

DRAFT WILL TAKE ONE OUT OF THREE

Demand That Military Training Be Under Trade Union Control!

Negroes Repudiate Jim Crow Army Policy of Roosevelt

Charge White House Statement Quoted Them as Agreeing To Segregation, When They Had Really Denounced It

A Negro committee this week declared it "repudiated and denounced" a statement from the White House which implied that the committee had approved Roosevelt's policy of segregation of Negro units in the armed forces.

The committee of three—A. Phillip Randolph, president of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, T. Arnold Hill, and Walter White, president of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People—characterized the White House statement as a "trick".

The telegram also declared: "We most vigorously protest your approval of War Department policy regarding Negroes in armed forces which precludes Negro officers' except chaplains and doctors in regular army units other than two national guard regiments staffed by Negro officers. We deny statement that 'at arsenals and army posts Negro civilians are accorded equal opportunity for employment.'"

"We ask proof that even one Negro is now being given aviation training as pilot in army air corps. As recently as October first, the Adjutant General of the War Department wrote that applications from colored persons for flying cadet appointment or for enlistment in the Air Corps are not being accepted."

"We further vigorously question your statement that morale is splendid in existing Negro units of the regular army. Many enlisted men in these segregated units have made repeated protests at being forced to serve as hostlers and servants to white army officers. We further question that jim crow policy of army has been proven satisfactory. It has never been satisfactory nor is it now to Negro Americans. Such segregation has been destructive of morale and has permitted prejudiced superiors to exercise bigotry on defenseless Negro regiments."

"... It is a tragic coincidence that you issued your statement on the same day the coup de grace was given by Senate Majority leader Barkley to the Anti-Lynching bill."

UNIONS DISCUSS NEED OF UNION RIGHTS IN ARMY

FLINT, Mich.—That union men are thinking seriously about the problem of preserving their democratic rights when conscripted was seen here when, at the CIO Central Council meeting last week, a motion was introduced demanding the right for union men to receive and distribute union papers and literature in the army and to hold union meetings while in the armed forces.

A lively discussion was held on the motion, with no one actually opposing the content of the motion. It was not put into the record however, at the urging of one or two of the delegates, who put across the idea that adoption of the motion might call the problem too openly to the attention of Congress, which might pass a specific law to prevent exercise of the rights demanded.

The general agreement of all delegates was that union men should fight for collective bargaining rights in the army, in order to preserve the living standards of the soldiers and prevent discrimination and persecution by the officer clique.

Undertakers Work

BUFFALO, N. Y., Oct. 15—Eighteen undertakers are serving on the newly appointed draft board here. The mortuary profession here is well known for its business acumen.

WEST COAST SCHOONERS TIED UP

Firemen's Strike Is Followed By Cooks; Sailors Locked Out

SAN FRANCISCO, Oct. 13—As the strike of the Marine Firemen, Oilers, Watertenders and Wipers against Pacific Coast steam schooner operators went into its second week, members of the Marine Cooks and Stewards Association joined the MFOW on strike, and the cooks now are picketing with the firemen.

The first week of the strike was marked by the following events:

1. Arbitration proposal offered by the U. S. Government Conciliation Service, refused by the MFOW.
2. Strike against the steam schooner operators declared by the Marine Cooks and Stewards, the fundamental demand being that of manning scale; making a four-man job of the present three-man job, and putting three men on ships that now are two-handed.

3. Declaration by MFOW Secretary Malone that two ships carrying "real national defense material" now are in San Pedro and that, if needed, the union in specific cases would consider further action.

Phoney Peace "Offer"

4. New phoney "peace proposal" offered by the steam schooner operators to the unions on Friday—basically a return-to-work-under-terms-of-the-old-agreement proposal, all portions of the old agreement except wages and overtime to be renewed, wages and overtime to be discussed for 15 days, then if no agreement is reached to be submitted to arbitration.

The Sailors Union of the Pacific remains locked out by the steam schooner operators.

SUP United Front Offer

Meanwhile it was revealed that a proposal for joint action by the sailors, firemen and cooks had been made before the strike was called.

The proposal, made by the SUP negotiating committee to officers representing the firemen and cooks, included: joint action by the three unions in the steam schooner beef; strike referendum to be conducted simultaneously in all three unions; negotiations with steam schooner operators to be conducted jointly by the three unions; no arbitration of any issues involved.

The answer to the joint action proposal was that the cooks' and firemen's representatives had no authority to act upon it, that it would have to be submitted to the membership.

While the SUP awaited an answer to its proposal, the leadership of the MFOW submitted the schooner question to a strike vote, thus dividing the union front.

Approximately 47 steam schooners operating on the Pacific Coast are tied up by the strike. The MFOW is demanding a raise from \$85 to \$100 and from \$1.00 to \$1.10 for overtime, and overtime pay for Saturday afternoon work while in port.

Danger of Arbitration

Danger that the phoney "national defense" issue would be used to force the unions into arbitration remained as the capitalist press continued to howl that preparedness efforts were being sabotaged by the strike.

Fort Dix Guardsmen Bitter About Pay And High Prices

FORT DIX, N. J., Oct. 10—Members of the Forty-fourth Division of the New Jersey and New York National Guard expressed loud resentment today after receiving their first pay.

Many complained bitterly that they had been misinformed as to what their pay would be; they found \$21 in their pay envelopes instead of an expected \$30. They also spoke of the cost of laundry, cigarette and other expenses while at camp.

Men from the Seventy-first Infantry, from New York City, conducted what amounted to an open demonstration after getting their pay at the pay line. Recognizing several newspaper reporters, the men angrily and loudly informed them of the rooking they were getting.

Officers attempted to make the privates return into the line away from the reporters, but the men persisted until their complaints had been fully outlined.

Almost half the division here has not received its first pay, which is considerably overdue.

SOLDIERS HEAR FAMILIES ARE IN DIRE WANT

Officials Violate Promises To Help Their Dependents

BUFFALO, N. Y., Oct. 7—Welfare aid to families of National Guardsmen from here, now mobilized and in training at Fort Dix, N. J., has been drastically reduced or discontinued altogether, reports from the camp indicate.

Conditions of starvation face the wives and children of relief recipients now in the army, it is revealed in letters from home received by the soldiers.

A glimpse of the true state of affairs was disclosed in a story in today's Buffalo Evening News, which reported interviews with some of the men whose families have been affected by the action of the Erie County Welfare Board.

Privates Tell Their Story

One of the privates interviewed declared that he had received a letter informing him that his wife had been hailed into court this morning to face an eviction charge for non-payment of rent. He asserted, "I'm only getting \$30 a month from the Army as it is. That's okay with me, but not enough for my wife and child. My wife and I were on the welfare because I couldn't get a job."

Another private had been on a \$54 a month WPA job. His wife and five-month-old baby were left behind here with the promise of the Welfare Department that it would give his family the difference between his WPA pay and his \$21 monthly Army wage. He added, "And now I've received a letter from my wife saying she isn't getting the money that was promised."

Complaints are also pouring in from Fort Dix because of the delay in paying the men their \$21. This \$21 represents the total monthly income for most of the guardsmen, many of whom are trying to maintain dependents on this sum.

Unions Must Oppose Open Shop In The Army, As In Industry

First Experiences of National Guardsmen, Just Inducted, Shows Necessity for Union Protection of Conscripts

Over 16,000,000 men between the ages of 21 and 36 were registered for the draft Wednesday. The federal government has announced that over 6,000,000 are scheduled to be called for army service in successive batches.

The vast majority of the recruits must naturally come from the ranks of the workers.

Evidence is already beginning to pile up on the conditions the new army recruits will face in the boss military machine.

National Guardsmen, recently inducted into the regular army and in training at Fort Dix, have learned that their families back home are being cut off relief.

An emergency situation has arisen within the past week at the training camps when payment of monthly wages of army privates was held up for many days.

A profitable business is being made off the recruits who must pay steep prices for laundry, cigarettes and other essentials. For instance, army privates must pay eight cents more for a pack of cigarettes than navy recruits getting three times army pay. Navy men are exempted from payment of the federal tax. Army recruits are paying five cents for four penny stamps from private purveyors while government officials getting more pay than a whole squadron of army privates have free franking privileges.

A major scandal about Jim Crow conditions in the armed forces has just broken out. A recent White House statement indicating that a policy of Negro segregation would be enforced in the armed forces has evoked stormy protest from leading Negro spokesmen.

It is already quite clear that the worker recruits are facing the same open-shop regime in the army as they have battled against so bitterly in the factories.

The professional officer caste now dominating the war machine is notoriously anti-labor. It has been especially built up over many years from the ranks of the upper class.

The close tie-up between the army and navy heads and Wall Street was glaringly revealed when the War and Navy Departments openly

exerted severe pressure on the National Defense Commission and other government agencies to ignore labor law restrictions in the granting of war contracts to private industries.

Union ranks are beginning to discuss the question of the right of union men in the army to continue their attendance at union meetings and to hold union meetings while in military service. There is a growing awareness of the need for collective bargaining rights in the military service and for organized channels through which the rank and file soldier may protest against anticipated miserable living standards and prevent discrimination and persecution at the hands of the boss-minded officer clique.

In a broader sense, the debacle of the French army in the face of Hitler has pointed sharply to the unreliability in general of the capitalist "democratic" military officer-caste to defeat the Nazi and Fascist attacks.

