and that a declaration of war by Washington would "turn the tide of morale" in favor of Great Britain.

LATIN AMERICAN EXPANSION

The Latin-American countries read the election returns as a go-ahead signal for US expansion in their direction. Just as Hitler first swallowed Austria, Sudeten, Czechoslovakia, the greater part of Poland, then Denmark, Norway, Holland, Belgium before really turning loose on his major foe, France and Britain, so it is expected that the thoroughly hated "El Tio" Sam will move in on the weak semi-colonial Latin-American countries. The agents

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Negro Sailors Are Still in the Brig

By ALBERT PARKER

Because they bravely exposed the hypocritical nature of the slogans about a "war for democracy," and because they warned other Negroes about the falsity of the promises of the recruiting sergeants about "joining the Navy seeing the world and learning a trade," two of the fifteen Negro mess boys on the U.S.S. Philadelphia, stationed at Long Beach, California, are in prison awaiting court-martial, and the others are prisoners-at-large, forbidden to leave the ship, held for "further investigation."

Letters from two of the men on the ship, sent to the *Pittsburgh Courier* this week appeal to that paper to publicize the fact that the officer caste is attempting to terrorize them because they dared to sign their names to the previous letter.

AFRAID TO SIGN

One of them, ending "I am afraid to sign my name. One of the Philadelphia Boys," sends the

information that "Goodwin and Johnson were put in prison for standing up for their rights and all the rest of us can't leave the ship... I hope the people of my race will not stand up and see men tell the truth and go to prison."

The other, also unsigned, explains that the "Commanding Officer of the ship is holding all of us for an investigation trying to force the boys to tell who is the brains of that letter."

OFFICERS GRILL MEN

It is plain from this that the officers of the Philadelphia are determined to put an end to any protests to public opinion against Jim Crowism. They have arrested two of the men and are grilling the others to find out who the "agitators" and "instigators" are. It is inconceivable to them that men can be driven just so far and then they revolt without the help of "agitators" because they just can't stand the torment and insult to which they are subjected.

But it is equally plain that so

far they have had no success. The boys are sticking together and, in the face of intensified inquisition, are still appealing to the public for help.

AID COMES

Already they are being joined by men from other ships, coming to their aid, helping as much as they can under the circumstances.

One of these, a mess man from the far-away Naval Air Base at Opa Locha, Florida, helps to break through the wall of silence surrounding the case by passing on to the *Courier* a letter he had received from Byron Johnson, who has since been thrown into prison. Johnson, in answering a question from him on the results of their letter's publication, wrote: "We are now P.A.L. (prisoners-at-large). Of course, we can't do much since they have us restricted until the outcome of the case. As it is now, we are unable to do anything since we can't make any outside contacts. So it is up to you to carry on where we left

off... The boys of the Philadelphia are depending on everyone to buck us up."

The sailor who received this letter signed his name, saying: "If you publish anything about this letter, you may publish my name if you feel it necessary to do so. That, of course, would probably mean that I would meet the same fate Byron Johnson and his friends met. But I am fanatical enough about it all to allow that to happen to me too, if necessary." The *Courier* did not print his name.

This is followed by a long letter signed by Richard C. Watts, Donald Moran and William Seabrook, of the U.S.S. Sampson, stationed at Norfolk, Virginia, in which, after paying tribute to the courage of the Philadelphia men they proceed to uncover a system of Jim Crow conditions on board their ship that easily rivals for viciousness the story told about the Philadelphia.

These conditions exist not only

in the every day life of the ship, but on Sunday too, for as they say: "The Constitution clearly provides that all men are created equal, yet in our Naval churches—both Protestant and Catholic—discrimination is openly practiced. When conditions are so bad that people who say they are believers of God, are choicy about who sits beside them, then it is time that we pray and start to do something about it."

"We (colored) men in the Navy are just flunkies, disguised in a uniform... It will be found that on the smaller ships in the Navy, the mess boys really do not have a place to eat their food properly. He either has to stand up or sit down on the deck to eat, while the rest of the crew have designated tables, where they may sit, talk, properly masticate and enjoy their food."

SENT TO BRIG

"We are subjected to be roughly spoken to three-fourths of the time, cursed at sometimes, with-

out a murmur of resentment coming from us. In case of resentment we are put on report, restricted, fined, or sent to the brig for being insubordinate to a superior officer, etc....

"Wherever we turn we hear the words, 'Don't do this' or 'Don't do that', or you don't get liberty for a week. We are not wanted to talk to each other when an officer is around, and in general, an officer is to be treated as though he were a god or king."

SHIPS ARE JAILS

"Literally speaking, the Negro is in jail under observation but somebody thought it would sound nicer to call it the Navy....

"The majority of officers seem to think that we Negroes are just a race of illiterates who have to have someone standing over them with a whip all the time and tell them what to do....

"We are allowed thirty days leave each year, which we rarely

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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.

Urges Appeal Editors To Use Two-Syllable Words, Bury Dictionary

Editor:

After reading the November 2 issue of the *Socialist Appeal*, I was struck, as I have been struck before by its scholastic tone. I believe that the *Appeal* should truly be a workers' paper. I would like to ask if the editor thinks that the American workers can fully comprehend, without the aid of Webster (and they probably do not own one) the Ph. D. theses on Lewis' reversal. It is not the editor's job to give the workers a lesson in five-syllable words but rather to speak in their language, not the language of the university. If the editor does not know how the workers talk, let him go out and live among them for a while.

It has been said that since the *Fourth International* only comes once a month, we therefore need theoretical and semi-theoretical articles in the *Appeal* for the more advanced workers. How about letting the more advanced workers hunger for a few weeks while we feed those workers that we are trying to recruit. Save the desserts for the *Fourth* and give us the staples once a week in the *Appeal*.

I remember the series of articles the *Appeal* carried on the auto workers fight. Do you remember—there were common workers' expressions, simple language—language that Detroit and every other working class city could understand. Have those people forgotten how to write?

Let's tie a few keys down on the typewriter. It's about time that we left the schools and walked across the tracks.

Houston, Texas

Editor's Reply:

In place of taking away the editor's copy of Webster—where he searches painfully for the five-syllable words he uses—how about crowding out his articles by sending in some workers' stories from your district?

We are sure that all the readers of the *Appeal* would like to hear labor news from Houston, with or without the typewriter keys tied down.

STEEL WORKERS USE "QUICKIE" TACTIC TO WIN

YOUNGSTOWN, Ohio, Nov. 1.—"Quickie" strikes are being used with telling effect, particularly in the Republic Steel plant here, to enforce settlement of the swelling list of grievances which have been harassing the steel workers.

On October 18, 100 workers in the shipping department of Republic staged a day-and-a-half "quickie" shut-down which brought the company to terms with an assurance of wage increases to be immediately negotiated with the Republic local of the Steel Workers Organizing Committee.

Prior to the shipping department stoppage, over a hundred shippers pulled a three hour halt, returning to work when the management promised wage increases. They threaten to pull another "quickie" if the company does not come through.

These, and a number of other similar actions, are resulting in large gains for the membership of the SWOC in Youngstown, as the steel workers, disastrously defeated in the Little Steel strike in 1937, begin to take courage again and learn that it is possible for them to buck the steel bosses and win.

The "quickie" tactic is spreading to other steel plants. An effective stoppage of this type was pulled by the entire machine shop department of the MacDonald plant of the Carnegie-Illinois Corp. of U. S. Steel several days after the shipping department walk-out in Republic.

The entire striking department confronted the management as a committee of the whole and in a few hours returned to work with their demands for revision of working schedule and ample advance work notification granted.

Job Training Rights Denied Negro Youths

NEW YORK, Nov. 8.—Negroes will have the "honor" of doing the dirtiest and most dangerous tasks in the army, but they are being systematically excluded from work in the war industries. They are even being denied access to the vocational training being ordered by the National Defense Commission.

State and local administrators of the "national defense" vocational training courses in Alabama, for instance, are refusing outright to permit Negroes to take such training. They argue that the industrial plants in the local communities do not hire colored workers.

The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People has lodged a protest against this policy with the U. S. Office of Education.

Negro Appointed To Higher Rank In Armed Forces

ALBANY, N. Y., Nov. 8.—In a gesture intended to cover up the Jim-Crow policies in the armed forces, Governor Lehman today promoted Lieut. Chauncey M. Hooper, New York City, to command of the 369th Coast Artillery, Negro Regiment of the New York National Guard.

Hooper, an attorney who was a delegate to the 1939 State Constitutional Convention, is the first Negro to gain command over a major unit in the state military.

