

INDUSTRIAL UNIONISM UPHELD BY CIO

AIRPLANE WORKERS GO ON STRIKE

Mass Picket Lines Call For Cut In Boss Profits

DOWNEY, Calif., Nov. 17.—3200 production workers of Vultee Aircraft, Inc., have struck the first major blow at the sub-human conditions in the air-craft industries.

Mass picket lines have had the huge Vultee plant shut tight since 5 A. M. Thursday, when the company declined further consideration of wage increases from the present 50 cent hourly minimum. The union committee of amalgamated aviation local 683, United Auto Workers—CIO, had conducted futile negotiations for nine weeks.

This is the first strike in any major aircraft plant working on government war orders. Vultee has a backlog of \$84,000,000 in orders for planes for both the U. S. and Great Britain.

In an effort to settle the dispute without strike, the union committee had reduced its original demand for a 75 cents hourly wage minimum to 65 cents. The company refused to budge from its present minimum of 50 cents.

The company had added the "generous" offer of a 5c raise after 6 months—for some men; 2½ cents raises for most. The company places all new employees on apprenticeship wages, regardless of skill and experience. As one worker in Dept. 37 stated, "Many of our fellows go to work at Vultee for 50 cents an hour and they are promised five cent raises at the end of three months. When that time comes, these men are transferred to another department." And start all over again as apprentices for 50 cents an hour!

THROUGH LIKE VULTURES

Government officials and conciliators, as well as representatives of the National Defense Commission, thronged to the Vultee scene like vultures at the first threat of strike. A member of the NDAC attempted to intimidate the workers into line by threatening that the government would take "vigorous action" if they went on strike "against national defense."

Union officials have pointed to the \$84,000,000 war contracts and asserted that the company will make \$12,000,000 net profit in the next year. The total amount of the increases asked is only \$1,000,000. Over half the production workers at Vultee earn between \$20 and \$22 a week, although the work is highly skilled. This is far below the average wage in the auto industry.

La Guardia Hits Right To Strike

NEW YORK, Nov. 18.—The Board of Transportation and Mayor La Guardia are moving swiftly to forestall a possible walk-out of the Transport Workers Union CIO, with 50,000 members in the New York area, including 27,000 workers of the municipally owned subway, elevated, street-car and bus systems.

Stepping from a plane at La Guardia field, following his Pacific coast military inspection tour, the mayor today answered the TWU appeal to him to intervene in its favor against the continued violation of its contract with the transport workers, with the threat, "There will be no interference with or interruption of service at any time."

This statement backed-up the strike-breaking notices posted by the Board Friday throughout the city-owned transportation systems terminating any strike "illegal" and threatening to dismiss any strikers.

Unity---But Unity To Benefit Labor

AN EDITORIAL

The big push is on for unification of the trade union movement: loud are the voices raised for unity in Atlantic City and New Orleans this week at the CIO and AFL conventions, but loudest and most insistent of all is the voice of Roosevelt from Washington. And every labor-hating employer in the country and the capitalist press everywhere is seconding Roosevelt's demand for "labor unity."

The big push is on. Why all this pressure? Can all these people—including the *Wall Street Journal*, the *New York Times*, union-busting Thurman Arnold and, in a word, all the anti-union forces in the country—be demanding labor unity for the benefit of the workers? To ask this question is to answer it.

That means that there is one kind of "labor unity"—the kind the enemies of the workers want—that is worse than no unity at all!

A FUNDAMENTAL QUESTION

Every serious trade unionist must ask himself this fundamental question: What kind of unity will be of most benefit to the labor movement, and what kind will hurt the labor movement?

Will the labor movement be benefitted by the idea of labor unity presented, for example, by Mr. John P. Frey, head of the AFL Metal Trades Department? Very cockily, Mr. Frey, at the convention of his department last week, dismissed the very possibility of the CIO and AFL joining as equals, and instead declared that "labor peace" will come "through the withdrawal of organizations from the CIO and their affiliation with the AFL."

In other words, Mr. Frey—and he talks for Green and the other AFL tops—want no other form of unity than one in which the present AFL leadership will emerge as undisputed masters. And that means that their kind of unionism will rule the roost—CRAFT UNIONISM.

CRAFTS CANNOT LEAD

But craft unionism cannot lead the labor movement. That was amply demonstrated during the last fifty years. Craft unionism has demonstrated its complete inability to organize the most exploited layers of the industrial proletariat, the most militant workers—the auto workers, the miners, the steel workers, the rubber and aluminum and packing-house workers, the transport workers, etc., etc. Only the industrial unions could organize these workers. The CIO made the first real start in organizing these mass production workers and to do it had to create its own organization independent of the AFL craft union moguls.

Nobody can erase what is indelibly written in the minds of the workers in the mass production industries: The new industrial unions were built during the past seven years in spite of and against the desires of the Greens, Wolls, Freys and other craft union chieftains. They did not lift a finger to build those unions. They directly aided the bosses on a hundred occasions in attempts to prevent those unions from being built or to destroy them when they were already built.

THEIR KIND OF "UNITY"

Nor have these craft union chieftains now changed their minds and become converts to the idea of industrial unionism. On the contrary, they are itching to put over their kind of "labor unity" precisely in order to deal more powerful blows than ever against industrial unionism in general and each industrial union in particular. Like the Bourbons, they never learn anything.

As for the worker-members of the AFL craft unions, let them ask themselves whether they would benefit in any way if the Wolls and Greens could be in a position to hurt industrial unionism. Every intelligent worker knows that a large part of the AFL gains since the split with the CIO have been achieved thanks to the establishment of the CIO industrial unions. In Detroit and the other auto cities, in the steel and rubber towns, etc., the AFL has grown considerably—because the industrial unions broke down the previous open-shop condition of these cities. In their blind hatred of the industrial unions, the AFL chiefs would also wreck the AFL unions.

DEMAND FULL GUARANTEES

We hold no brief for John L. Lewis and his Stalinist allies. On the contrary, we have warned that the Lewis-Stalinist combination and its false policies have done more damage to the industrial unions than could have been achieved by the open enemies of industrial unionism. But nobody should be so blind as to think that the turning of the control of the trade union movement over to the Greens and Wolls is the way to get rid of Lewis and the Stalinists.

Trade union unity must come only on the basis of full guarantees for the preservation and extension of the industrial union method of organization. Unity on any other basis would be a catastrophe for all the unions.

That is what every intelligent worker must keep clear in his mind in the midst of the din about labor unity.

G. P. U. Assassin of Trotsky



"Frank Jacson" alias "Jacques Mornard," the agent of Stalin who murdered Leon Trotsky on August 20. His real name has not yet been uncovered by the police. Anyone possessing clues to his identity should communicate immediately with the SOCIALIST APPEAL.



Siqueiros Held In Penitentiary

MEXICO CITY, Nov. 9.—David Alfaro Siqueiros, well-known Stalinist and agent of the GPU, who led the May 24 machine gun assault upon the bedroom of Leon and Natalia Trotsky, has been transferred to a penitentiary pending court decision as to his guilt.

Siqueiros' lawyer, Federico Sodi, has petitioned the court for the release of the Stalinist gunman on bail. The lawyer alleges that Siqueiros is not guilty of the murder of Robert Sheldon Harte, guard on duty who was kidnapped the night of the assault, and claims that Harte was left by Siqueiros in the hands of the Arenal brothers.

Harte's body was discovered a month after his murder, buried in a shallow grave lined with quicklime. There was a bullet wound at the base of the brain and in the left temple.

The lawyer also claims, as does Siqueiros who thus admits his guilt, that the assault was not made with "intent to kill Trotsky." He claims that the assault with revolvers, machine guns, bombs, was carried out to discover "proof" of Trotsky's alleged counter-revolutionary activities. He does not attempt to explain why Harte was kidnapped and murdered.

The lawyers brief maintains that despite Siqueiros admitting the assault "it is natural to think that the shots could have caused injuries on the person of Mr. Trotsky; however, it is an arbitrary supposition of the judge to say that the results would have been murder and not a few wounds that would have healed in less than fifteen days."

It is doubtful that the lawyer is an actual member of the GPU. However, his arguments sound as if they had been manufactured by the GPU itself. No one but the GPU would have the incredible audacity to maintain that firing several hundred rounds of machine gun slugs through a door into the victim's bed, was intended only to wound him. Like the murder of Harte, how would "wounding" Trotsky just a "little bit" uncover evidence of Trotsky's alleged "counter-revolutionary activities"?

"Frank Jacson" alias "Jacques Mornard" the GPU agent who plunged a pickaxe into the brain of Trotsky on August 20 upon orders of Stalin is still in the police hospital. The conditions he enjoys are so exceptional that considerable criticism is circulating throughout the city. He has not made the slightest indication that he intends to reveal his real identity or to tell the truth about his

MURDER, INC.---

By DON DORE

Within one hour on November 12 a series of terrible blasts in three plants manufacturing explosives snuffed out the lives of 15 workers, including a number of women. A score of others were permanently mangled and maimed.

The first newspaper accounts of these disasters bore headlines screaming the sinister word "sabotage." The impression was sharply etched on the public mind that the explosions were part of a wide-spread plan of "foreign agents" to impede "national defense" production.