The overwhelming fear of the workers of fascist domination, whether arising from within or without the country, has a sound basis. But another alternative must be offered them than the choice between fighting under unreliable, boss-ridden officers, already three-quarters committed to a fascist control of the workers, or the piling pacifism of a few preachers, the Norman Thomas Socialists and the Stalinists, who propose that the working class remain unarmed in the face of universal war and militarism.

That the workers must have military training and arms to check the advance of fascism is certain.

That the workers must secure this training under a leadership that will safeguard their interests and really fight to the death against the whole black reaction of fascism and capitalism is also indisputable.

There is but one answer to this problem. The military training of the workers must be in the hands of their own organizations—the Trade Unions! The destiny of Labor in the face of the fascist onslaught will be dark indeed—unless the workers themselves control their own arms and determine the course of the coming armed struggle!

MIDLAND STEEL STRIKERS ARE VICTORIOUS

SIQUEIROS, WHO LED GANG THAT ATTACKED TROTSKY, INDICTED

MEXICO CITY, Oct. 12—David Alfaro Siqueiros, leader of the machine-gun band which attacked Trotsky's home on May 24th, was indicted by Judge Raul Carranca Trujillo yesterday.

Siqueiros was indicted on nine counts: murder of Robert Sheldon Harte, Trotsky's secretary-guard; attempt to murder Leon Trotsky; criminal association and use of firearms; usurpation of official functions (his use of a military uniform as a disguise during the attack); unlawful use of uniforms (for having bought other uniforms for the use of his accomplices); robbery (for taking the two automobiles from the Trotsky house); breaking into the Trotsky home, and damaging another's property.

On Thursday Siqueiros was confronted by his accomplices, who have been under arrest since June, and they confirmed their earlier testimony identifying him as the leader of the machine-gun band.

(Other stories on the investigation of the GPU's murder of Trotsky appear on pages 3 and 4 of this issue.)

Bethlehem Strikers Return To Work The Day 'New' Policy is Announced!

BALTIMORE, Oct. 8—4,000 shipyard workers who called off their strike against Bethlehem Steel and returned to work this morning, on the appeal of their officers who said that Attorney General Jackson's "informal opinion" made the strike unnecessary, learned from the afternoon newspapers that they had been cheated.

They had called off the strike on the urging of Philip Van Gelder, national secretary of the CIO Industrial Union of Marine and Shipbuilding Workers of America, who had declared that Jackson's "informal opinion" could be used as a weapon for enforcing collective bargaining in the Sparrows Point and other Bethlehem plants without the necessity of strike action.

But this afternoon's papers reported that Jackson, the War and Navy Departments, the National Defense Commission and Sidney Hillman, had all joined in declaring before the Smith Committee—a House committee investigating the N.L.R.B.—that violators of N.L.R.B. decisions would continue to get government war orders.

ON THE WAR FRONTS

by GEORGE STERN

On the Far Eastern front the Axis "squeeze play" against U. S. imperialism failed to register. Japan signed the Axis alliance and for a few days its spokesmen, from Prince Konoye down, voiced open threats of war. Roosevelt moved with characteristic boldness. All Americans in the Far East were asked to leave for home. Lord Lothian, the British ambassador, was asked to remain in Washington instead of going home on a scheduled leave. The U. S. Fleet in the Pacific was augmented by 4,200 men, bringing it to 82 percent of full strength.

Meanwhile Hitler began marching eastward in Europe—heading for the Straits, Turkey, Iraq and Suez via the Balkans and—with the Italians—via North Africa and Egypt.

This Axis move has again brought the Kremlin's position into focus. Establishment of German armed force on the Black Sea and probably in the Straits is obviously aimed at the U.S.S.R. but that is the more remote goal. While Germany heads for the Levant, Stalin will be provided with "compensation", probably at Turkish and Persian expense. Stalin hasn't much freedom of choice. He put himself and the

Soviet Union in the straitjacket and squirming now doesn't help.

Little-noticed dispatches this past week reported the arrival of sizeable German forces in Finland—ostensibly en route to Norway. But Pertinax, well-informed French journalist, reported in the N. Y. Times on Oct. 11 that the Germans are remaining in Finland within reach of Leningrad. On the same day Foreign Minister Halvdan Koht of Norway stated in London that German troops formerly in southern Norway have been shifted to the Far Northern province of Finnmark.

In other words, Hitler is offering Stalin once more what a Times correspondent called a "gratuity" in return for agreeing to the German Near Eastern drive. If Stalin accepts, he will get a temporary reward. At the same time he is given clearly to understand what would happen if he should reject it, or encourage Turkish resistance, or in any way hinder the Nazi advance. Either way, he knows and must know the ultimate fate that Hitler intends for him. But like the faun paralyzed by the approaching boa constrictor, he can do nothing but wait. That is the net result of Stalin's reactionary policy, at home and abroad.

CRUCIBLE CRANEMEN WIN STRIKE FOR WAGE RISE

Exclusive to Socialist Appeal HARRISON, N. J. Oct. 8—The five-day strike of 150 cranimen at Crucible Steel was settled today when the company agreed to set the minimum wage for crane operators at 67½ cents an hour and to start conferences on upward revision of wages not later than October 16.

HARRISON, N. J. Oct. 7—150 Cranimen at the Crucible Steel Co. are on strike for higher wages.

The SWOC membership had authorized the SWOC to strike all of the company's plants in February, 1940. The SWOC leadership, however, signed an agreement with the company, over the heads of the membership with no essential improvement in the wages or working conditions.

When Bethlehem Steel, under SWOC pressure, instituted a 62½c minimum wage rate in its plants Crucible followed suit. The cranimen in the Harrison plant, skilled men already receiving the minimum, demanded corresponding increases, in line with existing rates above the minimum being paid cranimen in the other plants of the Crucible Steel Co. in Pittsburgh and Syracuse. The negative answer of the management propelled the men into a spontaneous strike.

The strike is still unauthorized.

The official organizers in the area have been chosen as "individuals" by the strikers to represent them in negotiations.

New Company Scheme

In Jersey City, where the Crucible Steel has another plant, the men are demanding general increases in line with the increase—to the minimum—given to the laborers. The management there is pleading for time.

The reason is obvious to all the workers—time study men have been seen in and around the plant for the last week or so. The company plans to institute an incentive or bonus system instead of general increases. The membership will undoubtedly reject any attempt at piece work or bonus systems being introduced.

The rank and file steel worker in the Crucible are beginning to sense possible victory in a struggle for higher wages and better conditions—including a better form of union recognition.

Pleas from the management that the tie-up was interfering with National Defense orders met with no response. In desperation, the company threatened to bring other cranimen into the plant in order to move shell casings and begin adequate operations. The cranimen remain firm and laugh at this, for they know that crane operators are at a premium.

BREITMAN HITS BARBOUR ON NEGRO ISSUES

NEWARK, N. J., Oct. 12—“Senator Barbour has been trying to make a little political capital out of the Anti-Lynch Bill,” warned George Breitman, Socialist Workers Party candidate for U. S. Senator.

“Barbour brought up the Anti-Lynch Bill in the Senate last week, not because he cared what happened to the bill, but because he knew nothing would come of it. That is the cheapest kind of maneuvering possible.

“I want to ask Barbour this: ‘Why, if you are so concerned for the welfare of the colored people, have you never said a word about the bills against discrimination in private places and civil service introduced into the State Legislature? Why have you said nothing about it to your own party, which controls both houses of the Legislature, and which killed those bills in committee in the same way that the Democrats who control Congress are killing the Anti-Lynch Bill?’

“What is important is not so much promises as action. Barbour talks big in the Senate where he knows the Democrats won't pass the bill. But he keeps as quiet as a mouse about the State Legislature, where his own party is in power.” Breitman is pledged to fight for the passage of the Anti-Lynch and Anti-Poll Tax Bills.

On the Ballot!



Dr. Grace Carlson, Socialist Workers Party Candidate for U. S. Senator in Minnesota and C. Johnson, campaign manager, are shown in the secretary of state's office as they filed petitions bearing over 2,600 names supporting the candidacy of Grace Carlson.

Signatures were obtained in working-class neighborhoods and union halls in the Twin Cities and included the signatures of several hundred Negro workers. Signed petitions also came in from the rural voters. Many more than the required number of voters signified their desire to place the Trotskyist Anti-war candidate on the ballot.

Breitman's Newark Election Campaign Stirs Negro Worker

NEWARK, N. J.—The Socialist Workers Party's campaign workers report that they are receiving the greatest response from Negro workers, in seeking support for the party's candidate for U. S. Senator, George Breitman.

The party's central demand, for workers' control of military training, meets the needs of the colored workers, who find themselves viciously discriminated against in the armed forces. The party's recent poll of Newark workers on their attitude toward conscription brought overwhelming majorities for workers' control of military training in the Third and Fourteenth Wards, heart of Newark's Negro population.

Why the SWP Runs Only One Candidate

The Socialist Workers Party of Minnesota runs only one candidate in this election because we lack the forces and finances to run an entire slate.

We ask all workers who agree with our platform and our policies and actions in the workers' movement to study our literature and join our party.

Why We Are Supporting No Candidate for President

One of the results of the capitalist preparations for the United States' entry into the war for 'democracy and liberty' has been the further development of almost insurmountable restrictions against minority workers' parties securing places on the ballot. This is especially true for candidates for presidency.

