

## SOCIALIST APPEAL

VOL. IV—No. 45 Saturday, November 9, 1940

Published Weekly by the  
SOCIALIST APPEAL PUBLISHING ASS'N.  
at 116 University Place, New York, N. Y.  
Telephone: ALgonquin 4-8547

Editorial Board:  
**FELIX MORROW ALBERT GOLDMAN**  
General Manager:  
**RUTH JEFFREY**

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

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

FIGHT WITH THE  
SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY

## ON THE WAR FRONT:

For:

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

## AT HOME:

For:

1. A job and decent living for every worker.
2. Thirty-thirty—\$30 weekly minimum wage—30 hour weekly maximum for all workers on all jobs.
3. \$30 weekly old age and disability pension.
4. Full social, political and economic equality for the Negro people.
5. Workers Defense Guards against vigilante and fascist attacks.
6. A twenty-billion dollar Federal public works and housing program to provide jobs for the unemployed.
7. Expropriate the Sixty Families.
8. An Independent Labor Party based on the Trade Unions.
9. A Worker's and Farmer's Government.

## Third Term

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

## Negro Doctors Barred

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

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

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

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

## BOSSES' MAN WORRIED

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

## End Secret Diplomacy

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

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

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

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

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

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

## Bourbons Shelve Bill

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

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

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

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

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

## Roosevelt and Wall St.

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

By ART PREIS

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

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

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

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

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

THIRTY-FIVE BILLION DOLLARS—just a starter! For the "Defense of Democracy"? No! As a CAPITAL INVESTMENT! But that's just pin money to Wall Street. *Barron's*, one of the Wall Street financial weeklies, August 26, declared:

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

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

WALL STREET'S SECOND CHOICE

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

The answer to that question is,

first, that they regarded Willkie as a more tractable tool, not a different but a better instrument for their designs than Roosevelt. But even more impelling than this reason, is the completely unvarnished reactionary character of the ruling class. Through the just completed election campaign the ruling class has served final warning on the workers that it is through with the nonsense of "reformers." Its program, henceforth, is merciless warfare on labor.

In "attacking" Roosevelt, Wall Street did not attack him as its tool, but as the symbol of "liberalism" which he represents to so many misguided workers. For, in luring an unwilling people into war, Roosevelt has proved supreme in the art of deception. His liberal camouflage often appeared so realistic that it frightened many capitalists. They have always opposed yielding to labor even "in principle." They have always preferred to address labor in a more direct tongue, the conciliatory end of a black-jack.

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

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

Yes, it is true that the majority of Wall Street magnates preferred Willkie. But they are not greatly concerned about the re-election of Roosevelt. They understand fully well that Roosevelt has no choice but to represent them.

And, after all, the bankers and industrial bosses can't feel too harshly toward Roosevelt when profits for the first quarter of 1940, prior to the "shoot-the-works" war spending, were already 67 percent higher than the same quarter of 1939; in fact, higher than in 1928, a peak prosperity year.

"MY FRIENDS..."

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

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

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

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

## LABOR "APPEASEMENT"

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

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

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

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

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

(To Be Continued)

## Rubber Strike Victorious

## Bulletin.

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

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

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

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

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

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

## J. P. MORGAN'S ERRAND BOY

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

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

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

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

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

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

## Go Forward

Paralyzing Poison  
From the Ivory Tower  
Of Pacifism

By JOSEPH HANSEN

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

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

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

## NOBLE NORMAN'S PIOUS PRAYER

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

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

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

## THE HEADLESS HORSEMAN

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

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

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

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

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

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

(1) Was formulated by Comrade Leon Trotsky as his last great contribution to the Fourth International.

(2) Is Trotsky's application of his Transitional Program to the conditions of world war and the militarization of the United States.

## THE MARXIST ANSWER

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

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

That is the Marxist answer.