PRESS BECOMES SILENT

The day following the explosions, the press suddenly became quiet. Scarcely any further news was printed about the catastro-

Convention Hits AFL Conditions

GREEN FOR UNITY ON HIS TERMS

At the opening session of the American Federation of Labor convention in New Orleans, William Green told delegates that President Roosevelt wants committees from the two labor camps to meet with him and resume negotiations for unity.

Green did not explain that Roosevelt wishes this unity at the expense of the labor movement, that Roosevelt wishes to straitjacket the labor movement preventing it not only from jurisdictional conflicts which might interrupt the flow of profits, but more especially from genuine strikes against the bosses for higher wages, shorter hours, etc.

Bill Green declared that the (Continued on Page 3)

ATLANTIC CITY, N. J., Nov. 19.—If Sidney Hillman persists in moving toward the AFL, he is unlikely to take any other union along with him out of the CIO.

That was made clear this afternoon, when the Third Convention of the CIO voted unanimously in favor of a motion which meant, in effect, that the CIO would enter a united labor movement only when that movement represented the victory of industrial unionism.

More important than the formal victory of the motion was the clear-headed and militant spirit displayed by the convention delegates on this fundamental question. The table at which sat the Hillman supporters—from the Amalgamated Clothing Workers and the Textile Workers Union—was like a piece of driftwood, buffeted about by a stormy sea of aroused delegates.

Every delegate in the room had been bombarded for months, and especially since election day, with (Continued on Page 3)

First Results of Our Military Policy

By JAMES P. CANNON

The military transitional program, unanimously accepted by our recent Chicago conference after two months of discussion in the party branches, has provided our comrades with a most effective approach and means of agitation among the workers. Numerous reports and letters from active comrades in

without any serious opposition whatever.

In the face of all these staggering facts it is a positive crime to lull the workers with a prospect of peace or to whine against universal military service which is already in operation. American imperialism has already entered with both feet on the path of war and militarism. This is the new reality, and abstract opposition cannot affect the course of events in any way whatever. It is the task of the proletarian vanguard to accept the new reality, to meet the imperialists on their own ground, the ground of militarism, and counterpose to their program the military program of the proletariat.

That is the task which our party, aided by the genius of Trotsky, has aimed to accomplish by the adoption of the Chicago resolution and the development of our agitation in accordance with it.

WIDE SPREAD INTEREST

It is precisely because this resolution goes to the very heart of the problem of the day that it has aroused such wide-spread interest and discussion from the beginning. Our policy is realistic and profoundly revolutionary, but it strikes a new note and breaks sharply with the tradition of American radicalism which has been negative and essentially pacifist on the question of war. For that reason we devoted two months to internal discussion before publicly proclaiming our reso-

lution. Editorial comment was reduced to a whisper in which "sabotage" became mere innuendo, hedged around by innumerable "maybes" and "perhaps."

This sudden hush-up of the entire matter, as though by a calculated move, strikingly parallels the press treatment of the previous blast at the Hercules Powder Co. plant at Kenil, N. J., where 51 workers were blown to bits.

A number of veiled and obscure references, buried within the long newspaper accounts of the first day, gives a strong clue to the reason for this suddenly imposed silence.

WORKERS MURDERED

They reveal that the first investigations of the FBI and other police agencies have uncovered evidence of conditions which the

boss class and its government preferred to leave buried.

For these workers were murdered—murdered just as surely as if they had been mowed down by direct artillery fire—murdered by the insatiable greed of the bosses for more and more profits!

UNSAFE PROCESS

The first hint of this was given two months ago in the *New York Herald-Tribune* account of the Hercules Powder disaster. After thousands of words devoted to planting the suspicion of "sabotage," one buried paragraph revealed that the real cause of the murderous explosion was the use of an unsafe process in the manufacture of nitroglycerine, a process which the company had been (Continued on Page 3)

lution. The unanimity and enthusiasm with which our party adopted the resolution is evidence that its years of Marxist education under the direct instruction of Comrade Trotsky were not wasted.

We are now only at the beginning of our attempt to popularize the policy in the general labor movement. There is a long road ahead, but the first results give reassuring proof that we are on the right road. We seek, first of all, an approach to the militant workers whose patriotism—at least 99% of them are patriotic—is in large measure a confused expression of their hatred for fascism. These sentiments are now exploited by the imperialists. Our policy is designed to turn these sentiments in the direction of a struggle for their own class interests and liberation.

REPORTS DIVERSIFIED

The first reactions to our resolution have been widely diversified. Our reports from the field show that some workers are sympathetic, some sceptical. Many workers want to know how the policy will work out in practice. They raise acute and penetrating questions of application which have not yet been adequately answered in our press. In this series of articles I shall comment on these questions and objections and undertake to answer at the same time the criticism of the various radical political groups who, as was to be expected, neither understand nor agree with our policy. In some aspects of the question, the criticisms of our opponents provide an opportunity for the restatement and elucidation of our policy in a way to meet the objections of the workers and make our policy clearer

A TACTICAL SUPPLEMENT

Our military resolution, it goes without saying, does not repeal the basic program of the party and the Fourth International, but is designed as a tactical supplement to it. It is not in itself a program of proletarian revolution, but a bridge toward it. It is designed to protect and develop the class independence of the workers who are dragged into the imperialist military machine. It is, in effect, a proposal for a united front with the workers as they are today, patriotic and anti-fascist, not ready for the socialist revolution, but concerned to protect themselves and their class interests. We offer them a program of joint struggle for practical and reasonable demands which will protect the interests of the workers, preserve their class independence and prepare the way, by the objective logic of their development, for the revolutionary show-down. That is why we call our military program a *transitional* program of agitation as distinct from our fundamental program of socialist revolution which we advance by propaganda. Once this distinction is understood—and no one who reads our resolution intelligently and conscientiously can misunderstand it—the criticisms of our political opponents, who accuse us of opportunism, fall of their own weight.

OEHLERITES ATTACK RESOLUTION

This is the case with the Oehlerites (Continued on Page 4)

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.

Amazing People! Their Only Consistency Is To Be Consistently Bad

Editor: Last week I was handed the November 4 issue of *Labor Action* the organ of the Workers Party. Being interested in the working class movement I read the paper to find out what they had to offer to the working class. From its confusing and jumbled pages I managed to gather at least one gem that I thought should be brought to your attention.

On the top of page 1 in an article by Shachtman called "Concept the War Industries Under Workers Control" I read: "Let us proceed with the bosses in the army the same as we proceed in the factory . . . In the factory they put their superintendents and

managers over us, in the army they put their men over us as officers. In fact some of these same factory superintendents and managers become officers in the army. Big business and the imperialist army are tied together."

That sounded pretty good to me until I read a lengthy criticism of the military policy of the Socialist Workers Party by that same confused author in the same issue of the paper. After having Trotsky repudiate Trotsky, Shachtman on page 2 repudiates Shachtman of page 1 as follows: "Cannon with vulgar disregard for Marxist theory, compares the army with a factory, a political with an economic institution."

What amazing people! The only consistency that their paper shows is that it is consistently bad.

With warm greetings,
W. Z.

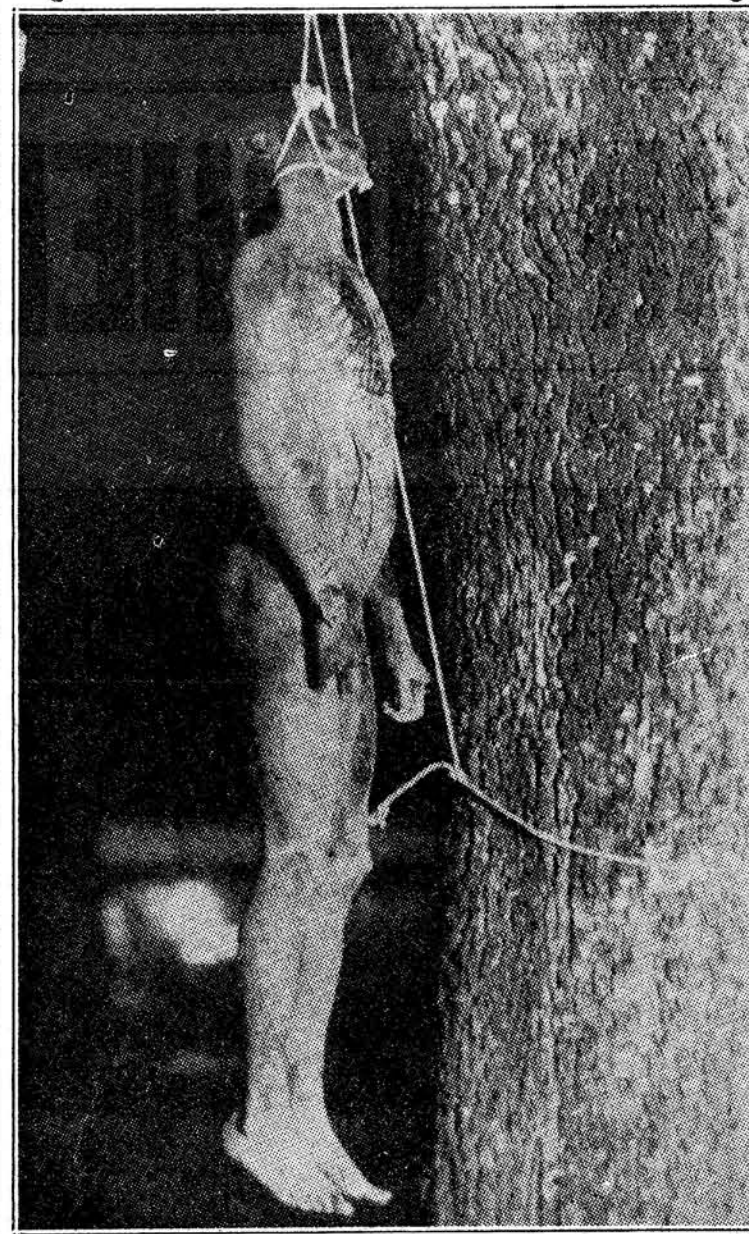
WASHINGTON, D. C.—The American Federation of Labor is now at its all-time membership high, Secretary-Treasurer George Meany reports in the November issue of the American Federationist.