The National Committee of the Socialist Workers Party surveyed this problem. It was compelled to recognize that our party is too small to expend the funds and legal forces necessary to fight for a place on the ballot for our own presidential candidate.

In such circumstances, our party might, under certain conditions, give critical support to the candidate of another party.

Such a candidate would never be that of a boss party. We would support a Wilkie or Roosevelt no more than we would support a boss's agent in a union election, or endorse a company union.

The only candidate other than our own we could conceivably support is one of a party, representing a section of the working class, whose augmented vote would be generally understood to signify progress for the labor movement. Unfortunately, no such party is participating in the present election campaign.

The Socialist Party is a fading group living on a glory twenty years past. It is a lower-middle

class pacifist sect, with little influence in any section of the labor movement. Norman Thomas, its candidate, represents neither socialism nor the labor movement. Support for his candidacy cannot aid the labor movement in any way.

It is also impossible to give critical support to the Communist Party. This party continues its union-smashing activities in its present pseudo-left period, just as it did in the days when it was pro-Roosevelt and pro-war.

The role of the Communist Party as Stalin's agent; the Hitler-Stalin pact; the subordination of the various Communist Parties to the GPU (so glaringly revealed in the assassination of Comrade Leon Trotsky) all these facts make the Communist Party an object of legitimate hatred to enlightened workers.

So far as formal participation in the 1940 elections is concerned the Socialist Workers Party is participating through our state and local candidates. In addition to our own candidates, we will give critical support to certain local and state labor party and Farmer-Labor party candidates where votes for these candidates would be generally understood to signify progress toward the organization of an independent labor political party in the United States.

The Stalinists and the United Front

(The following is the stenographic record of a speech by Comrade James P. Cannon, National Secretary of the Socialist Workers Party, delivered at the Plenum-Conference of the party at Chicago, Sept. 27-29. This speech was a supplement to his main report, 'The Military Policy of the Proletariat,' which we published last week.)

It seems, comrades, that the discussion on the military policy is pretty well exhausted. The small points of difference which have been brought out can be answered in the summary speech. We can now discuss the secondary question of the Stalinists and our trade union tactics.

For some time we have been compelled to realize that the Communist Party remains the greatest obstacle to the development of the revolutionary movement in the United States. The Stalinists retain a powerful position in many trade unions and by their new turn have still further confused things to our detriment. The calculations that the Hitler-Stalin pact would result in the annihilation of the Communist Party were not quite realized. This new line gave its bureaucratic leadership the opportunity to put on the mask of pseudo-radicalism once again. That appealed more to the worker militants in the ranks than the old policy. To be sure, the cynical deal with Hitler repelled quite a large number of Stalinist workers. But the great bulk of the losses, both members and sympathizers, came from the petty-bourgeois elements whom the Communist Party had catered to in recent years. When the show-down came they were more devoted to the bourgeois-democratic regime of Roosevelt than to the regime of Stalin. The Stalinist workers, on the other hand, by and large, stayed with the party and stood up under a great deal of repression and persecution. These established facts must be taken as the point of departure in determining our tactical approach to this question.

TROTSKY'S VIEWS ON THIS QUESTION

We were aware for many months that we had not made sufficient inroads among the Stalinist workers. The Communist Party is an obstacle which the revolutionary workers must remove from their path. This cannot be done by frontal attacks alone. It is necessary to devise methods of flank attack to supplement our uncompromising and unceasing direct offensive against perfidious Stalinism. These thoughts were in our minds when we placed the question of the Communist Party on the agenda for a discussion with Comrade Trotsky on our last visit. He was also of the opinion that our policy toward the Communist Party for a long time has been too negative, that we haven't devised sufficiently flexible tactics for flank movements in order to win over to our side a number of Stalinist workers.

Trotsky posed the question on the issue of the election campaign and put forward a shocking proposal. He said the C. P. leadership is talking very loudly in opposition to imperialist war, etc. We know they are liars and fakery simply carrying out current instructions in Stalin's diplomatic game. Tomorrow they will betray the fight against war. We know that, said Trotsky, but thousands of misguided workers are not yet convinced of it. "We must find a way to reach these workers as they are, with their present mentality. Let us take up the leaders at their word and state: if the Communist Party will maintain the position of real opposition to imperialist war we will propose to them a united front, and even give critical support to their candidates in the election."

Nobody in the delegation agreed with the Old Man on this drastic proposal. We had a long and at times heated discussion with him on it. We took the position that such a drastic change in the middle of the election campaign would require too much explanation, and would encounter the danger of great misunderstanding and confusion which we would not be able to dissipate. While we might conceivably win over a couple of hundred Stalinist workers in the course of a drawn-out tactic of this kind, we felt that we would run the danger of losing more than we gained.

THE UNITED FRONT TACTIC

We argued back and forth on this ground for several days. Then Trotsky made a compromise proposal. He said that, after all, the main thing is the new military policy—the long-term strategical line—and not the short term minor problem of our tactics in relation to the C. P. in the current election campaign.

He said, if we would take his proposal as one possible maneuver, and would devise some method of united front approach which would really enable us to penetrate the Stalinist ranks, he would accept it as a compromise. We mulled over this a couple of days. I had a personal conversation with him before we left Coyoacan and restated my fears of misunderstanding and confusion from such a drastic policy as critical support to the C. P. in the coming election. He said he did not consider it of sufficient importance to make an issue; he did not want to provoke a party

Speech of James P. Cannon At Chicago SWP Conference

discussion which might divert attention from the paramount question of the new military policy. But we should think over the thing seriously and devise an effective united front attack against the Stalinist bureaucracy.

The united front tactics, as devised and perfected by Lenin, are in no sense the expression of a conciliatory attitude toward opponent organizations in the labor movement. The united front is designed to mobilize the masses—as they are—for common action against the class enemy on specific issues of the day. At the same time it is a method of struggle against alien currents and treacherous leaders. The tactic is not to be applied all the time, every day of the week, but only on suitable occasions. The main tactic of the Comintern under Lenin was the tactic of the united front. But Lenin knew when to employ it and when to put it aside. In the first years of the split of the Second International and the formation of the Comintern nothing was said about the united front. The Russians have a saying: "Every vegetable has its season." And the season of the war and the post-war period, following the Russian Revolution and the formation of the Comintern, was the season for head-on offensive against the international social democracy. The strategy was to complete the split in merciless warfare, and replace the reformist parties by revolutionary Communist parties.

That direct frontal attack was carried on from 1917, after the founding of the Comintern in 1919 and up until the Fall of 1921. Then the leaders of the Comintern—Lenin and Trotsky—drew a balance. Lenin pointed out that we had succeeded in our strategy to this extent, that we had constructed independent Communist Parties in all countries of considerable strength. But the Social Democrats still had big organizations of workers under their control; these workers were not as yet convinced of Communism. For the next period we must confront the reformist leaders with united front proposals as an approach to the rank and file under their influence.

WE MUST REPEAT LENIN'S TACTIC

You can observe the same general pattern in the work of constructing the Fourth International in the fight against Stalinism. We have been conducting a long drawn-out frontal attack. In the course of that attack we have selected and drawn to our side hardened cadres of the Fourth International. But we must recognize that the C. P. still remains a powerful organization, many times more powerful than ourselves. It contains in its ranks a great many misguided but class conscious workers. We are now obliged to resort to united front tactics as a means of approach to them.

Nobody in our Political Committee wanted to sponsor the policy of critical support to the Stalinists in the election campaign. I think this is one time we disagreed with Trotsky correctly. Nevertheless, we have all realized that we must devise a more flexible tactic towards the C. P. and look for suitable occasions, as long as they espouse this semi-radical line, to penetrate their ranks by means of united front proposals. And here also we don't want to jump over to the other extreme, from leaving the C. P. alone to united front proposals every day in the week. We should carefully discriminate, select occasions and incidents for approaches to the C. P. rank and file, through their organizations, for a limited, specific united front. That we have agreed upon, and I think the Conference should endorse it as a general policy.

It should be carried out, I repeat, in a most careful and discriminating manner. We already experimented, rather gingerly, with this tactic in New York at the time we were carrying out our struggle against the Bundists and Coughlinite organizations. We addressed a letter to the district organization of the C. P. proposing to them a united front against the Coughlin-Bund bands. This was not followed up. We merely sent a letter and published it. But just the simple facts that we were out fighting the fascists in New York City, and that we appealed to the rank and file of the C. P. to join us, had good results. We were informed by our contacts in the C. P. that we created quite a ripple in their ranks. It caused the bureaucrats quite a little "trouble". A good many rank and file Stalinists wanted to accept our united front offer and join us in the fight against the fascists. Out of that single experience we won over quite a number of rank and file Stalinists to our party.

At the present time you have a situation out in California where, if I understand the facts, Governor Olson has proposed to the State Legislature the passage of a constitutional amendment to remove the C. P. from the ballot. Our Los Angeles local organization jumped on this right away. They proposed to send an appeal to the C. P. and other organizations for a united front

action to fight this attempt to outlaw the C. P. The Political Committee unanimously approved the initiative of the Los Angeles comrades. As I understand it, they will push this action in the next few weeks.

PROBLEMS OF THE UNITED FRONT

It must be repeated all the time that the united front is a method of struggle. It does not mean friendship or conciliation. It simply means an approach to the rank and file of an opponent organization in the labor movement, through their official leadership, for a joint struggle for common immediate aims. Properly utilized, the united front creates the possibility to penetrate the ranks of organizations hitherto sealed against us. It is in this sense, and in this sense only, that we propose united fronts to the Stalinists in the next period. We are, and we shall remain, the most consistent and most implacable enemies of Stalinism.