This isolated move corresponds to the pre-election gesture of Roosevelt in belatedly appointing another Negro, Colonel Benjamin Davis, to the rank of brigadier-general. Davis had been ignored at the time when scores of white colonels had been promoted. But the possibility of losing Negro votes after the Administration had openly declared its intention of maintaining its traditional policy of segregation of Negroes in all branches of the armed service, led the president to this last-minute move. Davis is to be retired in a few months anyway.

Rapid Expansion of Army Follows Draft Lottery

WASHINGTON, Nov. 8.—The nation's land forces will be expanded to 1,000,000 men within the next four months, according to plans just announced by the War Dept. In order to facilitate the training of such a huge force within a shorter period than had been announced prior to the elections, the new recruits will be sandwiched into regular Army and National Guard units.

Speeding up of the draft program following the elections is natural. Up to the present, the press has been playing up the angle that not so many of the

Police Raid Office Seize Trotskyist Literature

Police raided the home and law office of John Royston Wishart in Sidney, according to reports in the Australian press, and seized a quantity of anti-war leaflets addressed to soldiers, and other documents including one purported to be an organizational report of the Communist League of Australia, section of the Fourth International.

The leaflet beginning "Revolutionary Greetings" was distributed to soldiers during a march through the city, according to the press report.

In the raid, declared detectives, they found five copies of a document headed "To the Soldiers of the Second A.I.F." in Wishart's office, and nine more in the room in which he lived. Three copies of one headed "This Imperialist War" were found at the office and four more in his room, they said.

The raid was made just prior to the Australian elections.

A.L.P. Doubles Vote of 1936 In New York

Since 1936, the American Labor Party has nearly doubled its strength in the state of New York election returns indicate.

With 33 districts still to report, the party received 422,656 votes as compared with 274,924 four years ago.

The vote is significant despite the fact that all the ballots cast for the ALP went to Roosevelt, since the same fact held true in 1936.

The vote for the Socialist Party in the state of New York declined to less than one fourth of what it received in 1936, Norman Thomas obtaining only 20,114. According to the New York election law a party must receive a minimum of 50,000 votes to remain on the ballot for the subsequent election. The Communist Party was barred by an arbitrary ruling of the courts.

MASSES FAVOR CONSCRIPTION POLL SHOWS

There is a "growing sentiment in favor of compulsory military training," according to a survey made public on November 10 by Dr. George Gallup, director of the American Institute of Public Opinion.

"By the end of August," he declares, "the institute found seventy-one persons in every hundred in favor of a program that would give a year's military training to selected young men in their twenties and early thirties."

"The surveys found little difference in the views of Democrats and Republicans—of men or of women. While President Roosevelt may have lost votes to some extent on this issue, it is certain that by far the largest part of the public—in both political camps—had come to view conscription as a national necessity."

The report of the Gallup institute bears out the analysis made by the Socialist Workers Party some time ago, that mass sentiment in the United States favors conscription.

The effect of the war upon the voting is also indicated by the latest figures of a poll taken on the eve of the election:

Believe Roosevelt would do best job of strengthening national defense 61%
Believe Willkie would do best job 39%
Prefer Roosevelt in Event

of War 60%
Prefer Willkie in Event of War 40%

Inasmuch as Roosevelt received only 54.5 percent of the vote despite the war issue, it is clear that he would never have gained his third term if the war had not entered as a factor, obscuring the unrest and dissatisfaction among the workers and farmers over unemployment, low wages, long hours, low prices for farm products—the general impasse of capitalism in its death agony.

We Love Our Boss

EL PASO, Tex., 8.—Seven out of seventeen employees of J. T. Gwynes, owner of a printing company, who was ordered by the U. S. Department of Labor to pay his employees \$2,060.78 in back wages, refused their checks on the grounds they considered themselves paid in full.

COME ONE! COME ALL

The Fair has closed, but you can come to the

Boro Park Social
FOR A LIVELY EVENING OF FUN!

Refreshments, Drinks, Dancing, Games, Entertainment

Grand Opening!

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Bad Health Has Army Worried

Now that they are ready to start the slaughter, the capitalist class and its medical flunkies are getting very solicitous of our health. Witness:

1. A *National Committee to Conserve Manpower in the Defense Industries*, made up of 24 volunteers operating as special agents of the U. S. Department of Labor, has been set up to devise systems designed to prevent industrial accidents and to "watch the safety and health" of workers in war industry.

2. The American Medical Association has set up a *National Committee on Preparedness* to watch the health of workers, especially women, drawn freshly into war work. This body will carry on research in occupational diseases and industrial poisons and increase health and safety education.

3. The mayor of New York City and the governor of New York have appealed to the American Medical Association for lists of physicians with a "broad community view" to serve with draft boards as members of the board rather than as physicians.

4. The U. S. Army is watching with interest British experiments in fortifying margarine with Vitamin B-1. (Why not give the British workers butter for a change?) "Our British cousins" have found that the diet they have been allowing their workers induces "moodiness, sluggishness, indifference, mental and physical fatigue and fear." Which seems to be all right in peace times when the worst an individual worker might do is commit suicide. But in a

Natalia Trotsky Greeted on Nov. 7

MINNEAPOLIS, Minn.—A Twin City membership meeting gathered on November 7th to honor the twenty-third anniversary of the Russian revolution. By unanimous vote the membership sent the following message to Natalia Trotsky:

"With great pride, love and gratitude we greet you today on the anniversary of October."

Draftee Jobs Guaranteed Draft Head Alleges

WASHINGTON, D. C., Nov. 8.—Draft Director Dykstra today ruled that men who enlisted voluntarily for service in the armed forces are entitled to "the same job protection as those who are drafted."

As a result of the tremendous disillusionment of the returning soldiers of the last world war who found their jobs gone, and the resultant scandal, the government has found it necessary to make a pretence of safeguarding the civilian jobs of drafted and enlisted men.

"The same job protection as

those who are drafted," however, gives enlisted men little encouragement. According to the actual wording of the Selective Service Act, employers must reinstate a drafted employee upon his return from army duty to his old job, if application is made within 60 days, "unless the employer's circumstances have so changed as to make it impossible or unreasonable to do so."

And what employer will consider it "reasonable" to re-employ a soldier during the tremendous economic collapse which will follow the present war, as after the last?

Soldiers at Fort Dix Gain Rise in Their Wages

FORT DIX, N. J., Nov. 7.—As a result of the open protest of the ranks of the 44th Division, in training here, when they received their first pay-checks several weeks ago and discovered only \$21 instead of \$30 as promised, an official memorandum has just been issued granting them base pay of \$30 a month.

As reported in the *Appeal* of several issues ago, what amounted to an open demonstration by a group of recruits from the New York area was conducted before newspaper correspondents. The officers and the daily press were unable to suppress the fact that the men were being outrageously over-charged for laundry and other expenses, and that their dependents at home in a number of instances were being cut off relief.

The raising of the pay in this instance demonstrates the concern of the army heads against the idea spreading just prior to the beginning of the general draft, of the actual conditions prevailing in the armed forces.

Latin American Notes

Despite extraordinary material difficulties due to the indescribable poverty of the masses in Cuba, the Revolutionary Workers Party, Cuban section of the Fourth International, is meeting fifth encouraging gains according to a report just received from Cuba.

The influence of Stalinism has declined precipitously in Cuba. In the period between the Constitutional Assembly elections and the recent general elections, the Stalinists lost 25 percent of their voting strength.

This decline is largely due to the treacherous collaboration of the Stalinists with representatives of American imperialism and the native ruling class. They are supporters of President Batista, butcher of the Cuban workers.

Some time ago a large group of working class revolutionists broke from the Masonic reformist Socialist Party of Chile and joined the ranks of the Fourth International, giving a considerable spur to the growth of our movement in Chile.

Lucha Sindical (Trade Union Struggle) official organ of the progressive group in one of the largest locals of the Chilean railway unions, lauds Trotsky's great contributions to the world working class, condemns his assassination by Stalin, and warns that Stalin may now try to do away with Trotsky's widow, Natalia Sedoff Trotsky.

From Argentina a comrade reports: "The Trotskyist movement is already born. It is here to stay and will go ahead. For the first time in its history it has recruited trade union elements into its ranks, workers who go out and distribute our literature widely and it has finally been released from its shell of isolation."

The Workers Metallurgical Union of La Plata, Argentina, in a strongly worded resolution expressed its sorrow over the assassination of Leon Trotsky and placed the responsibility for the murder squarely on the doorstep of Stalin.