The combined enrollment of all unions affiliated with the A. F. of L., on the basis of per capita tax payments, stands at 4,247,443. This figure is almost 50 per cent above the membership three years ago, when the total was 2,860,933.

A. G. Ruthven, president of the University of Michigan recently invited faculty members who "permit indiscriminate criticism of democratic government" to resign. The learned president declared, ". . . Professors should rid themselves of the notion that romanticism, sentimentalism and indiscriminate tolerance are essential constituents of democracy." And just what is *discriminate* tolerance, Herr Professor?

Maritime Unions Sign Agreement

"National Unity"



The above is a picture of Claude Neal after he had been lynched. Note mutilation of Neal's chest and thighs. Note also how fingers have been cut from hands as "souvenirs." After this picture was taken toes were cut from the feet, also as "souvenirs."

Stalinist Influence Disrupts United Labor Front

SAN FRANCISCO, Nov. 11.—The one-month old steam schooner strike today approached settlement. The Marine Firemen, the union first to declare the strike, has just accepted a compromise proposal in coastwise balloting. The Marine Cooks and Stewards and the Engineers are now also considering a plan for an agreement.

The proposal voted on by the firemen is a counter-offer to one made by the shipowners for a monthly wage increase of \$7.50. The firemen's terms include a \$5.00 monthly wage increase, 10 cents an hour for overtime and Saturday afternoon off while in port. The shipowners are expected to accept this proposal for some modified version of it.

The schooner strike will end as it began—with the maritime crafts disunited. The firemen, cooks and stewards and engineers will each sign their separate agreements. The Sailors Union of the Pacific with the most men involved is not on strike but will probably return with the best agreement it can get under bad circumstances.

Responsibility for failure to cement a common front rests squarely with the Stalinist elements in control or influential in the firemen, cooks and stewards who in turn have been cooperating closely with Harry Bridges. On two distinct occasions—before the strike began and recently—the Sailors Union urged the other unions to cooperate. In the last issue of the *West Coast Sailors*, fifteen rank and file seamen voicing the sentiment of the overwhelming majority of their brothers addressed the following open letter to members of the MFOW:

SUP PROPOSES UNITY
"Last week the Sailors' Union steamschooner negotiating committee proposed to other maritime unions that a joint policy be worked out among all unions involved. The substance of the SUP proposal was as follows:

1. That the SUP, MFOW, MMP and MEBA pool their efforts to secure new agreement on the steamschooners.
2. That no union or unions

return to work until all unions secure new agreements satisfactory to their own membership.

"3. That no official, union or unions submit any point in dispute, on steamschooners to arbitration of any type or form.

"What is wrong with this set of proposals?"

"What other kind of unity is there?"

"How else can we win a strike that involves all of us?"

"We restate these principles and address these questions to you because we believe it is necessary for the rank and file of all maritime unions to cut through the barrage of official attacks and counter-attacks.

"We believe that unity of all maritime unions can be re-established by the rank and file on the basis of a clearly defined program. "The program offered here has been called phoney."

"What is phoney about it? It is simply a statement of policy!"

"If the membership of the Sailors' Union and the Marine Firemen agree on this program to unite our forces, it will be much clearer for us in the near future who among our officials is phoney."

STALINISTS SILENT

No answer was forthcoming from the Stalinists who control publicity in the Maritime Federation or from officials of the firemen's union to this eminently correct proposal.

There is no question now that the Stalinists did not want a united front with the SUP. After years of trailing behind the sailors union which carried the brunt of the struggle in winning conditions for the seagoing crafts, the Stalinists saw an opportunity to mend their falling fortunes by snatching a small wage increase for the crafts they influence or control without the help of the SUP.

But even here their calculations went awry. While they will win slight gains, the maritime workers on the steamschooners must pay for them by a month's idleness and a far worse agreement than could have been obtained had unity been established.

Join the Socialist Workers Party

Hunting Season in Michigan Brings Crisis in Auto

By JULES GELLER
FLINT, Mich., Nov. 15.—The hunting season opened today in Michigan and brought about severe crisis in the auto industry.

First of all Charles Weatherald, GM Board Member in charge of Chevrolet manufacturing at \$300,000 a year, was caught red-handed on the multi-millionaire Fisher estate with 81 ducks (which he claims he hit with his own little gun) and is facing a heavy fine and a possible jail sentence for being too greedy and exceeding the limit.

Usually well-informed sources close to Wall Street and the Duponts say that Weatherald's salary will be cut to \$200,000 a year as penalty for his hunting escapade which brought such bad publicity to General Motors, whose executives don't usually get caught poaching.

At the Fisher Body No. 2 plant in Flint a shutdown occurred today totally stopping production and resulting in the shutdown of Chevrolet assembly plants when almost the entire plant took their guns and went out to bag a deer.

Fisher No. 1 also was seriously affected by the mass migration to the North woods and a production crisis gripped this entire city. Since this enthusiastic hunting curtails production for "national defense" it is expected a law will soon be passed to forbid workers from hunting anything but German or Japanese workers and other animals on whom Wall Street has declared open season.

ever they say or do to us is above reproach as far as they are concerned."

Barred from Officer Posts

In the South a Negro is never permitted to rise to any high post in the community or in the government.

In the Navy a Negro, contrary to popular belief, cannot be come a petty officer or chief petty officer. According to the *Crisis* article quoted above:

"The highest rank that can be obtained is officers' cook or steward, and even though a steward, one is still looked upon as a mess attendant . . . After all, he is a mess attendant. Just a mess attendant. Or shall we say 'officer's boy.' . . ."

No Voice Whatsoever

In the South it is the practise to deny the Negro the right to participate in elections, and in general to permit no voice in making the laws or determining the conditions of the community.

In the Navy too the Negro has no voice, can't protest, has no right to ask for a change in conditions, has to obey laws in the making of which he has no part.

"We have no side to our story, and if we have it, it doesn't do any good anyway, so we just keep our mouths shut," say the Sampson sailors.

In the South the Negro is denied his rights by a system of brutal terrorism, lynching and violence, and jail sentences on the chain gang.

In the Navy the Negro is denied his rights by a system of imprisonments-at-large, court martials and jail sentences at hard labor.

"Only in the Balcony"

Even in the North the Negro is restricted and discriminated against socially. In most cities he is barred from restaurants, from "white" dance halls, and from seats in theaters except the balcony. It goes without saying that the Negro's treatment in this sense is much worse in the South.

"Time to do Something About It"

In the Navy too the Negro is restricted and discriminated against socially.

"In our Naval churches—both Protestant and Catholic—discrimination is openly practised. When conditions are so bad

TRADE UNION NOTES

by Farrell Dobbs

The membership of the Steel Workers Organizing Committee, CIO, is increasing at a rapid rate with the present figure the largest since the defeat in Little Steel. This organization presents an imposing structure in an important basic industry, but it is a union of unknown strength which has not been thoroughly tested in struggle.

Its main contracts—U.S. Steel, etc.—have been obtained without a fight. The strike in Little Steel was poorly led and did not put the union to a decisive test of its strength. The main strategy of the strike was dependence on governmental agencies. The official leadership of the SWOC, learning little from this defeat, has continued to base its key policy on the hope of assistance from the government.

CLOSE TO 1929 PEAK
The rise in membership of the SWOC is due in part to increased production and the resultant pick-up in employment. Steel output is now close to the 1929 peak and there is a big back log of orders. Another important factor which is swelling the ranks of the SWOC is the rise in militancy among the workers.

There have been an increasing number of stoppages involving crews, whole departments and occasionally an entire plant. A recent job action at the Lackawanna (Bethlehem) plant in Buffalo is a typical example of this new militancy. A furnace crew sent a committee in to see the management on a grievance. The demands of the crew were refused and the committee was given fifteen minutes to get back on the job—or else.

A PARTIAL ADAPTATION

However, the new policy of the SWOC leadership is only a partial adaptation to the changing conditions. The main objective of the new militancy in the leadership seems to be an increase in membership not a fight through these methods for fundamental improvement of employment conditions in the steel industry. There is little evidence to indicate that they have turned towards trade union action to get contracts.

Undismayed by the rebuff from the administration in the issuance of war contracts to Bethlehem Steel and other violators of labor legislation, the SWOC general staff still expects to get conditions for the steel workers as a gift from the government.

Further than this, the SWOC still has a representative functioning on the so-called "National Defense Committee" and has thus continued to lend this committee authority in the eyes of the steel workers.