The Old Man was quite optimistic about the possibilities. He said, suppose you go into this and repeat these experiments time and time again on suitable occasions; in the end if you win over 200 Stalinist workers to our party you have gained a lot. We raised the question of the enormous hatred of many honest workers in the labor movement against the Stalinists. There is a great grain of justice and sincerity in this hatred, although it is often confused with reactionary prejudices. We have to be very careful that we don't offend the sensibilities of these anti-Stalinist workers who are militant and partly class conscious in their attitude, but we must not let their feelings determine our political line. The moment we began to speak of a united front approach to the Stalinists, we heard from all of our fractions in the trade unions a cry to go slow! Those in the trade unions know how bitterly the Stalinists are hated. We must be very careful. If we allow ourselves to become confused and mixed up with the Stalinists, we will cut off our road of approach to the rank and file of the trade union movement, the anti-Stalinist rank and file, which, in my opinion, is a more important reservoir of the revolution than the Stalinist rank and file.

Here we had a little difference with Comrade Trotsky. He was inclined to dismiss the whole "progressive" movement as composed entirely of patriots and fakery. In fact he gave us quite an argument on Lewis and Browder. "What is the difference between Lewis and Browder? Is Browder a bigger scoundrel than Lewis? I don't think so. They are both scoundrels—of different types." One comrade there remarked, the Stalinists are very hostile to us. Trotsky said, "Yes, I know, sometimes they shoot at us." (This was shortly after the May 24 machine gun attack.) He said, "Do you think Lewis or Green wouldn't shoot at you? It is only a difference of circumstances, that is all."

We must classify the Stalinists and the reactionary and "progressive" patriotic labor fakery as simply two different varieties of enemies of the working class employing different methods because they have different bases under their feet. It brings us into a complicated problem in the trade union movement. It has been our general practice to combine in day to day trade union work with the progressives and even the conservative labor fakery against the Stalinists. We have been correct from this point of view, that while the conservative and traditional labor skates are no better than the Stalinists, are no less betrayers in the long run, they have different bases of existence. The Stalinist base is the bureaucracy in the Soviet Union. They are perfectly willing to disrupt a trade union in defense of the foreign policy of Stalin. The traditional labor fakery have no roots in Russia nor any support in its powerful bureaucracy. Their only base of existence is the trade union; if the union is not preserved they have no further existence as trade union leaders. That tends to make them, from self-interest, a little more loyal to the unions than the Stalinists. That is why we have been correct in most cases in combining with them as against the Stalinists in purely union affairs.

THE NEW STAGE IN THE UNIONS

But our work in the trade unions up till now has been largely a day to day affair based upon the daily problems and has lacked a general political orientation and perspective. This has tended to blur the distinction between us and pure and simple trade unionists. In many cases, at times, they appeared to be one with us. It was fair weather and good fellows were together. The great issues raised by the war are rudely disrupting this idyl. Some of our comrades have already had revealing experiences of how a war situation puts an end to ambiguity and makes men show their real colors. Some people went hand in hand with us on almost every proposition we made to improve the union, get better contracts from the bosses, etc. Then all of a sudden, this

whole peaceful routine of the trade union movement is disrupted by overpowering issues of war, patriotism, the national election, etc. And these trade unionists, who looked so good in ordinary times, are all turning up as patriots and Rooseveltians. We now have a much narrower basis of cooperation with them. This new situation induces some of our comrades to say we should break off all relations with these patriotic trade unionists and progressive fakery. That is a very extreme position which we cannot endorse.

What we have got to do with our united front policy, in the unions and in general, is to make it more precise. The united front does not signify political collaboration but joint action on specific issues despite political differences. The united front is based on day to day problems. It is nothing resembling permanent collaboration but simply day to day agreements. Where we agree or half-agree with others we go along together; where we don't agree we go alone. Politically we have no ground for collaboration with the labor "progressives." We will have less and less as we go along, as the pressure of the war machine grows heavier.

A great number of our comrades in the unions have been working hand in hand, with people who have been simply militant unionists and nothing else. In "normal" times they get along very well together. They will soon encounter the unpleasant experience of having many of these people, these fellows who have been co-workers, drinking companions and pals turn up as direct enemies and informers against our movement. There is only one thing that binds men together in times of great stress. That is agreement on great principles. Good fellowship and chumminess is a very poor substitute. Those who don't know this, will learn it in bitter experience.

All those comrades who think we have something, big or little, in the trade union movement should get out a magnifying glass in the next period and look at what we really have. You will find that what we have is our party fractions and the circle of sympathizers around them. That is what you can rely on. There may be cases where people who are united with us in principle will falter because of personal weakness. But those are the exceptions to the rule. There will be cases of men without broad political concepts who, because of exceptional personal qualities, will prove loyal to us in a pinch. They will also be the exceptions. The rule will be that the general run of pure and simple trade unionists, the non-political activists, the latent patriots—they will betray us at the most decisive moment. What we will have in the unions in the hour of test will be what we build in the form of firm fractions of convinced Bolsheviks.

WE WILL STAND ON OUR OWN FEET

This military policy that we are outlining here will be the main line of our activity. We will have today a united front with Smith or Jones, together with Brown. We will agree with one or the other that such and such should be the demands upon the bosses, such and such proposals in the internal situation of the union. But we are bound to none of them and none of them is bound to us. We will fight against the Stalinist disrupters in the union every day in the week. At the same time we will approach the Stalinists on the broad political field for a united front action, as, for example, in California, to fight the removal of minority parties from the ballot. Perhaps our progressive friends will say, "What are you doing? They are supposed to be working with us, and all of a sudden you come out against removing the C. P. from the ballot." We have a perfect right to reply: "You are supposed to be working with us 364 days of the year, but on one day you want to make an exception, to vote for Roosevelt, the agent of the bosses. And if you take that little privilege, you must give us one. We must have the same independence that you have." Maybe this will be a lesson in democracy to the democrats.

One point more on this and I will be finished. Many of our comrades in the unions who have become deeply integrated with this business of the progressive democrats flinch away from the idea of offending them. Our party in this isn't as courageous as it should be. We are afraid of offending people, that is, their stupid, petty-bourgeois prejudices. That is only another way of saying that we are not yet real Marxists. The great Marxists, beginning with Marx and Engels—and ending with the last great exponent of Marxism, Comrade Trotsky—they all had a common characteristic: a complete indifference to public opinion. They did not care what the rest of the world thought about them. They figured out their line of policy in every case according to their scientific ideas. Then they courageously applied it and took the consequences. They made their own motto of Dante: "Go your way and let the people talk." Perhaps this problem of the C. P. is a test for us. To the extent that we can deal with this problem correctly and carefully, but also courageously—disregarding Philistine opinion—we will take a step forward becoming genuine Marxists, genuine Trotskyists, who follow their own line and let the world make the best of it.

The Negro Struggle

By ALBERT PARKER

A Victory On Paper

A couple of weeks ago, before the conscription bill was passed, two amendments were made, which were hailed by Senator Wagner of New York (and several unsuspecting and gullible Negro leaders) as "a signal victory for the forces of democracy in America life."

One amendment was supposed to prohibit discrimination in the armed forces because of color, so far as enlisted men were concerned, the other prohibited discrimination against drafted men.

But actually, in spite of the statements coming from secretaries in the White House, nothing has changed. Jim Crow still wears his stripes.

This was definitely shown in the attempts of a number of colored people to enlist in the service since the passage of the amended bill. They wanted to enlist so that they can choose the branch of the service they preferred, something that is not permitted for drafted men.

In five cities, reporters of the Baltimore Afro-American attempted to join the U. S. Aviation Corp. In each case, these colored men were met with flat rejections. "And in each instance the reason given was always the same—no openings for colored men."

Another reporter of the same paper tried to enlist in the field artillery, a branch of the service that has been closed to the Negro people. "There are no vacancies for colored," was the answer he got.

Another applied for admission into the U. S. Navy this week in Washington, the capital of this great democracy. He was told that the only place open for Negroes was as mess-hands, that is, as kitchen slaves. He protested, saying, "I was of the impression that the conscription bill, either in fact or in spirit, had changed all this segregation."

"Well," the officer declared, "I don't know what can be done about it. We haven't had any further orders. The conscription bill hasn't changed the situation for us. As far as we're concerned, it's just as if nothing's happened."

The White House is Unmasked

After a White House conference with Walter White, A. Philip Randolph and T. Arnold Hill, it became clear this week that only white officers will be called in to command colored draftees. Roosevelt was quoted as saying that so far as training colored men as commissioned officers or for the air corps went, plans had not yet been developed.

Colored reserve officers will be called on active duty only to fill vacancies "in units now officered by colored personnel." Since the only units now officered by colored men are the National Guard, this means that drafted men will be placed in separate units under white officers.

"As to the Navy," says the Afro-American "Colonel Knox allegedly stated that while he was sympathetic, he felt that the problem there was almost insoluble since men have to live together on ships, and that 'Southern' and 'Northern' ships are impossible."

If Jim Crow still rules in the enlisted Army, in spite of the fine "anti-discrimination" amendment, how much more will it rule in the drafted army! It becomes clear now that the only reason these amendments were passed was to get the colored people to support the conscription bill, and make them feel things were going to change so far as they were concerned.