The resolution calls on all workers' organizations to cleanse their ranks of the Stalinist "paid agents, counter-revolutionary curs and ambush assassins."

TRADE UNION NOTES

by Farrell Dobbs

On November 18, the CIO convention will open at Atlantic City. The AFL gathering will convene on the same date at New Orleans. The main issue before both bodies is the question of the renewal of unity negotiations with strong pressure for unity coming from the White House.

Now that the Third Term election is out of the way, Roosevelt is moving more swiftly than ever toward war. Therefore, complete regimentation of the trade union movement has become more imperative to him. The main instrument for this job of regimentation is the patriotic trade union officialdom.

However, the conflict between the AFL the CIO creates conditions which are dangerous to Roosevelt's war program. He must have a maximum of harmony among the class-collaborationist trade union leaders. Hence the strong pressure for the unification of the AFL and the CIO.

COCKY ATTITUDE OF AFL

The AFL approaches the negotiations with a cocky attitude. The Executive Council feels that the craft unionists are in a very strong position. George Meany reports a current AFL membership of four and one-quarter millions. This is an increase of 50 percent over the membership figure after the CIO was suspended. While the Executive Council, through Green, officially proclaimed "neutrality" in the presidential election, a big majority of the AFL officials supported Roosevelt. This, they feel, gives them an edge over the CIO at the White House because of Lewis's support of Willkie. They add to these factors the internal conflict now raging within the CIO which cannot help but weaken it in the unity negotiations.

CIO IN TURMOIL

The CIO, on the other hand, is in great turmoil. A realignment is taking place in the leadership, a section of which has come out strong for unity with the apparent intention of deserting the CIO if the impending unity negotiations break down. It is clear that Lewis lost much of his influence by supporting Willkie. This weakened him in the CIO, not only among the Roosevelt supporters, but also among the many CIO workers who agreed with his criticism of Roosevelt and hoped against hope that he would declare for an independent labor party. Lewis's threat to resign, however, gave the rabidly pro-Roosevelt Hillmanites just what they needed.

The Hillman forces have been moving rapidly in the direction of labor unity "in the interests of the national defense" and at whatever cost to the industrial union movement. They now demand the elimination of Lewis under a threat to bolt the CIO. What they really mean is that they will bolt unless the CIO makes peace with the AFL regardless of the terms. The attack on Lewis is mainly a cover for this policy. If Lewis does resign and unity does not follow, Hillman and Company will more than likely leave the CIO anyway and follow Dubinsky into the AFL.

The prestige which Lewis has lost in his own union, the miners, creates a new situation in his personal machine. His principal lieutenants did not follow him into the Willkie camp. Instead, they continued in support of Roosevelt. While some emphasized that they were also for Lewis, the fact remains that they did not follow his political line. It was only second string men who went over to Willkie along with Lewis.

The Stalinist-inspired "draft Lewis" movement has found very little echo among the Lewis machine men or for that matter in any union not Stalinist dominated. Instead, the Lewis men are quietly making their preparations for the CIO convention with an ear to the ground to see what Lewis is going to do. It is doubtful that there is anyone among them who considers himself strong enough, even under the new conditions, to fight the "chief." If Lewis decides to fight to hold the CIO presidency, he will probably retain the support of most of his personal followers.

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LEWIS WITHDRAWAL LIKELY
It is most likely, however, that he will withdraw. If so, Phillip Murray is the most probable successor. Hillman could find Murray acceptable, provided that he negotiates unity with the AFL. Murray, as CIO president, would continue to lean heavily upon Lewis who would, therefore, in a large degree remain the actual "chief."

The Stalinist backing of Lewis is predicated on their hopes to retain the special position in the CIO which Lewis has accorded

them and his opposition to Roosevelt's foreign policy.

ROOSEVELT PRESSURE

The CIO unions go to Atlantic City fighting with their backs to the wall to preserve their industrial form of organization. The Roosevelt administration is bringing strong pressure to force unity. The AFL, still basically a craft union organization, is very confident of its strength and will attempt to drive a hard bargain. The CIO is weakened by internal conflict. There is grave danger of a capitulation on some of the basic premises of industrial unionism. There is almost the certainty of a split in the CIO if the AFL terms are found unacceptable and refused by a majority of the CIO.

LEADERSHIP PREVENTED UNITY

The evil fruits of machine domination in the trade unions have fallen upon both the AFL and the CIO workers throughout the entire period of the split. Cowardly leadership, unconfronted by the workers, has frequently capitulated before the pressure of the bosses, thus depriving the workers of the gains that they could have made through their unions. With the mass of the workers, both AFL and CIO, prepared to establish unity on a fair and proper basis, this uncontrolled leadership has arbitrarily stood in the way of labor peace. Now, under pressure from the War Deal, these same officials place the hard-earned gains of the workers in great jeopardy by putting the industrial unions on the block in a head-long rush towards unity.

These are the evils of the wide gap between the top leadership and the membership in both the AFL and the CIO. The AFL workers, who do not desire the decimation of the unions of the mass production workers, will have little voice in deciding the AFL terms. The CIO workers on their part are placed in double jeopardy by the crisis in the CIO leadership. Here then is a situation which may provide the impetus for a rank and file uprising to reduce this terrible gap between leaders and members and restore the policy-making powers of the trade unions to the membership where they rightfully belong.

UNITY WITH GUARANTEES

The industrial unions are composed of the most exploited layers of the industrial proletariat, the most militant sections of the trade union movement—the auto workers, miners, steel workers, rubber workers, etc. The mass production workers know what will happen to them if they lose their industrial unions. The AFL workers also realize that if the industrial unions are weakened this will be the signal for an anti-union drive by their employers as well.

The workers want unity, the complete unification of the labor movement—AFL, CIO and the Railroad Brotherhoods. But unity must come only on the basis of full guarantees for the preservation and extension of the industrial union method of organization.

STEEL PROFITS SOAR

War—it's wonderful! The *New York Times* reported in last Sunday's financial section, "The profits of twenty-eight steel companies for the first 9 months of 1940 were \$169,919,408, compared with \$54,606,254 in the same period in 1939, despite the fact that tax appropriations for the current year were virtually double those in the comparable period. The increase amounts to 211 percent for the nine months. If a similar rate of gains were possible in the final quarter of 1940, earnings for the full year eclipse the record profits established by the industry in 1929."

In a morbid after thought the *Times* adds that it may be a little tough holding on to the rate of gain for the last quarter due to further tax increases; but ends up on the understatement of the week, "Nevertheless, the steel results are not discouraging."

Chins up, lads! Let's not let a 211 percent profit gain get us down!

MARXIST SCHOOL

Lectures for the Coming Week

Dialectical Materialism and Natural Science

Monday 7:10 to 8:40

Lecturer: William F. Warde

The Revolutionary Fight Against Fascism

Monday 8:50 to 10:20

Lecturer: Felix Morrow

The Death Agony of Capitalism and the Rise of Fascism

Tuesday 7:10 to 8:40

Lecturer: Murry Weiss

Trade Unions and Transitional Demands

Tuesday 8:50 to 10:20

Lecturer: Farrell Dobbs

To be held at IRVING PLAZA

Irving Place and 15th St. New York City

The Negro Struggle

By ALBERT PARKER

We urge our readers to pay particular attention to the articles in this and past issues of the Socialist Appeal, reporting the treatment by the Southern officer caste in the U.S. Navy of Negro sailors who have dared to expose to the world the vicious Jim Crow policies in force on the ships.

A number of these sailors are already in grave danger. To their aid have rallied sailors from other ships who are speaking up in their defense as well as they can, and signing their names too in many cases.

It is our duty on the outside to widely publicize the facts they have bared, to defend them from punishment by mass pressure and meetings, and to intensify our agitation for taking control of military training away from the bureaucrats and putting it in the hands of the trade unions.

INTO THE WASTE BASKET

Last Wednesday we threw into the waste-basket a lot of clippings, some of them a full page in size, from several Negro newspapers, containing the paid advertisements of the Republicans, and editorials from those papers that stumped for Willie.

We had saved them just on the chance that Willie might be elected. In that case we were going to use them in comparing his record from week-to-week with his promises.

Because, you see, Willie was not stingy in this campaign in his promises to the Negroes. Realizing how important the Negro vote was in many key states, he promised them just about everything but socialism.

Lynching? No one looks at it with more condemnation than he does, he said, and furthermore, something should be done about it. A law should be passed.