VIOLATE LABOR LAWS

Certainly the steel corporations will not take such a union leadership very seriously. The corporations violate the labor laws and still they get war contracts. And the leaders of the union of their employees stay on the Committee which awards contracts under such a flagrant anti-labor policy. Since the SWOC was pushed around with such ease in the question of letting war contracts, the government will not take very seriously its demand for union contracts with the steel corporations.

SYMPTOMATIC ACTION

These militant actions are symptomatic and they are increasing in size and number. But the trend is only just developing; it has not yet reached into all the corners of the industry. Some workers take comfort from the feeling that there is plenty of work. They remember the past periods of heavy unemployment but try to kid themselves into thinking that this boom will last. They ignore the fact that it is based on preparations for war and not of any improvement in the internal economy of the country. They close their eyes to the dangers of the mountain of grievances that is piling up, especially the violations of the 40 hour week. Other workers are much disturbed over the increasing arrogance of the corporations but hesitate to act because of lack of confidence in the SWOC leadership.

PROBLEM OF LEADERSHIP

A growing section of the SWOC membership is beginning to realize the impossibility of the present official policy. The demand is spreading: "All union officials off the so-called National Defense Committee."

The first responsibility of the union leadership is to fight for the rights of the membership. All possible pressure should be brought upon the government to enforce labor legislation, but the SWOC cannot rely upon the government to get union contracts from the steel corporations. The first and most reliable weapon in this fight is trade union action.

An ever-larger number of the steel workers are becoming aware of this fact. The main problem today is one of leadership.

that people who say they are believers of God are choicy about who sits next to them, then it is time that we pray and start to do something about it," say the Sampson men.

"On 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."

The *Crisis* article reports that at the Norfolk training station when dances and special functions are held on board ship, white sailors may bring their girl friends, Negroes may not.

Navy Secretary "Regrets"

For the South there are the 14th and 15th Amendments which are supposed to protect the rights of Negroes, but of course the Bourbon authorities make no pretense of abiding by them.

For the Navy too there is an amendment to the Selective Service Act which prohibits discrimination against drafted or enlisted men in the armed forces because of race or color. Secretary of the Navy Frank Knox announced before it was passed that he regrets the situation but Negroes can be accepted in the Navy only as mess attendants. After its passage, he said he was still sympathetic, but the problem was "insoluble" meaning that things would continue as they had been going.

Add it all up and what does it come to? In the name of "war for democracy and freedom and equality" the ruling class of this country is asking the Negro to go down to the sea in ships and offer up his life under exactly the same conditions that prevail in that part of the country where the Negro is most systematically denied democracy and freedom and equality!

Soldiers Must Buy New Uniforms Out of \$21 Pay

By Special Correspondent
FORT DIX, N. J.—With winter coming on, the self-styled "fugitives from the draft" here are faced with serious lack of clothing and adequate shelter.

Many of the boys complain about the lack of underwear. While it is washed, they must do without it.

Another source of irritation among the men is the Army regulation which requires them to

clean and repair their uniforms at their own expense. Frequently they are ordered out to drill in deep mud and to run through brambles. For a man getting only \$21 a month it is a serious problem to replace a uniform ruined in drill. Officers are seldom seen dirtying their uniforms in such drills.

The men are beginning to formulate a demand that the Army provide repairs and new uniforms when necessary.

Clerks and Butchers Win By United Strike Action

TRENTON, N. J.—Featured by the solidarity of the different AFL unions involved, the month-long strike against the A & P stores and the American stores in New Jersey, Pennsylvania, and Maryland is nearing the end with a satisfactory union contract in the offing.

Though a settlement between the companies and the Butchers Union had been reached several weeks ago, the Butchers refused to recognize the agreement as effective until the Retail Clerks had

won their demands. The Clerks originally walked out in sympathy with the Butchers. When their own contract expired, they presented demands for an increase in pay, two weeks vacation, and a reduction in hours from 51 to 48.

Since the strike began, members of both unions have been picketing side by side in front of the principal stores and with the cooperation of the Teamsters Union have kept 1100 stores shut down.

Judges Arrest Judges In Election Fraud Cases

JERSEY CITY, N. J.—The judges are hounding each other for a change instead of workers. This pleasant spectacle is an aftermath to the squabble between Republicans and the Hague Democrats for control of New Jersey politics.

It all began when the Republican State legislature created special courts for Hudson County to take jurisdiction over election fraud charges away from the Hague machine's judges. Hague wouldn't allow the Republican to take control of the courts and the election in such easy fashion and so instructed his cops not to recognize the new courts.

When a Republican ward-heeler was arrested on a charge of permitting several score persons to register for the elections from his two-family house, he was hauled before a Hague judge who promptly decided to hold the prisoner for the Hudson County Grand Jury. Out on bail, the Republican promptly rushed to a Republican appointed judge from whom he got a warrant for false arrest against the Hague judge.

Hague got wind of the Republican move and countered by having another of the judges arrest the Republican judge.

If this keeps up, all the judges will soon be behind bars—as the old saying goes, it takes a thief to catch a thief.

Captain Laughs at Idea Men Freeze in Tents

By Special Correspondent
WINTHROP, Mass., Nov. 9.—The National Guard detachments encamped here at Fort Heath are learning first hand about officers' efficiency and consideration for the men.

Fort Heath is on a promontory which juts out into the Atlantic ocean. With the northeast wind already sweeping down from the North Atlantic, the men are still sleeping in tents.

In a press interview, Capt. Ed-

ward B. Gallant, in private life a lawyer who is now post commandant "laughed at the suggestion that his men might be cold at night. Snug as bugs in a rug," he said.

One soldier, upon being driven back to the fort by the correspondent of the *Socialist Appeal*, complained bitterly about conditions. According to this soldier, Capt. Gallant and the other officers have regularly-heated houses at the fort.

Tin Gods With a Whip

Richard C. Watts, Donald Moran and William Seabrook, three Negro sailors on the U. S. S. Sampson, offer additional evidence in their letter in the *Courier*, November 9:

"We are subjected to being roughly spoken to three-fourths of the time, cursed at sometimes, without even 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. . . ."

"The majority of the 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. They are the kings, we are the flunkies. . . . What-

The Negro Struggle

By ALBERT PARKER

A LETTER ABOUT THE U.G.E. ARTICLE

"I read with a considerable amount of interest your remarks on the stand taken by the United Government Employees at their recent convention in Washington. I also read in the same issue the resolution of the Political Committee of the Socialist Workers Party in which they give their position on the relation of the Negro to the armed forces.

"I find myself in agreement with most of what was said in both articles, but there is at least one thing which I am not sure I understand. In your party's resolution, under Point 5, is the following paragraph discussing the question of mixed or separate regiments:

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

"However, on the very next page, in your article on the United Government Employees, there occurs a case where a group of Negroes themselves have met and decided that they prefer separate regiments as long as they get colored officers—and you attack them very strongly for this. I do not dispute your attacking them, as I believe you were well justified in this. They were not considering the interests of the Negro people, they were carrying on a political fight to elect Roosevelt and to cover up that he had announced a policy in the army that was aimed at Negroes. I also accept the other reasons you gave for attacking them.

"But what I do not understand is how this jibes with your party's resolution which as I understand it says that Negroes themselves should have the right to determine this question.

"It seems to me that you owe your readers a bit of explanation on this contradiction. I feel that you should have discussed this, at least, in your article."

ANSWER TO THE LETTER

We do not find any inconsistency in the article on the U.G.E.'s endorsement on Roosevelt's Jim Crow military policy and in the resolution our party has adopted on military policy.

We condemned the Edgar Brown-U.G.E. policy for the following reasons:

1. It was dictated by the political needs of the Roosevelt administration, not by the demands of the Negro people for equal rights in all phases of American life. Some Negro group was needed to win back the votes that were endangered or lost when Roosevelt himself said that the Jim Crow policies in the armed forces had proved "satisfactory over a long period of years." As such, the U. G. E. resolution is an endorsement of the theory that the Negro is different and inferior, because that is the principle underlying segregation in the army. That means an endorsement and acceptance of Jim Crow policies everywhere!

2. The separate regiment policy cannot protect Negroes, even if they have Negro officers. What they have to be protected from is special choice for the menial, flunky jobs and the assignments to duty in situations where men's lives are thrown away like matchsticks. Because the Negro soldiers will be off by themselves, the Jim Crow general staff, as long as it controls things, will always be able to pick them out for "special assignment," as they did so often in the last war.

Now what, on the other hand, does the fight for the right of the Negroes to decide the question imply?

First of all, it implies a fight against the government policy. The ruling class says, "Negroes must go into separate regiments, whether they like it or not, because we think it's most satisfactory." That is, since under the present policy Negroes don't have any say in the matter, the first thing they must do is fight against the official policy that denies them any voice in the matter and segregates them at the same time.

Secondly, it means a fight for control of military training. Whoever controls military training is in a position to decide what happens to the soldiers, colored as well as white. A struggle for the right of the Negroes to determine whether they shall be in mixed or separate regiments means a struggle to take control from the officer caste that runs things today and to put it into the hands of the soldiers themselves.

How different this is, then, from the hat-in-hand, body-braced-for-a-kick attitude of Brown and his cohorts.

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

But our letter writer is correct in saying that in our article on Brown we should have contrasted his attitude with our own position on the question of "self-determination" on the question of mixed or separate regiments.