It is now clearer than ever: The fight to end Jim Crowism in the armed forces, the fight to see that colored soldiers have the right to pick their own officers, can be won only as part of the general struggle for trade union control of military training.

The Army doesn't want colored men to become officers. And it has an unwritten rule that those who do become officers shall not rise higher than the rank of Colonel. And few of those!

The reason is that they don't want colored men in the highest councils where they can see from the inside how the Negro ranks are discriminated against, how it is decided that they are to play mainly two roles: to do the dirty work in the labor battalions, and to be given the most dangerous assignments in active duty.

In 1917, when officers were being promoted, General Jim Crow and his staff decided that Colonel Charles E. Young, highest ranking Negro West Point graduate, was suddenly retired "because he had high blood pressure." The real reason for this move was that an officer who is retired does not have to be promoted, even if he is returned to active duty.

Young rode on a horse all the way from Wilberforce, Ohio, to Washington, to show that he was physically fit—but he was not promoted as all the whites of his rank were. Later on, he was returned to active duty, but only as a colonel, because his "retirement" gave the general staff their necessary excuse not to advance him.

History repeated itself last week. President Roosevelt, who tells how he loves democracy . . . in Europe, appointed 100 white colonels to the grade of brigadier-general over the head of Col. Benjamin O. Davis, commanding officer of the 369th Infantry Regiment, N. Y. These appointments were made by the Commander-in-Chief on the recommendation of the Army.

The only difference is that in 1917 they looked for an "excuse." In 1940 they feel Jim Crow is permanent in the Army, as long as they're in control, and they don't even need excuses to cover it up.

Workers' Power Alone Can Defeat Fascism

France's Fate Shows That "Democrats" Cannot Lead Fight Against Fascism

By J. GERLAND

Every breed of bourgeois likes to constantly preach morals to the workers. The collapse of France furnishes these gentlemen an excellent subject for sermons.

"You see," say some of them, "national defense was compromised by strikes, by the class struggle . . ."

Others, of lesser stature, but no less dangerous because of that, strike another tune: "The French army was swarming with Fascist officers . . ."—and conclude by calling upon the workers to save bourgeois democracy.

WE NEAR THE END OF BOURGEOIS DEMOCRACY

The biggest loser of the war is bourgeois democracy. In the years preceding the war, it underwent one defeat after another in the field of diplomacy. With Hitler holding the whip hand, the entire policy of democratic capitalism consisted of making concessions and waiting for a better future which never came. In September 1939, England and France could not retreat any further and Hitler allowed himself the supreme luxury of forcing them to declare war on him, under conditions which he chose.

This war was, on both sides, merely the continuation of the policy carried on until its outbreak. The great secret of Chamberlain and the British General Staff was to temporize. By 1941, they figured, they would have more aviation facilities. By 1942, the factories would have turned out enough artillery to make possible an attack on the Siegfried Line. The purchase of material from the United States was apportioned over a number of years . . . All these fine projects needed was Hitler's consent.

While, in the course of the winter of 1939-1940, the Anglo-French troops were softened up by inaction, the German army was being trained in a new and terrible strategy by means of which it was soon to unleash its torrents of lead and fire upon its astonished adversaries.

Bourgeois democracy thus proved to be just as impotent in international war as in the preceding "peaceful" struggles. Its methods, its parties and its men belonged to another epoch. The very fact that Hitler was able to find conniving support within France is not a matter of chance, but one of the clearest symptoms of the decomposition of democracy.

Inside each country Fascism cannot be combated victoriously now except by means of proletarian arms: workers' militia, the arming of the working class, active defense which prepares to go over to the offensive, with the seizure of power by the working class as the aim. Likewise, in the international arena, the war cannot be prevented, nor the positions of Fascism shaken, except by means of the proletarian revolution.

WHO IS RESPONSIBLE FOR FRANCE'S DEFEAT

Since 1934, under the pressure of the Fascist menace, of the economic crisis and of the general decline of the French empire, a revolutionary crisis was maturing in France. In June 1936, the French workers occupied large numbers of factories. The frightened bourgeoisie remained silent and went into hiding. At the gates of the occupied factories, the policemen would arrive to inquire the number of strikers inside "for statistical purposes"—that was what their role was reduced to! The slightest attempt at suppression would have provoked a gigantic explosion. In waves, the burning breath of the revolution could be sensed passing over the great industrial cities.

But the workers were soon to witness a strange spectacle. While the bosses fringe on the spot conceded all demands, the workers' "own" leaders, who they themselves had brought to power, were placing restraints on the workers. Leon Blum and the Socialist parliamentarians, Leon Jouxhaux and the trade union officialdom and, gesticulating wildly right behind them, Maurice Thorez and the other Stalinist satellites—all formed one big chorus calling for calmness from the workers and for social peace. Before the working class could overcome its astonishment, it found tied around its neck the rope of agreements signed by the bosses, the trade union leaders and the government. In the course of the months that followed the bourgeoisie took back in parcels what it had been forced to grant in bulk, at first quite patiently and later on more brutally.

The revolution was possible in

Vistula, the sabre of the German colonel rules supreme. Whether it is lit up in Prague or in Rotterdam or in Paris, any revolutionary explosion will immediately be echoed in the other countries far more directly than was ever the case before the war.

OUR COMRADES WILL LEAD FRANCE AGAINST FASCISM

In France the military catastrophe immediately marks the downfall of the traditional party of democracy, the Radical-Socialist Party. On the Right, all sorts of Fascist adventurers are raising their heads. But the best they can hope for is to become agents of the German command. On the Left, the Socialist Party has abandoned every pretense to an independent existence. The trade union leaders have rallied to Petain or disappeared into the void, like Jouxhaux. These people belong to other times. They grew up with

today, they alone remain to present to the workers an unsullied banner.

Confusion is not lacking in the ranks of the working class at the present moment. The first task of the Bolshevik-Leninists is to explain patiently what has happened. Just as the imperialist war was not our war, so this defeat is not our defeat. It is a defeat of bourgeois democracy, to whose fate the treacherous leaders wanted to link the proletariat. It is a defeat of a political system of oppression which no longer corresponds to the requirements of our epoch. The proletariat has another aim and other methods. Its aim is the overthrow of the system of capitalist exploitation. Its methods are the methods of revolutionary class struggle. It is but necessary to apply them tirelessly and implacably and victory is assured.

Sept. 2, 1940

ATTORNEY FOR TROTSKY'S WIDOW BLASTS STORY OF GPU ASSASSIN

David Alfaro Siqueiros, the leader of the machine-gun band which attacked Trotsky's home on May 24th, 1940, less than three months before another GPU assassin, "Frank Jason," was successful in assassinating Trotsky, is now awaiting trial in Mexico City for the first attempt on Trotsky. He was captured after a five-months' hunt. Upon his arrest his leading role in the machine-gunning was confirmed by accomplices who have been in jail since June. Unable to deny his complicity, Siqueiros told a weird story to the investigating judge. The following analysis of Siqueiros' "explanation" was issued to the Mexican press by Albert Goldman, who is acting as attorney for Natalia Trotsky.

By ALBERT GOLDMAN

Stalin's GPU may be skillful in organizing cowardly murders, but it is not at all skillful in creating stories to explain the criminal activities of its agents.

The story which Siqueiros wants us to believe in explanation for the May 24 assault on Trotsky is as bad as the story which the GPU created for explaining the murder of Trotsky.

If one is to believe Siqueiros, he transformed himself into a detective overnight. The motive for the May 24 attack, according to Siqueiros, was "to find documents in Trotsky's home proving Trotsky's counter-revolutionary activities, nationally and internationally." Siqueiros did not see fit to indicate to the public exactly what documents he was looking for and in what part of Trotsky's home he hoped to find these documents.

Now it is well known that there were thousands of documents in the Trotsky home. It took six huge cases, especially constructed for that purpose, to ship the documents to Harvard University. It took six guards and secretaries two days simply to get all the documents together and to pack them for shipment.

If Siqueiros was such a good detective, he undoubtedly knew all about the number of documents in the Trotsky home and he also knew that he would have to send into the house at least six people who knew three or four languages, who could spend two or three days in examining all the documents in order to find the ones that he wanted. But the evidence shows that he only sent men with revolvers and machine guns.

The most peculiar thing about this alleged search for documents was that none of the people armed with machine guns and revolvers touched a single document. On the contrary, they threw incendiary bombs in order to destroy the documents. Of course Siqueiros claims that the people who got inside did not do a very good job, but it is peculiar, to say the least, that they did not indicate the slightest desire to find any kind of documents. They did indicate a great desire to kill people and to destroy documents.

Is it possible that Siqueiros will claim that the gangsters kidnaped Sheldon Harte, Trotsky's secretary, in order to get documents? There are indications in his testimony that he will try to accuse Sheldon Harte of being an accomplice of his, even though Sheldon Harte was murdered.

When the Judge very astutely asked Siqueiros whether it required 300 or more bullets in order to find documents, he nonchalantly replied that it "depends upon circumstances." We presume that the next time, having learned the lesson that 300 bullets are not enough, Siqueiros will use at least several thousand bullets.

by doomed to death at his hands, and the same of course applies to his friends whose opinions coincide with those of Siqueiros.