Jim Crowism? He was against it, he said. If he was elected, he would put an end to it. Yes, he said, he would even fire any of his subordinates "on the spot" if he caught them at it in civil service.

Segregation in the armed forces? He didn't see any reason for it, he said.

Job discrimination? He didn't like that either. And if he was elected, he would see to it that colored men would have equal opportunity to get jobs in private industry.

Unemployment? Of course he was against that too. Just elect him and he would do away with it, and put everybody to work.

Relief? He promised to do away with "the theory that relief is a Negro reservation." He said he would abolish discrimination in its administration and continue it for those who couldn't get gainful employment.

These were the promises he made when he was speaking to colored audiences. Of course, he did not say these things when he was speaking in the south, as at Amarillo, Texas.

Nor did he explain why it was that in the utility industries, where he is already "elected," he has never done anything to wipe out the Jim Crow hiring policies, which either exclude colored workers completely or confine them to common labor. He did not show how he could abolish job discrimination easier as head of the government than as head of a utility corporation.

Nor did he comment on the fact that the promises and general remarks he made now were made pretty much word for word by the Democrats in 1932 and 1936. He did not touch on this at all to show why he would keep these promises in contrast to the Democrats who broke them when they were once elected.

Nor did he spend much time explaining why the Republicans when they controlled Congress completely in 1921-22 killed the Anti-Lynch Bill in exactly the same way that the Democrats who completely controlled Congress have been killing it ever since 1937.

Nor did he say much about the right to vote, although he talked a lot about equality, and he did not at all take up the question of how the Republicans have helped the Democrats kill the Geyer Anti-Poll Tax Bill this last year.

But those who were able to, voted, and settled the question. So we threw all these promises in the waste-basket, in the same way Willie would have thrown them in the waste-basket if he was elected, and in the same way that the Democrats have thrown theirs now that they have been elected.

POLL TAXES HIT BOTH

The poll tax laws in operation in eight Southern states kept ten million people from voting in the presidential election last week.

This, says the Afro-American, was in addition "to some five million residents barred from the polls by sheer intimidation."

These poll tax laws, originally passed to insure lily-white elections and to keep Negroes from exerting any political influence in Southern politics, today serve to disfranchise all workers, white as well as colored.

Most white workers in these states can't vote there either, because they can't pay the taxes, which range from \$1 to \$3. In some states these taxes are cumulative, that is, even workers who paid their taxes this year were not permitted to vote unless they paid up all their back poll taxes, from the time they were 21 years old and on. That means that the longer this thing goes on, the worse it gets, and the more people it robs of their right to vote. How many workers or sharecroppers could raise the money to pay for the years of the depression?

The result is that while almost 60% of the adults in the rest of the country participate in the elections, in these eight Southern states only about 10% can enter the voting booths. And these 10% represent the ruling class, of course.

The whole thing is the best possible proof of our contention that laws aimed against the Negro people inevitably hit and hurt the working class as a whole.

War Orders Policy Hit

WAR CRISIS BRINGS FDR INTERVENTION...

(Continued from Page 1)

of Wall Street, including the bloody puppet dictators, applaud the military moves of Washington and assure the world that it won't make any difference in the democracy of the countries they govern with machine gun and back stabbing.

In view of Washington's "acceptance" of British ports to be used as naval bases on the approaches to South America, virtually all the Latin American countries have "reached an understanding" with Washington by which US forces would be able to use air and naval bases on their soil. These bases, naturally, constitute the cracks where "El Tio" Sam's mailed fists will find the finger holds necessary to tear down the last remaining pretense of independence on the part of the Latin American countries.

HOLDS OUT FOR DOUGH

Argentina, still the boldest of the countries south of the Rio Grande, might ask for a "loan" of as much as \$100,000,000. Before Roosevelt's winning the third term, Argentina had opposed many of Washington's moves. A large portion of this \$100,000,000 would naturally filter through the Argentinian government bureaucracy in the form of heart balm for conceding without a struggle to the demands of Wall Street.

In Buenos Aires a diplomatic source predicted that Bolivia will give up its tin ore to the US, that a transcontinental military railway might be routed through Bolivia, and that settlement of expropriation of Standard Oil will be speedily considered in view of the fact the election is over.

Roosevelt's legal experts are now puzzling out a plausible pretext to take over the French possessions in the Western hemisphere. In view of the switch the French bourgeoisie made into the orbit of the Germany bourgeoisie, they hope perhaps to construe provisions in the Monroe Doctrine to fit the case. On the island of Martinique there are 100 former American airplanes held by the Vichy government, hence action is considered urgent. The New York Times feels that it would be "annoying to find that this American contribution to the Allied cause should now be immobilized in the Caribbean, exposed to rust and deterioration." It would of course be better to have them deteriorate in a hurry over Berlin.

Four days after the election the State Department moved in on Mexico with a diplomatic request for "leases" of Mexican ports for military bases, the rent to be turned over to American capitalists whose ill-gotten land has been expropriated by the Mexican government, and a far-from-diplomatic request that president-elect Camacho initiate "negotiations" with the expropriated oil companies, that is, hand over to the oil companies the oil lands which they stole in the first place from the Mexican people.

Oehlerite Paper Arbitrarily Banned By Authorities

A move in the direction of suppressing workers' anti-war papers was taken with the barring from the mails of the October 15 issue of the *Fighting Worker*, organ of the Revolutionary Workers League (Oehlerites).

The issue contained an attack on boss conscription and expressed the idea of the workers setting up their own armed forces. The Chicago Post Office informed the R.W.L. of the ruling of the Solicitor of the Post Office under which the publication was banned.

While the ban covers only the one issue named, a dangerous precedent has been established. In addition, all issues of the *Fighting Worker* must first be scrutinized by the postal authorities before being mailed, it is reported.

In Buffalo buy the APPEAL

at newstands:

N.E. Corner Franklin & Chippewa
S.E. Corner Main & Chippewa
S.E. Corner Main & Genesee

721 AFL Officials Protest Contracts To NLRA Violators

NEW YORK, Nov. 6.—A petition signed by 721 officers of local AFL unions here urging President Roosevelt to issue an "Executive Order directing that all contracts for government purchases contain a stipulation that the contractor shall not be in violation of any provision of federal labor legislation" was mailed October 28 to Roosevelt and Defense Commissioner Hillman.

The petition is one indication of the growing realization of the labor movement of the extreme danger to union conditions that will result from the government's announced policy of awarding contracts to corporations regardless of the fact that these corporations are in violation of the federal labor laws.

The petition was initiated on Oct. 11, shortly after Atty. Gen. Jackson and Commissioner Hillman had reversed their declared policy that war orders would not be given labor law violators, in their testimony before the Smith Committee Investigating the National Labor Relations Board.

"Why?" Query Draftees As They File Past

By LEWM

(Editorial Note: The following report was written by one of the women employed to register men eligible for the draft. Her impressions of the reaction of the registrants reflect not only what occurred in the local board in which she was employed but in every board throughout the country.)

I saw and helped to register hundreds of them. The leaders, so they called them, of tomorrow. The cream of the crop, and the hope of the future. The syndicate newspapers had given them a fine send off. They were getting ready to defend democracy; but what lies behind that smoke screen of patriotism and allegiance for these young cannon stoppers?

One lad took up a few of my busy minutes explaining why he didn't want to register and why he had to. Another asked me, "What is democracy anyhow?" He said that his dad had fought for it and died a pauper.

I wanted to define the true meaning of American democracy; but this was not the time or place. So I registered the next lad while

A weakness of the petition was its complete failure to recognize and state that the present policy is Roosevelt's and Hillman's. It simply "respectfully urges" Roosevelt to do something about "this disgraceful condition."

There has been no direct reply on the matter from the administration, except the awarding today of a \$122,000,000 plane contract to the greatest open-shopper of all, Henry Ford.

Avoiding Class 1-A

NEW YORK.—A recent issue of the New York Times carried the following advertisement of a realtor:

A Call to Arms

is

A Call to Farms

In peace or war, your son may serve his country as patriotically in the corn fields as on the battlefields, and, incidentally, live close to nature is always sweet.

In a democracy like the United States, the unemployed of course have equal opportunity with the rich of buying a \$10,000 farm so that their sons can find employment in an essential industry and thus avoid Class 1-A.

I thought of democracy. A government of the wealthy people, for the big business people, and by the rich people. Collectively by the elected representatives of the powers: wealth, greed, capitalism and intolerance. Again I looked behind the smoke screen of seeming bravado into the thoughts of another young man.