CORRECTION

In our column last week on the effect of the poll tax in eight southern states, we said "only about 10% (of the adult population) can enter the voting booths." This is not correct. More near the figure for the presidential election of 1936 would be about 20%, although in some places it is 10%. This does not change the point of the article, for the figure of 60% quoted for the rest of the country is still correct.

Defense for Waller Asks Aid

Negro Sharecropper In Virginia Faces Execution

The National Office of the Workers Defense League has issued a plea for funds to aid in the defense of Odell Waller, 23-year-old Negro sharecropper sentenced to execution December 27 at Richmond, Va., on a charge of murder.

On August 6, Waller was extradited from Columbus, Ohio, whence he had fled after having fatally shot his landlord, Oscar Davis, in self-defense during a quarrel over wages. Davis had refused payment for work performed on his land by Waller, his wife and his 65-year-old mother and had also declined to pay a promised wage to the mother for four weeks' nursing in the Davis household.

The case is appealed to the Supreme Court of Appeals of Virginia and will probably have to be carried to the Supreme Court of the U. S. Aside from its importance in the saving of Waller's life, this case involves the problem of the legal status of Negroes and poor whites in the South. The judge, confronted by the fact that Waller's jury had been "illegally" and made up of 10 land-

lords, a carpenter and a businessman, said that in his opinion "only well-to-do citizens should be on juries."

Negroes and poor whites are excluded from jury service by the operation of the poll-tax law of Virginia.

David Clendenin, Secretary of the WDL, asks that funds for the Waller case be sent at once to the Workers Defense League National Office, 112 East 19th Street, New York City. Two thousand dollars will be needed to fight the case to its end. Of this, \$300 must be raised at once.

What's In a Name?

BUENOS AIRES, Nov. 8.—An enterprising restaurant manager today displayed on his menu "Gâteau Roosevelt"—Roosevelt cake. "The cake is the same as any other cake," explained the manager. "I just thought it might sell better with the Roosevelt name."

Yessir! Roosevelt or Willkie cake—it's just about the same thing—only the Roosevelt brand has a prettier icing!

Subscribe to the "Fourth International"

GREEN FOR UNITY ON HIS TERMS . . .

(Continued from Page 1)

AFL—meaning the bureaucracy riding on the shoulders of the craft unions—is prepared to renew peace negotiations on the basis of the formula it advanced three years ago.

This formula means capitulation of the industrial unions to the craft union bureaucrats. It would "permit" the unions which were expelled from the AFL for organizing the workers in the basic industries to return on the old status. But the new unions would be thrown into the meat grinder of the bankrupt craft outfits having jurisdiction in their field.

Mr. Green commented favorably on the morque-like tranquility prevailing at the convention in New Orleans and contrasted it with the "confusion of the Tower of Babel" meeting at Atlantic City.

To Secretary of War Stimson's demand that labor knuckle under to the bosses and "make sacri-

fices" in view of the "national emergency" Green responded with silence. It is expected, however, that Green and his cohorts will do their bit to gagging any tendency of the rank and file toward militancy either in periods of "national emergency" or any other time.

Labor Should Work 10 to 12 Hour Day Declares Millis

Labor has just received an inkling of what "national unity" really spells. In his first interview with the press since he was named by Roosevelt for the post of chairman of the National Labor Relations Board, Dr. Harry Millis declared that the workers should be willing to work a ten or twelve hour day in an "emergency."

This kind of talk, especially when there are still about 9 million unemployed, will absolutely ensure Millis' approval by Wall Street and a reactionary Congress. First fruits of the labor vote for Roosevelt!

CONVENTION HITS AFL CONDITIONS . . .

(Continued from page 1)

a clamorous demand—from labor "leaders," "friends" of labor, and many open enemies of labor—for what is euphemistically called "labor unity," but which really means going back to the AFL under conditions jeopardizing the very life of the new industrial unions.

But, fortunately, they withstood that tremendous pressure. When those opposed to the motion were asked for, not even the Amalgamated Clothing Workers' delegates who had spoken for Hillman's policy recorded themselves as opposed to Lewis' policy.

WHINING HILLMANITES

Three speakers took the floor for Hillman's policy: Franz Daniel and Frank Rosenblum, of the clothing workers, and George Balducci of the textile workers. Only Rosenblum appeared to believe what he was arguing for. The other two put on a half-hearted performance—probably reflecting their own real feelings, for both are directly dependent on Hillman's good favor.

They were answered by a barrage of effective speeches. Perhaps the best was that of a Negro packinghouse worker, Neil Weaver. He reflected the bitterness of the Negro toilers at the "illy white" AFL policy: "They tell my people we can only be hod carriers or porters." And he reminded us of the fate of the packinghouse workers during the last fifty years—never organized by the AFL. Weaver didn't give the most polished logical argument—but his aroused bitterness at the very possibility of capitulation to the craft union moguls was better than a formal argument.

The three and half hours' debate was closed with a speech by John L. Lewis. He had come to the convention in a weaker position, unquestionably, than at any time in the last decade: pledged to resign the CIO presidency, a loser in the eyes of those who—like Lewis himself—give decisive importance to the question of picking the winning capitalist party, and a bitter disappointment to those in the CIO who had hoped that Lewis would support neither Willkie nor Roosevelt. The 43-minute ovation for Lewis on the first day of the convention was largely a mechanical contrivance, engineered by the Stalinists.

The strength and effectiveness of Lewis' speech came from the fact that on this question—unlike practically every other question—he could be absolutely honest and tell the whole truth. He did, and threw the gage of battle at Hillman.

MILITANT POLICY LACKING

Unfortunately, however, the necessary prerequisites for the actual victory of industrial unionism—a militant, class struggle policy against the bosses, a firm policy of rejecting collaboration with the bosses' political agents in Washington—that was not voiced in the convention. Instead of demanding that Hillman resign from the National Defense Commission and cease to serve that body as a Judas against the workers, Lewis, Phil Murray and the others are calling for more Hillmans in the government bodies.

MURDER INC. . .

(Continued from Page 1) previously warned by War Dept. officials not to use.

PROFITS RIDING HIGH

But profits at Hercules have been riding high on war orders. Plants can be re-built, especially when property damage is covered by insurance and huge reserves piled up from previous profits.

As for the dead and crippled workers—Well, the flesh of human labor is "cheaper" than safe manufacturing processes.

ONE CAUSE

"Some experts on explosions attribute last week's blasts to accidents and pointed to the fact that explosions often occur when plants that are expanding take on relatively untrained workers."

Expert workers command more pay. But profits demand "cheap" labor. Untrained workers, desperate for jobs, will work for low wages. Women workers, notoriously low paid, were widely employed in all the wrecked plants. And wherever low wages prevail, long hours and speed-up are also invariably present. The workers are drained of their physical reserves. The tired brain, battered nerves, numb muscles may relax their vigilance for a moment. And the press wails "sabotage" over more torn bodies.

Sam Gompers' Ghost Haunts Craft Chiefs

On December 19, 1924, Sam Gompers, founder of the American Federation of Labor and chief spokesman for craft unionism, was buried. His leading mourners, William Green, Mathew Woll, John Frey, William Hutcheson, and John L. Lewis, on that day buried a whole historical period in the development of American trade-unionism. But they did not know it.

DAMNED THE UNSKILLED

Bill Green, Gompers' nominal successor, and the rest of the surviving lieutenants continued in the "faith" which Gompers had bequeathed them. Old Sam had always damned the unskilled and unorganized, the multiplying millions of industrial workers. Green and his colleagues retired to the traditional AFL routine of dues collections and the adjustment of endless disputes between a thousand declining crafts.

In the golden days of post-war "Normalcy" the auto, rubber and a host of other industries were harnessing new millions of workers to the mass production machinery. Despite the ever-expanding need for union organization, the AFL steadily declined from a membership of 4,978,740 in 1920 to 2,126,796 by 1933.

TORN WITH FEAR

The AFL heads were torn between fear of industrial unionism, which would cut across their cherished craft jurisdictions, and a gloomy picture of the dues receipts. But by 1933, they could no longer resist the irresistible demand of the unorganized for organization, nor the obvious fact that if the AFL did not receive these workers, some rival set-up would. The AFL Executive Council reluctantly began to issue federal charters, duly safe-guarding the interests of the crafts in the plants, to local groups of workers in auto, rubber, etc.

Even under this dubious sponsorship the industrial workers managed to make their aims felt. In 1933, 812,000 workers went on strike as compared with 243,000 in 1932.

MEMBERSHIP DECLINES

By October, 1933, Green was "pointing with pride" to a membership of 3,926,796. But on August 1, 1934, the Federation had to report a decline to 2,608,011 paid-up members.

From the start of the 1933 upsurge, these craft leaders fought effective industry-wide organization and refused to charter autonomous internationals in the mass industries. Above all, these relics shuddered at the militancy of the fresh, young layers of industrial workers, their willingness to battle—and to die—on the picket lines.

Green stifled a strike of the auto workers in 1933 against the infamous "merit clause" of the NRA auto code by shoving the notorious Wolman Auto Labor Board on the auto workers. When strike sentiment continued, Green sent his paid henchmen, like Bill Collins and Francis Dillon, to coerce the auto workers into submission.

He treated the rubber workers of Akron similarly, using Coleman Claherty, a venal skate, to block strike action with a phony settlement engineered in Washington. When the Toledo Chevrolet workers struck in early 1935, Dillon rushed to the scene and jammed over a company-union agreement with a threat of pulling the strikers' charter.