TRIES TO SHIELD GUILT OF THE C. P. AND GPU

Siqueiros' anxiety to white-wash the Communist Party and the GPU is evident in almost every sentence that he utters. He plays up the fact that he was expelled from the Communist Party in 1929, as if such an expulsion, assuming it to be a fact, would prevent him from doing everything that the Communist Party and the GPU told him to do.

That he followed the Communist Party line very closely is known to everybody, and he admits it. His attempt to create tactical differences between himself and the Communist Party falls flat, in view of the fact that he never wrote about these tactical differences and no one ever knew about them until his arrest.

And to show that he is not a GPU agent, he naively states that in Spain he was too busy fighting to be a GPU agent. We do not know how much fighting Siqueiros actually did. The fact is that all the GPU "Colonels" came out alive from Spain, and it is a fact that one of the principal reasons for the defeat of the Loyalist Army was the kind of fighting that "Colonels" like Siqueiros participated in while in Spain.

Their main fighting was not against the Fascists, but against the revolutionary workers who were anxious to defeat fascism. Hundreds of revolutionary workers were killed by the GPU in Spain. The GPU "Colonels" succeeded in gaining a victory for France.

The testimony of all his accomplices makes it impossible for Siqueiros to crawl out of responsibility for the May 24th attack and for the murder of Sheldon Harte. Nor will he succeed in convincing any intelligent person who doesn't take orders from Moscow that he acted independently of the GPU. His boasting about the amount of money that he "could make" (and not what he did make) will not convince anybody that the financing of such an expensive attempt as the one made on May 24 was the work of one individual. It could only be done by an organization that has inexhaustible financial resources, like the GPU.

John Brown's Ideas Go Marching On

By J. INGRAM

October 16, 1940, the date set by the ruling class of this country for the registration of the conscript army, is the 81st anniversary of John Brown's attack upon the arsenal at Harper's Ferry, Va., on October 16, 1859!

John Brown's plan was to arouse and arm the slaves and lead them in the struggle for freedom. His attempt was foredoomed because he failed to prepare and properly organize the slaves in advance of his uprising, so that only a handful joined him.

Though he was unsuccessful and paid with his life for it, his audacity set into motion the imagination, will and energy which finally attained the freedom of the slaves, broke the backbone of the Southern slavocracy, and brought us a step closer to the complete emancipation of the working class of the world.

He first struck a blow against slavery on the plains of Kansas. In the Spring of 1855, he had sent his sons there to settle and help win the territory for the free-soil party. In May, his son and namesake sent the following appeal to Old John Brown: "While the interest of despotism has secured to its cause hundreds and thousands of the meanest and most desperate of men, armed to the teeth . . . the friends of freedom are not one-fourth of them half armed," with the result "that the people here exhibit the most abject and cowardly spirit . . . We propose . . . that the anti-slavery portion of the inhabitants should immediately, thoroughly arm and organize themselves in military companies . . ."

Without hesitation John Brown set about securing military supplies and in August left Chicago with a wagon-load of guns and ammunition. Shortly after his arrival he was elected captain of the anti-slavery forces and led them in bloody reprisals on the pro-slavery sympathizers. In a short time the mere mention of his name struck fear into the hearts of the slave-owners, and inspired the forces of freedom.

The struggles of the next year, resulting in the pillaging and burning of the settlement of Osawatomie, saw Brown's son killed, his forces beaten and scattered. Thereafter, Brown and his band were outlaws, living on the run, launching sudden raids on the pro-slavery forces. He continued this guerrilla warfare until Kansas was "pacified" by the Federal troops.

For the next two years John Brown shuttled back and forth between Kansas and the East, seeking support for the struggle to make Kansas a free state. But under the conditions of armed neutrality, there was not much room in Kansas for him.

He reverted to his long cherished scheme of mountain warfare in the Southern states. He supposed that he could hide in the mountains, make raids on the plantations, inspiring the slaves to rise up and join him. Then they would form a new free state in the mountains, composed of Negroes and whites.

Early in the summer of 1859, he rented a farm near Harper's Ferry, collected his men there and prepared the attack. He felt that arms were needed, that he could seize them, distribute them to the slaves nearby, and spread the struggle.

They seized the armory, took a few prisoners, aroused some of the slaves, and then they were surrounded by companies of militia and marines headed by Robert E. Lee. After a fierce battle, in which two more of Brown's sons were killed, they were overpowered. On December 2, Brown was hanged.

FREEDOM MUST BE FOUGHT FOR

John Brown's great place in American history rests on the fact that in addition to recognizing the necessity of emancipation, as did many others, he alone at that time saw the general road it would have to take, and was willing to take it. It was he who taught that those who want freedom have to fight for it arms in hand.

He knew that he had to organize, gather men and materials around his ideas. He spent his life doing this, under immense personal hardships, talking, exhorting, opening schools for slaves, assisting in the work of the "underground railroad," giving all of his tremendous energy and singleness of purpose to the cause.

He knew also that you need more than enthusiasm and well-wishing to meet the guns of the slaveholders. He gathered fighters around him and trained them in the military arts, he taught the free settlements to form their defense guards. He knew this when he organized the League of Gileadites whose purpose was "to band Negroes together, teach them to advance their own interests, and resist their pursuers." He understood this when he ordered a thousand pikes to be made, to arm the slaves for his invasion of the South. And in spite of his mistakes at Harper's Ferry, his aim of arming the slaves was fundamentally the correct one.

There is still much that we can learn today from Old John Brown, just as there is much we can learn from his mistakes. For it is as true today as it was 81 years ago that those who want freedom must be prepared to fight for it.

Workers of all races take inspiration from the heroism of John Brown. In the same way that he surveyed the situation in his day, and on the basis of the concrete line-up of forces decided that the next stage in the struggle was to be with arms, we must today look about us and decide what our tasks are.

The best way to honor John Brown's memory today is by joining the fight for trade union control of military training. Conscription is a law, and as a result, the oppressed and exploited of our times will learn how to use guns, will learn how to defend themselves against their enemies. Just as John Brown, and after him the slaves during the Civil War, did not shrink back from the struggle, we too must take our place among the workers.

The MARXIST SCHOOL FALL TERM 1940 Begins Monday, October 21 Irving Plaza, New York City Irving Place and 15th Street I. The Philosophy of Marxism — Dialectical Materialism Mondays 7:10 to 8:40 p.m.—William Warde II. What Is Trotskyism — Mondays 8:50 to 10:20 p.m.—James P. Cannon III. Elements of Marxism — Tuesdays 7:10 to 8:40 p.m.—Murry Weiss IV. Trade Union Leadership — Tuesdays 8:50 to 10:20 p.m.—Farrell Dobbs REGISTRATION: Marxist School, 116 University Place, N. Y. C. FEES: \$1.00 for each course (six lectures) 25c for each lecture

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1939, at the post office at New York, N. Y., under the
Act of March 3, 1879."Fight with the Socialist Workers
Party for:

1. A JOB AND A DECENT LIVING FOR EVERY WORKER.
2. OPEN THE IDLE FACTORIES — OPERATE THEM UNDER WORKERS' CONTROL.
3. A TWENTY-BILLION DOLLAR FEDERAL PUBLIC WORKS AND HOUSING PROGRAM.
4. THIRTY-THIRTY-\$30 WEEKLY MINIMUM WAGE-30-HOUR WEEKLY MAXIMUM FOR ALL WORKERS ON ALL JOBS.
5. \$30 WEEKLY OLD-AGE AND DISABILITY PENSION.
6. EXPROPRIATE THE SIXTY FAMILIES.
7. ALL WAR FUNDS TO THE UNEMPLOYED.
8. A PEOPLE'S REFERENDUM ON ANY AND ALL WARS.
9. NO SECRET DIPLOMACY.
10. AN INDEPENDENT LABOR PARTY.
11. WORKERS' DEFENSE GUARDS AGAINST VIGILANTE AND FASCIST ATTACKS.
12. FULL SOCIAL, POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC EQUALITY FOR THE NEGRO PEOPLE.

Our Military Policy

Much publicity is being given in the capitalist press to a few conscientious objectors to conscription—a group of theological students in New York, a minister in Minnesota—who have announced they will not register. The capitalist press is not at all averse to giving these individuals such publicity. Thereby they create the picture: either go along 100% with the present conscription system or make the ineffective, impotent gesture of the conscientious objectors. The capitalist press would like you to believe that these are the only two alternatives. The capitalists would like you to believe that, because they know the conscientious objectors can do nothing to prevent the war or the oppression and exploitation of the workers by the military machine. In a world of war and militarism, the pacifist idea of being unarmed cannot possibly appeal to the people.

But our program—universal military training under control of the trade unions—gets no publicity from the capitalist press. On the contrary, the press organizes a conspiracy of silence against our program. For ours really meets the needs of the workers. As against the pacifists, it firmly insists upon the necessity of training the workers in the use of arms, and insists that all shall be trained. But as against the capitalists, our program calls for the control of military training by the workers' own organizations. It calls for federal appropriations for the establishment and equipment of military training camps to be run by the trade unions. It proposes that in these training camps not only shall the workers be given instructions to make them able and skillful soldiers, but that the outstanding workers, chosen by their comrades, shall be given the further instruction needed to become officers. We want the workers to have their own flesh and blood, the men they trust, as officers over them—and not the crew of West Point and "citizens" camp reactionaries whom the government will name.

Ours is a program which defends the interests of the workers everywhere—not only in the factory but also in the military forces. The program of the pacifists does neither.