"Who is this guy Hitler?" a young Negro said. "I don't know him; but believe me I know plenty about Mr. Wall Street, Mr. Lynch, Mr. Jim Crow, and Mr. Raw Deal. Those are the types I want to fight!"

I smiled knowingly. "Next please!"

He was over six feet, weighed 185 pounds.

"Sure, I'm willing to fight," he said; "but I want to fight for something that will do me some good. Something that will make me go to bed each night feeling safe and secure, and when I get up in the morning I'll know no one will fire me because they just don't like the color of my eyes, my hair, or skin. I want to fight for security. For peace, for economic freedom..."

And then he was gone with his little card in his hand.

SOCIETY NOTES

Having just completed a successful dress rehearsal on the American proletariat, the Roosevelt and the other Sixty Families who count have gone in for the real McCoy—the National Horse Show at Madison Square Gardens. The sponsor's list is strictly blue-ribbon, sporting such pure-bred names as Betsy Cushing Roosevelt and Mrs. Franklin D. Jr., herself.

The horses, however, have the edge on the American workers. Already in the first days of the show, the horses can see the polite double-cross handed them by the sporting American bourgeois. The canopy in front bristles with words which would lead an innocent horse passing by to believe that horses were to be the main show inside. Yet in the ring any representative of the noblest friend of man who possessed some instinct for self-preservation would hesitate long before brashly putting down a foot. There is more than an even chance that his only toe would be ruthlessly ground into the sawdust by the clefts of a tank. The place swarms with trucks, mechanized gun-carriers, tanks and other direct insults to horses. Everything is calculated to impress the world with the extent to which machines have replaced horseflesh.

But if we concede the triumph of motor over horse as a draft instrument, one would still expect a remnant of affection and admiration for the physical beauty of the beast. Time was when every horse pranced into the show-ring sleek and shining, tall in braids or curls, mane flowing or decked out in little plumes—a masterpiece born of days of curry-combing and loving attention, a slap in the face of puny man standing on the sidelines in awe. And now? What with the accumulation of minks, ermines, martens, sables and skunks draping the horse's chassis of the female on-lookers, any sensitive motor driven into a hopeless inferiority complex. How can a few hundred prancing steeds compete with

a couple of billion dollars' worth of diamond-studded pets?

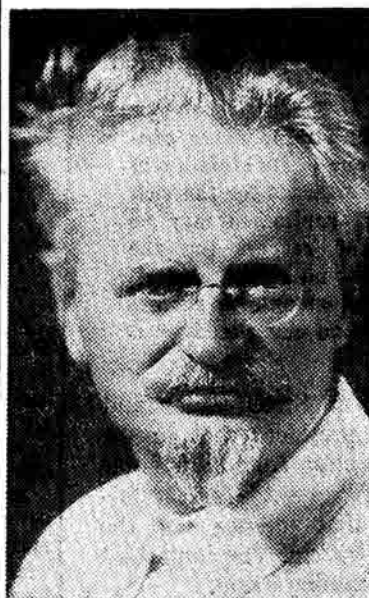
Very well, then. The ribbon goes to the skunk and ermine for beauty at the Horse Show. Surely, however, the horse has one retreat left: that unique badge of equine glory, that symbol of human righteousness and progress—the good, healthy, invigorating, acid smell of manure! Alas, no! Even here the Sixty Families do their dastardly worst to mock the strong creativeness of the horse. They call in the fascist Coty at \$50 an ounce to smell up the place with his *Intimate Hour* and *Blistering Kiss*. Horse show? It stinks worse than a boudoir.

Even from the standpoint of patriotism this show throws a sneer to the old standard. It swarms with foreigners, but the right kind. All the Good Neighbor horses and horsemen are there—Chileans, Cubans, Mexicans—with one sad exception. The "Jolly Canadians," usually such a charming embellishment to a horshow, could not come. Their interest in and devotion to horseflesh has unhappily had to give way to a passionate preoccupation with the job of preparing the Canadian working mass for slaughter in World War II.

And the proceeds? In the days when a horse was a horse and not an excuse for a display of imperialist power, the net income went for the purpose of "improving the breed." Now it goes to the Red Cross for the purpose of sewing and wiring and gluing together the disjointed bodies of humans blasted to pieces for the greater glory of the Sixty Families.

Someone ought to tip off the horses that they are being played for suckers. The noble name of horse is being used as a cover-up for a War Show. Or maybe the horses know it. We would not be surprised to see any day now a string of polo ponies led by a class conscious mule picketing Madison Square Gardens. We wish it would happen. There must be some horse sense left in the world.

LEON TROTSKY



Fourth International Trotsky Article

The November issue of *FOURTH INTERNATIONAL*, the monthly magazine of the Socialist Workers Party, will soon be off the press. It will feature an article by Leon Trotsky, "The Comintern and the GPU."

This is the article which Comrade Trotsky finished but a few days before his assassination and which he intended as a juridical document for the Mexican court in relation to the machine gun assault upon his bedroom May 24. With a wealth of careful documentation, including special declarations by Walter Krivitsky, Joseph Zack, and Benjamin Gitlow, it analyzes the relationship between the Comintern and Stalin's secret terroristic organization, the GPU. The guilt of Stalin as organizer of the May 24 assault is established beyond all doubt by Comrade Trotsky in this remarkable analysis. The assassination on August 20 underlines Trotsky's proofs in blood.

Don't miss getting your copy of the November issue of *FOURTH INTERNATIONAL*, containing this last article to be completed by Trotsky.

Long Time No See!

NEW YORK, Nov. 9.—A city-wide shakedown racket that apparently has cost elevator companies millions of dollars in the last 30 years was brought to light yesterday with the suspension of 26 inspectors in the municipal Department of Housing and Buildings.

That this racket was not known to city officials for thirty years is as likely as the story of the man about town who married a chorus girl and five years later asked for a divorce on the grounds he had just discovered she had a wooden leg.

TROTSKY MEMORIAL FUND

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

New York	\$120.00
Flint	31.00
Chicago	20.00
Toledo	10.00
Allentown	6.00
New Haven	1.50

TOTAL \$188.50

Buffalo has pledged \$25.00 to the fund. Allentown pledges \$15.00 and Texas \$5.00.

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	35.00	70%
Chicago and Indiana Harbor	150.00	85.07	57%
Allentown	15.00	6.00	40%
Flint	150.00	58.00	37%
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%
New York	1000.00	255.00	26%
Milwaukee	5.00	1.00	20%
New Haven	20.00	3.50	18%
Los Angeles	150.00	20.00	13%
Minneapolis & St. Paul	1000.00	100.00	10%
Akron	10.00	00.00	00%
Buffalo	25.00	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%
Texas	5.00	00.00	00%
Youngstown	50.00	00.00	00%

TOTALS \$3442.00

\$828.57

24%

Omaha and Rochester branches have not made pledges up to date.

NEGRO SAILORS STILL JAILED IN BRIG...

(Continued from page 1)

get because the officers want us there to serve them..."

TIME TO WAKE UP

And the letter ends: "We are not trying to stir up strife, hatred or discontent, we are only trying to tell our people that it is time to wake up and go to the front and demand what we so justly deserve. We have slept long enough. Now is the time for more action and less talk!"

As the *Courier* points out: "Col. Benjamin O. Davis has been made a general in the United States Army, but that means nothing. Judge William Hastie had been named a civilian aide to the Secretary of War, but that means nothing. Major Campbell Johnson has been made executive assistant to the director of selective service, but that means nothing. THE UNITED STATES NAVY STILL ABUSES, RESTRICTS AND JIM CROWS BLACK BOYS!"

END THEIR CONTROL

That's true and it will continue to abuse, restrict and Jim Crow them as long as the Negro-hating, labor-hating generals and admirals continue to control military and naval training!

One Negro general, colored assistants and aides can do nothing as long as the military caste controls things.

Let us, in addition to defending these boys, take a page from their heroic books and carry to a finish the fight for workers' control of military and naval training!

Join The Army

To Learn a Trade

For those individuals who may have been impressed by the slogans on the recruiting posters and newspaper editorials emphasizing the opportunities to learn a trade in the Army we quote the following from an editorial in the *Army and Navy Register* of November 2:

"In painting the picture of universal military training many sections of the American press are prone to stress the idea that the draftees will have an opportunity for training in skills which will be useful to them and may serve to help them into jobs when they return to civil life at the end of their year's training. Such may be the case with a minor portion of the great draftee army—those young men who are assigned to the motorized or mechanical units and those who draw the maintenance outfits of the Air Corps—but it probably will not be the case with the great mass of draftees who are to take their place in the line of the Army."