NAMED DILLON

At the 1935 auto workers convention, Green was compelled to grant an international charter, of course, properly protecting the crafts. He offset this by arbitrarily naming the hated Dillon as president of the new-born international. Twelve days later, he tried unsuccessfully to pull the same stunt at the rubber workers convention with the likewise hated Claherty.

Under the Green policies, the industrial workers went from defeat to defeat. The membership of the auto unions, for example, dwindled from a 1934 peak of 100,000 to 20,000 by February, 1935.

The final blow was the defeat of John L. Lewis' resolution for the chartering of industrial unions, with unrestricted jurisdiction in the mass industries, at the October, 1935, AFL convention.

These were the conditions which bred the CIO and compelled the split from the AFL.

WORKERS SURGED FORWARD

Once freed of the dead weight of the craft leaders, the industrial workers surged forward. In 1936 and 1937, they stormed the citadels of auto, rubber, steel and other major industries. By 1937, the CIO industrial union movement counted over three million members and constituted the most dynamic and progressive union organization ever built by American labor.

Green and Co. nursed their hatred of industrial unionism. They harassed it with guerrilla jurisdictional war and taxed the AFL membership for an anti-CIO war chest. Bill Green publicly gloated over the CIO defeat in "Little Steel" while the blood of martyred steel workers poured on the streets of Chicago, Canton, Youngstown, Weirton.

Today, Bill Green piously speaks for "unity." But he seeks to embrace the CIO merely to strangle it. Yes, unity of organized labor is the most pressing need of the workers. But not Green's brand. Real unity can be achieved only with the guarantee that the principle of industrial unionism will live and grow, and that the Bill Greens will not toss it into the grave beside the bones of old Sam Gompers.

In London the Ministers and Religious Workers Union has been formed and has decided to constitute itself as a properly organized trade union open to ministers and religious workers of all denominations. "We are all workers," said the Rev. Robert Doble of London, who is the initiator of the union. Well, even a capitalist is a worker—by a broad-enough definition—they work the workers.

School for Capitalist Generals

By EUGENE VARLIN

The United States Military Academy, West Point, is under the direct control of the War Department. It is the only school of its kind in the country. Its aim is "to produce not merely competent company clerks, or even competent second lieutenants, but potential officers of the general staff and general officers."

Founded in 1802, its graduates, with few exceptions, led the American Army in the Mexican War, Civil War, the Spanish-American War and the World War. They occupy the U. S. Army's highest positions today.

WANT TO BE A WEST POINT CADET?

The bulk of the appointments to the U. S. Military Academy are made on the following basis: six from each state at large to make a total of 288; three from each congressional district totaling 1305; 172 from the United States at large, and 180 from the enlisted men of the Regular Army and the National Guard. These four categories cover all but seventeen of the 1964 cadets appointed.

Appointments are made by the President as follows: from States-at-large and from Congressional districts on the recommendation of their respective United States Senators and Representatives; from enlisted men in the National Guards of the states and territories on the recommendations of their respective governors; and from men enlisted in the Regular Army, on recommendations of the commanding general of the particular army corps from which the appointees are drawn.

In only one case does the government provide specifically for a competitive examination, and that is in appointments from the United States at large. Of the 172 in this grouping, more than two-thirds are selected without examination as noteworthy students of so-called "honor schools" (colleges where military training under army officers is given) or as "worthy" sons of deceased war veterans.

THE COMPETITIVE EXAM FRAUD

A physical examination is compulsory, and justifiably so. A mental examination is compulsory only if the candidate cannot show a certificate of graduation from a secondary high school (in this case, a validating, but not a competitive, examination is required), or show a college board certificate, in which case he need not take an examination. Hence, the competitive examination is really a fraud which conceals this simple fact—the politicians are at full liberty to choose whomever they want without regard to ability.

The only place where the competitive system really operates is in the few Presidential appointments. The nature of the "mental" examination shows clearly the class of people who have a chance of being selected. The "mental" test requires a knowledge usually acquired only through a first rate college education. It is not a test of native ability. The subjects covered are algebra, plane geometry, English grammar, composition and literature, the history of the United States and ancient Greek and Roman history.

"EQUAL" OPPORTUNITY

Few workers could pass this examination. And that is its precise purpose—to make it impossible for workers to enter West Point. This examination grants the typical capitalist "equality of opportunity," like that equality of the law which Anatole France once noted holds both rich and poor

Among 116 cadet graduates are listed 37 educators, 28 corporation executives other than presidents, 17 corporation presidents, 15 public officials, 13 manufacturers, 11 engineers, and the rest divided among lawyers, legislators, authors, etc. . . . If this is not a "caste of class," what is it?

EMILY POST IN THE ARMY

We are used to having officers described as "bluff" or "blunt." An officer who lacks command of strong language in dressing down a private is considered not worth his salt. And we have all heard the term "mess," which the buck privates use in reference to their food, a term somehow not associated with attributes of gentility like the correct handling of a knife and fork, or whether to rise from table before a lady. In other words, few of us associate Emily Post with the Army.

In this we are badly mistaken. Cadets at the U. S. Military Academy are required to study social usages for two hours each week. And for good reasons.

It is expected that Army officers shall move only in Society, that is, in the social circles of the rich and the socially "acceptable." Indeed, every military journal emphasizes this with its extensive society pages. In the Army and Navy Journal or Army and Navy Register reams of print are devoted to the blue chiffon dress and orchid corsage worn at such and such a select affair by the wife of Officer So-and-So. Only a few weeks ago, the Washington press was all a-dither over a gala

affair at which the U. S. General Staff hosted and toasted the leading military lights of South America.

In this fashion, the commissioned officer is constantly reminded that the capitalist Army is divided within itself. The officers come from one class; the privates, from a hostile class. These class differences are emphasized in the most common every day forms. Officers and privates eat separately. They live in different quarters. And the "national unity" of wartime only serves to intensify these class differences.

WEST POINTERS DIE IN BED

If the vital statistics of the Class of 1900 are typical, West Pointers, unlike buck privates in war, have an amazing record of survival. When they die, it is generally in bed.

Let us take the Class of 1900, for instance, with 116 members. They averaged 25 years of age on graduation. In 1937, those left alive averaged about 65 years in age.

Hyde's West Pointers of 1900 tells us that in 1937 only 38 or one-third of this class had died. Of these, only one had been killed in action. One was slain in his sleep while serving in hostile territory, and three died from the ultimate effects of services injuries. Among the casualties listed were two who died of appendicitis due to lack of medical attention. The rest died in bed.

West Point, the exclusive training school for the most important officers of the Army, is a capitalist institution in every respect. The manner of selecting its students, the families from which they are drawn, the class training with which they are saturated, all give conclusive proof that the U. S. Military Academy is designed to safe-guard the ruling class domination of the armed forces. And this set-up likewise reveals the deadly fear of the capitalists at the thought of the workers learning the military arts.

A TRADE UNIONISTS ARMY

Just compare, for instance, the discipline maintained in an army officered by workers—trade unionists—with that in the capitalist army. Members of a democratically run union are united by common interests. We are accustomed to elect our own officers, to decide a course of joint action by common vote after discussion. Not through fear of punishment, but through common interests, we then carry out the majority decisions in a disciplined manner. This type of workers training would condition the character of an army led by union men, and would be a guarantee that the army would not be used by Wall Street for imperialist adventures.

But that is the exact opposite of the character of the present Army regime. The aims of the Army are now decided behind closed doors, through conferences restricted to the General Staff and the "best people," through secret pacts and treaties. These aims are imposed on the ranks by a martinet discipline, the whip of one class over another.

ON THE WAR FRONTS

by GEORGE STERN

New Japanese moves seem to be waiting upon completion of the Soviet-Japanese negotiations which were interrupted by Molotov's trip to Berlin. It is generally assumed that one of the things Hitler impressed upon Stalin's emissary was the necessity for rapidly coming to an understanding with Japan which will clear the road for the Far Eastern diversion that Hitler wants.

The Japanese, for their part, are preparing to move—and from their point of view it is not at all a diversion, but a major drive to grasp hold of the Far Eastern strongholds of Britain's empire. Heavy concentrations of troops are waiting on Hainan, island off the south coast of China, and in Formosa, to begin the southern thrust. First step is evidently to be Saigon leading to acquisition of the important French naval base at Camranh Bay. This would in turn by the starting point for eventual attack on Singapore and the Dutch East Indies.

STALIN MAY GIVE GREEN LIGHT

As in so many other critical junctures of the war, Stalin this time also is expected to give the green light. The expected Soviet-Japanese pact will presumably come in due course as one of the results of the Berlin parley. The Japanese are meanwhile employing every possible means to ease the pressure upon them in China. Assuredly Stalin will be expected to help in this regard too.

The probability of major events in the Far East this winter and into the coming Spring necessarily raises the immediate issue of American policy. All campaign denials to the contrary, it appears

pretty plain that an Anglo-American understanding already exists with reference to the coming eventualities. The British have undoubtedly made Singapore available for the use of the U. S. fleet. That fleet has already been strengthened by a number of cruisers and submarines. The U. S. air establishment in the Philippines has likewise been increased by several squadrons.