Covering Up Hillman

We had looked forward with keen interest to the latest issue of the *CIO News*, which we hoped would contain a fiery denunciation of the anti-labor stand taken by the War and Navy Departments, the National Defense Commission, Attorney General Jackson and Sidney Hillman, in the matter of awarding war contracts to labor law violators.

True enough, the paper was filled with loud lamentations, but it also contained a most devious cover-up for Hillman, whose role in the scandalous affair was the basest of all. From the news account of the incident, one gets the impression that Hillman was a simple innocent. Editorially, the *CIO News* protects Hillman with a cloak of silence.

The only weapon the CIO leadership musters with which to fire back at its enemies is a plaintive plea, entitled "Why Not Obey?", asking the hardened barons of big business to be good fellows and observe the law. After all, cites the *CIO News*, "Most American employers are law-abiding citizens." Huh?

The editorial then goes on to say:

"If the government will refuse to be black-mailed by law-breaking anti-labor corporations; if it will firmly insist on contracts being executed in a lawful manner, none of these corporations will dare to refuse defense business. They will all take the simpler course of obeying the law."

Thus do the spokesmen of the CIO appeal to

the left foot of the government whose right foot has just kicked them in the face. Whom are they fooling? Certainly not the government whose policy has just been enunciated in a most decisive and unambiguous way. Only the workers will be fooled by such whining.

On a program for the CIO members to follow in enforcing union conditions against Bethlehem Steel, Ford, du Pont, Standard Oil, General Motors and the many, many other "few who have tried to buck the law" (merely tried?), the *CIO News* says nothing.

No Home Guards!

A determined effort is being made in Congress to push through the Home Guard bill before adjournment. Under the terms of this bill a new armed force will be set up by the government to replace the National Guard, which is being incorporated into the regular army.

The bill has met with objections from the national office of the CIO, largely on the grounds that it does not specify the precise function and duties of the Home Guard.

This objection is the least weighty of all which can be hurled at the proposal. WE KNOW WHAT ITS EXACT FUNCTION WILL BE! All we have to do is study the record of National Guard activities.

The following facts from the official Army Report in the Congressional Record, February 14, 1936, should prove enlightening on the subject. They cover the first, the "most progressive" four years of the New Deal.

The National Guard, financed and equipped with federal funds and under regular army officers, conducted their greatest strike-breaking role in history between 1933 and 1936. From 1933 to 1934, 12,536 Guardsmen saw active duty; 8,319, or 66 percent in strikes. From 1934 to 1935, of the 30,201 troops called out, 24,326, or 80 percent were used to break strikes.

In 1934, 12 states in 23 strikes, and in 1935, 20 states in 73 strikes, employed the National Guard to intimidate American workers. During the national textile strike in 1934, nine states, seven under Democratic Party administrations, used the National Guard. Over 50 workers were killed and 500 seriously wounded in this one strike.

In fact, in the textile strike even the National Guard seemed insufficient for Roosevelt. On September 14, 1934, he threatened to send regular army troops against the Rhode Island strikers. After citing this fact, the *New York Times* of that date reports further: "Acting under secret orders from Washington, detachments of regular army troops... have prepared for possible service in the Rhode Island strike disorders... While... awaiting 'orders from Roosevelt'... regular army troops... were being swiftly concentrated for possible movement to the strike zone." The same edition of the *Times* in the main editorial, approvingly described this act as "an answer from the President which may not please Mr. Gorman (the strike chairman)".

These facts are sufficient evidence of what Roosevelt has in mind for the new Home Guards he proposes.

The only protection the workers of this country are going to need is against the fascist gangs which the bosses are organizing against them. The only protection the workers have ever needed has been against the thugs, strike-breakers, cops and troops which the bosses and their government have used against them.

That is a protection which the workers must devise for themselves. Not the professional anti-labor terror machine of the capitalists—the Home Guards—but a real protective army for labor, the WORKERS DEFENSE GUARDS.

The Ford Decision

The boss press and the CIO are now competing in a game of "Butt'n! Butt'n! Who's got the butt'n?" over the exact meaning of the decision of the U. S. Circuit Court of Appeals in the Ford-N.L.R.B. case.

The court's defense of the right of Ford to circulate anti-union literature to his employees is headlined by the capitalist press as a victory for Ford and "civil liberties".

The CIO shunted aside the real implications of this phase of the decision and concentrated on that part which ordered Ford to cease and desist from discouraging membership in the auto workers union or from intimidating union members.

The "free speech" decision really means that Ford can continue to "advise" his workers against joining a union so long, as he does not say in so many words "or get fired and slugged by my service men".

Ford never had to put that threat into writing. He wrote his "or else" with spitting machine guns against the Ford Hunger March in 1932, and with clubs, fists, brass knuckles, blackjacks and other assorted persuaders on union organizers and members exercising their right of free expression during the more recent CIO attempts to organize the Ford domain. That "or else" stares a Ford worker in the face every moment on the line, as Ford's ten-thousand eyed private army scrutinizes each detail of the workers' conduct.

If the CIO leaders think that this decision reduces the difficulty of organizing Ford's in any degree, they—and more particularly the auto workers—are in for a sad experience.

The recent agreement of Attorney General Jackson and CIO leader Hillman to the principle of permitting labor law violators to obtain war contracts gives more than a hint of how much support the government will give the Ford workers when they insist on enforcement of the court order.

Ford will be organized only after every wheel in his huge kingdom ceases to move—and stays motionless until he signs a real union contract.

Who Owns This Country?

"Get down to work! Work faster and harder! Work longer hours for the same pay!" This is the theme-song of all the bosses these days.

"Get ready to fight! Defend yourselves against foreign aggression!" The chorus of the super-patriots chimes in. Day in, day out, both together call upon the workers to make all kinds of sacrifices for the national defense program.

Now, unlike the plutocratic parasites, John Jones and Minnie Jones have to work in order to live. No job, no food for the family. While the speed-up artists shout for "more work" over eleven millions still can't get a job. Most of the rest suffer from insecure, underpaid employment.

As a rule, workers don't object to fighting—provided they're convinced that they're fighting for a worth-while cause. The trade-unions' struggles prove that. Moreover, the military forces for every war in history have been recruited from the poor workers. That includes the present war.

But the workers want to be sure—and they ought to know—who and what they're being called upon to fight for. Are they to labor and risk their lives for their own benefit—or for the sake of enriching their exploiters? That's the question posed by the national defense program.

LIGHT ON WHO OWNS AMERICA

A floodlight has been cast on this question by the report just issued by Senator O'Mahoney, chairman of the Temporary National Economic Committee, which has been investigating monopolies for the past two years without doing anything about it. But the information they have gathered should interest every worker. Here's what they've found.

1. Three American family groups, the Rockefellers, the DuPonts and the Mellons, own shares worth almost \$1,400,000,000 which are "so placed as to give them considerable influence, if not control" over fifteen of the 200 largest non-financial corporations in America.

2. Thirteen family groups, including these three, have holdings worth \$2,700,000,000, representing eight per cent of the stock of these 200 corporations. The twenty largest shareholdings in each of the 200 corporations accounted on the average for nearly a third of the stock. In the average corporation the majority of the voting power was concentrated in about 1 per cent of the stockholders.

3. These 200 corporations account for the bulk

of manufacturing, mining, electric and gas utilities, transportation and communication.

4. 10,000 persons (0.008 per cent of the population) own one-fourth of all corporate stock in this country; 75,000 (0.06 per cent of the population) own one-half of the stock held by individuals.

The people are being urged to make sacrifices and militarize themselves in order to save "America for the Americans." But the official Monopoly Committee informs us: "Foreign investors have a considerable stake in the ownership of the 200 largest nonfinancial corporations. At the end of 1937 their holdings of common stock totaled \$1,800,000,000 and of preferred stock \$200,000,000." Capitalist exploitation, you see, is international in scope. But working class relations, according to the bosses, must remain within national boundaries!

According to O'Mahoney, "the committee is not trying to prove any preconceived thesis." But the facts tell their own story. Any thinking person can draw the necessary conclusions from these figures—if he hasn't any material motives for concealing them.

DIE FOR THESE PLUTOCRATS?

The bulk of the productive facilities of the United States are owned and controlled by a small band of multi-millionaires, with the princely families of Rockefeller, DuPont and Mellon at their head. These families, which number about 60 in all, are the real rulers in this Democracy of the Almighty Dollar. These findings of the Monopoly Committee officially confirm the picture of "America's 60 Families" presented in Ferdinand Lundberg's book of the same name.

It is for the sake of this bunch of plutocrats that the working people are being asked to work and to fight for in the present war. These profiteers will be the principal beneficiaries of the extra labor and the blood shed by the working masses. The national defense program is the program of these millionaire monopolists who seek to use the workers to maintain their hold over their present fields of enrichment and to extend them throughout the world.

That's why we're opposed to that patriot's and profiteer's program. If the workers must work and fight, let them do so for a country that belongs to them, with an army they can control, commanded by people they can trust—their own labor representatives.

HOW THE NEGROES IN THE SOUTH
VIEW THE ARMY DRAFT

(This remarkable article appeared in the Baltimore AFRO-AMERICAN, Negro weekly, Aug. 31.)

In Louisiana, I heard stories of colored men already conscripted, already feeding and taking care of mules, already hustled into camps and taught how to cook and make beds—so that they will be good orderlies.