Join the Socialist Workers Party

Recruiters Wax Poetic In Film Blurb

The higher things of life, art and all that, are not neglected in the Army. We were pleasantly surprised to find a cultured review of a newly released Warner Bros.' cinematic gem in the November *Recruiting News*, official house organ of the Recruiting Publicity Bureau, U. S. Army.

In several thousand glowing words, the review describes the half-hour-run special feature techni-color *Service With The Colors*. We will let the masterly review speak for itself, merely high-lighting in bolder type the more exquisite phrases.

A RECRUITING DEVICE

"The film, frankly a recruiting exploitive made in the interests of National Defense by the public-spirited Warner Brothers," begins the review, "features a simple but interesting little plot." Accent on the "simple."

The plot involves two young civilians, "one from a typical American home of comfort, the other a youth in reduced circumstances and almost ready to go on relief."

Tom, the son of this "typical" prosperous family, hears an Army recruiting program on the radio and is "inspired to enlist." His whole family immediately approve and this "fine, clean-cut youngster marches voluntarily off to the recruiting station."

FOR AN ASSURED INCOME

The scene switches to Charley, "the unemployed, down-on-his luck youth" who "shuffles" past a San Francisco recruiting station. An Army canvasser tries to sell him a bill of goods.

"One can see that Charley is not much impressed by the recruiting sergeant's" line of gab; "what appeals to Charley is the prospect of having some assured income, no matter how small, good food regularly, and a clean place in which to sleep."

Charley finally gets towed in and is sworn in with a group which includes "the starry-eyed Tom."—All dope does that.

Tom, a scion of the "better" classes, "as is to be expected, pays close attention to everything told to him by the drill sergeant, and even studies Infantry Drill Regulations in his off moments." Of course, this makes him just too popular with the rest of his "buddies"—in his "off" moments.

EVEN BUMS CIGARETTES

But Charley, who comes from a "non-typical" poor family, is simply terrible, "talks back to the sergeant," n'everything. He tried "to 'bum a smoke' from a smart-looking gentleman in civilian clothes," who happens to be the regimental colonel.

The colonel, incidentally, true to the "officer and gentleman" tradition, smilingly hands the uninhibited recruit his package of cigarettes and engages him in friendly, casual conversation" until the sergeant comes up to haul the offender into line. We remind our readers this is an Army colonel, not a Boy Scout captain.

SKULKS IN WOODS

Charley goes from bad to worse, and finally tries to desert, while he is "skulking" through a near-by woods, he encounters a radio detail led by Tom behind a huge pile of heavy lumber. At this point, Fate Knocks on the Door!

A heavy truck is about to back into the log heap behind which are the men of the radio detail. Charley, forgetting self, rushes from the bushes shouting a warning to the men, who spring to safety. But poor Charley is himself buried under the pile of logs.

ROSE BUDS AND SERGEANTS

Getting bumped on the bean by a couple of tons of lumber miraculously turns Charley into a "good soldier." "There follows a scene—the one false note in the film—"of the hard-boiled sergeant bringing—of all things!—a bouquet of flowers to the blushing Charley." I can't go on, boys! I'm all choked up.)

But while Charley has redeemed himself unofficially, he still must receive his official punishment for attempted desertion. He is brought, as soon as he recovers, before the colonel, "humane and understanding," who explains "in kindly, fatherly" fashion the "proud records of the fine regiment."

Contrite Charley "bucks" up, cries he has been an "utter fool" and takes his punishment—you guessed it—"like a man." The wind-up scene shows "Tom carrying the National Colors and marching along proudly beside him and carrying the regimental colors, Charley."

WALL STREET THEME SONG

The review concludes, "...Throughout the... film the song... 'Then—Now—Forever,' which was inspired by the Recruiting Publicity Bureau poster, is used as the musical motif (original emphasis, my dear.) always modulated and under-toned to good effect." Nothing to remind us of anything so loud and vulgar as a drill sergeant dressing down a private—or an artillery barrage.

Blah! Now there's even talk of putting lace curtains in the Army tents!

HORROR ITEM

The War Department's opposition to censorship was voiced by Lieutenant Colonel Stanley J. Grogan of the general staff press section who said that military officials "believed the press would cooperate voluntarily with authorities in such a way as to make censorship unnecessary." Yep, you cannot hope to bribe or twist, thank God, our noble journalist; but seeing what he'll do unbribed, why, there's seldom an occasion to.

Henry A. Wallace, speaking at San Francisco, said Latin America never before had so much faith in the United States.

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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.

Encouraging Vote

One of the most encouraging indications of national trend in the election was the vote cast in Minnesota for Grace Carlson.

She ran on the ballot as the representative of the "Trotskyist Anti-War Party" and her program was a clear cut revolutionary socialist program.

In the Twin Cities where the campaign was centered she received 2,782 votes, topping all the other left wing parties.

In the state as a whole she received 5,743 votes, only 203 votes less than that received by Thomas Krueger running on a pacifist program.

The 3,000 votes in the outlying districts despite the fact Carlson could not campaign there due to limited funds indicates that the poor farmers are ready to lock arms with the workers in a revolutionary solution to the capitalist crisis and war.

What this vote proves beyond all doubt is that the national political situation is ripe for the organization of an independent labor party.

With the slogan PUT A WORKERS AND FARMERS GOVERNMENT IN WASHINGTON, such a party could dominate the political arena.

Professor Spills Beans

The ruling class attempts to utilize every institution in the nation as a means for maintaining its rule. In the army it organizes a caste of officers to command the armed forces and so control the military power of the nation for its own ends as a class.

The ruling class attempts to utilize every institution in the nation as a means for maintaining its rule. In the army it organizes a caste of officers to command the armed forces and so control the military power of the nation for its own ends as a class.

The ruling class likewise perverts the educational system, staffing it with professors who fill the minds of the youth with lies and misrepresentations about the nature of the capitalist system.

Naturally the capitalists and their defenders

deny all this or cover it up. But occasionally they make a slip and the reality is exposed.

Thus the press reports Dr. Dixon Ryan Fox, president of Union College, of having declared on November 9:

"If capitalism, even under strain, leaves education in the lurch, it loses one of its credits and increases its own danger. The threat for the rich is that the whole edifice of capitalism may be destroyed... through lack of respect for the works of capitalism. Strain or no strain, capitalism is not at present giving enough to sustain that respect, so far as this one criterion is concerned."

The rulers who sit in Wall Street understand better than this university president that in the coming period it is not a question from their point of view of simply teaching "respect" for capitalism, but of going beyond that and teaching the masses how to fight for capitalism. The important school now is the military training camp.

Just as we oppose the bourgeois perversion of education in the schools in peacetime, so we oppose the bourgeois perversion of military education in time of war.

Just as we are for the workers obtaining a Marxist education and eventually converting the educational system into an instrument that will correspond to the interests of the working class instead of the bourgeoisie, so we are for the workers not only gaining a military education but of themselves controlling that military education; hence our slogan:

FOR TRADE UNION CONTROL OF MILITARY TRAINING!

SHORT SHORT STORY: H. G. Wells called the British army, in a pamphlet now being distributed, an organization of "yessirs led by Haw-haws." Which is another reason why the army should be under the control of the trade unions.

Moscow Celebrates

In the early days of the Third International, the diplomats sent abroad to represent the Soviet Union acted as centers for the dissemination of revolutionary propaganda and as the connection between the Soviet Union and the working class throughout the rest of the world.

Contrast this with the present function of the Moscow diplomatic representatives!

On November 7, at the Soviet Embassy in Washington, Ambassador Constantine A. Oumansky held a celebration of the anniversary of the Russian Revolution of 1917.

Among those who came to celebrate the October revolution together with Stalin's diplomatic flunkies were Jesse Jones, Secretary of Commerce and Federal Loan Administrator; Sumner Welles, Under-Secretary of State, Joseph E. Davis, special assistant to the Secretary of State, Henry F. Grady, Assistant Secretary of State, and the chiefs of many divisions in the State Department.

Delegations were also present from the capitalist governments of Great Britain, Germany, Japan, China, and Finland.

The festive occasion was in marked contrast to previous celebrations, the press reported.

It is well-known that Oumansky, an old GPU agent, is the connecting link between Stalin and all GPU activities in North America. It is absolutely certain that Oumansky was in charge of organizing the assassination of Trotsky.

The representatives of the bourgeoisie could well congratulate Oumansky and Stalin on this anniversary of the October revolution.