These steps are not likely to prove a sufficient deterrent for the Japanese. On the contrary, the Japanese have every interest in speeding up matters in order to be entrenched as far as possible before the U. S. is actually ready to go war on a big scale.

U. S. CONCERNED OVER ATLANTIC

Furthermore the situation in the Atlantic is not such as to encourage the Washington administration to go ahead in the Pacific.

This winter is destined to provide the major test of British power and it is not at all accidental that the prime concern of U. S. policy has been and remains the strengthening of the American Atlantic position, the acquisition and development of bases in Latin America—under whatever guise the Latin American governments requires—and fresh effort to back Britain in the hard and difficult months that lie ahead.

All these factors Japan is well aware. This is still the golden opportunity for the Japanese imperialists and they are not likely to let it pass.

All they are waiting for is the go ahead, signal from Moscow. And that signal will not be long in forthcoming.

SOCIALIST APPEAL

VOL. IV—No. 47 Saturday, November, 23 1940

Published Weekly by the
SOCIALIST APPEAL PUBLISHING ASS'N.
at 116 University Place, New York, N. Y.
Telephone: AL-gonquin 4-5447

Editorial Board:
FELIX MORROW ALBERT GOLDMAN

General Manager:
RUTH JEFFREY

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

Reentered as second class matter December 4,
1939, at the post office at New York, N. Y., under the
Act of March 3, 1879.

FIGHT WITH THE
SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY

ON THE WAR FRONT:

For:

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

Mr. Dies and 'Sabotage'

During the past weeks a number of explosions in chemical plants have taken the lives of a score or more workers. All the evidence gathered by explosive experts, by company superintendents and representatives of the press shows conclusively that these explosions were due to accidents occasioned by the unparalleled expansion of the munitions industry. Not even the FBI, which will remain as long as a year on the study of an overturned truck in order to attempt to pin an alleged crime on a union, has been able to gainsay this evidence.

Nevertheless, members of the Dies Committee rushed into headlines throughout the nation with cries of "sabotage" and hints of a nation-wide "plot" to disrupt the munitions industry.

Neither Roosevelt nor any other of the tools of Wall Street resident in Washington have lifted a finger to dispel the sinister impression Mr. Dies and his committee are deliberately creating.

It is clear that the labor movement is facing a cold-blooded attempt on the part of the bosses to fan a spy hysteria. This hysteria on the one hand covers up the fact that the workers blown to bits in the explosions were the victims of the greed of employers, who in their eagerness to fill their pockets in the golden flow of war orders, are quite willing to sacrifice the lives of employees through hazardous short cuts in the manufacturing process of explosives or through inadequate precautions.

On the other hand, this hysteria permits the employers to direct blows against organized labor by calling protests, demands for improved working conditions, or strikes "sabotage."

If sabotage is at the bottom of these explosions as Mr. Dies alleges, we suggest that he make a practical proof. Let him bring on to the floor of Congress a few hundred tons of dynamite just before it goes through one of the delicate and dangerous processes in which the workers were killed. Let him and his committee members carry through this process step by step before the eyes of Congress in order to demonstrate that compounding

and mixing the ingredients of these explosives when "sabotage" is eliminated is as safe as sweeping the floor.

If any Congressman objects to such a demonstration on the ground of its danger, then let him repudiate Dies in the public press and launch an investigation where it is really needed—the manufacturing processes of the greedy munitions profiteers and their connections with men in public office like Dies who cover them up.

'You Can't Strike'

Those who are so eager to send American boys to die for "democracy" against "totalitarianism" might find plenty of fighting to do right here at home.

First Roosevelt tells the WPA workers that "You can't strike against the government." The National Defense Commission and the bosses are telling the workers that "you can't strike against the government" in private industries with government orders. Every piddling local government agency is pulling the same kind of talk.

La Guardia now tells the New York transport workers that they can't strike against violations by the local Board of Transportation of the union contract, because they are civil service employees.

What a commentary it is on the hypocrisy of these "democratic" gentlemen who have yelped loudest over the fact that in Germany the workers cannot strike against the government. Totalitarianism, you see, only applies to the "enemy."

Unknown Nationality

It is only two weeks since the re-election of Roosevelt for a third term, yet the steps leading the United States to military participation in World War No. 2 have visibly quickened.

Four German freighters after fourteen months in Tampico put out to sea. Not more than ten miles from port they were met, according to the press by "warships of unknown nationality." One of the freighters was scuttled by its crew, the others hastily returned.

This happened not in the North Atlantic, but in the Gulf of Mexico, not far from New Orleans, Houston, Galveston.

The press immediately dropped further mention of the "warships of unknown nationality." If they were British warships, they were within the 300 mile neutrality zone established by Roosevelt, in clear violation of Roosevelt's neutrality laws.

But a darker suspicion seems more probable. The British fleet is busy around England, the Mediterranean, the Far East. Were these "warships of unknown nationality" American warships? If that is true, then the American battle fleet has carried out the first act of military participation in the present imperialist conflict.

By Inches

Alfred P. Sloan, Jr., chairman of the General Motors Corporation, and side-kick of William Knudsen, GM executive and head of the National Defense Commission, last week fired the starting gun in the race of Big Business to remove all limitations on the work week, and to eliminate overtime pay and the other conditions won by years of organized labor struggle. All in the interest of "national defense."

Speaking before a dinner of the Academy of Political Science attended by leading Wall Street big wigs and government representatives, Sloan drew rounds of applause when he advocated that the six-day week be substituted for the five-day week in all industries.

The *New York Times* of Nov. 14 reported: "In his prepared manuscript, Mr. Sloan urged that 'the penalty for overtime should be cancelled during the emergency to encourage a longer work week,' but he omitted this from his speech as delivered."

At the last moment Sloan decided a knife by inches is better than a guillotine.

Birmingham Buzzard

The death of Neville Chamberlain writes an ironic footnote to the history of the second world war. The old buzzard of Birmingham has had the last of his roses and the last of his brickbats.

The events of the last year and a half have shown, however, that the policy of appeasement pursued by Chamberlain and Daladier had a very sober basis in their appreciation of the real relationship of forces in Europe. This was certainly true in Daladier's case, as the quick collapse of France proved.

The appeasers were not simply naive dumbbells. They were men who understood that their own regimes were too rotten to risk in a war, that Hitler was militarily stronger, and that a conflict might prove fatal. But the war had to come nevertheless. The fatal outcome had to be risked. The appeasers won only a short year's respite for last-minute preparations. For France it was not enough. For Britain, thanks to its insular position, the extra time was worth a little more.

It is in this sense that the role of Chamberlain has to be assessed. He was not the poor, deluded sap over whose corpse editorial writers wagged solemn heads. He was both a symbol and a representative of the British bourgeoisie slipping from its position of eminence and domination in world affairs. It is doubtful whether he really thought it was "peace in our time" when he came back from Munich in September, 1938. But the people of England thought it was. They were miserably disillusioned.

The fight for "peace in our time" has still a long course to run—and to be won, it will have to advance beyond the Churchills and the Hitlers. The people won't be fooled all of the time.

Roosevelt and Wall St.

FDR Plans Same "50-50" Break for Labor in Coming War
As Workers Received in the Last Imperialist Conflit

By ART PREIS

During World War No. 1, 21,000 new American millionaires were created. Every slaughtered American soldier was worth \$500,000 net profit to Wall Street.

As for labor, it received an average 30 percent monetary wage increase. This was more than wiped out by an average price increase of 100 percent. The fiction that all the American workers were silk shirts during the war, is refuted by the fact that total average real wages declined as much as 40 percent.

LABOR REGIMENTED

In addition, the entire labor movement was regimented. Strikes were met by ruthless suppression; strikers were court-martialed and given long prison terms. In some instances Army troops marched into struck industries and operated them at Army pay, \$21 a month. When the war was over, the "defenders of democracy" came back to unemployment and accumulated debt. By 1921, there were over 5 million without jobs. The national debt, which was \$9.88 per person in 1914, was \$228 per person at the end of the war.

Despite terrorization, patriotic pressure and the complete capitulation of their own leaders, the workers were compelled to fight back against unendurable conditions. Starting with 1916, a tremendous strike wave swept the country. In 1917, there were 4,450 strikes, more than in any year except 1937.

VIVID MEMORY

The memory of this tremendous struggle is vivid in the mind of the ruling class. Through its agents, like Roosevelt, it now seeks to re-assure labor in preparation for the coming war. This time, say the pay-triots, labor is in for a fifty-fifty break.

The initiation of this "break" started in July 1939. During mounting unemployment, WPA appropriations were suddenly sliced in half. But more significant, the Roosevelt administration abandoned the principle of the "prevailing wages." This was a calculated provocation of union labor.

STRIKERS THROWN IN JAIL

When the WPA workers struck, Roosevelt declared, "You cannot strike against the government." Federal agents, acting as spies,

Wall Street Stooze



brought charges against 156 Minneapolis strikers. 32 received prison sentences. Roosevelt ignored the plea of the entire labor movement to pardon the convicted men.

The principle layed down by Roosevelt in July 1939 is now in effect in private industry. During the past year, the government has moved into every important strike to break it with the dictum, "You can't strike against the government." Every industry becomes part of "national defense," every strike is "against the government."