"But," I objected to my informant, "the conscription bill has not yet been passed, and may not be passed until January—or at least until after the election."

"Don't need to pass no bill, if the white folks decide to come after you," the man replied. "And if I was you, I wouldn't be talking about elections and things. That's white folks' business—and somebody might hear you. Better button up your lips!"

Can't Hear Radios

In one Little Mississippi town, in which no colored person has a radio, the white people have agreed to keep the latest news away from colored by refusing to let them listen in to radio news in stores, homes and filling stations.

"I don't know whether to believe it or not," an aged man told me, "but my boss man said the Germans aim to come over here and put us colored folks back in slavery. We got to send our boys 'cross the water to fight 'em."

Propaganda Effective

The opinion is fairly general that the United States should and will get into the war on England's side, and that it is only a matter of weeks or months before "our boys" will be aboard ships bound for Europe to fight the Germans. The fear of Hitler crops up in the most unexpected places. A preacher was exhorting his congregation to get on the right side of the road a few Sundays ago. "This ain't no time for foolishness," he thundered. "You better hurry to Jesus—or Mr. Hitler will get you."

From a man in the field, who was selling watermelons at a nickel each: "I'm trying to get rid of 'em before Hitler comes. If a nickel's too much, I'll take a couple of store-made cigarettes."

Fear Instilled

On Saturday nights, around cafes and restaurants or juke joints, where talk is usually loud and liquor uncommonly bad on the tonsils, the admonition to "button up your lips" is heard frequently now. An air of fearful waiting seems to hover over young men now in the prime of life.

They have heard from fathers and brothers and uncles the story

of what happened the last time. They have no physical fear of dying or getting injured, but, mentally, they're in a turmoil. They sense that this is another white man's war in which the black man will do the dirty work—and the white man will get the benefit.

Afraid to Refuse

They would like to refuse to fight, but they're afraid of being called cowards. They'd also like to get a little advance consideration. And a few that I've heard express themselves, would just love to be given a machine gun.

In Birmingham I was riding down the street with a young man right in the middle of the draft age. We were riding in a beautiful new car. A red light stopped us at a corner, and a muddy car with a Georgia license pulled alongside.

For no reason at all, except that, perhaps, he resented seeing us in a better looking car than his, the white man yelled at my friend: "You b—d!"

Sees Chance for Revenge

My friend's reply was most poetic—and so was the crank handle which he waved at the man as he dared him to get out of the car.

Later, he said to me: "I only hope I go to the army and stay there long enough to get my hands on a machine gun. I'm coming back to Birmingham and have

myself a bunch of fun. All the fighting I'll ever do will be right here at home."

Parks Lily-white

Before I left Birmingham I went with a group to see the statue of Vulcan, which is perched high on the outskirts of the city. We went at night, and as we drove up, where a lot of cars were parked, the officer said: "You made a mistake."

"I thought this was a public park," said one of the party.

"It is a public park," snapped the cop, "but not a colored park."

New Unrest Evident

A lot of people look for trouble. The war may bring it quicker than it would have come otherwise—but definitely a new sentiment is steadily gaining momentum in the South.

It is still in the talking stage, but is nevertheless indicative of a mass dissatisfaction. The radio, travel by automobile and education are making people want things they never wanted before.

"And the crackers are scared," an old man told me on a recent fishing trip. "That's why they don't want us to discuss things. The only thing the war does is make 'em more scared. They don't want to give the boys guns to fight with—and they don't dare leave the boys here at home while they go away and fight. It tickles me!"

TROTSKY MEMORIAL FUND

Branch Pledges

The following is a list of the tentative pledges for the Trotsky Memorial Fund made by the branch delegations at the Sept. 27-29 Chicago Plenum-Conference of the Socialist Workers Party. Many of the delegations indicated that their pledges would be revised upwards after they secured the agreement of the branch membership. A number of branches have not yet sent in their pledges.

The APPEAL will carry a scoreboard regularly, announcing the amounts turned in by the branches. All pledges are to be paid in full by January 1st.

Branch	Amount
Akron	\$ 10.00
Boston	100.00
Chicago and Indiana Harbor	150.00
Cleveland	70.00
Detroit	150.00
Flint	200.00
Los Angeles	150.00
Milwaukee	5.00
Minneapolis and St. Paul	1,000.00
Newark	150.00
New York City	1,000.00
Portland	10.00
San Francisco	100.00
Toledo	50.00
Youngstown	50.00
TOTAL	\$3,195.00

Siqueiros Is Mexican Agent Of the GPU

By GRANDIZO MUNIS

During the days following the May 24th assault on Trotsky's house, when the police had not yet arrested any of the accomplices, the paid press and writers of Stalin's GPU spread the infamous theory of "self-assault". Trotsky himself, according to their version, had ordered some hundred of shots to be fired... in order to create difficulties for the government. Upon Trotsky's declaring in his first declaration that David Alfaro Siqueiros could perhaps make important revelations on the assault, Siqueiros indignantly denounced the "calumnies" and even promised to appear before the authorities any time they wished. The GPU believed at that time that none of the accomplices would be detained and that through its powerful economic resources it would be able to put over the theory of "self-assault".

But the majority of those implicated in the May 24 assault were arrested and the guilt of Siqueiros was completely established. Far from presenting himself in order to give an explanation as he had promised, the "indignant" assailant hid himself and waited for the advice of the GPU. Finding it impossible to uphold the stupid "self-assault" story it became necessary to fabricate another explanation. From his hiding place, Siqueiros began to change his language. In the extract from the letter sent to General Nunez, published August 27, as well as that published in *Hoy* September 14, the theory of "self-assault" gave way to the "very justified assault on the house of Trotsky." Siqueiros did not make this declaration until after the discoveries of the authorities had annihilated the theory of "self-assault".

Why was Siqueiros silent while the GPU placed in circulation the infamous calumny of "self-assault"? Why did he acquiesce with this same silence when the GPU tried to stain the memory of the murdered secretary of Trotsky, presenting him as an accomplice in the assault? Why did he not at that time explain the "very justified assault"? If he had done it then, all the world would have believed that he acted on his own initiative and not on a salary from the GPU.

TROTSKY SAVED SIQUEIROS' LIFE

On the contrary, his admission of the assault was not made until after the police had identified Siqueiros as its immediate director. The GPU had to consider then two possibilities: as a political goal, the GPU was interested in utilizing Siqueiros to the maximum; as the possessor of important secrets it was interested in assassinating him and trying once more to cast the responsibility... on the Trotskyists. In this respect it is possible to assert that Siqueiros owes his life to Trotsky. In publicly declaring the likelihood of Siqueiros being assassinated, Trotsky made it virtually impossible, and the GPU had to decide at least provisionally to utilize Siqueiros as a political tool. Due to this decision Siqueiros sent his various letters to the press.

Then began the new turn. The authors of the assault who had propagated the theory of "self-assault" now dedicated themselves to justifying the assault. They were obliged to carry on this juggling because of the discoveries of the police and the declaration of Trotsky. Yesterday even the Communist Party and the friends of the GPU in *El Popular* had to swear in every tone that terrorism is far from their methods. Today Siqueiros, their friend and long time collaborator, tries to justify terrorism. The universal evidence that Siqueiros worked and still works under orders of the GPU and the fact that the GPU is under Stalin's orders brings upon Stalin and his mercenaries throughout the world admission of terrorist activity. In the final attempt at falsification, Siqueiros will try to present himself to us as a revolutionary terrorist.

STALIN, THE ARCH-DESPOT

His friends of the *Voice of Mexico* and *El Popular* will assist with amiable silence, but it will not be necessary to wait for the verdict of history in order to determine between Trotsky and Stalin who was the revolutionary, who was the counter-revolutionary. The supporter of Hitler in the present imperialist war, the oppressor of the Soviet proletariat, the grave-digger of the Spanish revolution—Stalin is no longer even the spectre with which Hitler used to frighten his enemies, France and England. His actions against Trotsky and the Trotskyist movement have received the approval of all the enemies of the workers. In the last instance the terrorist action of Siqueiros like that of Jacson, the assassin of Trotsky, like that which Stalin wages against the Russian worker, is the same as the terrorism of Hitler, Mussolini, Franco, or any other reactionary despot.

The similarity between the declarations of Siqueiros and those of Jacson is proof that the inspirer is one and the same. One of the assassins pretends that his crime was that of a revolutionary against reactionary elements; the other that he was disillusioned with Trotsky, and decided to free humanity from him; the one says he acted on his own will, the other that he does not even understand what "GPU" signifies, and both finally unite in glorifying Stalin.

Unless they are forced by the weight and the skill of the investigation, Siqueiros as well as Jacson will not deviate a single hair from the fundamental interest of the GPU, that is, defamation of Trotsky and the movement founded by him. This will add one more proof of the dependence of both upon Stalin. Siqueiros will try perhaps to perfect some of the calumnies already elaborated by his cohorts in the *Voz de Mexico* and *El Popular*, but they will turn out to be nothing but generalities without foundation since neither he nor anyone else can cast the least spot upon the political activity of Trotsky.

The more they calumniate Trotsky the more they prove their complete subjection to the GPU.

The sentence of the proletariat has already been passed: that Siqueiros and Jacson as tools of Stalin have assassinated one of the greatest revolutionaries of all times. All that is lacking is the discovery by Mexican justice of the immediate superiors of Jacson and Siqueiros.

Mexico City
October 10, 1940