They raised their glasses not to the worker's state and to extension of the workers' revolution, but to a pick-axe dripping with blood.

REMEMBER WHEN THEY SAID THIS?

"German fascism is the instigator of the most raging capitalist reaction, of bloody oppression of the workers, the toiling peasants, the national minorities and the entire German people... To concentrate our battle fire against German fascism, as the principal instigator of war and the mortal enemy of the Soviet Union and the proletarian revolution, is the duty of every revolutionary." (Ercoli, at the Seventh Congress of the Communist International, quoted in *The Fight for Peace*, Workers Library Publishers, 1935, p. 25)

With Bombs

November 11, 1940, the 22nd Anniversary of the signing of the Armistice which ended the "War to End All Wars," was marked by extensive celebrations throughout the world.

Germany, which formerly failed to observe Armistice Day in the manner of the Allied nations, celebrated the occasion for the first time with a simple but impressive ceremony, which included the dropping of several hundred tons of high explosives on London.

Great Britain, with its traditional flair for pomp and ceremony, honored the day with the shooting down of 25 Axis planes and fraternal greetings delivered in Berlin by a fleet of bombers.

French and Belgian officials, in a moving gesture of peace toward their former foes, drank a good-will toast in Munich beer. The French and Belgian people maintained a solemn 24-hour silence, an extension of the two-minute ceremonial silence of previous years.

In the United States, an inspiring ceremony was conducted before the tomb of the Unknown Soldier, which included a stirring address by President Roosevelt, broadcast over a coast-to-coast hook-up to the millions of America's future Unknown Soldiers.

Roosevelt and Wall St.

Roosevelt Planned War Program From First Term On;
Economic Crisis Forces Move To Aid Big Business

By ART PREIS

The "New Deal" was indeed short-lived. As early as June 1935 Roosevelt had declared, "All the basic innovations of the New Deal are completed." Business appeasement became the key-note of his 1936 campaign.

Relief appropriations began to be tapered off. The Federal Emergency Relief Administration was then liquidated at the initiation of Roosevelt. From June 1935-November 1935, six million jobless families faced outright starvation. What F.D.R. saved in this period was partially added to the 1936-WFA appropriation for use just prior to the 1936 election campaign.

But from the very start of his Presidential career, Roosevelt held an "ace in the hole." Starting with 1933, war appropriations began to sky-rocket. Each year thereafter the arms budget was accelerated; and each succeeding appropriation was termed "the greatest in America's peace-time history." By 1939, the Roosevelt administration extracted from the masses over 10 billion dollars in war appropriations.

It must be remembered that these appropriations were approved by Democrats and Republicans alike. For they were the material expression of the real policy of America's ruling class, its "long-term" policy taking precedence over all divisive domestic issues.

These appropriations were the calculated initial preparations for the time, in an epoch of world capitalist crisis, when American capitalism would dispute with armed might for control of the world markets and resources.

Roosevelt intensified his war drive with his famous "Quarantine the Aggressors" speech in Chicago, October, 1937. It was timed for the precipitate business collapse following a flash-in-the-pan "boom," which had reached its peak in August, 1937.

It was at this point that Roosevelt openly abandoned the methods of priming the pump from the bottom, to greasing it at the top.

Roosevelt began in earnest to give direct "relief" to the capital or heavy goods industries, steel, auto, railroads, etc. The augmented arms program was intended, in part, to provide immediate profits to the capital goods industries, whose continued depression charted the chronic fever of American and world capitalism.

But beyond this was an impelling drive toward imperialist war, the inevitable outgrowth of capitalism itself.

By the beginning of Roosevelt's second term, it became transparently clear to Roosevelt that his New Deal "reforms" could never cure the deadly ills of American economy. At the peak of the Roosevelt business "boom" in 1937, a national census had revealed 11,000,000 unemployed as living symptoms of the chronic capitalist disease.

For the inability of American capitalism, despite all internal measures, to unload huge unmarketable surpluses on the domestic market drives it to seek markets abroad. And this task is hampered by the equally stalemate capitalist nations everywhere.

The collapse of the internal economies of every capitalist nation in the world has meant an intensified fight over exploiting foreign holdings, over defending these holdings from competitors and expanding into new areas.

American and British capitalism arrived first on the imperialist "ground floor." The "late" nations, like Germany and Japan, must "hi-jack" their way in. Thus two sets of gangsters fight for the right to thrust "protection" on the masses.

World capitalism, of which the American sector is the most highly developed, struggles wildly in a straight-jacket of contradictions. The re-arming of German capitalism was done with the aid and consent of British and American imperialism, an off-set to French control on the European continent.

French capital has had a thousand links with Germany. Even while their opposing troops slaughtered each other, French steel flowed into Germany; German coal, into France.

General Motors, whose chief executive, William S. Knudsen, heads the National Defense Commission, owns the huge Adam auto plants in Germany. In 1933, these plants produced 36,000 autos. In 1938, they produced 140,000 units, plus tremendous equipment for the Nazi war machine. Standard Oil is half-owner of the Hydriewerks Poelitz, which supplies synthetic fuel for the German war tanks and planes.

American policy toward South America, of which Roosevelt has been a chief exponent, likewise reflects this fantastic pattern. While aiding German production,

American capital fights against German penetration into Latin American markets. German methods of direct barter of manufactured surpluses for raw materials are violently denounced. With the aid of the British blockade South America is deprived of the German and European market.

Corn piles up in Argentina. Chilean nitrate exports shrink. Brazil sadly contemplates 6 million bags of unmarketable coffee. The U. S. cannot absorb these products. No wonder one Chilean delegate at the Pan-American conference, considering Roosevelt's plea for unification of the Western Hemisphere countries against the menace of Nazi dictatorship, declared, "Freedom is no satisfaction if you cannot sell your crops."

Now the Roosevelt administration offers \$500,000,000 through the Export-Import Bank to buy up Latin American surpluses, thus indirectly financing U. S. exports. This is likewise one of the ways in which the "cash and carry" clause of the Neutrality Act can be evaded; America lends the cash to Argentina, for instance, which buys up war materials to re-sell to Great Britain.

Like a squirrel in a revolving cage, the faster capitalism runs, the less it travels. Driven to madness, it smashes itself against the prison bars of profits. Through the violence of war, it seeks its "escape."

Roosevelt may "loathe war" and "hate war now more than ever," but he also loves capitalism. This greater love dictates his course. He is married to the system which breeds war.

War will come, with or without any directly hostile aid, either of Germany or Japan. The *Magazine of Wall Street*, September 7, made this fact crystal clear, declaring:

"We will not (at least for several months) consider joining the war unless the war comes to us. Germany has been scrupulously careful to avoid any incident which would give us an excuse to declare war, but we have done many things which a victorious Germany could well hold against us for aiding and abetting her enemy. Administration spokesmen have made it clear that there is no doubt that if England is defeated the war will come to us, AND NOT NECESSARILY THROUGH ANY OVERT ACT OF GERMANY (our emphasis)." *ibid.*

The *Magazine of Wall Street* never kids its own ruling-class subscribers. Wall Street turns

WALL STREET
URGES...

(Continued from Page 1)

of "democratic" rights—for themselves.

What still divides Roosevelt and his opponents in the same capitalist camp is to a great degree their differences on the tactics which will most effectively achieve this type of labor "unity." Roosevelt still holds for methods of "persuasion," that is winning labor to sacrifice itself voluntarily to the war aims of the bosses. Willkie and the sector of the capitalists he represents want to cut out the "kidding around" and settle the matter with one blow of a well-directed club.

In addition, the Willkie gang does not intend to forfeit its divisions of the spoils. As "His Majesty's Loyal Opposition" they figure to put enough heat on Roosevelt on domestic issues to extract all the take possible. At the same time, the results of the election have demonstrated that the Willkie backing is a solid wall of the most reactionary elements which will be re-enforced in the next four years in readiness for a real grab.

NATIONAL UNITY

A FICTION

Roosevelt in his turn, is employing the "National Unity" drive to split the Willkie camp or immobilize it with a sort of black-mail threat. If you impede the war drive, if you reject "unity," I will blast you as saboteurs of "national defense," Roosevelt tells them in effect.

To a certain degree, Roosevelt's strategy will succeed—at least with a certain section of Republicans. Such Republican big-wigs as Knox, Landon and their crowd, who are willing to make the most of Roosevelt's commanding position, have already signified their intention of crawling over the wall.

But the fiction of "national unity" will be exposed soon enough when the Willkie group gets an opening to cut into the war spoils, and when the increasing burdens of the coming war begin to crush labor to the earth.

the lie manufacturing over to the daily press, which is read by the workers.