WAR ORDERS
TO OPEN SHOPS

While Bethlehem Steel received over a billion dollars in war orders, despite a federal court ruling that the company is in violation of the federal labor laws, the government ruthlessly curbed a threatened strike of Bethlehem workers.

At the same time, it struck a deadly blow at all New Deal labor legislation by openly declaring a policy of granting war orders to the vilest open-shoppers, Du Pont, Ford Motors, Bethlehem Steel, etc.

First Results of Our
Military Policy---

(Continued from Page 1)

erites who have attacked our resolution in their official paper. These people are in favor of the proletarian revolution but they are really incapable of understanding transitional measures and demands which can take the workers as they are, not yet revolutionary, and advance them toward the revolutionary goal; a program which can form a bridge between the present consciousness of the workers and the ultimate logic of their struggle; in other words, a transitional program.

That is why they cannot understand or agree with us today any more than they could understand or agree with the general transitional program of the Fourth International adopted at its World Congress. It is this sectarian mentality in general that dooms them to complete isolation from the current struggle of the workers and condemns them to utter futility despite all their intentions.

SECTARIAN VIEW

The S.L.P. will surely reject our military program if they have not already done so. (God forgive me, I don't read the *Weekly People* as attentively as I should and don't know whether they have yet expressed themselves.) The S.L.P. will have nothing less than the "unconditional surrender of the capitalist class."—no immediate demand, no transitional program. But since the capitalist class, up to the present at any rate, has shown no disposition to surrender, the S.L.P. remains aloof, uninterested and uncontaminated and, consequently, without the slightest influence on the course of development in the labor movement. Abstract propaganda for socialism is good and necessary. But such propaganda alone can never produce a revolutionary victory of the workers. It is necessary to supplement it by a practical program of agitation adapted to the needs of the day and the present stage of working class development, in order to lift the movement higher and turn it in a revolutionary direction. That is why the revolutionary party needs

a transitional program in general. That is why in the present world conditions it needs a military transition program in particular.

A FIRST CLASS SUBSTITUTE

The Lovestonites have not yet commented on our military resolution, as far as I know. But if they find it possible to take time off from their frenzied defense of Great Britain, they will surely attack our resolution "from the left," as they attacked the general transitional program of the Fourth International last year. We shall wait and see. Meantime we have a first class substitute for a Herbergian outburst of phoney radicalism and pseudo-Marxism, embellished with irrelevant historical references and misapplied quotations, in a recent number of *Labor Action*, the official organ of the "Workers Party." This is the political group which the well-known Professor Burnham, with callous disregard of then, with callous disregard of his parental obligations, abandoned, with the cruel remark that it "begins with foundations none too firm" and the parting salute: "I cannot wish success to the Workers Party." The author of this burlesque is Max Shachtman. And it marks his first utterance on controversial questions for a long time. After the double disaster of his polemic with Trotsky and the desertion of Burnham, Shachtman retired into silence and contemplation for many months. And that was the best thing for him to do. Total abstinence is the best prescription for a man sick from talking too much. But that couldn't last forever. Now he is at it again and, of course, as he himself says, his remarks are "sharply polemical."

WHAT ABOUT BURNHAM?

When the announcement was made, with much fanfare, that Shachtman was returning to the political wars one might have thought that conscience and common sense would require him, first of all, to deal with the question of Burnham. Doesn't he owe his anxiously waiting public at least a few words of explanation on this score? How did it happen that Shachtman's mentor and "friend and colleague," with whom he fought shoulder to shoulder against Trotsky and the Trotskyists, suddenly—only two months later!—openly repudiated socialism and passed over into the camp of the class enemy? An explanation of this circumstance is what you might have expected from Shachtman—if you don't know Shachtman. But his "sharply polemical" article, full of sound and fury, is not directed at Burnham; it is intended to drown out the question of Burnham by shouting loud and long against others. It is not directed at the man who deserted socialism but at those who in their stupid, ignorant way still remain faithful to it.

DENOUNCED TROTSKY

Only a few months ago, Burnham, with Shachtman at his heels, denounced Trotsky and the Trotskyites as capitulators to Stalin and as "the left cover for Hitler." So spoke Burnham, the spokesman of the minority, at our party convention a few months ago. Now, without so much as an explanation of our transformation, Shachtman describes us as capitulators to American imperialism, as almost-if-not-quite social patriots, as class collaborators, as falsifiers of the "views and traditions of the Bolsheviks in the last war" which he, of course, defends.

An unsuspecting casual reader might easily imagine that the man is on a revolutionary rampage. But in reality he is only kibitzing. His entire article from beginning to end is a mixture of confusion and bad faith—a Shachtman "polemic." Not a single one of his "points" can stand inspection. In my next article I shall undertake to prove this, point by point. In doing so, I hope, as I said in the beginning, to contribute something to the clarification of the many and serious questions concerning our policy raised by workers in discussions with our comrades in the field. If I succeed in this the time spent on an otherwise distasteful task will not be wasted.

Go Forward

Eight Professional
Pacifists
Seek Jail Term

By JOSEPH HANSEN

Eight students of the Union Theological Seminary have been sentenced by the federal court in New York to serve a year and a day in prison for refusing to register under the draft. All of them as members of an organization opposing conscription and war on the ground of religious scruples would have come under the classification of "conscientious objectors," hence, under present interpretation of the draft laws, not subject to active participation in the future armed conflicts in which the United States will engage.

Their acceptance—even seeking—of a prison sentence was thus a planned effort of professional pacifists to make a dramatic political demonstration of their views. They oppose war in general because of their scruples over the shedding of blood in general. They are principled vegetarians in the field of politics.

By their example, they hope to influence prospective soldiers into seeking jail terms rather than military education. Their answer to imperialist war is, jails not battleships!

IN KEEPING WITH THEIR POSITION

The refusal of these eight to register and their seeking prison sentence to underline this refusal flows with iron logic from their political position. If they oppose military training, then they cannot even carry a registration card. Anything else is cowardice, inconsistency, a fatal concession to the spirit of militarism. Like the fabled virgin they pray God to save them from becoming even a little bit pregnant!

Other pacifist groups who oppose military training in general and who yet make no demonstrations in demonstrating that they take their pacifist views either logically or seriously. These bible students are obviously honest and courageous. But they contribute nothing to the real struggle against war.

Their pacifism is not the pacifism of the oppressed—pacifism such as that mistakenly expressed by the Negro sailors who protested the Jim Crow conditions prevailing in the U. S. Navy. Their pacifism is the professional pacifism of such treacherous petty bourgeois politicians as Norman Thomas. Their pacifism is a perfidious snare designed to deliver the working class throttled and limp to the war-mongers.

In times of peace these pacifists accept all the class injustices, all the lies, the frame-ups, the perversions and distortions of truth imposed by the ruling class. But when the ruling class projects these injustices, lies, frame-ups, perversions, onto the field of battle, these pacifists make a demonstration: "No, We will have nothing to do with military training; It leads to bloodshed! We choose jail!"

'FORCE AND FORCE ALONE'

These pacifists who oppose military training must be rejected with the utmost contempt by the class-conscious worker, just as he would reject with scorn and hate a scab who said, "Unions? No I will have nothing to do with them. They lead to tear gas! I choose independence!"

The working class cannot exchange a year's military training for a prison cell as have these professional pacifists. Even if the millions in the working class could make a trade like this, that would not convince Wall Street that wars from now on should be conducted without tears, dirt, and bloodshed. Nor would it put an end to war in general.

The cold reality is that the working class will inevitably find itself up to the neck in the reek and bloody slush of the battlefields of World War No. 2—and no bomb shelters such as prison cells provide! The task is to smash the capitalist system which the pacifists endure and support. War is nothing but the extension of peace-time capitalist institutions in a more violent and horrible form. The bloody institution of war against which the pacifists offer up weak protests can be ended only by ending the system as a whole.

The working class alone can lead the masses in carrying out this task but to do so it must be trained in the military arts. That is one of the requisites, as Frank Knox, Secretary of the Navy, declared with truth before a group of business men in Boston on November 14, "In a world like this... force and force alone determines the fate of nations."

THE REAL OPPOSITION TO WAR

The revolutionary socialist in contrast to the pacifist is a real opponent of capitalist war.

He starts not with some abstraction about the desirability of peace and non-violence in general, a proposition with which anyone will agree. He starts from the real world of the class struggle and he takes his stand at the vanguard of the working class where the blows fall thickest.

Whether the pacifists think it objectionable or not, military training of the masses is on the order of the day. The question is, shall it be organized like an open shop with the bosses in strict control, through their officers or shall it be organized in connection with the trade unions with the workers in control?

Other political representatives of the petty-bourgeoisie, such as the so-called Workers Party, declare that trade union control of military training is bad and to be rejected because the present heads of the trade unions are treacherous fakers! This answer is as pious as the sentiments of the pacifists who went to jail, but not quite as honest. The basic question is, which class organizations shall control military training, those of the bourgeoisie or those of the workers?

Only the petty bourgeois pacifists, who reject the class struggle altogether, or those who like Westbrook Pegler offer conditional support to the trade unions providing they "cleanse themselves" of racketeering elements can refuse an answer to this question. The real opponents of capitalist war draw a sharp line of demarcation between the interests of the bourgeoisie, its agents, both labor fakers and professional pacifists, on the one hand; and the interests of labor on the other.

For the present period, this line is formulated in the slogan Military Training Under Control of the Trade Unions.