Indeed, peace would be a major catastrophe for Wall Street. While Willkie, the Wall Street mouthpiece, was attempting to demagogically corral anti-war sentiment, the *Magazine of Wall Street*, September 7, was stating:

"There is not the slightest doubt that the American armament program will eventually produce an industrial boom the like of which we have never known before—PROVIDED WHOLLY UNEXPECTED WAR DEVELOPMENTS DO NOT PERMIT US TO SCALE DOWN THE EXPENDITURES NOW CONTEMPLATED (our emphasis)."

The article adds:

"For years we have been speculating about some major new industry that would be capable of stimulating the economy... This is it."

And how! And it's the chief reason why majority of Wall Street's re-election with tongues in cheek.

Stetinius, U. S. Steel president and Roosevelt appointee to the National Defense Commission isn't too broken up over U. S. Steel profits increasing 17 1/2 percent in the first half of 1940 over 1939.

Knudsen can sleep easy knowing the Du Ponts won't starve on the \$113,575,460 net profits General Motors cleared for the first six months of 1940, although only 13 percent over the mere \$100,992,531 take for the first six months of 1939.

And John Biggers, president of the Libby-Owens-Ford glass monopoly, can't complain too loudly because his patriotic sacrifices on the NDAC promise to net his corporation a 1940 profit increase of 95 percent.

Wall Street calmly reassured its following during the fake pluster by Roosevelt about "taking the profits out of war." As early as August, *Forbes*, an authoritative big business monthly, declared, "What are new Federal taxes going to do to business profits? What happened during our last great re-arming period provides one clue. As the chart shows, Federal taxes took a big slice of corporate net income; but war orders so increased net income before taxes that the profits remaining after taxes had been paid were substantial."

Substantial indeed! For the accompanying chart reveals that net corporate profits for the four years preceding the last war averaged 3.8 billion dollars yearly; for the war years, 1916-1919, net profits were 6.9 billion dollars yearly, with a 1917 peak of 8.6 billion dollars.

When the Excess Profits bill was finally passed and signed by Roosevelt, it provided such a brazen guarantee of unlimited war profits, that even the expectant Wall Street magnates gasped!

And when the Russell-Overton Amendment, which permits the government to "take over" plants at a "fair rental" if the owner refuses "emergency" war orders, was attached to the Conscription bill—eliciting the cry of "state socialism" from Willkie—Barons Wall Street financial weekly, September 2, candidly admitted:

"It should be added that there is no sign of any intention on the part of anyone to misuse the power (to take over non-cooperative businesses). SO LONG AS KNUDSEN, BIGGERS AND CO. ARE IN CONTROL, THERE WON'T BE. (Our emphasis)."

And they are in control, despite the efforts of Sidney Hillman, and the rest of the pro-Roosevelt labor stooges, to convince the workers differently.

National Business magazine, in September, at the time when many corporations were refusing defense orders to bring pressure for a favorable Excess-Profits bill, reported:

"The Defense Commission is defending business against charges of a capital strike, putting profits before patriotism, etc... AND SO FAR IT HAS BEEN SUPPORTED IN THIS BY PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT. CONTRARY TO EXPECTATIONS, THE NEW DEAL REFORM ELEMENT HAS BEEN KEPT COMPLETELY OUT OF THE DEFENSE PICTURE."

Yes, Roosevelt in the saddle in Washington is riding for Wall Street. When, in the name of "National Unity," he placed Henry L. Stimson and Frank Knox, two big-business Republicans, at the head of the War and Navy Departments, this was Roosevelt's freestyle way of telling Wall Street, "Don't shove, boys! You don't need more than your snout in the trough!"

(To Be Continued)

Go Forward

Prediction of Trotsky
A Triumph
Of Marxist Analysis

By JOSEPH HANSEN

Fourteen months ago, upon the invasion of Poland from the west by Hitler and from the east by the Red Army, the social democrats and those clinging to their coat-tails were thrown into complete confusion by the complex events. With the disappearance of the Polish bourgeois government and the advance of Soviet troops, they were utterly incapable of foreseeing what might be expected to occur in the eastern occupied territories.

Among our own ranks certain elements raised the question of changing our slogan of unconditional defense of the Soviet Union because of the Red Army invasion of Poland.

LEON TROTSKY'S ANALYSIS

Leon Trotsky analyzed the Polish events on September 25, 1939, in an article "The USSR in War" in the following lucid words:

"It is more likely, however, that in the territories scheduled to become a part of the USSR, the Moscow government will carry through the expropriation of the large land owners and statification of the means of production. This variant is most probable not because the bureaucracy remains true to the socialist program but because it is neither desirous nor capable of sharing the power, and the privileges the latter entails, with the old ruling classes in the occupied territories. Here an analogy literally offers itself. The first Bonaparte halted the revolution by means of military dictatorship. However, when the French troops invaded Poland, Napoleon signed a decree: 'Serfdom is abolished.' This measure was dictated not by Napoleon's sympathies for the peasants, nor by democratic principles but rather by the fact that the Bonapartist dictatorship based itself not on feudal but on bourgeois property relations. Inasmuch as Stalin's Bonapartist dictatorship bases itself not on private but on state property, the invasion of Poland by the Red Army should, in the nature of the case, result in the abolition of private capitalist property, so as thus to bring the regime of the occupied territories into accord with the regime of the USSR."

Trotsky in his next paragraph explains that this change in property relations could not however cause us to favor the invasion of Poland by the Red Army, since it would be "achieved in military-bureaucratic fashion" and hence lower the capacity of the proletariat to defend the old conquests and to make new ones through socialist revolution.

Trotsky's conclusion was that class-conscious workers should condemn the invasion of Poland by the Red Army but continue their unconditional defense of the Soviet Union including the new territorial gains.

Trotsky saw the invasion as providing a remarkable demonstration of the analysis of the Fourth International that the Soviet Union is still a workers' state but suffering from bureaucratic deformations. He concluded that there was nothing "new in the situation" which should cause us to change our position of unconditional defense of the Soviet Union.

"IMPERIALIST OR
QUASI-IMPERIALIST"

This analysis by Trotsky drew derision from all sides especially among those under the influence of the bourgeois war pressure. They declared that the invasion of Poland proved that there "was something entirely new in the situation," and that the Soviet Union had become an "imperialist" state seeking imperialist territorial gains.

James Burnham, for example, declared that the policy of the Soviet state had become "imperialist or quasi-imperialist." Max Shachtman declared in a resolution dated September 28, 1939, that "Stalin and the Red Army thus played a flatly counter-revolutionary role in Poland. The bitter realities of the recent events, most particularly of the events in Poland, dictate a revision of our previous concept of the 'unconditional defense of the Soviet Union.'"

Now it is possible to ascertain just who was right and who wrong in their analysis of the events in Poland—not that we expect either Burnham or Shachtman to acknowledge themselves wrong!

In an article in the press, Ludwig Lore reports that private capitalist property has been entirely abolished in the occupied territories of Poland.

"The nationalization of big industrial enterprises and banks... was the first," he states. Then came other important financial institutions.

"The small and middle-sized industries were a difficult matter," he continues. "No immediate nationalization was attempted. The owners remained in possession of their enterprises and were merely ordered to submit statements to the workers' delegates regarding the cost of production, wages paid, hours employed and working conditions generally. For every branch of industry and again for the individual concerns, councils consisting of representatives of the employees and the employers were established, which jointly fixed a 'just rate of profit' and supervised working and wage conditions."

"However that was a transitory situation. After seven months complete state ownership was established. According to a government statement, the dual regime of employers and employees control over production was 'ineffective and working to the disadvantage of state and industry,' wherefore abolition of private ownership in small and medium industries was decreed."

"A similar situation was created in the trades. Wholesalers and retailers were given a period of grace in which to wind up their enterprises and to sell out their old stocks. After that the Soviet state trusts refused to sell them supplies and private trade died."

Already the Stalinist bureaucracy has purged the local organizations in the occupied territories of any elements who might prove anti-Stalinist. This was likewise predicted by Trotsky, when he warned that the workers of Poland must organize resistance against the crushing totalitarian hand of Moscow.

With nothing but the meager details furnished by the bourgeois press dealing mainly with the bare fact of the invasion by the Red Army, Trotsky was able from his analysis of the Soviet Union as a workers' state with bureaucratic deformations to predict with absolute accuracy the course which history actually took. A remarkable triumph of Marxian analysis!